Terence Lovat
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Editors

International Research Handbook on Values Education and Student Wellbeing

Preface and Introduction
Richard Pring

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Preface

Values education has been explicit in educational theory from Plato onwards – whether in advocating insight into the ‘form of the good’ (which only a guardian class or Coleridge’s clerisy might attain for the benefit of all) or, according to Aristotle, in arguing for the importance of good habits as an entry to the life of virtue or, according to Dewey, in promoting the social norms which constitute a democratic society. However, ‘values education’ in educational practices has more often than not been addressed only implicitly and therefore too often uncritically. The ‘disapplication’ in England of the arts and humanities from the compulsory curriculum after the age of 14 embodies a particular evaluation of those areas of thinking and feeling as a source of values; the promotion of the newly arrived subject of ‘enterprise’ does itself imply a shift in our received list of approved virtues; the direction of students through either academic or vocational pathways reflects the dominant values that are meant to shape the learning of the higher attainers.

It is only comparatively recently that the teaching of values has become widespread as an explicit focus of curriculum thinking and practising. In the last 50 years or so, prompted particularly by the work of Lawrence Kohlberg at the Centre for Moral Development at Harvard University (Kohlberg, 1976), by the Raths, Harmin, and Simon (1966) and Simon, Kirschenbaum, and Howe (1972) advocacy of ‘values clarification’ and, indeed, in the UK by the work of Wilson, Williams, and Sugarman (1967) of the Farmington Trust, the importance of *teaching* values has been seen to be paramount. Eighty percent of the States in the USA now have mandates regarding the teaching of character education, personal and social education is a requirement for all young people in English schools, the Australian Government has been prominent in its support of values education in all its schools, and ‘emotional literacy’ is now widely seen everywhere as the latest requirement in a curriculum which appears too often to be overly academic and cerebral.

Therefore, there is a range of different, but interconnected kinds of question about the meaning of values education, as well as the effectiveness of different programmes. Philosophical theory is intertwined with empirical investigation. Bewitched by the use of language, we need to understand the distinctions (if these are to be made) within values education between moral, character, social and holistic education, as well as the differences between all those and emotional literacy. Confusion reigns.

This *Handbook*, therefore, meets an urgent need. It brings together a wide range of educational thinkers – some deeply rooted in the wisdom of the past, others expertly involved in specific programmes and practices, and yet others who expound the wider social context of values education – reflected in the present international interest in citizenship education. Its value is enhanced by the international nature of the contributions. The different national contexts of the arguments do not disguise the international nature of the problems. Indeed, they indicate the universality of the issues.

Moreover, this *Handbook* is more than a collection of papers covering a range of topics. There is a distinctive story to be told throughout. That story is precisely that values education, far from being a distinct programme (as so often it has been conceived), embraces throughout the learning experiences of young people the broader view of what it means to develop as a person. Additionally, such development embraces feelings as well as thoughts, dispositions to act as well as knowledge of right actions, a sense of community as well as individual autonomy, social sensitivity as well as individual flourishing. As the editors argue, 'a values approach to learning is seen to be an indispensable artefact to any learning environment if student wellbeing, including academic success, is to be maximized'.

Oxford, UK Richard Pring

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Introduction

Richard Pring

As the following contributions to this book attest and illustrate, 'values education' has assumed an importance in recent years which has spread through many countries. That importance arises from different causes, no doubt, and there are interestingly different interpretations of what 'values education' means. Those meanings overlap however, and it is useful to introduce the following papers by dwelling a little upon the notion that values (howsoever they are interpreted in different social and economic contexts) are intrinsic to those activities which we judge to be educational. Such values too often remain implicit only, unrecognized for what they are, and therefore beyond critical scrutiny. One person's values may not be another's, and therefore, similarly, one person's idea of education or 'the educated person' may not be another's.

These variations cannot be dismissed lightly because they reflect deeper philosophical differences about what it means to be and to develop as a person – and thus of personal 'wellbeing'. The revived interest in values education reflects the welcome recognition of the connection between so-called educational activities and systems, on the one hand, and the implicit conceptions of personal wellbeing, on the other hand. If the arts and humanities are central to the educational enterprise, then, implicitly, these are seen to be crucial to the ultimate wellbeing of the learners. If educational success is measured simply by individual attainment, then, implicitly, wellbeing is conceived without reference to social understanding and commitment. If the transmission of knowledge through lecturing is the dominant pedagogy, then that affects the learner's wellbeing. As Dewey (1903) argued

> The dictation, in theory at least, of the subject-matter to be taught . . . meant nothing more than the deliberate restriction of intelligence, the imprisonment of the spirit. (p. 196)

Therefore, if education is concerned with the development of persons, and such development is conceived in terms of human wellbeing, then the following would seem to be entailed.

First, at the heart of educational thinking, philosophical questions need to be raised about what it means to be a person – and to be one more fully. Jerome Bruner (1966, Chapter 4) argued that the three questions which should shape the social studies of a school were: What is human about man? How did he become so? How can he become more so? Additionally, the pedagogy which was intrinsic to helping

the learners to answer these questions did itself embody the distinctive qualities of thinking, questioning and exploring in a distinctively human way.

Second, therefore, the values which are embodied in our understanding of what it means to be human (and to be so in a more fulfilled way) permeate the pedagogy (whether that be in the teaching of mathematics or of the arts), are reflected in the ways in which moral responsibility and personal integrity are enhanced, and point to the inclusion, in a broader vision of educational aims, of social engagement and citizenship. All this needs, of course, to be argued in detail and that is precisely what the different contributions to this Handbook do in the three part approach to 'wellbeing', namely, through the adoption of appropriate curriculum and pedagogy, the fostering of personal integrity and the promotion of social engagement.

Third, however, all this is an implicit criticism of the equation of values education with specific programmes – as though these broader educational concerns about curriculum and pedagogy, integrity and social engagement, which should permeate the learning experiences of the learners, were of little significance. One must be careful here. Such programmes as the many referred to in this book do have an important place in the development of wellbeing, but they are but contributions and not 'the royal road'. In this respect, one can also identify some high profile contributions, such as Kohlberg's (1976) classroom teaching of moral dilemmas, Rath's (Raths, Harmin, & Simon, 1966; Simon, Kirschenbaum, & Howe, 1972) procedures for 'values clarification', Poteet's (1974) espousal of 'behaviour modification' or Mischel and Mischel's (1976) 'cognitive social-learning approach to morality'. Even these, as prestigious as they are, do not present as sufficient within themselves to ensure wellbeing. They must all be seen in the wider context of the many different elements entailed in personal and communal wellbeing, and thus the many ways in which values are embodied, transferred and developed through the wider curriculum and pedagogy. Recognition of this perspective is what gives significance to the notion pursued in the *Handbook* of a 'new values education'.

What also is significant, and well illustrated in the *Handbook*, is that values education in this broader sense has implications not only for the skills and strategies of teaching but also for the very conception of the teacher. This point is well developed in several of the contributions, but, given the new management-speak which now dominates educational discourse, it can so easily be neglected. That language, imported from what is seen to be a science of successful business management, identifies success with the hitting of 'measurable targets', the effective relationship of 'inputs' to 'outputs' so measured, the establishment of 'performance indicators' whereby schools are judged to be satisfactory, good or failing, the regular 'audits' of those schools in terms of the indicators, the efficiency gains where the same results are obtained for less money, and finally the conception of teachers as the 'deliverers' of the curriculum.

The inappropriateness of such language, the impoverished view of education and the development of wellbeing is well illustrated by a dialogue recorded by Cuban (2004) in *The Blackboard and the Bottom Line*:

> A successful business man, dedicated to improving public schools, told an audience of teachers: 'if I ran my business the way you people operate your schools, I wouldn't be in business very long'. Cross-examined by a teacher, he declared that the success of his blueberry ice cream lay in the meticulous way in which he selected his blueberries, sending back those which did not meet the high quality he insisted upon. To this the teacher replied: 'That's right . . . and we can never send back our blueberries. We take them rich, poor, gifted, exceptional, abused, frightened . . . we take them all. Every one. And that . . . is why it is not a business. It's a school'. (p. 4)

We need to contrast this with the conception of teaching which permeates this *Handbook* and which is intrinsic to the broader understanding of values education and human wellbeing. Unlike blueberries, children cannot (or should not) be dismissed because of particular weaknesses or disabilities or indeed behaviours. Whatever their background and whatever their different talents or lack of them, they have the potential to grow and develop as human beings – 'to become more so', as Bruner (1966) argued. The teacher who recognizes that and who identifies his or her teaching responsibility with the fostering of that humanity and with the enabling of the attainment of wellbeing, does not 'deliver the curriculum' – frequently a prescription of what to do and how to do it, prepared by government or its agencies without any acquaintance with the learners. Rather is the teacher *engaged* with the learner in a dialogue in which the learning needs and interests of the learners (their potential for wellbeing as embodied in their present understandings and concerns) are related to the understandings and expertise of the teacher. The teacher, rooted in what Dewey referred to as 'the accumulated wisdom of the race' mediates that knowledge, understanding and capabilities, which we have inherited, to the currently limited understandings and capabilities of the learners.

Indeed, different metaphors are needed to express this. Michael Oakeshott (1972/1989) speaks of education as an initiation of the next generation into the world of ideas. That world of ideas has evolved through the 'conversation between the generations of mankind', and it is the distinctive role of the teacher to enable young people to enter into that conversation, to come to understand and to appreciate the voice of poetry, the voice of science, the voice of history and the voice of philosophy. In so understanding and appreciating, they gain a wider grasp of human wellbeing and of the means by which it might be attained – especially when one extends that 'conversation between the generations' to the inherited traditions of the craftsman and of practical capabilities. As has been said so often, people are liberated through knowledge, whether theoretical or practical – liberated to engage in more fully human lives. How different does the role of the teacher now appear? In embracing the 'new values education' for their learners, they have to adopt those very values in their own teaching. To teach young people to be socially engaged, then the schools themselves have to embody a form of life which involves social engagement. To encourage young learners to embrace democratic values as an essential part of human fulfilment, those very democratic values need to inform the relationships and decision-making within the school. To facilitate students exploring what it means to be human, and how to become more so, they must be treated humanely – their thoughts and experiences must be taken seriously.

It was in this vein that Kohlberg (Wasserman, 1976) and his team, in seeing that higher stages of moral thinking about matters of justice did not lead significantly to increased just behaviour, concluded that the ethos and context of the school were crucial. Teaching about values did not in itself lead to the embracing of those values. Hence, the importance of the 'just community school' – the school which not only taught but also practised the very virtues and principles which were being taught (Midwinter, 1972). Similarly, Stenhouse (1975) and his team, in developing the highly popular 'Humanities Curriculum Project', in which matters of deep concern to young people (for example, relations between the sexes, social injustice, poverty, misuse of authority) were subject to examination, discussion was central, albeit on the basis of evidence drawn from the sciences, religious studies, history, the arts and other disciplines of knowing and creating. Understanding, distilled through the young persons' own experiences and refined through discussion, was the aim. Values education (reflected in respect for sincerely held views even when wrong or socially unacceptable, in the response to evidence and criticism, and in support for those who felt unable to articulate their feelings and beliefs) was embedded in the very subject matter and method of teaching where, to use Stenhouse's words, the 'teacher shared his or her humanity with the learners'.

The importance of the chapters in this *Handbook* lies in the failure of so many educational initiatives to recognize, and, in not recognizing, to criticize the underlying values and the often impoverished notions of 'wellbeing' in the so-called educational experience to which many young people are subjected. The exploration of 'wellbeing' is frequently shallow – if it occurs at all. The English Government's (DCSF, 2005) White Paper on 14–19 reforms commences by saying that, through education, all young people must be enabled to realize their potential. However, a moment's glance at the daily papers is enough to make one realize that we have as much potential for doing harm as we have for doing good. Such clichés dodge the ethical questions which lie at the heart of education. What sort of experiences, practices and understandings are worthwhile and realize those potentials which enable young people to achieve a distinctively human form of life – and so achieve a sense of wellbeing and fulfilment?

Rarely is this question asked even though it ought to be the starting point of all educational deliberation – and a constant refrain during the educational encounters with young people. The Nuffield Review of 14–19 Education and Training for England and Wales (Pring et al., 2009) – the largest such review in England since the Crowther Report (1959) 50 years ago – began with the question: *What counts as an educated 19 year old in this day and age?*

In answering that question, the Review had to reflect deeply on what it means to develop as a person – on what are the distinctively human qualities which, in different ways and no doubt to different degrees, enable all young people to find fulfilment and to have a sense of wellbeing. In practice, this is so often associated with academic achievement and excellence – a state which only some can reach. Education becomes the reserve of the few. It lies at the heart of the crude distinction between

the ‘academic’ and he ‘vocational’, the latter being the lot of those who lack the ability to engage in the much superior academic form of life. The Review argued however that there is much more to being a human being than academic excellence, itself often very narrowly conceived. Certainly, the acquisition of the concepts and modes of enquiry of the distinctive forms of knowledge and understanding is crucial, for how else can young people be ‘liberated through knowledge’? How else can they have a grasp of the physical, social and moral worlds they inhabit? Moreover, however, practical intelligence is also crucial – that practical capability which is at the heart of doing, making and creating. ‘Knowing how’ cannot be reduced to ‘knowing that’. Again, even this is not enough. Theoretical knowledge and practical capability are hardly sufficient. They need to be directed by the appropriate dispositions and moral judgement, and those need to be learned from the norms inherent within the social practices of family, school and society and from instruction, example and correction. ‘Moral seriousness’, through which young people address the major issues which confront society (environmental sustainability, career choices, relationships, racism, etc.) and acquire personal integrity, is part of the sense of wellbeing – an intrinsic component of the ‘new values education’, as conceived within this *Handbook*. Furthermore, as is argued in the book, these reflections on what it means to grow as a person cannot discount the essentially social nature of personhood – both the dependence upon the wider community for the quality of life and the importance of contributing to the development of that community. Social engagement, encapsulated in the many recent attempts to incorporate citizenship in the learning experiences of all young people, is an essential ingredient in the ‘wellbeing’ which defines the aims and values of education.

At the same time, seeking such wellbeing as the main aim of education is not easy. There are many forces militating against it.

First, the high-stakes testing regimes, which scourge so many educational systems, prioritize that which is easily measurable, leaving little room for the struggle to understand, the practical capabilities, the moral seriousness and the social engagement. ‘Wellbeing’ is not easy to measure! Targets dominate.

Second, social engagement is seen as risky. When the pupils of Liverpool interpreted social engagement as community projects aimed at making their environment a more civilized place to live in, their actions were perceived as threatening; politics was asserted to be something to be studied, not to be learned through practical engagement.

Third, this broader moral understanding of education and teaching is implicitly negated by the impoverished language of business management through which education is seen as a means to some further end – captured in specific targets and performance indicators, and their efficient delivery by teachers.

That is why bringing together so many chapters that tell a different story is so important. There needs to be a constant effort to illustrate and demonstrate a broader understanding of education than is commonly promoted, including the values which define it and the understanding of personal and communal wellbeing which underpins it.

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Part I
Values Education: Wellbeing, Curriculum, and Pedagogy

Introduction

Since the mid-1990s, there has been a concentration of effort aimed at maximizing student achievement in school education. In 1994, a Carnegie Corporation Taskforce on Student Achievement drew on new research in the neurosciences to show that effective learning requires a response that is as much about affect and social dynamics as about cognition. In so doing, it re-defined the notion of learning to include matters of communicative competence, empathic character, self-reflection, and self-knowing as being as central to intellectual development as the recall of facts and figures. In effect, Carnegie pre-figured the new values education agenda by illustrating that effective learning is inherently values-filled. The new values education agenda differs from the old in that the latter was largely regarded as a moral imperative, whereas the new values education agenda is increasingly seen as a pedagogical imperative that incorporates the moral, but also the social, emotional, physical, spiritual, and intellectual aspects of human development. Herein, a values approach to learning is seen to be an indispensable artifact to any learning environment if student wellbeing, including academic success, is to be maximized. The innovative and possibly revolutionary thought contained in this proposition is that, in a sense, academic success becomes a by-product of a 'whole-person' approach to learning, instead of being the linear focus in learning that Carnegie implied had led too often to failure.

In the intervening years, a number of learning paradigms, incorporating research and practice, has attempted to address the challenge provided by these new insights. These have varied in their particular emphasis, but have been united by the belief that learning is holistic and that the maximum effect can only be achieved through a more comprehensive pedagogy than has been characteristic of school education in the past. These paradigms go variously by the titles of authentic pedagogy, quality teaching, service learning, and values education, to name a few. The handbook draws on all such paradigms, but will argue that all of them can be subsumed in effective and complete values education curriculum and pedagogy.

Increasingly, research findings have demonstrated the effects foreshadowed of values education on all matters pertaining to student wellbeing, including academic success. Granted the centrality of values education to the broader goals of schooling,

therefore, this research handbook is unique in drawing together these findings from a range of international research from eminent and highly experienced academics, together with a sample of important emerging scholars, all aimed at demonstrating the effects of a well-hewn values education approach to learning on student wellbeing across the range of measures. In this section, we explore the relationship, increasingly seen as a nexus, between values education and good practice curriculum and pedagogy.

Chapter 1
The New Values Education: A Pedagogical Imperative for Student Wellbeing

Terence Lovat

Introduction

Values education is known internationally by a number of names, including moral education, character education and ethics education. Each variant has a slightly different meaning, pointing to one or other distinctive emphasis. Overriding these differences, however, is a common theme born of a growing belief that entering into the world of personal and societal values is a legitimate and increasingly important role for teachers and schools to play. This is not an attempt to supplant the influences of the home but rather to supplement them and, where necessary, to compensate for them. International research into teaching and schooling effects is overturning earlier beliefs that values were exclusively the preserve of families and religious bodies and that, as a result, schools function best in values-neutral mode. This research is pointing out not only the hollowness of such a belief but the potential for it to lead to diminished effects in all realms of student achievement, including academic attainment. In fact, it could be asserted that, in a sense, teaching and schooling that function in values-neutral mode actually serve to undermine the potential effects of other socialising agencies, including families.

The Values Debate in Australia

Since the early 1990s, each state and territory education system in Australia has been actively promoting its system and teachers as inculcators of the essential values that define being Australian and being a global citizen. The Australian government captured this movement well, and put its own seal on it, in its 'Civics Expert Group' report in 1994 (cf. DEETYA, 1994). Be it under the aegis of civics, citizenship or plain values education, it is now commonly accepted that an essential component

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of public education's responsibilities is to be found in the work of inculcating values in its students. In short, public education is now defined as a comprehensive educator, not just chartered around cognitive and practical skills but as an inculcator of personal morality and cohesive citizenry. Furthermore, curricula related to civics, citizenship and values education have been designed and trialled in a variety of forms, both free-standing and integrated into mainstream syllabuses. The above state of affairs has not been without its critics both from within and beyond the realm of public education. Criticism has come in different forms. One criticism comes from the belief that public schooling was designed essentially as a haven of values-neutrality. Another comes from scepticism about the capacity of any school to manage, and have impact in, an area that is commonly seen as being totally subjective and therefore un-testable. These are both common criticisms that need to be challenged on theoretical and empirical grounds.

In terms of the appropriateness of public schooling dealing explicitly with a values agenda, some revision of public schooling history is necessary to challenge the dominant mythology that public schools were established on the grounds of values-neutrality. In fact, those responsible for the foundations of public education in Australia were sufficiently pragmatic to know that its success relied on its charter being in accord with public sentiment. Part of the pragmatism was in convincing those whose main experience of education had been through some form of church-based education that state-based education was capable of meeting the same ends.

Hence, the documents of the 1870s and 1880s that contained the charters of the various state and territory systems witness to a breadth of vision about the scope of education. Beyond the standard goals of literacy and numeracy, education was said to be capable of assuring personal morality for each individual and a suitable citizenry for the soon-to-be new nation. As an instance, the New South Wales Public Instruction Act of 1880 (cf. NSW, 1912), under the rubric of 'religious teaching', stressed the need for students to be inculcated into the values of their society, including understanding the role that religious values had played in forming that society's legal codes and social ethics. The notion, therefore, that public education is part of a deep and ancient heritage around values-neutrality is mistaken and in need of serious revision. The evidence suggests that public education's initial conception was of being the complete educator, not only of young people's minds, but of their inner character as well.

If the move to values-neutrality in public education was an aberration, then the efforts of the 1990s and early 2000s could be regarded as a corrective. Responding both to community pressure and the realisation that values-neutrality is an inappropriate ethic for any agency of formation, every Australian State and Territory has re-stated the original view that public education's charter includes responsibility for personal integrity and social justice. This movement has been evident not only in government reports but also in academic and professional literature. As an instance, the 2002 Yearbook of the professional body of teachers, the Australian College of Educators, was devoted to values education (cf. Pascoe, 2002). Furthermore, the

Australian Government report, *Values Education Study* (DEST, 2003), represented another important step in overcoming old and entrenched attitudes around the issue.

Values Education Study

In 2003, the Australian Government initiated a small-scale study, titled *Values Education Study* (DEST, 2003). The Report's Executive Summary re-stated the positions of the nineteenth-century charters of public education in asserting that values education '. . . refers to any explicit and/or implicit school-based activity to promote student understanding and knowledge of values . . . (and) . . . to inculcate the skills and dispositions of students so they can enact particular values as individuals and as members of the wider community' (DEST, 2003, p. 2). The Study consisted of 50 funded projects designed in part to serve as the case study data for the report. While these projects differed markedly from each other and functioned across all systems of education, most of them had in common a focus on practical behaviour change as an outcome. The report stated that, for the most part, ' . . . the 50 final projects (which involved 69 schools) were underpinned by a clear focus on building more positive relationships within the school as a central consideration for implementing values education on a broader scale' (DEST, 2003, p. 3).

The Government report was initially endorsed by the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA), a group that represents all State and Territory Education ministers in association with the Federal Minister. At the meeting that endorsed its terms of reference, MCEETYA noted the following:

- that education is as much about building character as it is about equipping students with specific skills;
- that values-based education can strengthen students' self-esteem, optimism and commitment to personal fulfilment; and help students exercise ethical judgment and social responsibility; and
- that parents expect schools to help students understand and develop personal and social responsibilities. (DEST, 2003, p. 10)

With the 2003 report, the aberration of values-neutrality in public education was finally put to rest in complete fashion at the highest and most representative levels of Australian education. Appropriately, the report did not differentiate between public, private and religious systems of schooling, nor did the case study analyses find any substantial difference in the directionality or outcomes of the projects that operated across these systems. On the basis of this evidence at least, public and private education systems were as one in their charter around values education and in their capacity to implement it.

The preamble to the draft principles which were developed as a result of the study stated explicitly that '. . . schools are not value-free or value-neutral zones of social and educational engagement' (DEST, 2003, p. 12). Among the draft principles was one that spoke of values education as part of the explicit charter of schooling, rather than in any way incidental to its goals. It also made it clear that it is not designed merely as an intellectual exercise, but is aimed at changing behaviour by promoting care, respect and cooperation. Another principle spoke of the need for values education to be managed through a '. . . developmentally appropriate curriculum that meets the individual needs of students" (DEST, 2003, p. 12), while yet another addressed the need for ". . . clearly defined and achievable outcomes. . . (being) evidence-based and . . . (using) evaluation to monitor outcomes' (DEST, 2003, p. 13). The first principle identified above clearly re-established the charter for values education as part and parcel of all education.

With the guidance of these principles, the fullness of the potential positive effects of values education became evident for the first time. The language of the report extended traditional conceptions of values education as being marginal to conceptions of it as mainstream and impacting on all developmental measures. Teacher testimony spoke of values education as impacting on a comprehensive array of factors, insights and behaviours, including: student welfare; social justice; community service; human rights; intercultural awareness; environmental sustainability; mutual respect; cohesion and peace; social, emotional and behavioural wellbeing; building communities; student self-discipline; student resilience; pedagogical strength; improved outcomes; student engagement; 'doing well' at school; student self-management; and, building a learning community (Lovat, 2009). The modern agenda of values education as a means of instilling comprehensive forms of student wellbeing was opened up by the tenor of the report, a tenor that was then built on in the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools*.

The National Framework

In the 2004 Federal Budget, $A 29.7 million dollars was allocated to build and develop a national values education programme, guided by the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* (DEST, 2005). The National Framework has driven a number of important projects related to best practice in schools, teacher education, parents and other stakeholders and resources. The largest project, the *Values Education Good Practice Schools Project* (VEGPSP), impacted on 316 Australian schools in 51 clusters. The schools were drawn from all sectors across all States and Territories, with many of the clusters consisting of schools from across the sectors of public, private and religious. Throughout its two stages, VEGPSP involved over 100,000 school students and over 10,000 teachers. At its core were the 51 Cluster Leaders (senior teachers) and their University Associates (academic mentors). Between these two functions, the research and practice nexus of the project was assured.

While cluster projects varied, they were all guided by the conceptual basis of the National Framework, as well as its guiding principles and core values. The guiding principles were explicitly connected with the charter for schooling explicated by Federal, State and Territory Ministers in the *National Goals for Schooling in the Twenty First Century* (MCEETYA, 1999), the so called 'Adelaide Declaration'. The Adelaide Declaration represented a marked shift in educational philosophy as it had progressed in the later part of the twentieth century. In contrast with the instrumentalist and reductionist tendencies of much educational research of the second half of the twentieth century and a range of late twentieth-century reports that had tended to narrow the goals of schooling around job and career preparation, with similarly narrow perspectives on the kinds of competencies and outcomes required of effective learning, the Adelaide Declaration recovered many of the far richer vision of the nineteenth-century educational foundation charters referred to above, including being explicit about the comprehensive role for schools in matters of citizenship and the specific role of values formation as a core function of effective schooling. The Declaration also showed sensitivity to contemporary concerns around human development in specifying that '. . . schooling provides a foundation for young Australians' intellectual, physical, social, moral, spiritual and aesthetic development' (MCEETYA, 1999).

The Framework then built on the broad perspectives offered by the Adelaide Declaration in making the specific link with values education as a means of facilitating its lofty and comprehensive goals for schooling. It spoke of values-based education as a way of addressing some of the social, emotional, moral, spiritual and aesthetic developmental issues that schooling tends to neglect. Specifically, it stated that such education has potential to strengthen students' optimism, self-esteem, sense of personal fulfilment, ethical judgment and social responsibility. Furthermore, it asserted that values education is essential to effective schooling, integral to all key learning areas, crucial to wellbeing and reflective of good practice pedagogy. The Framework rationale made explicit reference to the language of quality teaching as both supporting and being enhanced by values education. Herein, was the vital link with quality teaching, the 'double helix effect' (Lovat & Toomey, 2009), that sees the resultant learning implied in quality teaching (intellectual depth, communicative competence, empathic character, self-reflection) more readily and easily achieved in the learning ambience created by values education.

The Nexus of Values Education and Quality Teaching

Since the early 1990s, there has been a concentration of effort aimed at maximising student achievement in school education and rectifying the debilitating effects of failure. In 1994, a Carnegie Corporation Taskforce on Student Achievement (Carnegie Corporation, 1996) drew on new research in a variety of fields, including the emerging 'new neurosciences' (Bruer, 1999) to refute the narrow assumptions and findings of conventional educational research and to assert that effective

learning requires a response that is as much about affect and social dynamics as about cognition. In so doing, it re-defined learning to incorporate into the notion of 'intellectual depth' matters of communicative competence, empathic character and self-reflection as being at least as significant to learning as the indisputably important technical skills of recall, description, analysis and synthesis. Carnegie represented a watershed moment that, in many respects, marked the true beginnings of the quality teaching movement.

Additionally, Carnegie pre-figured the new values education agenda by illustrating that effective learning is inherently values-filled. The new values education agenda differs from the old in that the latter was largely regarded as a moral imperative, and hence negotiable and subject to ideological debate, whereas the new agenda is increasingly seen as a pedagogical imperative that incorporates the moral, but also the social, emotional, physical, spiritual and intellectual aspects of human development. Herein, a values approach to learning is seen to be an indispensable artefact to any learning environment if student wellbeing, including academic success, is to be maximised. As such, it is neither negotiable nor dependent on personal or corporate ideology. The innovative and possibly revolutionary thought contained in this proposition is that, in a sense, academic success becomes a by-product of a 'whole-person' approach to learning, instead of being the linear focus in learning that Carnegie implied had led too often to failure.

Fred Newmann (Newmann & Associates, 1996) is similarly regarded as an architect of modern quality teaching but could also be seen as one who, wittingly or unwittingly, has contributed to the notion of there being a nexus between such teaching and values education. Newmann's work centred on identifying the 'pedagogical dynamics' required for quality teaching. These dynamics range from the instrumental (e.g., sound technique, updated professional development) to the more aesthetic and values-filled. For instance, 'catering for diversity' is quite beyond more conventional notions of addressing individual differences. When unpacked, Newmann is speaking of the centrality to effective teaching of a respectful, insightful relationship between the teacher and the student, one that ensures that the student feels accepted, understood, encouraged and valued. Similarly, Newmann's concept of 'school coherence' as the school that is committed holistically and unswervingly to the good of the student is a values-rich concept that connotes dedication, responsibility, generosity and integrity on the part of teachers, principals and stakeholders. It is a dimension of quality teaching that is effectively about the mission of the school to be there for student wellbeing above all its other imperatives. Above all, Newmann's notion of 'trustful, supportive ambience' is about the ethics and aesthetics of the relationships that surround the student, most centrally the relationship with the teacher(s). It is one of the less instrumentalist and less easily measurable features of quality teaching that, Newmann suggests, is so indispensable to the more instrumentalist and easily measurable that it will render these latter mute and futile ventures if it is not attended to. These are the dimensions of quality teaching that are too often neglected by stakeholders who insist that the answer to student success lies in more linear instruction, more persistent testing and teachers who are content-driven rather than people-driven.

Pedagogical Dynamics and the Neurosciences

Newmann's work coincided with the work of Carnegie that, as illustrated, had drawn on new research in the emerging 'new neurosciences' to show that effective learning requires a response that is as much about affect and social dynamics as about cognition. The evidence emanating from the new neurosciences on which Carnegie drew has been sharpened in the work of Antonio Damasio (2003; Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007). Damasio's main interest is in the *neurobiology* of the *mind*, especially concerning those neural systems that underpin reason, memory, emotion and social interaction. His work is associated with the notion of the cognition/affect/sociality nexus, a way of conceiving of emotion and feelings as not being separate so much as inherently part of all rational processes:

> Modern biology reveals humans to be fundamentally emotional and social creatures. And yet those of us in the field of education often fail to consider that the high-level cognitive skills taught in schools, including reasoning, decision making, and processes related to language, reading, and mathematics, do not function as rational, disembodied systems, somehow influenced by but detached from emotion and the body. (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007, p. 3)

The scientific rigour of Damasio's experimental work, together with the strength of his findings and those of others (Rose & Strangman, 2007), is causing educationists to re-think many of their assumptions about a range of developmental issues, including that of learning itself. The taxonomic notion that cognitive learning outcomes can somehow be separated from affective or social ones comes to be seen as nonsense. The idea that literacy training can be achieved through mastery instruction and testing, without reference to the physical, emotional and social ambience within which the learning is occurring, nor moreover to the levels of confidence and self-esteem of the learner, appears to be naïve in the extreme. Above all, Damasio's work points to the need for new pedagogy that engages the whole person rather than just the cognitive person, in its narrowest sense.

Similarly, the work of Daniel Goleman (1996, 2001, 2006) is associated with notions of social and emotional intelligence, and hence social and emotional learning (SEL). Goleman has demonstrated in his work that social intelligence (SQ) and emotional intelligence (EQ) are at least as vital to sound cognition as the more familiar notion of IQ (intelligence quotient). The implication is that IQ, a notion that has been prominent in teaching, is not fixed, free-standing and determinative of student achievement as an isolated factor. It is rather highly contextualised and dependent on other factors about one's current state of wellbeing of body, mind and social being. As such, the effects normally associated with IQ can be impacted on by well-informed, well-constructed pedagogy that is designed to engage the whole person.

In like manner, Robert Sternberg (2007) was not only critical of the traditional IQ test, but actually devised a more sophisticated intelligence test based on his broader theory of intelligences. Sternberg sees cognition as part of a broader mix of human factors, involving the analytic, synthetic and practical, implying a fuller range of human capabilities than is understood by the more limited and rationalistic notions

of intelligence. These research findings illustrate why it is that attending to matters such as trust, care and encouraging relationships in schools can have such positive impact on learning in general (Bryk & Schneider, 1996, 2002; Rowe, 2004). Furthermore, there is now a vast store of evidence from values education research that the establishment of a positive, caring and encouraging ambience of learning, together with explicit discourse about values in ways that draw on students' deeper learning and reflectivity, has power to transform the patterns of feelings, behaviour, resilience and academic diligence that might once have been the norm among students (cf. Benninga, Berkowitz, Kuehn, & Smith, 2006; Hawkes, 2009; Lovat, 2007; Lovat & Toomey, 2007, 2009; Lovat & Clement, 2008, 2008a, 2008b). Much of this evidence has been captured in the research and practice of the projects emanating from the Australian National Framework cited above. Central among these projects is the *Values Education Good Practice Schools Project* (VEGPSP).

Values Education Good Practice Schools Project

The Australian Government's *Values Education Good Practice Schools Project* (VEGPSP) has provided the opportunity for the theses and related evidence outlined above to be tested in multiple settings and using an array of values education criteria. The VEGPSP Stage 1 and 2 Final Reports (DEST, 2006; DEEWR, 2008) offered ample evidence that a well-constructed values education has potential for profound effect on the whole educational system, affecting such variables as school ethos, teacher practice, classroom climate, student attitudes and behaviours, parental and community connections, as well as student attention to academic work.

Much of the language of the testimony provided by teachers and university associates in the reports captures well the intersection between matters relating to enhanced academic attainment and the depth of thinking, affirmative classroom climate and positive relationships implied in the nexus between quality teaching and values education. The Stage 1 Report (DEST, 2006) speaks richly of an array of learning features that were enhanced by the various values education projects. These features included: quality teaching and pedagogy; holism in the approach to student development; quality relationships at all levels; values being both modelled and enunciated in the curriculum; enhanced intellectual depth in both teacher and student understanding; greater levels of student engagement in the mainstream curriculum; student willingness to become more involved in complex thinking across the curriculum; increased pedagogical approaches that match those espoused by quality teaching; greater student responsibility over local, national and international issues; greater student resilience and social skills; improved relationships of care and trust; measurable decline in the incidence of inappropriate behaviour; greater student awareness of the need to be tolerant of others, to accept responsibility for their own actions and their ability to communicate; improved students' sense of belonging, connectedness, resilience and sense of self; reflective change in the participant teachers and schools; provision of the opportunity to explore from within and reflect

on identity and purpose; changed approaches to curriculum and pedagogy; enhanced students' ability to articulate feelings and emotions; impelling the emotional development of the students; evident transference in all aspects of classroom teaching and in the students' ability to deal with conflict in the playground; calmer and more cohesive classroom atmosphere; creation of a comfort zone for discussing emotions; improved levels of happiness for staff and students; developed higher order thinking skills; impelled restorative pedagogical practices; changed the ways teachers related with students; improved engagement and commitment of pupils, teachers and parents; valuing the need to create interpersonal intimacy and trust in the classroom; the 'ripple' or 'trickle-down' effect that values education had across the school.

Beyond these general sentiments, substantial testimony included the following:

> . . . the documented behaviour of students has improved significantly, evidenced in vastly reduced incidents and discipline reports and suspensions. The school is . . . a 'much better place to be'. Children are 'well behaved', demonstrate improved self-control, relate better to each other and, most significantly, share with teachers a common language of expectations of values. Other evidence of this change in the social environment of the school is the significant rise in parental satisfaction. (p. 41)

> The way that most teachers model behaviour to the students has changed. The way many teachers speak to students has changed. It is now commonplace for teachers to speak to students in values terms, . . . for example, if a child has hurt another child, we would bring to the child's attention the values of 'Respect', 'Care' and 'Compassion' as well as 'Responsibility' for our actions . . . As a staff we realise the importance of modelling good behaviour and the values are the basis for this. (p. 75)

> Everyone in the classroom exchange, teachers and students alike, became more conscious of trying to be respectful, trying to do their best, and trying to give others a fair go. We also found that by creating an environment where these values were constantly shaping classroom activity, student learning was improving, teachers and students were happier, and school was calmer. (p. 120)

> . . . has provided many benefits to the students as far as a coordinated curriculum and learning experiences that have offered a sense of belonging, connectedness, resilience and a sense of self. However, there has been none more significant than the reflective change that has occurred in the participant teachers and schools. (p. 185)

Similarly, the Stage 2 Report (DEEWR, 2008) uncovered the vital link between a values approach to pedagogy and the ambience it created with the holistic effects of this approach on student behaviour and performance. In Stage 2, a number of features of the broad values approach were clarified. These included the role of the teacher being seen to be even more central than had previously been recognised, the explicitness of the pedagogy around values being seen to be determinative, and the role of an experiential or 'service learning' component coming to be seen as a particularly powerful agency in values pedagogy. The following quotes are indicative of these features:

> We observed that those teachers whose classrooms were characterised by an inclusive culture of caring and respect and where character development played an important and quite often explicit role in the daily learning of students were those same teachers who also demonstrated a high level of personal development, self-awareness of, and commitment to their own values and beliefs. (p. 39)

> It was . . . observed (within the school) that where teachers were seeing the importance of establishing relationships and of respecting their students – this was reflected in the behaviour of their students . . . Where teachers are embracing values education as something that is important and to be embedded in practice – their pedagogy is enhanced. (pp. 81–82)

> The principle of explicitness applies more broadly and pervasively than has been previously recognised . . . values-based schools live and breathe a values consciousness. They become schools where values are thought about, talked about, taught about, reflected upon and enacted across the whole school in all school activities. (p. 37)

> Uniformly, teachers report that doing something with and for the community increases the students' engagement in their learning. This resonates with an interesting but relatively new proposition in education: when students have opportunities to give to their community, to something beyond themselves, it changes their attitude to the learning tasks. (p. 41)

The evidence from VEGPSP suggests that values education has the power to produce changes in classroom ambience and to effect positive influence on school culture more generally. Values education offered a licence for engagement in dialogue around values and ultimately for a common language to develop between staff and students by which improved relationships, behaviour and the addressing of difficult issues could be brokered. The 'ripple' effect of values education, mentioned above, was observed across sectors, and served as a catalyst for a positive change in the demeanour of the whole school, especially cohering around factors concerned with teacher–student relationships, teacher and student wellbeing and student attention to academic responsibilities. Consistent with Newmann's thesis that the key to effective teaching was in the ambience of learning, it seemed apparent that it was in the creation of an environment where the explicated values were shaping behaviour that student learning began to improve. A quote that captured much of the comprehensiveness of the findings, and also pointed to the next logical stage of investigation is in the following:

> . . . focused classroom activity, calmer classrooms with students going about their work purposefully, and more respectful behaviour between students. Teachers and students also reported improved relationships between the two groups. Other reports included improved student attendance, fewer reportable behaviour incidents and the observation that students appeared happier. (DEEWR 2008, p. 27)

Thus, the VEGPSP Stage 1 and 2 Reports illustrate the dynamics of the reciprocal interaction between values education and quality teaching. Courtesy of their evidence, we have ample demonstration that a well-constructed, clear and intentional values education programme being integrated into the fabric of the school has the potential to bring transformational changes in the ethos of the school and the learning environment of the classroom, extending to student and teacher behaviour, beneficial effects on student motivation to learn and more than a hint of improved academic achievement.

As illustrated in the quote above, by the time the Stage 2 Report was compiled, there was a growing indication that the vast array of anecdotal data and teacher testimony were testable in some way. This led directly to the *Project to Test and Measure the Impact of Values Education on Student Effects and School Ambience*.

Testing and Measuring the Impact of Values Education

As asserted above, the thesis about the inextricable link between values education and quality teaching, as well as the particularly beneficial effects of a service learning component as part of this mix, has been the subject of much anecdotal evidence and strong teacher assertion in the two stages of VEGPSP (DEST, 2006; DEEWR, 2008). Across the 3 years in which the project rolled out, the nature of the evidence was shifting from being purely qualitative to having a quantitative edge, albeit lacking formal instrumentation and measurement. These latter were brought to bear in the *Project to Test and Measure the Impact of Values Education on Student Effects and School Ambience* (Lovat, Toomey, Dally, & Clement, 2009). In this study, there was interest in all of the claims being made around student effects, with a dedicated focus on arguably the most contentious set of claims, namely those around student academic improvement. Granted the high stakes around this claim, the study was characterised by intensive quantitative as well as qualitative methods of analysis. In the end, the authors believed there was sufficient tested evidence to support the claim that a well-crafted values education programme, functioning as best practice pedagogy and therefore following the criteria of quality teaching and eliciting the goals implied by service learning, has potential to impact on a range of measures normally associated in other research programmes with student achievement and effective schooling. These measures included, in turn, school ambience, student–teacher relationships, student and teacher wellbeing and student academic diligence.

Concerning the matter of school ambience, evidence was elicited from students, teachers and parents that spoke of a '... "calmer" environment with less conflict and with a reduction in the number of referrals to the planning room' (Lovat et al., 2009, p. 8). Of student–teacher relationships, there was evidence of a '... rise in levels of politeness and courtesy, open friendliness, better manners, offers of help, and students being more kind and considerate ... the main impact of values education on student-teacher relationships appeared to be a greater understanding of each other's perspective or at least to have a greater respect for each other's position' (p. 9). About student wellbeing, the report provided evidence of '... the creation of a safer and more caring school community, a greater self-awareness, a greater capacity for self-appraisal, self-regulation and enhanced self-esteem' (p. 10). Arguably, the most surprising and unexpected evidence was that concerned with the factor of student academic diligence. Here, the report spoke at length about students '... putting greater effort into their work and "striving for quality", "striving to achieve their best" and even "striving for perfection". The aspect of students' taking greater pride in their work and producing quality outcomes for their own pleasure was also mentioned by both teachers and parents' (p. 6). The report continues:

> Thus, there was substantial quantitative and qualitative evidence suggesting that there were observable and measurable improvements in students' academic diligence, including increased attentiveness, a greater capacity to work independently as well as more cooperatively, greater care and effort being invested in schoolwork and students assuming more responsibility for their own learning as well as classroom 'chores'. (Lovat et al., 2009, p. 6)

The mainly quantitative data that underpin the claims above were supplemented in the study by a number of case studies drawn from schools, primary and high schools, from across the country and across the sectors. In summarising the effects of values education noted among the case studies, the report says:

> Overwhelmingly, the strongest inference that can be drawn from the case studies, when taken together as a collective case study, is that as schools give increasing curriculum and teaching emphasis to values education, students become more academically diligent, the school assumes a calmer, more peaceful ambience, better student-teacher relationships are forged, student and teacher wellbeing improves and parents are more engaged with the school . . . Moreover, the case studies suggest that any relationship between values education programs and the quality of student attitude, parent involvement, interpersonal relations and the like is much more complicated than simply being the case that values education in and of itself produces such quality teaching effects. Rather, it seems clear that the fit between values education and quality teaching is better described not as one having an impact on the other, but rather as the two of them being in harmony. That is, values education, academic diligence, school ambience and coherence, student and teacher wellbeing, the quality of interpersonal relationships and, up to a point, parental participation harmonize in some way. The closer the attention a school gives to explicitly teaching a set of agreed values, the more the students seem to comply with their school work demands, the more conducive and coherent a place the school becomes and the better the staff and students feel. (Lovat et al., 2009, p. 12)

The Educational Troika and Their Commonalities

Increasingly, the Australian work cited above has led to a coalescence of the educational research and practice traditions normally described as values education and quality teaching, in the first instance, and then of these two in association with service learning as a further development of thought. When dealing with the coalition of the former two, the analogy that was coined was of a ‘double helix’ (Lovat & Toomey, 2007, 2009). By this representation, the notion of two dimensions working interdependently to achieve a common aim was promoted. In effect, values education both relies on and enhances quality teaching and the reverse is the case as well. The convergence of neuroscientific research, the categories of learning and pedagogy promoted by Carnegie and Newmann, together with the concerted and accumulated findings of VEGPSP, seemed to lead inescapably to the conclusion that we were dealing with a double helix effect. Moreover, as the research and practice tradition associated with service learning was drawn into the mix, the effects connoted by the ‘double helix’ seemed to be strengthened, especially as they became apparent in Stage 2 of VEGPSP. This led to the coining of another analogy, the ‘troika’ (the masterful Russian snow cart pulled by three horses whose reputation as an effective load-carrying device became a legend), in an attempt to capture the notion of three research and practice traditions converging around a common goal and common effects and, as a convergence, enhancing the effects normally associated with any of the three traditions on their own (Lovat et al., 2009a).

While quality teaching and values education, including service learning, differ in some respects, with each having its own key researchers, practice sites and ardent followers, this troika of traditions has in common some vital characteristics that differentiate them as new paradigms of learning. For a start, the traditions have in common a central belief in the power of pedagogy to make the difference in enhancing student participation and learning. As such, they stand in marked contrast to those many pessimistic, late twentieth-century psychosocial accounts of human development and socialisation that, so Carnegie (1996) had implied, left schools and teachers feeling overwhelmed with forces beyond their control. In each research and teaching regime of the troika, one can find practice impelled by belief that change is possible. Pedagogy can be transformative and can be demonstrated through good practice-based research to be so. Regardless of the barriers to easy learning implied by heritage, disadvantage and disability, barriers that are undeniably instrumental and real, nonetheless, there is evidence that, with the right sort of pedagogy, these barriers can be weakened and even overcome. The insights gained from the projects of the Australian Values Education programme, among others, have provided this evidence.

Second, each of the research and teaching regimes of the troika can be seen to be a genuine product of our own age, with its own challenges and prospects. Unlike the many deterministic psychosocial perspectives that arose in another time and, yet, are often imposed on contemporary educational thought, the troika of values education, quality teaching and service learning has emerged from late twentieth to twenty-first-century insights, challenges and concerns. At the risk of over-simplification, quality teaching emerged from disenchantment with the impact that schools, however well-resourced, were having on real issues of access and equity around learning opportunities. The new impulsion around values education has resulted from the failure of society's agencies generally, including often the family, to provide for the modelling of and training in matters of personal integrity, social development, self-reflection, moral and spiritual awareness, and hence their catalyst value as motivators for education and wellbeing. Service learning has grown out of the other components of the troika as a particular form of quality teaching in a values environment by concentrating on matters of social outreach and social justice education, training and reflection for healthy citizenship. Unlike the foundations of old that seemed to provide answers to questions that no-one was necessarily asking, the content of the troika tends immediately to engage the interest of anyone who knows what the challenges of the world, including of classroom-based learning, are. These challenges are very much about access and equity and how to deal with and effect fair appraisals of achievement and failure. They are about matters of personal integrity and social development in the forms of student self-esteem and behaviour. They are about conscientising students to see that they are part of a wider world in which they should eventually find a place as caring and contributing citizens. The content, focus and research and practice insights of the troika 'ring bells' with anyone interested in the business of school teaching.

Third, the insights of the research and teaching regimes of the troika do not come as a surprise to those who understand what they represent. Many of the findings

of quality teaching, values education and service learning seem to surprise, if not be incredulous to, those steeped in the old foundations. Surely, it is not possible that chestnut barriers to learning can be overcome with sound and balanced pedagogy? Surely, the relationship between teachers and students, and the nature of the discourse between them, cannot be powerful enough to resolve those issues of behaviour management and student resistance that teachers have battled with since the dawn of history? Surely, moving students out into their communities in ways that expand their horizons, build their self-esteem and provide them with a sense of service to that community cannot transform schools in the ways claimed?

After all, how many hours and dollars of research have gone into confirming that the chestnut barriers of heritage, disadvantage and disability cannot be effectively addressed by schools and so, in effect, schools are there primarily for those who will achieve anyway? How much research has confirmed that issues of behaviour management and student resistance are intractable, again largely because of the chestnut barriers to learning? How much research has suggested that the only possible way forward in enhancing student achievement is to stop all the extra-curricular activities and limit the role of the school and teaching to attending to basic literacies and their testing? If one's foundational creeds about teaching and schooling are around these beliefs, then one will be genuinely surprised by the findings of the troika. On the other hand, if one comes to an understanding of the human person as a being with multiple and intersecting needs, with emotion and affective awareness being as central to cognition as reason in its classical sense, and that therefore the most effective pedagogy will be founded on the emotion formed around the relationship with and modelling from the teacher, rather than on the teacher's instrumentalist technique alone, then the findings of the troika come as no surprise. On the contrary, they make perfect sense.

Conclusion

Many of the assumptions around good practice pedagogy are being reassessed in our own time and, in the process, are being sharpened in their focus. Under the weight of a combination of forces, many of the older paradigms of learning are being seen to be wanting. These forces include new neuroscientific evidence that renders many of the dominant twentieth-century developmental theories and allied pedagogical practices inadequate to the task of learning in the twenty-first century. They include also the evidence brought forward by the Carnegie Task Force that access and equity had been poorly served by these theories and practices and that schools and educational systems, rather than heredity and disadvantage, had to accept much of the blame for student failure. They include research around effective pedagogy that has shown how much more holistic an enterprise it is than can be conveyed merely by concern for content and technique. Allied to this is the force that is the main subject of this Handbook, namely volumes of research and empirical evidence from across the globe that points to the inextricability of values as being at the heart of that good

practice pedagogy that serves the comprehensive agenda implied by the notion of student wellbeing. In this Handbook, we will explore and uncover those volumes of research and empirical evidence from across the globe.

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Chapter 2
Values Education, Instructional Scaffolding and Student Wellbeing

Ron Toomey

Introduction

This chapter provides some insight into practices at both the school and classroom levels associated with the 'new values education' and the associated notion of a student wellbeing pedagogy that was referred to in Chapter 1. It elaborates for the reader the novel conception of values education as a 'student wellbeing pedagogy' that was outlined in that chapter by referring to a case study of one of the Australian 'values schools' that has been heavily involved in the Australian government's recent values education initiatives.

At the case study school the explicit teaching of values was scaffolded by a well-crafted student-centred teacher-guided learning and teaching programme called Student Action Teams (SATs) together with a related service learning programme. The case study is used to illustrate how such a scaffold for the values education programme, including its Service Learning dimension, constituted a pedagogy where effective teaching and learning were enhanced by:

- A common language and an agreed set of expectations about interpersonal relations that gradually form the explicit teaching of the school's core values,
- the positive human relationships that are forged between teachers and students though their engagement with the values education programme,
- the modelling of positive values by teachers to students,
- by the explicit transaction of the school's values through the service learning component of the programme and by the way the values were imbued into the practices and procedures of the SATs scaffold.

By providing such an illustration the case study further supports the conception of the 'double helix effect' of the symbiotic relationship that exists between values education and quality teaching (Lovat & Toomey, 2009) and the 'troika effect' that

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occurs when a scaffold like SATs fashions interactions between values education, quality teaching and service learning (Lovat, Toomey, Dally, & Clement, 2009). There is a growing body of evidence that such effects significantly contribute to improvements in school ambience, interpersonal relationships within the school, morale, engagement with learning and perhaps even student performance (see, for example, Benninga, Berkowitz, Kuehn, & Smith, 2006), Davidson, Khmelkov, & Lickona (Chapter 26, this handbook), Lovat et al. (2009). There is also a growing body of evidence that such circumstances have significant positive effects on student wellbeing (Lovat et al., 2009). The point of this chapter is, however, less to add to that evidence and more to illustrate, in a practical sense, how a values education programme scaffolded by a SATs approach to teaching and learning incorporating a service learning dimension produces such effects.

The Australian Government's National Values Education Programme

In 2001, the then Minister for Education, Science and Training in Australia funded the *Values Education Study* (DEST, 2003) in order to enable schools to develop and demonstrate current practices in values education, provide an informed basis for their promotion, and make recommendations regarding a set of principles and a framework for improved values education in Australian schools. The initial study assumed the form of (1) qualitative action research in 69 schools as they developed, implemented and documented their values education practices, (2) a review of the research and (3) a series of focus groups to determine parent, student and teacher views on the values that the community expected Australian schools to foster. The study marked the beginnings of a 7-year (thus far) 'ground up' project designed to identify good practices of values education. We say 'thus far' because, at the time of this writing, the Government continues to pursue the goal of all Australian schools developing comprehensive values education programmes by funding new projects through to the end of 2009.

The initial values education study was completed in August, 2003, and resulted in a set of principles and a loose framework for a national values education programme. A series of public consultations on the draft principles and framework were subsequently held and, in 2005, the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* (see DEST, 2005).

The National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools

Consistent with a 'ground up' approach to identifying good practice values education, the National Framework has been a guiding document for schools in their attempts to establish a comprehensive values education programme. The Framework

identifies nine core values as well as a process for schools and their communities to engage in formal, whole-school values education programmes. These values are not intended to be prescriptive, but should rather be regarded as principles or pointers regarding those values to be emphasised within schools. The nine values for Australian Schooling that are articulated in the Framework include:

1. *Care and Compassion*: Care for self and others.
2. *Doing Your Best*: Seek to accomplish something worthy and admirable, try hard, pursue excellence.
3. *Fair Go*: Pursue and protect the common good where all people are treated fairly for a just society.
4. *Freedom*: Enjoy all the rights and privileges of Australian citizenship free from unnecessary interference or control, and stand up for the rights of others.
5. *Honesty and Trustworthiness*: Be honest, sincere and seek the truth.
6. *Integrity*: Act in accordance with principles of moral and ethical conduct, ensure consistency between words and deeds.
7. *Respect*: Treat others with consideration and regard, respect another person's point of view.
8. *Responsibility*: Be accountable for one's own actions, resolve differences in constructive, non-violent and peaceful ways, contribute to society and to civic life, take care of the environment.
9. *Understanding, Tolerance and Inclusion*: Be aware of others and their cultures, accept diversity within a democratic society, being included and including others.

Among other outcomes, the Framework envisages the adoption by Australian schools of the above nine values as well as the development of whole-school values programmes to include:

- whole-school planning whereby values education is made an explicit goal of the school's plan;
- a whole-school approach in which schools apply their values education priorities to their overall curriculum provision;
- the provision of a safe and supportive learning environment whereby schools provide a positive climate within and beyond the classroom to help develop students' social and civic skills and build student resilience and responsibility;
- the provision of support for students so that schools develop programmes and strategies to empower students to participate in a positive school culture and to develop their local, national and global responsibility; and
- quality teaching procedures in that teachers are skilled in good practice values education.

In 2004, the Government committed AU$ 29.7 million to enable the National Framework to be implemented. A component of the implementation strategy was the Values Education Good Practices Schools Project (VEGPSP). As the title suggests, this project provided an opportunity for Australian schools to demonstrate,

in the 'ground up' sense, good practice values education that is congruent with the National Framework. The case study which follows gives an account of one of those school's efforts at implementing the National Framework during its involvement in the VEGPSP from 2004 to the present over which time the author had an intimate relationship with the school.

St Charles Borromeo Primary School: An Australian Values school

In Australia, schools that call themselves 'values schools' typically identify a core set of values that the school wishes to see reflected in all school activity as well as student and teacher behaviour. They commonly reach this point by consensus involving the whole school community. These agreed values are then used to shape the school's policies and procedures as well as its curriculum decision making. Often, an initial outcome is the introduction to the school of a whole school programme that scaffolds the teaching and learning, raises awareness about school values, emphasises valuing, nurtures good interpersonal relations within the school and focuses on personal resilience, student wellbeing and their roles in readiness for learning. A variety of scaffolding devices were used by schools involved in the Australian values education initiatives such as Socratic Circles, Philosophy in Schools, Storythread (see Chapter 43, this handbook), Peer Support and others all of which are described in VEGPSP—Stage 2 Final Report (DEEWR, 2008). At St Charles Borromeo the scaffold was Student Action Teams. The following case study describes the nexus between the whole school scaffold for the values education programme, including its service learning dimension, and its contribution to the students' social, emotional and academic wellbeing.

School Context

St Charles Borromeo Catholic Primary School is part of the Serpells Community School Campus nestled in 13 acres of land in Templestowe, an affluent, inner Eastern suburb of Melbourne, in the Australian State of Victoria. It is a multicultural school with many families being second or third generation Italian, Lebanese, Chinese and Greek. Approximately, 20% of the children have a language background other than English.

There are currently 182 students (122 families) attending St Charles Borromeo. Sixteen families qualify for assistance from the Educational Maintenance Allowance. Most parents would be considered 'high achievers'. In many cases, both parents are working. It would also be fair to say that many families chose the Catholic system with the expectation that religion and values would be explicitly taught.

There are 10 full-time and 10 part-time staff at the school, mainly married women in the 30–50 age group. Naturally, each of them approaches teaching in a highly personal way. One of them has a very teacher directed style. Another adopts a very student centred approach. The others have approaches that sit between the two extremes. As one would expect from children from this part of the world, the students at St Charles perform above the state wide benchmarks set for both literacy and numeracy. By and large, they constitute a courteous and lively population.

The curriculum involves all key learning areas as set down by the Victorian 'Essential Learnings', including English, Mathematics, SOSE (Social Studies), Science, Health and Physical Education. All students learn Italian from 'Prep' as their language other than English. They also participate in dedicated Sport, Music and Art programmes.

The leadership team of the school comprises the Principal, Deputy Principal, Curriculum Coordinator, Literacy Coordinator, Religious Education Coordinator and the Student Wellbeing Coordinator. This team meets weekly to drive the 'School Development and Improvement Plan'.

Since 2004, the school has been striving to become a 'values school'. Originally, this notion meant, for St Charles, adopting a commercial whole school values education programme, *Values for Life* (www.valuesforlifeeducation.com). However, the case study shows how that apparently simple quest became the basis of a much more fundamental and major curriculum revisioning.

Setting Out

St Charles' quest to become a values school has its origins in a student wellbeing unit on 'Friendship'. The unit is part of the student wellbeing programme and, during its conduct in 2004, the Student Wellbeing Coordinator sensed that the students had only a superficial understanding of the concept of friendship. She therefore began by explicitly teaching the meaning of friendship before proceeding with the unit. This experience gave her further insight about another issue that was concerning her, namely, the failure of many of the students to behave in keeping with the school ethos. While the 'school rules' expected that students would be respectful, cooperative, even friendly, often they were not like that. The student wellbeing coordinator was convinced they had to be taught the meaning of such words so they knew not only what they meant but what it felt like to do 'respect' and what it felt like to receive respect, honesty and friendship.

Her concerns grew out of her responsibility as the school's Wellbeing Coordinator. Catholic Primary schools in Victoria have a member of staff exclusively assigned to oversee and assure the social, emotional and psychological wellbeing of the children in the school. This arrangement, funded by the Catholic Education Office, began in 2006. Prior to this, St Charles had identified the importance of such a role and had funded it from general staff funding. The Student

Wellbeing Coordinator role is essentially a non-teaching one, in the sense that it is full-time.

A fundamental reason for this arrangement is the belief that student wellbeing and readiness for learning are inextricably linked. From the Catholic Education Office (2008) perspective, 'wellbeing refers to students' physical, social and emotional development. Evidence suggests that these elements are integral rather than incidental to learning. A learner will find it difficult to engage with learning programs if they are distracted by significant physical, social and emotional issues' (p. 1). More recently, there has been speculation in Australia about possible links between values education, student wellbeing and learning. These were expressed in the *Values Education Good Practice Schools Project Stage 2 – Final Report*, as follows:

> The cause of values education is essential, in my opinion, to Australian education. It is the ingredient that can make the difference to education in the Australian context. Students who attend a school where they feel secure from physical and psychological harm, who are met by teachers who model ethical behaviours and who require such behaviours from their students will achieve well in the academic sphere. Why? The answer is obvious. Because the students will be more emotionally stable; they will apply themselves to learning with greater alacrity; they will be more at ease with school personnel and will achieve greater self-discipline. (DEEWR, 2008, p. 6)

With the intention of making the types of connections between values education, student wellbeing and learning implied in the above assertion, the Student Wellbeing Coordinator took a proposal to the leadership team in 2004 to have the *Values for Life* programme formally adopted by the school. This was the school's initial attempt at becoming more explicit about its treatment of values as part of the school curriculum.

The 'Values for Life' Programme

During the course of 2004, the Student Wellbeing Coordinator began to introduce her colleagues to the *Values for Life* programme. This programme consists of a set of teacher booklets and black line masters primarily designed to assist teachers to construct situations in which students learn the meaning of 12 key values such as friendliness, consideration, caring, courage and others. It is designed as a whole school approach to promoting wellbeing and resilience. It is usually made a contributing part of the wellbeing unit time or other appropriate places in the curriculum, especially reading time. Again, a key thrust of the programme is to connect wellbeing with readiness for learning.

The Student Wellbeing Coordinator conducted Professional Development sessions for all staff on the programme at designated staff meetings throughout 2004. The programme began in 2005 and was taught between 1.30 pm and 2.30 pm every Monday.

During this period, the school began to revise its documented policies and procedures and reconsider them through a 'values prism', as one staff member described

it. Thus, its Social Emotional Learning Policy was revised to say that 'at St Charles Borromeo, we aim to build healthy relationships between all members of our school community. We acknowledge the importance of people's feelings and believe everyone has the right to be valued, empowered and connected'.

The Student Wellbeing Coordinator described all this activity as an attempt to create a 'values based, positive school culture'. Such an idea resonates with Deakin Crick's (2002) research which shows that it is important for schools to have an explicit framework of values underpinning school planning and ethos because it leads to positive dispositions in the students and a more cohesive school community.

Values Education Good Practice Schools Project, Stage 1

In early 2005, the Student Wellbeing Coordinator at St Charles Borromeo commenced work on the preparation of a submission for participation in the *Values Education Good Practice Schools Project* (VEGPSP Stage 1). The VEGPSP funded schools to plan, implement and report upon efforts to establish a whole school values education programme in line with the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* (DEST, 2005). Her proposal was for St Charles to join a cluster of schools which would introduce an approach to teaching and learning called 'Student Action Teams' (SATs). The SATs project was to build on the efforts at St Charles in 2004 and 2005 to become a values school. The application was successful and the project got underway in May of 2005.

The Instructional Scaffold of Student Action Teams (SATs)

Student Action Teams (SATs) is essentially an approach to teaching and learning that has broad application, including to values education. In a SAT, a group of students identifies and tackles a school or community issue; they research the issue, make plans and proposals about it, and take action on it. Such initiatives, as part of the formal or informal school curriculum, engage students in purposeful, authentic activities which are valued by the students, which have broader community value and which meet or exceed mandated curriculum goals. SATs are based on the following principles:

- that students can make serious and important decisions about issues that are important to them;
- that students can do important and valuable things: they have skills, expertise and a knowledge of the needs of their community;
- that important action can be undertaken as part of students' learning in school; and
- that community-focused research and action is an appropriate educational approach for schools to adopt.

The SAT approach is pedagogically grounded in a large body of research that has identified student engagement and wellbeing as vital components of programme requirements within the middle years of schooling (see, for example Australian Curriculum Studies Association, 1996; Barratt, 1997; Benard, 1996; Dwyer, Stokes, Tyler, & Holdsworth, 1998; Fashola & Slavin, 1997; Lee & Smith, 1994; MindMatters Consortium, 1999; Newmann, Wehlage, & Lamborn, 1992; Walker & Kelly, 2002).

The research evidence over the last 15–20 years (cf. Phillips, 1990) points to inter-related factors for engaging students with learning in schools and for developing strong and competent human beings: control (feeling in control of one's learning, and a sense of competence); bonding (relationships, working in a team and/or with others, sense of connectedness with school and community) and meaning (learning experiences that are seen to be authentic, real, worthwhile; feelings of self worth, of value within community and of making a real contribution to others).

SATs at St Charles Borromeo

Specifically, at St Charles, the SAT approach was initially introduced to Years 5 and 6. Students from those grades were informed about how the SAT process worked and were invited to apply for membership of the SAT. Ten were selected.

As a way of getting the Student Action Team process underway the ten students selected for membership of the SAT were involved in a forum at which the meaning of certain core values, like respect and responsibility, were explored with them. That is, the SAT forum became a scaffold for developing a level of declarative knowledge about such values. As part of the SAT process the students were then asked to return to their class group and 'peer teach' what they had learned at the forum, thereby obtaining additional insight to the values through the SAT scaffold. In this way, the SAT pedagogy was gradually established as a scaffold for teaching values in Years 5 and 6.

Subsequently, the SAT conducted research among the Years 5 and 6 children, at home and in the wider community, about perceptions of what constituted a core set of values for the school community. As part of the SAT research process for establishing the set of core values procedures like 'showing respect for others' opinions about what should be valued', 'working cooperatively together', 'being responsible for aspects of the research' and the like were negotiated with the students. Thus, the procedures established for undertaking the SAT research in themselves scaffolded opportunities for the students to practise the values imbued in those procedures.

A set of 12 values were identified, including: confidence; honesty; responsibility; consideration; tolerance; courage; kindness; assertiveness; determination; caring; friendliness and respect. With assistance from the Student Wellbeing Coordinator and a consultant working with her on the project, Years 5 and 6 staff were helped to infuse these values into their teaching. Gradually, the values became the subject of explicit teaching, both during wellbeing time every Monday afternoon and within

other classroom activities. Reading, for instance, was sometimes approached with values education in mind in that the ethical issues touched on in the literature were subjected to close scrutiny. On other occasions, the meaning of a particular value was explicitly taught during class time and students were then afforded opportunities to practise it by, for instance, becoming responsible for the equipment used during Science lessons.

One of the effects of the activity around values education was the emergence of a common language. The University mentor working with the school during its involvement with VEGPSP Stage 1 noted not only that a common language had emerged, but also that the teachers affirmed the values education ideals as having permeated the whole school culture, with a ‘ripple effect’ becoming a significant force for change across the whole school community. The language of values had become part of the discourse in the school.

This is consistent with the experience of others involved in values education. According to current values education research, when procedures and strategies, such as those described above, are used to formally incorporate values into planning procedures and policy positions, one of the main benefits is that a common language emerges which gives everyone a sense of what is expected and a way of expressing it (Holden, 2000).

The school’s involvement with VEGPSP Stage 1 continued until April 2006. By then, people were beginning to comment on a pattern of change that was becoming noticeable. The University mentor commented that the teachers were more passionate both about the day-to-day approach to values education and to the practical ways of implementing the ideals of the values education programme.

Typically, teachers said they felt refreshed by their involvement with the project. Children too felt a new sense of involvement. Comments from a student focus group conducted around this time included:

Question: Do you think your attitude to school has changed since you have been involved with SATs?

Answer: I think it has because when (previously) things got a littler bit hard it was more I can’t be bothered and when I had to try and do things over and over I just gave up. And now after being in the values project if you really try and you keep trying you will eventually get it in the end.

Other comments similar to this suggested that the children were beginning to change in terms of interest, motivation, engagement, student agency, resilience and academic diligence.

The University mentor who was working with St Charles Borromeo also noted around this time that ‘teachers (had) commented on the need to abdicate the expected and acknowledged “role” of teacher’ and that ‘the project has required teachers to provide space for children to take control of some activities and actions’ and that ‘some teachers (had) commented on the difficulty this caused in their day-to-day practice in being able to “let go” ’. In essence, she was pointing to changes in the attitudes and practices of the teachers.

Some insight into the way that some of the teachers were reconsidering their approaches to teaching and learning can be gained from the following teacher account:

> What I hadn't anticipated was how anxious I became when I realized that I had no idea or maybe 'control' of what would or could evolve at the end!! It took me ages and many, many hours of debriefing with our cluster co-ordinator and the other school coordinators to allow the seeds that had been sown to slowly shoot.
>
> Once I relaxed and took the pressure off myself, I then was much more open to enjoy and develop much better relationships with the children. An insight most definitely for me was I also realized that they had picked up on my 'tension' and consequently they became tense and unproductive too. When I relaxed, they relaxed also. I also laughed more, and they laughed too. It set up a ripple effect. Children who were not achieving started to really shine. The children now really do believe that they have a voice and can make a difference. I now believe that too and that if you want to genuinely change the 'culture' of your school, it is essential to listen to the children. (Chapman, Cahill, & Holdsworth, 2009, p. 37)

Again, the University mentor noted some of the effects that these changes seemed to be having on the children. She felt that when teachers allow students to have a voice they can respond and can become true leaders. When the teachers allowed the students the freedom to express themselves, they realised that the students were having their most meaningful discussions. This way of teaching had seemed to enable students to be more resilient and deal with situations in their daily lives. When the Student Action Team was faced with difficulties, they persevered and continued to work towards their goals. The students became more responsible at school level. They made changes in their school by making it a more caring and compassionate place. When students were able to have their own voices, the University mentor felt that they expressed wonderful ideas and insights.

Thus, it seems that teacher change enabled student change, and the development of moral and performance values and virtues (see Davidson et al., Chapter 26, this handbook). Students themselves became agents and catalysts of change, as well as making creative contributions to the values discourse. That is, the SAT provided a zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978) for growth in communicative competence.

The University mentor went so far as to say that such changes were having an effect on 'student performance'. She felt that there was an increased level of intellectual depth on the part of some students especially in terms of the high level of engagement by students, particularly at Student Forums and in the Research, Investigation and Action phases of Student Action Teams when students work on issues that they had selected around values that they have deemed to be important to pursue in depth, utilising intellectual skills in conceptualising problems and issues for research and action; utilising skills in qualitative and quantitative data collection, analysis and presentation; and conceiving of robust and practical strategies for reforming certain school practices.

A strong inference one might draw from all this is how teacher change impacts upon students and facilitates student change. It also promotes student agency and wellbeing and contributes to the change in classroom and school ambience.

Service Learning

In their efforts to identify the values that the community considered to be core, the members of the SAT went to the nearby Roseville Retirement Village to interview those who resided there. They intended to get the opinions of the residents about the values that were important to them and thus could be deemed to be their core values, where they felt those values were practised and not practised, and to get their suggestions about how to strengthen their presence in today's world. In the process of their research, the students began to forge a strong relationship with the residents of the retirement village. They also realised that the residents could make a significant contribution to the local community but were not being given sufficient opportunity to do so. They also recognised potential for involving them in school activities.

As a consequence of this realisation, the SAT recommended establishing a relationship between the school and the retirement village. The SAT members approached the coordinator of the village to ask if they could develop their relationship with the residents. They also realised that there was a real and authentic role for these people in their world. Each student in Year 5 was 'buddied up' with a resident. The students then spent time hearing the stories of these residents – their oral histories about migration to Australia, their way of life, their professions, their participation in war and their celebrations and fears – as part of the study of Australian history. At the students' initiative, several of the oral histories were documented, so enabling the students to introduce the senior citizens to word processing, graphics importation and other ICT skills that they had not previously encountered.

The residents continued to regularly visit St Charles to spend time with their 'buddy'. They worked on joint projects, had craft days together, enjoyed meals together and generally engaged in a pattern of reciprocal learning that reflected the values of care, compassion, friendship, etc. As the relationship developed, the Years 5 and 6 children, as well as the residents of Roseville, were afforded opportunities to practise many of the school's agreed values. The SAT process thereby acted as a scaffold for further opportunities to apply the values.

Values Education Good Practice Schools Project, Stage 2

In September 2006, the Australian Government's then Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST) funded a further round of projects designed to enable schools to identify good practice values education in line with the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* (DEST, 2005). St Charles was funded to develop an approach to values education that expanded its work undertaken in VEGPSP Stage 1, this time involving the establishment of 'Values Action Teams' (VATs). Unlike its involvement in VEGPSP Stage 1 where the emphasis was mostly on developing an understanding of a core set of values and researching the extent to which they were being practised within the school

community, the VEGPSP Stage 2 experience was to be much more about seeking out opportunities to apply the values. The SAT therefore worked with a small group of parents, students and teachers (a VAT) to identify where the values could be applied and then set about doing so.

One example of how this was accomplished was in an extension of the students' 'Service Learning Program' referred to above. During 2008, the students in the SAT in Years 5 and 6 worked under the guidance of the VAT (a coordinating group of teachers, parents and students specifically charged with identifying opportunities for practising the values) to identify a way of enabling the students to practise one or more of the school's 12 agreed values. At this time, the values being concentrated on included confidence, responsibility, consideration, kindness, caring, friendliness and respect. The VAT decided to inject these values into the integrated studies unit on the issue of health and wellbeing and use a service learning approach to its delivery. Again, however, as was the case with the SATs in VEGPSP Stage 1, procedures like 'showing respect for others' opinions about what should be valued', 'working cooperatively together', 'being responsible for aspects of the research' were to be following during the VATs exercise. In this way the VATs were to scaffold the values as they did during the SATs.

The Year 5 students subsequently met with their Roseville 'buddies' and interviewed them about what they understood by wellbeing and how they had looked after their health and wellbeing during their lifetime. The students then attended a school-based conference, organised by the Student Wellbeing Coordinator, on health and wellbeing where they attended workshops facilitated by speakers from the community who spoke about a range of health and wellbeing issues. The outcome of the conference was a personal health and wellbeing plan for each student.

Later in the term, all of the students' 'buddies' from Roseville visited the students at St Charles to hear what they had learned about health and wellbeing during the conference and to identify the differences between the different generations' attitudes to health and wellbeing. The students then spent time helping their 'buddy' to establish their personal health and wellbeing plan by drawing on their learning from the conference. Thus, a form of 'reciprocal learning' was developed within which the values of confidence, responsibility, consideration, kindness, caring, friendliness and respect were applied during a real life learning situation.

Effects on Students and Teachers

By early 2008, the effects that these arrangements were having on students and teachers included an increase in time and effort being given to the explicit teaching of the school's values, a noticeably calmer school environment, improved self confidence on the part of teachers and students alike and greater student engagement with school.

By this stage the University mentor had noticed that students and teachers had developed a sense of ownership of the work being done. As well, students had

developed self confidence, leadership and team skills, and resourcefulness through their participation as action researchers in the project. She felt that the project was a constructive and encouraging learning opportunity for teachers and students alike.

She also noticed that values education had become embedded in the pedagogy of the school.

Wellbeing

Schools involved in the VEGPSP were required to systematically collect evidence about the impact the project was having on the school. In this regard the Student Wellbeing Coordinator at St Charles Borromeo and her colleagues collected a range of survey data between early 2007 to late 2008. A Likert style survey was used twice with teachers and students (early 2007 and late 2008) to roughly gauge any levels of improvement or otherwise in things like student engagement, student academic diligence, the peacefulness of the environment, trustfulness, supportiveness, student confidence and student interest in classroom activity. Consistent with the comments of the University mentor, teachers and children above the analysis of the surveys suggested that both the teachers and the students perceived that between early 2007 and late 2008:

- Students had become more engaged
- More students were realising their full potential
- Students had become more academically diligent
- Classrooms were more peaceful
- Students were trusting
- Students were more resilient
- Playground behaviour had improved

Moreover, the surveys also indicated that staff felt such changes were accompanied by a very significant increase in the attention being given to values education. The account of the school's progress from introducing the *Values for Life* programme in 2004 through to having, by 2008, not only that programme in place, but also the SATs and then VATs suggests that this is a sound perception.

The Student Wellbeing Coordinator subsequently invited the author to conduct a set of focus groups with staff and students which probed the student and teacher perceptions gathered by the surveys. In the lengthy focus group with the Year 6 children the following comments were made:

> It's like a better environment, it's more safer (sic) and I just **feel** better about coming to school now.

> When I was in year 3 and kids were mean to me I really didn't want to talk to them anymore, I would just hold kind of a big grudge. Now when people are mean to me I realised that even though they are mean and naughty you shouldn't judge them, you should try to help them.

I think we are all more understanding.

. . . With teachers, it's like if you treat them with respect they'll treat you with respect and it will be easier to understand what they are talking about.

Furthermore, in a lengthy focus group with eight staff where the "findings" from the surveys again effectively constituted the agenda, a number of other relevant comments were made, including:

(About engagement): Maybe engagement is an accumulation of a whole lot of things running together really well. . .. Teachers being well informed and knowing what they are teaching about, being motivating to the children, the children **feeling** (emphasis added) they are valued and respected, having a great relationship with the teacher, **feeling** (emphasis added) they are in a non threatening classroom. I think there are lots of factors to children being engaged.

I don't see engagement as just sitting in a classroom, giving you eye contact and listening to what is said. I see engagement more broadly than that. It includes . . . are children wanting to be involved? Are they being given opportunities to be involved? To have a voice? To **feel** (emphasis added) like real members of a community There has been a huge improvement in that (at this school). We don't just see it in classrooms. That's a whole school attitude to wellbeing . . . a commitment that has led to this engagement.

(About students achieving their full potential): Children are having a go more. They **feel** (emphasis added) more confident. They have the confidence to ask for help.

In school, I **feel** more confident now. People give you more constructive criticism now.

They **feel** (emphasis added) trusting enough to ask other kids for help.

(About school and classroom ambience): The children are more settled in class now. When I ask them to pair up they **feel** (emphasis added) more inclined to pair with someone they might not have liked pairing with previously because they know what kindness **feels** (emphasis added) like, what being respectful means.

(About how children "feel"): . . . the children **feel** more aware of each other.

. . . through the VATs project, the children have had many opportunities to put the values into practice. So they not only now know what the look like and sound like they also know what they **feel** like.

. . . they like the **feeling** of responsibility.

Values Education, Instructional Scaffolding and Student Wellbeing

Typically, values education has been viewed as a component part of the curriculum with its own timetable space. Positioning students so that their self esteem, coping skills and resilience are high is also typically considered to be achieved through specialised 'wellbeing programs', often commercial, which are offered at strategic times during the week. Effective efforts at such approaches to values education and student wellbeing programmes are thought to open students up to more productive

learning. Clearly, there is much gained when values education, student wellbeing and student academic diligence are aligned in this way. Such episodes of values education and student wellbeing instruction have the potential to calm the classroom. Calm classrooms are more conducive to concentrated effort on the part of students than turbulent ones. Nonetheless, this type of arrangement seems more atomistic than the dynamic that has evolved between values education, quality teaching and wellbeing at St Charles Borromeo Primary School.

In 2004, with the introduction of the Values for the Life programme the school embarked upon a journey of fashioning a way of explicitly teaching values. Very soon a common language emerged at the school around the values. One teacher recounted:

> I could see Nathan was becoming restless and would soon become disruptive. I simply said "Nathan, let's just go with integrity shall we?" Everyone in the room knew what I meant: everyone, including Nathan. He was soon back on task.

This comment illustrates not only how a common language emerged in the course of installing the Values for Life programme, but also how a pattern of self-regulated behaviour accompanied the language. Teachers increasingly commented on how calmer the school was, how more respectful the children were and how teaching and learning seemed to be easier in the new environment.

As one teacher said:

> Everyone in the classroom exchange, teachers and students alike, became more conscious of trying to be respectful, trying to do their best, and trying to give others a fair go. We also found that by creating an environment where these values were constantly shaping classroom activity, student learning was improving, teachers and students were happier, and school was calmer.

With the introduction of the SATs in 2005 values education at the school took on a new dimension: the children were routinely practising the values because the school's values were imbued in the practice of the SAT and its related Service Learning activity. Working in a SAT requires cooperation, respect for the opinions of others and inclusion. Care and compassion are at the heart of the Service Learning aspect of the SAT. Not only are the values imbued in the activities in this way but also at St Charles Borromeo Primary School teachers spent time explaining to the children how the values were part and parcel of a SAT and how in their engagement of the SAT pedagogy they were practising the values. The SAT was also a challenging environment for the children. The issues they were dealing with were intellectually challenging. Thus, the instructional scaffold of a SAT represents what Lovat in Chapter 1 calls the nexus of values education and quality teaching.

There are also pedagogical imperatives behind the practice of a SAT. A SAT is very much a student centred – teacher guided process. Students negotiate among themselves the issues that are to be researched and acted upon. They are also of a constuctivist character: students are encouraged to collectively construct their own meanings, understandings or perceptions about the values laden issues they are

being asked to tackle. Also, a SAT focussed on a values laden issue is inherently a safe and supportive learning environment because of the self-regulated behaviour that arises from the values education itself and also because it is structured around cooperative, responsible, tolerant behaviour and the like.

Students often spoke about their preference for working is such ways. Similarly, many of the comments of the children during the focus group reported above have an emotional ring to them suggesting perhaps that the intellectual scaffold of a SAT constitutes the neuro-scientific pedagogical dynamic outlined by Lovat in Chapter 1.

Conclusion

Finally, by 2008 teachers at St Charles Borromeo Primary School were claiming that the teaching and learning strategies of the SAT pedagogy were raising the intellectual quality of the children's work, the quality of the learning environment and the children's perception of the significance, and relevance to them of the undertaking. As the comment of the University mentor above points out it seems that the students were able to grapple with more complex ideas, think more deeply and operate at higher order thinking levels.

Such an assertion has support in the relevant research literature. In their review of over 640 relevant studies to do with the effects of values education Deakin Crick et al. (2005) concluded that values education 'can enhance students' higher order cognitive and intellectual development' and that it 'may be characterized by a facilitative, conversational pedagogy, where dialogue and discussion are the norm' and which 'can result in statistically significant positive changes in formal operations of movement from concrete literal thinking to abstract and scientific thinking, resulting in higher levels of reflection'.

They also conclude from their meta-analysis of the research that 'pedagogy' commonly used in values education 'creates classrooms where students and teachers work productively in an environment clearly focused on learning. Such pedagogy sets high and explicit expectations and develops positive relationships between teachers and students and among students'. This 'may lead to greater participation' especially 'when lesson content is pertinent to student experiences'. Other effects of good values education pedagogy include that it 'allows for an increased participation and a greater interactive, and may ensure a more positive experience of participation that affects student ability to make meaning of the lesson content' and it can 'create a co-operative learning environment, leading to an atmosphere of trust and safety, that enhances teacher/student relationships, where teachers let go of control and listen to student voice'. It also 'can engage learners as whole persons and result in teachers relating differently to students'.

All of this is consistent with Lovat's pedagogical imperative for student wellbeing outlined in Chapter 1 of this handbook.

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Chapter 3
Student Wellbeing at School: The Actualization of Values in Education

Neville Clement

Introduction

An emerging interest of educational research, in recent times, has been the identification of those factors and conditions that impact upon students' personal, pro-social and academic maturation and progress. Emerging from this research is a body of evidence which indicates that effective education must provide for the affective and social formation of students as well as their cognitive and academic development. In this context, student wellbeing has been shown to be a significant aspect of the personal, pro-social and academic progress of students. As noted by Hill (this handbook), however, the notion of 'wellbeing' is capable of multiple interpretations. This is borne out by a perusal of literature on wellbeing, wherein there is general agreement that wellbeing research for the young is of value; nevertheless, it also reveals the diversity in the ways that the concept of wellbeing is made operative in research (Awartani, Whitman, & Gordon, 2008; Ben-Arieh, 2008; Hascher, 2008). Furthermore, Hascher (2008) suggests that, rather than being viewed solely as 'an achievement enhancer', student wellbeing has its own 'educational value', and, hence, there is a need to advance research into student wellbeing at school at the theoretical and methodological levels.

Given the growing recognition of the significance of student wellbeing at school, this chapter provides a survey of recent literature that identifies various characteristics pertaining to the phenomenon. Although the literature which explicitly and specifically examines student wellbeing at school may be relatively small, there is a considerable number of other studies that investigate factors which either directly or indirectly impact upon student wellbeing at school. Examination of this diverse range of literature germane to student wellbeing at school shows the phenomenon to be multifaceted and influenced by school and classroom climate, teacher support and caring, student connectedness to school and values education. Moreover, the

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neurosciences provide insights which indicate that wellbeing is a product of the synergy of the cognitive, affective and social dimensions. Student wellbeing, therefore, emerges as being holistic and demands to be conceptualized as such.

The Essence of Wellbeing

Rather than being devoid of values and signifying a neutral state of homeostasis, Hill (Chapter 37, this handbook) submits that wellbeing does indeed encompass a framework of values and goals. Such an approach to wellbeing implies it to be pervasive, a perspective reminiscent of Aristotle's notion of *eudaimonia*. Urmson (1988) proposes that *eudaimonia* (or happiness), according to Aristotle, is to be understood as living the best possible life, that is, a life worth living that was to be chosen for its own sake. The quintessence of *eudaimonia* was to be found in intellectual contemplation (e.g., Urmson, 1988; Van Cleemput, 2006); however, as Kristjánsson (2007) elucidates, this notion of ultimate good impels purposeful activity and serves as an end for the exercise of the various human capacities:

> In the Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle proposes a theory of "happiness" (eudaimonia) – perhaps better translated as "well-being" or "flourishing" – as the ultimate good and unconditional end (telos) for which they do all other things. ... According to Aristotle, it is empirically true that the well-being of humans consists in the realization of intellectual and moral virtues and in the fulfilment of their other specifically human physical and mental capabilities. (p. 15)

Aristotle's notion of wellbeing is holistic and issues in the actualization of human potentialities and capacities, and any diminution of those capacities is a state other than that of human flourishing or wellbeing. Indeed, the wise person values the flourishing of these biological proclivities because they are essential to a person's self-realization of rational agency (Irwin, 1988, p. 386). Such agency includes both the cognitive and affective propensities of an individual (Carr, 2008). Thus, attention to Aristotle's notion of *eudaimonia* means that any consideration of student wellbeing at school cannot be constricted to a narrow set of indicators, but must be multi-faceted and holistic and include personal, cognitive, affective, social, physical, psychological, moral and spiritual dimensions.

Recent findings of the neurosciences enhance the understanding of the ways in which wellbeing is actualized, particularly by exposing the inseparable, dynamic interaction between cognition, affect and social context, and the implication this has for human thought, reasoning, judgement and action. According to Antonio Damasio (2003) the biological capacitites inherently possessed by humankind, which serve to regulate and promote life, do not function solely to maintain a neutral state of homeostasis, but, rather, have the propensity to promote human flourishing or wellbeing. In other words, human beings are biologically predisposed to act for their own wellbeing. Beyond that, the processes of human learning and judgement actually depend upon the interaction of the inherent cognitive and emotional

neural networks that support and empower the intellectual and conative capabilities of persons:

> Those of us in the field of education often fail to consider that the high-level cognitive skills taught in schools, including reasoning, decision making and processes related to language, reading, and mathematics do not function as rational, disembodied systems, somehow influenced by but detached from emotion and the body. (Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007, p. 3)

This suggests that cognition, and hence reason, are dependent upon and even energized by enabling and supportive affective states, that is, the motivation toward and the content of intellectual engagement is associated with particular affective states (e.g., Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007; Kusché & Greenberg, 2006; Storbeck & Clore, 2008). Affect is not displaced by cognition nor is cognition by affect, since both accompany the phenomenon of human consciousness. Said another way, the neural networks pertaining to emotion and cognition are active whenever an individual is conscious (Damasio, 1999; cf. Ashton & Gregoire-Gill, 2003). Indeed, effectual learning is a result of the synergy of cognitive engagement and the affective states that facilitate and sustain such engagement (Kusché & Greenberg, 2006).

In addition to this essential synergy between cognition and affect, Immordino-Yang and Damasio (2007) emphasize the significance of the social context of learning. The development of high-level cognitive skills is impacted by the emotional and physical wellness of the body, which, in turn, is influenced by the socio-cultural context. Hence, the neural structures which underlie thought and affect develop within a social context and this environment contributes to the growth, development and maintenance of those neural pathways formed in the process of learning (Hinton, Miyamoto, & Della-Chiesa, 2008). The import of such research reinforces the understanding that the ambience of the learning environment, along with the pedagogical activities and processes employed are themselves instrumental in affecting student formation and maturation across personal, affective, cognitive, spiritual, social, moral and academic domains. Given the powerful and pervasive dynamic of the learning context, effective education must contribute to student wellbeing. Therefore, a necessity exists for educators to be mindful of the ways in which the cognitive, affective and social interact in human learning, judgement and action. This means that provision for student wellbeing involves orchestrating such conditions and influences as are needed for actualization of student potentialities.

The Impact of Schools on Student Wellbeing

International research has shown that school and classroom environments impact upon on student achievement and wellbeing (see Rowe, 2004). Using data from grades six and eight in Canada, Willms (2000) established that the greatest variance in academic achievement and wellbeing factors (self esteem, general wellbeing,

sense of belonging, and general health) was greater at the classroom level than the school or district level. Further understanding of the impact of schools and classes on student wellbeing and academic achievement is provided by concerted research into the student wellbeing in school undertaken in Flanders, Belgium, by Opdenakker and Van Damme (2000), Engels, Aelterman, Van Petegem, and Schepens (2004), Engels, Hotton, Devos, Bouckenooghe, & Aelterman (2008), and Van Petegem (2008).

A study of first year secondary school students by Opdenakker and Van Damme (2000) has demonstrated that schools and classes do have an independent effect on student wellbeing and academic achievement, with the impact on academic achievement being the greater. In general, school-level characteristics relating to 'instruction and knowledge acquisition' affected academic achievement and wellbeing indicators, whereas school characteristics relating to non-cognitive factors were effective only for some wellbeing factors. This indicates that for well-motivated students a school wide academic emphasis impacts positively on student wellbeing and attainment. One of these emphases, 'teaching staff cooperation in relation to teaching methods and student counselling', impacted positively on student wellbeing and achievement; however, these results were not repeated in a subsequent but not completely identical study of second year secondary students (see Van Landeghem et al., 2002, pp. 448–449).

Interestingly, Opdenakker and Van Damme (2000) found the interaction of school and student characteristics in some instances produced differential effects with these differences being mediated by student characteristics. For example, in general, an 'orderly learning environment' had a positive effect on student academic achievement and the wellbeing indicators of 'social integration in the class', 'attentiveness in the classroom' and 'attitude towards homework'. Nonetheless, for students who registered low 'prior achievement motivation', an orderly learning environment had a negative effect on their motivation and interest toward learning. Thus, student motivation proved to be a critical indicator of student engagement and interest in learning. On the whole, interest and motivation of all students was found to be enhanced by the non-cognitive school level characteristic, 'focus on (moral and social) education and personality development'. Conversely, this same characteristic displayed a negative effect on mathematics achievement. This observed variability in the interface between school-level characteristics, student characteristics and academic achievement supports the notion of an ecology of learning, that is a complex and interdependent interaction between the various elements that comprise the learning environment (see Deakin Crick et al., 2007). Student motivation emerges as being pivotal in student attainment and wellbeing. It is pertinent to note that Opdenakker and Van Damme used this student characteristic as an indicator of wellbeing factors, whereas measures of subject specific student intelligence were the chosen indicators of academic achievement. Other studies cited later in this review demonstrate a clear link between student motivation and academic achievement.

Engels et al. (2004) arrived at a definition of student wellbeing for secondary students that encompasses the affective life, environmental factors of the school and the personal needs and expectations of students. Data for the study was sourced

from questionnaires and panel discussions with students. Satisfaction (the cognitive component), feeling (the affective component) and behaviour were each found to be reliable indicators of student wellbeing, with satisfaction ($\beta = 0.517$) being the strongest. Active participation in class increased student wellbeing and heightened feelings of student responsibility for their own learning. Teacher 'respect and encouragement' and 'good didactic support' also enhanced student sense of wellbeing. Students preferred teachers who gave them clear instructions and space, whereas inconsistency on the part of teachers had a negative effect on students. Student satisfaction with the 'infrastructure and facilities' of the school ($\beta = 0.11$) emerged as one of the better indicators of student wellbeing; however, 'the atmosphere at school' ($\beta = 0.33$) proved to be the subscale best indicating student wellbeing. Clear regulations arrived at through negotiation with students that are consistently applied promote student wellbeing, which is also enhanced by positive learning-oriented goals, and a sense that the curriculum is relevant. Conversely, 'study pressure' becomes negative where pupils perceive unclear teacher expectations or too little teacher support.

Furthermore, Engels et al. (2004) found that positive behaviour ($\beta = 0.175$) is a predictor of student sense of wellbeing: students who are satisfied with school exhibit fewer behaviour problems and the fewer the behaviour problems the better the atmosphere of the school. Student wellbeing was enhanced by intrinsic motivation and positive contact with friends, and girls reported a higher sense of wellbeing than boys. Additionally, student sense of wellbeing varied between schools and according to school type. It is evident from the analysis provided by Engels et al. that positive values lie at the basis of student wellbeing as evidenced by the importance of friendships, positive student–teacher relationships, school ambience, clarity of communication of expectations regarding behaviour and excellence in pedagogy. In a different study, De Fraine, Landeghem, Damme, and Onghena (2005) found that student sense of wellbeing declined during their time at secondary school for most students, but with large differences between students (cf. Hawkins, Guo, Hill, Battin-Pearson, & Abbott, 2001). School influence on student wellbeing, in line with other studies in Flanders, was considered to be minor.

Van Petegem (2008; Van Petegem, Aelterman, Rosseel, & Creemers, 2007), using the definition of Engels et al. (2004), found that 11% of variance in the measure of student wellbeing was at classroom level (cf. Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2000). Furthermore, students who declared they were at school because they wanted to learn scored higher on the wellbeing scale (Van Petegem, Aelterman, Van Keer, & Rosseel, 2008; Van Petegem, 2008). Higher levels of student motivation (desire to learn) correlated with higher levels of sense of wellbeing, irrespective of level of ability, and also, a liking for course content positively influenced student wellbeing. Owing to the established link between interest and motivation, and achievement (see Ainley, 2006), Van Petegem (2008) posits an indirect link between student wellbeing and academic achievement. Compulsory attendance, however, resulted in low sense of wellbeing with such dissatisfaction finding expression in dysfunctional behaviour, which indicates that student wellbeing is related to liking for school

(Van Petegem, 2008; Van Petegem et al., 2008). Positive interpersonal relationships with teachers increased student sense of wellbeing, whereas strict and admonishing teachers had a negative impact on student wellbeing (Van Petegem, Aelterman et al., 2007, p. 459; cf. Assor, Kaplan, Kanat-Maymon, & Roth, 2005; Yildirim, Acar, Bull, & Sevinc, 2008). In general, cooperative behaviour on the part of the teacher relates positively to student wellbeing and increases student motivation and interest and proved to be a stimulus to student motivation and interest in school work, and these, in turn, were positively related to wellbeing (Van Petegem, 2008; cf. Den Brok, Brekelmans, & Wubbels, 2004; Den Brok, Fisher, & Scott, 2005). Likewise, Hascher (2003, 2008) found that teacher behaviour characterized by fairness, care and a high quality of teaching was an important contributor to the wellbeing of students in Switzerland.

In Finland, Konu and Lintonen (2006) tested a subjective wellbeing profile on Grades 4–12. This instrument was comprised of the four categories: '"school conditions", "social relationships", "means for self-fulfilment" and "health status"' (p. 633). Moderate correlations occurred between means for self-fulfilment and social relationships, and means for self-fulfilment and school conditions, while a low correlation was recorded between school conditions and health status. In a comparison of the results between primary, lower secondary and upper secondary level students, primary school students rated school conditions more highly than secondary students, and social relationships and means for self-fulfilment as being better than upper secondary school students. A more positive sense of wellbeing was reported by girls and younger students in each of the primary, lower secondary and upper secondary levels, whereas boys reported fewer health symptoms.

Several points of interest emerge from the various international studies of student wellbeing at school cited above. They confirm that schools do, in fact, impact on student wellbeing and academic achievement. Opdenakker and Van Damme (2000) demonstrated that the level of student motivation impacted on measures of student wellbeing and engagement in school work. Furthermore, student motivation was enhanced by social and moral education and personality development. The work of Engels et al. (2004) points to the importance for student wellbeing of student agency, teacher support and caring, academic emphasis and support, school facilities and infrastructure, school ambience, and relevance of the curriculum. Additionally, there were several student characteristics indicative of their wellbeing: positive behaviour, intrinsic motivation, and positive relations with friends. Van Petegem's (2008) research indicates that motivation and interest in schoolwork are vital to student wellbeing, and the quality of student–teacher relationship proved to be a significant dynamic in such motivation and interest (see Osterman, Chapter 15, this handbook). These findings concur with observations of recent Australian studies where it was shown that teacher care and concern was paramount for student engagement in learning (e.g., Brady, 2005; Rowe, 2004; Scanlon, 2004; see Lovat & Clement, 2008a, 2008b). Additionally, Van Petegem (2008) noted the longitudinal effect of academic achievement on student wellbeing as well as suggesting a link between student wellbeing and academic achievement.

Teacher Support and Caring

The findings of Van Petegem (2008) serve to emphasize the importance of the quality of the teacher–student relationship for student engagement and student wellbeing. Beginning in the early years of schooling, the potent dynamic of the teacher–student relationship is associated with peer acceptance, engagement in learning and academic outcomes (Hughes & Kwok, 2006; Hughes, Luo, Kwok, & Loyd, 2008). Teacher support increases emotional security, which, in turn, is related to task involvement (Thijs & Koomen, 2008). Sense of insecurity directly affects cognitive performance, so therefore, for kindergarten students, wellbeing has precedence over cognitive tasks (Koomen, Van Leeuwen, & Van der Leij, 2004). Additionally, the quality of teacher–student relationship was found to be predictive of academic achievement via classroom engagement during the early years of schooling (O'Connor & McCartney, 2007).

Furthermore, Hamre and Pianta (2001) observed that the impact of teacher–student bonding in the early years of schooling continued through to eighth grade. A strong and persistent relationship existed between the quality of the student–teacher relationship and academic performance and behavioural outcomes, with observed effects persisting through to the middle years of schooling. Students having negative relationships with their kindergarten teachers displayed 'fewer positive work-habits' than their peers with positive relationships (p. 632). Negative relationships with kindergarten teachers mediated behavioural and academic outcomes up to year 8, with the greater impact being on behavioural outcomes. The quality of the teacher–student relationship is seen to have a direct bearing on the degree of student engagement in learning (cf. Entwisle & Hayduk, 1988). The vitality of the quality of student–teacher trust is further illustrated by Lee's (2007) research among seventh grade students in Korea. Measures, which included cognitive and affective elements, demonstrated that levels of trust impacted on student school adjustment and academic motivation which, then, mediated the effect of that trust on academic achievement as measured by grade point average (GPA). Similarly, Marchant, Paulson, and Rothlisberg (2001) concluded that the effect of teacher interest and support on student achievement is mediated by student perceptions of their motivation and academic competence.

These findings fit well with the research among middle school students by Wentzel (1997, 2002), who observed teacher caring to be a predictor of student motivation (academic effort), pursuit of social responsibility goals and pro-social goals. Students were observed as being more likely to engage in learning activities if they felt supported and valued by their teachers (cf. Entwisle & Hayduk, 1988; Hamre & Pianta, 2001 above). Students identified caring teachers as ones who: interact democratically and encourage reciprocity in communication, deal with students equitably and respect them as persons, account for individual differences when formulating expectations, offer constructive feedback, give appropriate support and feedback, have high expectations of students, and model motivation in regard to their own work (cf. Davidson, Lickona, & Khmelkov, 2008; Van Petegem, 2008).

Teacher support and caring have a positive influence on self-concept (Demaray, Malecki, Rueger, Brown, & Summers, 2009). As a component of social support, along with parents and friends, teacher support and caring is necessary but not sufficient for student satisfaction with school, student self-efficacy and engagement, gaining higher grades, attendance, less problem behaviour and more time spent in study (Rosenfeld, Richman, & Bowen, 2000). Particularly for those students who are judged as being at high risk of school attrition, teacher caring acts as a compensatory form of social capital, and is associated with a higher than anticipated performance in mathematics (Muller, 2001). Also, teacher support is related to the reduction in the likelihood of participating in the health-risk behaviours associated with smoking, marijuana use, drinking to intoxication, suicide attempt or ideation, weapon related violence and first sexual intercourse (McNeely & Falci, 2004). Research among detained youth documents that low teacher connectedness is related to higher risk behaviours regarding sex and drugs. The implication is that student sense of connectedness with teachers is protective in regard to participation in at-risk behaviours (Voisin et al., 2005). Further supporting evidence of the protective nature of the teacher–student relationship against negative social pressure is provided by Garcia-Reid (2007) who found that the support of teachers, parents and friends (with teacher support being the greatest influence) was directly related to school engagement for 133 female students of the minority Hispanic group in the USA aged 13–14 years. Contrary to expectations, and possibly because of an artefact of the research design, these trends were not repeated in a similar study by Daly, Shin, Thakral, Selders, & Vera (2009) involving 123 urban 'adolescents of color'.

These observations regarding the impact of the student–teacher relationship coincide with Osterman's (2000) summation of research literature in regard to student connectedness or bonding to school, 'teacher support has the most direct impact on student engagement' (p. 344). In a similar vein, Klem and Connell's (2004) synthesis of related literature concludes that student engagement has been found to be a robust predictor of student academic achievement, retention, absenteeism and behaviour problems. This conclusion is further confirmed by their analysis of longitudinal data from 1846 elementary and 2430 secondary students in the USA. Results indicate that student engagement is affected by teacher support, and is higher in an environment that is well structured, has clear and high expectations and is caring. In turn, higher levels of student engagement correlate with higher academic performance. Academic engagement has been found to promote 'academic resilience' and is protective of students who are considered to be at high-risk of school failure (Finn & Rock, 1997). In their research among Latin American immigrant youth, Green et al. (2008) observed that student motivation can vary according to the perceived support of their current teacher. Furthermore, a study of 11-, 13- and 15-year-old students in Finland, Latvia, Norway and Slovakia by Samdal, Nutbeam, Wold, & Kannas (1998) found that experience of teacher practical and emotional support emerged as one of four important school climate indicators of student satisfaction with school. The other three were: just treatment, feeling

safe at school and fellow-student support. Conversely, student perception of unreasonably high teacher expectations was associated with poorer perceived academic performance. Across all countries, student satisfaction with school was the 'most influential predictor' of student perceived academic achievement (Samdal, Wold, & Bronis, 1999, p. 312). Furthermore, Murray and Malmgren (2005) concluded that improvements in the supportive character of teacher–student relationships at secondary school have the potential to impact on subsequent student academic achievement.

Teacher pedagogical competencies form a vital part of teacher support and caring because of their effect on perceived wellbeing. Research among secondary students in Germany by Gläser-Zikuda and Fuß (2008) indicated a high correlation between student rating of competencies of physics teachers and student wellbeing. Particularly high correlations were found between perceived student wellbeing and measures of *teacher's motivational competence* ($r = 0.94$) and *teacher's care of students* ($r = 0.93$). In this dimension, teacher caring aligns with the characteristics of quality teaching as identified by Darling-Hammond (1998). Additionally, López, Ehly, and García-Vásquez (2002) found that teacher support is correlated with academic achievement for students from a minority culture.

In summary, the literature cited on teacher support and caring indicates the vital impact of this relationship on student wellbeing, across all school grades, and that it is important for the personal and pro-social development of students as well as their academic progress and achievement. Also, the literature reports that quality of teacher–student relationships impacts directly on the motivation and engagement in learning of students, which subsequently impact on their academic outcomes and personal and pro-social development. This coincides with the conclusions of Van Petegem (2008) who observed a direct link between student wellbeing and positive student–teacher relationships and who posited an indirect link between student wellbeing and achievement. Evidence for the link between a positive teacher–student relationship and student achievement has been tendered in the work of Klem and Connell (2004), Lee (2007), López et al. (2002), Muller (2001), Murray and Malmgren (2005), O'Connor and McCartney (2007), and Samdal and colleagues (1998, 1999). These studies make it clear that the impact of teacher caring on student academic achievement is mediated through student characteristics such as motivation and self-concept. Teacher support and caring provides a form of social capital that is protective of at-risk behaviours, and appears to be particularly important for marginalized students, such as those from minority cultures. It implies that an ethic of care, involving the dual aspects of teacher pedagogical competencies and the social-emotional support of students, impacts on student personal and pro-social development, and engagement in school work. As Klem and Connell (2004) concluded, student engagement mediates the impact of teacher caring on student academic performance. Thus, teacher support and caring embody those qualities essential to effective education, wherein best practice pedagogy is energized by an ethic of care and concern for student wellbeing and academic progress (cf. Lovat & Clement, 2008a, 2008b; Osterman, Chapter 15, this handbook).

School Climate and Student Wellbeing

International literature attests to the fact that school and classroom climates exercise a significant influence on the quality of education (e.g., Creemers & Reezigt, 1999; Muijs & Reynolds, 2001). Teacher support of students is part of a social fabric embodying trust that facilitates positive student progress through school and is an aspect of what Bryk and Schneider (2002) typify as 'relational trust'. This is a 'connective tissue' that binds people together via supportiveness and reciprocity among the various stakeholders in the school community, with a view to the advancement of student achievement and wellbeing. Thus, the tenor of this organizational property is an instrumentally efficacious resource for school improvement that advances student achievement. Bryk and Schneider observed that schools with high relational trust had a one in two chance of school improvement, whereas those with low relational trust had only a one in seven chance.

Furthermore, research studies provide corroboration of the positive interaction between a supportive school community and 'academic emphasis' (otherwise known as 'academic press'). Such a nexus provides conditions conducive to student achievement and has the power to counteract debilitating effects of socio-economic status on indicators of student wellbeing and attainment (e.g., Battistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schaps, 1997; Lee, Bryk, & Smith, 1993; Lee & Smith, 1995, 1999; Shouse, 1996). According to Gaziel (1997), effective schools serving disadvantaged students place a high value on academic achievement and continuous school improvement. On a cautionary note, the work of Phillips (1997) suggests that communal spirit isolated from an academic emphasis can have a deleterious effect on student achievement. Even so, Opdenakker and Van Damme (2000), as well as confirming the importance of academic emphasis, found that a communitarian school climate has potentially beneficial effects on student interest in and motivation towards learning. Likewise, Lee and Smith (1999) affirm that both social and academic supports are essential resources for student learning (cf. Shouse, 1996). Also, the renowned work of Newmann and Associates (1996) established that a communitarian ethos is an essential element in supporting student intellectual quality and achievement, and that shared academic experiences encourage a sense of school membership (see Marks, Done, & Secada, 1996). Further evidence for the correlation between the quality of school experience and academic achievement is provided by Mok and Flynn (1997) in their study of Year 12 students in New South Wales, Australia. Higher levels of student satisfaction with the quality of the school culture were reflected in higher end of school examination results. In like manner, Marchant et al. (2001), in the USA, found that school climate factors impacted on student academic achievement and were mediated by student perceptions of their own motivation and/or academic self-competence.

Parents, friends and teachers form a network supportive of student wellbeing and achievement (Rosenfeld et al., 2000). Malecki and Demaray (2006) observed that such a supportive network mitigates the negative impact of SES on academic achievement as measured by GPA (cf. Muller, 2001). In a similar vein, Furrer and Skinner (2003) found that the relatedness of students in grades three to six to

parents, teachers and peers impacted on their academic engagement and performance. Again, Van Ryzin, Gravely and Roseth (2009) concluded that engagement of secondary school students with learning mediates the impact of both student academic autonomy and teacher support on student wellbeing or hope ('positive psychological adjustment'). Peer support also impacts upon hope in two ways: it has a direct impact as well as being mediated by student engagement. Furthermore, student engagement subsequently impacts upon student perceptions of academic autonomy and teacher support, thus indicating an ongoing interactive dynamic. Whereas hope is a trait-like characteristic that remains relatively stable over time, engagement is a 'state' and so subject to situational variation. Change in the level of hope is predicted by changes in engagement and peer support.

Aspects of a supportive school community identified in the literature as having instrumental effects on student achievement are: social capital (Goddard, 2003b), school climate (Bulach, Malone, & Castleman, 1995), relational trust (Bryk & Schneider, 2002) and collective teacher efficacy (Hoy, Smith, & Sweetland, 2002; Goddard, 2001; Goddard, Hoy, & Woolfolk Hoy, 2000; Goddard, 2003a; Woolfolk Hoy, & Davis, 2006). Hoy, Tarter, and Woolfolk Hoy (2006) have demonstrated that the three social capital items of academic emphasis, faculty trust and collective teacher efficacy combine in a construct of academic optimism predictive of student achievement after controlling for prior achievement, socio-economic status and urbanicity. As with the student–teacher relationship, social networks (of which teachers are an indispensable part) give psychological, social and academic support foundational to student wellbeing and academic achievement. In short, the literature establishes that indicators like relational trust, supportive relationships and networks, social capital, school climate, collective teacher efficacy, and academic emphasis impact on student wellbeing and even their academic achievement. An inspection of the listed items leads to the conclusion that, far from being discrete and unrelated, they together indicate an underlying need for a socially and academically positive and supportive climate in order to facilitate student growth and maturation across all domains.

School Connectedness

Having a sense of belonging at school contributes to student social and personal development, physical and mental health, school achievement and is protective against school conduct problems and at-risk behaviours. From an extensive review of relevant literature, Osterman (2000) concluded that students' experience of belonging and acceptance at school disposes them more readily to intrinsic motivation and acceptance of others' authority and establishes a stronger sense of identity, wherein they experience a sense of autonomy and accept responsibility for self-regulation according to classroom norms. Students who sense greater acceptance by teachers and fellow students are more likely to enjoy and be interested in school, be more committed to class work and have higher expectations to succeed and lower

anxiety and, thus, embody positive academic attitudes and motivation (p. 331). The development of intrinsic motivation flourishes in the context of secure relationships. When these basic needs of students are satisfied, there is an increased likelihood of their internalizing the values that teachers and parents endorse. Connectedness along with encouragement to initiate and experiment will enable students to become autonomously motivated (Deci & Ryan, 2002, pp. 74–75; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Additionally, Anderson, Hamilton, and Hattie (2004) found that the tenor of the classroom climate impacted on student motivation. In particular, higher levels of student affiliation (friendliness) were associated with higher levels of motivation. Furthermore, Loukas, Suzuki, and Horton (2006) found that sense of connectedness accounted for student cohesion, the level of friction between students, satisfaction with classes and ensuing problems with conduct.

A sense of belonging at school impacts on a range of issues related to student wellbeing. Rowe, Stewart, and Patterson's (2007) review of cross-disciplinary literature reports that student sense of connectedness to school has repercussions for student health and wellbeing. Student sense of belonging is facilitated by a whole school approach that encompasses the classroom and school climate. It is also influenced by organizational and administrative processes and policies, the community context, and the partnerships between school and community, as well as the physical ambience of the classroom and school. Additionally, school connectedness has been observed to correlate positively with coping, social confidence and behaviour control (Rice, Kang, Weaver, & Howell, 2008) and the quality of student health (Mansour et al., 2003). Moreover, student bonding to school has been found to be protective of emotional ill-being and substance abuse (Bond et al., 2007; McGraw, Moore, Fuller, & Bates, 2008; Rice et al., 2008; Shochet, Dadds, Ham, & Montague, 2006). It is also protective of students adopting behaviours that would threaten their wellbeing, particularly when combined with connectedness to family and other adults (Resnick et al., 1997). Additionally, Catalano, Haggerty, Oesterle, Fleming, and Hawkins (2004) report a link between lower levels of school bonding and substance use, delinquency and crime, gang membership and academic problems. An association was also found between bonding in elementary school and initiation into smoking, drinking and alcohol abuse and levels of dependence up to 21 years of age (cf. Battistich, 2008; Battistich, Schaps, & Wilson, 2004; Battistich & Hom, 1997; Hawkins, Catalano, Kosterman, Abbott, & Hill, 1999; Hawkins et al., 2001; Hawkins, Kosterman, Catalano, Hill, & Abbott, 2005; Lonczak et al., 2002). Moreover, higher levels of school connectedness have also been associated with reduced levels of victimization and aggression, albeit a relatively small effect (Wilson, 2004). Conversely, the effects of connectedness can be negative if support is drawn from peers with deviant behaviour (Cho, Hallfors, and Sánchez, 2005; Maddox & Prinz, 2003; McNeely & Falci, 2004; Osterman, 2000; Prelow, Bowmen, and Weaver, 2007; Solomon, Watson, Battistich, Schaps, & Delucchi, 1996).

Students with a sense of school connectedness have a more positive view of themselves and others, and are more likely to support, help and be considerate of others (Osterman, 2000, p. 334; cf. Battistich, Solomon, Kim, Watson, & Schaps, 1995). Prelow, Bowmen, and Weaver (2007) in a study of 316 students from a high

school in north-eastern USA, found that school connectedness promoted higher levels of competence in social relationships at school; however, there was a negative interaction between ecological risk (school factors and ethnic identity) and problem behaviours for European American students, possibly due to support from peers with deviant behaviour.

Motivational and school competence factors mediate the impact of student sense of connectedness to school on academic achievement (e.g., Osterman, 2000; Marchant et al., 2001; Maddox & Prinz, 2003). Anderman (2002) found that higher levels of school connectedness were associated with higher GPAs and a positive sense of school community was associated with positive academic attitudes and motives among students in high-poverty schools. Moreover, Battistich et al. (1995) was observed to effect 'academic attitudes and motives' (including academic motivation and liking for school) and 'social and personal attitudes, motives and behaviours' (including conflict resolution skills, intrinsic pro-social motivation and altruistic behaviour). Further evidence of the contextual nature of the benefits of school connectedness is provided by Maroulis and Gomez (2008) in their pioneering work examining the relation between network density (the degree of connectedness to peers) and academic achievement. An interaction between network density and the academic achievement of individual students was found to be dependant on the level of peer achievement of the social network to which a student was attached. The effect on grades of networks of high performing peers was positive, whereas the effect on grades of lower performing peers was negative. This means that encouraging closer ties between students alone may not in itself necessarily encourage higher academic achievement. This study delivered findings counter to expectations foreshadowed in the literature; however, it was conducted in a single school involving a relatively small sample, and focussed solely on peer relationships. Other literature included in this review attests to the salience of student relationships with teachers and parents, and the mediating influence of student motivation and engagement on student academic achievement.

The review of literature pertaining to student connectedness to school has shown that it has consequences for student attitudes to school and learning, their behaviour, their sense of agency in learning, the development of intrinsic motivation, their mode of behaviour, the maturation of pro-social attitudes and skills and even academic achievement (cf. Osterman, Chapter 15, this handbook). It contributes to their sense of wellbeing, as indicated by their mental and physical health, and is protective of their adoption of at-risk behaviours. Conversely, connectedness can have deleterious effects where the support is drawn from deviant peers.

Synthesis of Factors Impacting on Student Wellbeing

Motivation and engagement in learning emerge as key contributors to student wellbeing and academic progress. As noted earlier, the studies of student wellbeing from Flanders draw attention to the impact of student motivation on wellbeing and

academic achievement (Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2000; Engels et al., 2004; Van Petegem, 2008). Student motivation is predicted by teacher caring (Green et al., 2008; Wentzel, 1997, 2002; Van Petegem, 2008), and the classroom climate, especially the quality of peer relationships (Anderson et al., 2004; Wentzel, 1997), and is influenced by student sense of connectedness to school (e.g., Osterman, 2000, p. 341, Chapter 15, this handbook; Marchant et al., 2001; Maddox & Prinz, 2003). Moral and social education and personality development result in an increase in student motivation and interest (Opdenakker & Van Damme, 2000). Furthermore, motivation mediates the impact of student academic autonomy and connectedness to school on student wellbeing (Van Ryzin et al., 2009), the impact of student–teacher trust on academic achievement (Lee, 2007) and the effect of school connectedness on academic achievement (e.g., Osterman, 2000, p. 341; Marchant et al., 2001; Maddox & Prinz, 2003).

Motivation lies at the core of student learning because it relates to achievement behaviours of students through their beliefs, values and learning goals (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; cf. Roeser, Strobel, & Quihuis, 2002). Additionally, motivation is considered to be at least as important as intelligence in predicting student achievement and, in fact, after controlling for prior achievement, motivation and not intelligence contributed to the prediction of mathematics achievement for secondary school students (Steinmayr & Spinath, 2009). Moreover, student engagement, an allied notion to that of motivation, is also predictive of student achievement (Klem & Connell, 2004), and serves as a protective factor for students at high risk of school failure (Finn & Rock, 1997). In fact, Roeser et al. (2002) found that the intrinsic value of a subject was the best predictor of cognitive engagement ($\beta = 0.46$), with social desirability being the other predictor ($\beta = 0.28$). Notably, Ainley (2006, 2007) draws attention to the synergy of affect, motivation and cognition in student learning and achievement, because interest focuses energy toward a task and therefore is a 'key variable' in motivation: it is a state in which affect, motivation and cognition are coordinated. Thus, theories of motivation mirror the dynamics between the affective, cognitive and social domains identified by the neurosciences as outlined earlier in this chapter. The import of this alignment of the affective, cognitive and social has been recognized by leading educational psychologists. Monica Boekaerts (1993) emphasizes that student wellbeing impacts upon their learning through their perceptions of personal resources like self-efficacy, ability to interpret and control emotions and perceived social support. Similarly, Richard Ryan (2007) points to the re-emergence of the acknowledgement that motivation includes both affective and cognitive components, a state of affairs that has arisen because of the ineffectiveness in the long-term of cognitive interventions which ignored affective and motivational aspects. Furthermore, Elizabeth Linnenbrink (2006) has also observed this trend to combine affect, cognition and motivation into the one construct.

A range of factors that impact on student wellbeing and academic achievement have been identified from the literature reviewed. This, in turn, raises the question as to whether there is an interaction between student wellbeing and academic achievement. This question cannot be answered definitively from the literature cited

thus far in this review, because of the differing ways in which student wellbeing is operationalized in the various instruments used; nevertheless, the following observation can be made. Opdenakker and Van Damme's (2000) cross-sectional analysis found no impact of student wellbeing on academic achievement; however, the longitudinal study of Van Petegem (2008; cf. Van Petegem, Creemers, Aelterman, & Rosseel, 2007) demonstrates that academic achievement has an ongoing impact on student wellbeing and posits an indirect link between wellbeing and achievement via motivation. Other studies cited in this review have shown correlations between indicators of wellbeing and student academic achievement both as perceived by students themselves and as measured by test results (e.g., Anderman, 2002; Lee, 2007; Malecki & Demaray, 2006; Marchant et al., 2001; Samdal et al., 1999). These findings concur with those of Marsh and Omara (2008) who observed that academic self-concept and academic achievement are related reciprocally and mutually reinforce each other over an extended period. Academic self-concept was a measure of student wellbeing used by Opdenakker and Van Damme (2000); however, this was a global measure of academic self-concept, whereas Marsh and Omara (2008) advocate domain specific measures. Marsh and Omara's findings demonstrate an ongoing interaction and reinforcement between domain specific academic self-concept, a wellbeing indicator, and academic achievement. Similarly, Roeser, Eccles, and Sameroff (2000) observed that the wellbeing indicators of emotional distress and academic competence were predictive of school grades longitudinally, and, in turn, school grades impacted on the wellbeing indicators of emotional distress, academic competence and the ways that students valued school. Hence, there is a strong prima facie case for positing an ongoing interactive effect between certain specific indicators of student wellbeing and academic achievement over time.

As evidenced by the literature, factors identified as pertaining to student wellbeing at school bring to bear upon student interest, engagement and motivation and subsequently impact on student achievement. It is also evident that student wellbeing is a product of dynamic interaction between the affective, cognitive and social in a manner that is consistent with the recent findings of the neurosciences as outlined above. An array of factors has been identified that contribute to student wellbeing and support their academic achievement; however, the question remains as to whether a link exists between values education and the wellbeing of students.

Values Education and Student Wellbeing

Concurrence exists in the research interests of researchers investigating the fields of student wellbeing and values education. This is evidenced by the fact that indicators such as student motivation and engagement, student self-concept/esteem, teacher–student relationships and student sense of belonging to school are observed by researchers in both spheres. For instance, similarities appear in the lists of indicators of Engels et al. (2004) in regard to the investigation of student wellbeing in Flanders, and those of Benninga, Berkowitz, Kuehn, and Smith (2003, 2006) in

their examination of the effect of character education on student achievement in Californian elementary schools. Similarities in indicators can be observed in relation to the physical condition of school facilities, interaction with staff and the atmosphere or climate of the school. Benninga et al.'s findings of a small, but significant and sustained correlation over 3 years between values education and student achievement adds to the evidence that student wellbeing impacts on student achievement as measured by standardized tests, and of the role that values play in nurturing and maintaining student wellbeing. Further attestation of this interrelation of values and wellbeing is provided by Roffey's (2008) qualitative study of emotional literacy and wellbeing. Values and the conversation around them have a central role in creating and sustaining a trusting and supportive school ecology essential to continued student and teacher wellbeing.

Investigation of the impact and effectiveness of values education has demonstrated that when values education is conjoined with best practice pedagogy, or quality teaching, there are positive benefits for student wellbeing and academic progress (Lovat & Clement, 2008a; Lovat, Toomey, Clement et al., 2009; Lovat & Toomey, 2009). Research into the effects of religious schools by Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993) and Hill, Foster, and Gendler (1990) has pointed to the positive synergy between systemic values and academic emphasis in producing excellent educational outcomes for students. Similar results have been produced across all educational sectors, whether religious, private or public, when values have been taken to the very core of the educational endeavour (Lovat & Clement, 2008b). For example, the experience of West Kidlington Public School in the UK provides evidence of the transformation in the wellbeing of students and improvements in their level of academic achievement when values were taken to the heart of school and curriculum reform. Confirmation of the soundness of the approach is indicated in above average academic performance and the school being sought out for placement of special needs students (Farrer, 2000; Hawkes, 2005, 2009, 2008; Chapter 14, this handbook). In like manner, Sherblom, Marshall, and Sherblom (2006) have observed that elementary student academic performance in mathematics and reading moderately correlated ($r = 0.58$ and 0.56, respectively) with fidelity of implementation of values education. Also, measures of student wellbeing ($r = 0.56$ and 0.70) and teacher feelings of belonging ($r = 0.69$ and 0.75) were also moderately to highly correlated with student attainment.

Teacher practice informed by values and good practice pedagogy has proven pivotal in promoting positive changes in student achievement and wellbeing (Abbott et al., 1998). Improved teacher practice has been found also to result in increased engagement in class and to encourage a supportive sense of classroom community that mediates positive changes in a range of student related dispositions including: pro-social and academic motivation, self-efficacy, liking for school, conflict resolution skills and trust in teachers (Battistich, 2008; Solomon, Battistich, Watson, Schaps, & Lewis, 2000; Watson, Battistich, & Solomon, 1998). Furthermore, evidence indicates that high quality values education programmes implemented with consistency and fidelity provide protection for students against drug use (alcohol and marijuana) and achieve effect sizes similar to those programmes that are specifically targeted at drug abuse prevention (Battistich, Schaps, Watson, Solomon, & Lewis,

2000; cf. Catalano et al., 2004). Moreover, the positive effect of values education programmes for students throughout their elementary or primary school years have been shown to exert positive and enduring influences on the wellbeing of students into their years of secondary schooling and even into young adulthood (Battistich, 2008; Battistich et al., 2004; Hawkins et al., 1999; Hawkins et al., 2001; Hawkins et al., 2005; Lonczak et al., 2002). The capacity of values education to influence student character-related behaviour at school positively has also been observed by Skaggs and Bodenhorn (2006) in their study of five school districts in the USA.

Beneficial effects of values education on student wellbeing are also reported as a result of the Australian Government's *Values Education Good Practice Schools Project* (VEGPSP) (DEST, 2006; DEEWR, 2008; Lovat & Toomey, 2009; Lovat, Toomey, Clement et al., 2009; Lovat, Toomey, Dally et al., 2009; see also Lovat, Chapter 1, Toomey, Chapter 2 & Dally, Chapter 29, this handbook). It is noted in the VEGPSP – Stage 1 Final Report (DEST, 2006) that changes in teacher classroom management had a 'ripple effect' on student behaviours and the whole discourse of schools. Subsequently, changed student behaviours impacted positively on school climate, with the effect that classrooms and schools became calmer with happier students and teachers. Likewise, VEGPSP – Stage 2 Final Report (DEEWR, 2008) indicates that values education, as implemented among the various school clusters, promoted wellbeing attributes such as student connectedness, motivation, engagement, interest and ownership in learning, as well as leading to changes in student pro-social behaviour. An investigation of the effects of VEGPSP using a complement of qualitative and quantitative methodologies confirms the general picture that student wellbeing is advanced by values education. Quantitative measures indicate teacher-reported improvement in student wellbeing in terms of student engagement, inclusive behaviour and responsible behaviour after a year of values education. In like manner, qualitative data provided corroborating evidence that student wellbeing had, in fact, been enhanced by the implementation of values education in terms of improvements in school climate and student self-appraisal, self-regulation and self-esteem (Dally, Chapter 29, this handbook; Lovat et al., 2009).

Examination of the role of values in education leads to the conclusion that effective education cannot proceed unless it embodies those values which underlie a positive concern and regard for student welfare in the provision of that environment which contributes to the development of their full capacities. Collaboration between cognitive, affective and social dimensions of learning indicates that values are central, rather than peripheral to education and learning. Such a view is reinforced by Hawkes (2009) who draws attention to Sankey's (2006) assertion that our actions are not arbitrary, even if subconsciously initiated; rather, they are influenced, and even determined, by values acquired though experience over time and which permeate the conscious and subconscious. Sankey continues:

> School is one very influential area of experience where meaning and value are assimilated into neuronal connections that make students what they are. . . . Values and meanings encountered in the process of education not only influence the conscious choices and actions of students, they also contribute to the making of individual brain and influence what each self will do when actions and choices are initiated subconsciously . . . the school itself has to become a values-based learning environment. (pp. 173–174)

Furthermore, Sankey contends that a values-based learning environment is enhanced by the understanding afforded by the neurosciences that alerts educators as to what is happening within the student, thus providing insight into the developmental needs and opportunities of students. Therefore, schools and teachers play a significant role in the values formation of students both through explicit curriculum (either as specific values education programmes or the intentional integration of the teaching of values into curriculum subjects) and via the implicit or hidden curriculum in its many facets and manifestations (see Halstead & Jiamei, Chapter 19, Hawkes, Chapter 14 and Narvaez, Chapter 38, this handbook).

Conclusion

A concept of student wellbeing at school informed by Aristotle's notion of *eudaimonia* will of necessity be holistic, multifaceted and values oriented. In the research literature surveyed, the notion of wellbeing is measured by or observed against a number of different descriptors, including: student liking for school; self-concept; self-efficacy; relational trust; mental health and psychological adjustment; physical health; protective behaviours; social support of parents, peers and teachers; quality of school life; communitarian school ethos; school academic emphasis; school connectedness; and classroom and school climates. From this list of descriptors it can be readily identified that many facets of student wellbeing are affected either directly or indirectly by the nature and quality of relationships with significant others. Concern for student wellbeing is ultimately driven by the values of the school principal, staff, parents, students themselves and the wider community. The affinity between providing conditions conducive to student wellbeing and effective values education is evident in the findings of this review, and, in particular, in relation to the positive effects of teacher care and concern on student wellbeing and academic progress (e.g., Hawkes, 2009). Other aspects of student wellbeing regarding school and classroom climate, student connectedness to school, student behaviour, and student motivation, interest and engagement in learning have been also associated with and positively affected by educationally sound values education programmes that are implemented with consistency and fidelity (e.g., Battistich, 2008; Battistich et al., 2004; Solomon et al., 2000; Watson et al., 1998). Finally, an overlap of research interests between the two fields of student wellbeing and values education is apparent.

Consideration of the interrelation of values education and student wellbeing at school leads to the conclusion that student wellbeing is a positive observable outcome of the implementation of values as they are embedded in educational policy, leadership administration, and the explicit and hidden curriculum, and also as given tangible expression in pedagogical practices and the web of relationships among the various stakeholders of a school. Recent findings of the neurosciences have underscored the fact that in order to be effective, education must engage students across affective, cognitive and social domains. Moreover, the very experiences undergone by students during their schooling are formative of academic and moral values.

Research into values education affirms the centrality of values in shaping the ambience of the learning environment and the significance for student wellbeing and achievement of what Neil Hawkes (Chapter 14, this handbook) calls ‘values-based education’. In other words, values lie at the very basis of all effective education. Promotion of student wellbeing means the provision of those conditions wherein student potentialities can flourish be they physical, affective, cognitive, social, spiritual or moral. Student wellbeing cannot be attained or maintained apart from attention to values and their actualization in the educational setting, beginning with the valuing of students.

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Chapter 4
Personal and Professional Values in Teaching

David Carr

Introduction

The key issue with which this chapter is concerned is how we might or should understand the (professional) role of the (good) teacher and the conduct of (good) teaching. Prefatory to this, I shall begin with some assumptions that are not, I trust, too controversial. The first of these is that insofar as our present concern lies with the nature of professionally 'good' teaching, we must admit that teaching is (i) a thoroughly *normative* notion implying standards that are inevitably value-laden and (ii) a (perhaps thereby) *contestable* notion to the extent that the values in which teaching is implicated are liable to controversy and disagreement. In this light, despite any and all professional attempts to secure universal consensus on the nature of good teaching, one may not reasonably expect to find total agreement on what constitutes such teaching – and, of course, the present account cannot hope to be exempt from such controversy. The second major assumption or claim of this chapter – to be argued more fully in what follows – is that teaching as both a professional role and an activity is implicated in, or impossible to conceive apart from, human qualities of an inherently 'personal' nature, or from interpersonal relationships. On the first score, teaching would seem to be – unlike (say) bricklaying or assembly line production – an activity that calls for qualities of individual personality and character. On the second score, teaching would also seem to be an activity in which – unlike (say) pest extermination or (even) brain surgery – it is professionally difficult, if not impossible and/or undesirable, to avoid some degree or level of interpersonal relationship with pupils or students.

This chapter is therefore concerned with two basic questions: first, what personal qualities are required for being a good teacher; second, what forms of interpersonal association are required for or presupposed to good teaching. As intimated in the previous paragraph, however, it is also concerned with showing that the answers to these questions serve to identify interesting respects in which teaching differs

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from other human professions, vocations and occupations – to the extent, perhaps, of requiring quite special or unique personal qualities and interpersonal capacities. In particular, it is here argued that it is not easy to fit teaching to a certain standard model of professional or occupational expertise as a matter of mastery of professional skills and/or conformity to (technical or contractual) standards. In this view, for example, a good joiner would be one who had mastered the technical skills of joinery and who adhered to a particular code of trading standards and a good doctor would be someone of sound medical knowledge and competence who also conformed to a specific code of professional ethics. To be sure, we might judge particular joiners or doctors to be better or worse practitioners in terms of qualities not entirely reducible to such combination of technique and professional code – and these might include personal qualities; thus, we might prefer this joiner to that one for his cheerfulness and good temper, or this doctor to that one for his better 'bedside manner'. But it is arguable that the joiner's cheerfulness or the doctor's bedside manner – while admirable – is not quite as crucial to good carpentry or medical practice as technical skill and conformity to occupational standards: indeed, we might well prefer grumpy or misanthropic joiners or doctors to their opposites if the former are more practically proficient or heedful of standards than the latter.

Values and Virtues in Teaching I: The Link with Moral Formation

Still, it may be asked, why cannot we say exactly the same about teaching? In this light, the good teacher would be first and foremost he or she who had mastered the necessary skills of efficient and effective pedagogy and whose practice conforms to certain professionally established standards of trustworthiness, fair treatment of clients (pupils), satisfactory to high quality of educational service, and so on. Here again, we might hope that good teachers would also be friendly and approachable, be cheerful and enthusiastic or even have wit or charm; but we could hardly require such more personal qualities or characteristics from a professional viewpoint. Once again, one might even prefer humourless, grumpy and unapproachable teachers to their opposites, if the former managed classes with good discipline and were more successful in achieving competitive examination results. Indeed, one might attempt to express what we have so far said about teaching and other occupations – particularly in liberal-democratic contexts – in a general distinction between professional and private aspects of human association. (For a useful exploration of this distinction in relation to education, see McLaughlin, 2008a.) In this light, the professional or other occupational roles of citizens would be strictly defined in terms of public (democratically established) standards of service and conduct that are largely, if not completely, separable from the personal qualities, attitudes and dispositions of private citizens. It would seem to follow from this: first, that insofar as such personal qualities as wit or charm may contribute to professional expertise, such personal

traits are only (so long as minimal conventions of politeness to clients are, however reluctantly, observed) 'contingently' contributory; second, that professionals are entitled to a certain (liberal) space for freedom of personal expression and preference in their private lives. Thus, for example, a person might be as misogynist as he likes in his private life, just so long as he treats women fairly in his professional capacity as a social worker or probation officer.

It is a prime concern of this chapter to argue that it is difficult, if not impossible, to sustain this distinction between private attitudes and/or attitudes and professional role in the case of an occupation such as teaching. To be sure, it is probably also difficult to sustain the distinction in relation to some other human occupations (such as, perhaps, ministry, social work and nursing); but it is the present contention that this distinction is particularly objectionable in the case of teaching – for a number of very particular reasons. Again, to begin with, it may be conceded that the private–professional distinction – despite the rather artificial liberal contrast between personal and public values and virtues on which it is based – may be useful or defensible in some contexts. We may accept that as long as the general practitioner or medical consultant is appropriately knowledgeable or skilled and observes due procedure in the treatment of one's ailing child, the actual character or personality of the doctor – whether he or she is personally pleasant, agreeable or congenial – is neither here nor there. Indeed, it may seem personally intrusive to 'require' a doctor, architect or civil servant to exhibit particular character or personality traits – or even to eschew certain attitudes that others might (from their moral perspective) find objectionable – if such attitudes do not interfere with his or her professional practice. While this might also entail some psychological strain or tension – even a certain degree of hypocrisy – in the life of a practitioner, such strain would be a matter of private individual and not (especially) public professional concern. However, I have argued on several occasions (Carr, 1993a, 2000, 2005, 2006) that such shortfall between the private and the professional does not sit well with the role of teacher – at least at those stages of educational practice explicitly concerned or charged with the personal, social and moral formation of children or young people. Essentially, the point is that insofar as some level of moral education is part of the public expectation of teachers in at least primary and secondary schools, and moral education – according to a view most compellingly articulated by Aristotle (1925) – is a matter of the development of character at least partly through example, the personal character of the teacher must also be of public professional concern. The key point here is that effective moral education needs teachers who actually *possess* certain positive qualities of character, rather than teachers who simply conform to certain public expectations in their professional practice – while dancing, perhaps, to some different tune in their private lives and attitudes.

To this extent, it would seem easier to make sense of the idea of a good but misanthropic, misogynist, homophobic, religiously bigoted or even racist doctor, builder, architect or airline pilot (insofar as such individuals might indeed manage to conceal such shortcomings in their daily work) than to regard someone tainted with such attitudes and sentiments as a good teacher – not least since it would be difficult for such individuals to deal sincerely, as teachers are often required to do,

with questions of decent and just human association in their professional practice. It may also seem easier to regard someone disposed in his or her private life to abusive, bullying or humiliating behaviour as (say) a good doctor, builder or airline pilot than it is to think in such positive terms of a teacher who is so prone. To be sure, we ought not to take any such case for continuity between personal and professional traits in the case of teaching too far: even if we might prefer witty or charming teachers to dour or humourless ones – or even regard them as more effective communicators – we can recognize that dourness or lack of wit hardly disqualifies someone from teaching or is fatally inconsistent with effective instruction or education. Indeed, it may be useful here to draw a rough distinction among personal human qualities between traits of *character* and traits of *personality*. On a plausible version of this distinction (see Carr, 2007), the former would be precisely qualities of some moral import – those for which we may be praised for having or (more particularly) blamed for lacking. Hence, insofar as a would-be teacher is misogynistic or sarcastic, there would seem to be some (professional) case for saying that these are qualities that a teacher *ought* not – given the nature of his or her calling – to possess: but insofar as that teacher lacks such personality traits as wit or optimism, there would also seem to be little *moral* case for requiring a more sanguine or humorous approach to life. But the present general point is that there would certainly seem to be qualities that, in the case of teaching if not other human occupations, cut across the liberal separation of private from professional values, standards and virtues. To whatever extent we might regard privately misogynist or humiliating doctors or plumbers as nevertheless good at what they do, it seems less easy to regard misogynist or bullying individuals as good teachers – given that it is arguably part and parcel of good education to assist others to develop qualities of character that exclude misogynist and bullying attitudes.

Values and Virtues in Teaching II: Pedagogy as Virtue

However, there is another significant respect in which it is difficult to separate the personal from the professional in the case of an occupation such as teaching. In this view it is not just that teachers – at least in the familiar professional contexts of elementary or pre-university education – may be expected to exemplify and model positive qualities of character for pupils, but that it does not seem easy to identify a body of professional teaching expertise or skill that is entirely separate and distinct from qualities of either character or personality. This certainly does seem possible in the case of many other human occupations – and, indeed, it is on some such separation that the liberal distinction of the personal from the professional largely turns. Thus, for example, despite any preference we might have for decent and approachable over personally disreputable surgeons or builders, we can make sense of good but disreputable surgeons or builders precisely in terms of the specifiable skills and techniques that largely identify good surgery or building. Thus, it may not much matter to us whether a surgeon or builder is dour, irascible, impatient, boring, timid,

unimaginative, sarcastic, authoritarian, misogynist, homophobic or even a faithless husband so long as he or she is able to perform the skills of good building or surgery to an acceptable or high degree of competence. But, someone might say, is this not also true of teaching? Could teachers not be prey to any, all or other of these shortcomings of human personality of character yet be considered good teachers insofar as they possess the knowledge, skills and techniques of effective instruction that enable pupils to learn what they are teaching them. Indeed, haven't many of us benefited from effective and successful instruction from dour, irascible, impatient, boring, sarcastic and misogynist teachers?

While any general answer to this last question would have to be affirmative, there is clearly nevertheless a sophistical flavour to the question. First, indeed, insofar as the response that it obviously invites evidently presupposes the familiar dichotomy of the professional and the personal, it is blatantly question begging. Have not many of us learned lessons from boring and sarcastic teachers? Yes, of course. But, first, one could hardly on such grounds reasonably advocate that teachers *should* be boring or sarcastic – and, second, there may well be significant questions about *what* precisely we have learned from boring and sarcastic teachers. Here, it is a crucial point that the value-laden goals of teaching – or certainly the educational goals to which much teaching is or ought to be directed – are not clearly subject to the relatively uncontroversial specification that the goals of building or surgery are. For example, it is not obvious – despite a modern history of attempts to construe them in this way – that the ends of teaching and education are apt for specification in terms of a pedagogical technology based on a science of learning. Thus, although much modern 'scientific' behaviourist and cognitive psychology seems to have sought – with some success and much professional influence – to identify processes of effective knowledge (or 'information') transmission, such technologies have often been resisted precisely on the grounds that education involves much more than such transmission. Indeed, one might imagine science 'advancing' to a stage at which information or skills are directly encoded in the human brain in the manner of computer programmes and/or in which learners were suborned to such programming in the interest of some ideal of social progress – as depicted in much science fiction. However, the usual point of such fictional explorations of possible sci-fi scenarios has been to show that human education cannot or should not be conceived in such ways. On alternative views, education is not about the passive reception of information but about active discovery of meaning and understanding; it is not about involuntary submission and coercion but witting and willing engagement with ideas; it is not purely a matter of 'cold' cognition but of passionate enthusiasm; it is not always a matter of solitary initiation into received truths but of social and interpersonal exploration of creative possibilities; it is not merely the disinterested absorption of value-neutral facts or propositions but the formation of (often controversial) values; and so on.

Given that education – at least according to such ideals – involves the meaningful interpretation of experience, the development of freedom, emotional engagement, interpersonal association and the formation of values, it is hard to see how it may be reduced to some quasi-scientific technology of knowledge transfer and control,

or how we might therefore sustain the liberal distinction between personal values and virtues and professional skills or expertise. Thus, for example, it is hard to see how teachers who are dull, lifeless or boring might generate or inspire the passionate enthusiasm that characterizes genuine educational engagement. It is also hard to see how the pleasure or joy of educationally significant learning might be communicated by teachers who are downbeat, dour or humourless. It is difficult to see how the fragile confidence of especially emotionally vulnerable learners might be sustained by teachers who are impatient or scathing – or how pupils might come to care for either what they learn or for others from teachers who appear to care neither for what they teach nor for those to whom they teach it. But has not latter-day pedagogical theory – as well as the literature of professional education, training and policy-making, which has been grounded on such theory – invariably sought to recognize much of this in emphasizing the importance of skills and techniques of lesson presentation, clear communication and pupil motivation? The precise trouble is, however, that modern models of professional competence (see, for example, Scottish Office Education Department, 1993; see also, for comment on competence models Carr, 1993; Hyland, 1993, 1994) have precisely inclined to the error of regarding such qualities as presentation, communication and motivation as skills or techniques when obviously they are not any such thing. Indeed, borrowing from an older but much more helpfully nuanced Aristotelian psychology, it seems clear that such 'teaching techniques' are closer to what we might or should regard as *virtues* rather than skills (Aristotle, 1925).

The Case of Discipline and Authority

Indeed, a very telling example of such confusion of virtues with skills is to be seen in a latter-day tendency to construe classroom authority, control and discipline – something about which most student teachers are invariably apprehensive – in terms of *management* techniques or strategies (see, for example, Department of Education and Science and the Welsh Office, 1989). However, without needing to deny that poor classroom discipline and control can often follow from some basic failure to organize one's lessons in an efficient or effective way, it is by no means clear that such skills lie at the heart of good authority and discipline. In general, indeed, it would seem that while teachers might well possess competent or even impressive managerial or organizational skills or techniques they could still be lacking much authority – and, conversely, teachers who are relatively poor at management or organization may still have impressive classroom authority and control. The key difference here – notwithstanding some slippage to which all these terms are prone – is that whereas management is mainly a matter of coercive power or control, the power of authority is more a matter of the willing and witting recognition of those under it of the *justice* of that authority. In this light, though there can be coercion without authority, genuine authority invariably entails the more potent power of willing complicity in whatever authority may require. Authority in this sense is therefore

what Peter Winch once characterized (in a key paper on this issue: Winch, 1967) as an 'internal' rather than 'external' relation – which is roughly to say that it is less a matter of causal manipulation of events or agencies for this or that extrinsic purpose, more a matter of rational appreciation of the moral legitimacy and benefits of this or that mode of order or association.

This is not, of course, to say that 'external' authority or control is never appropriate in human affairs or even in contexts of education and schooling: clearly, some degree of external political control is a sine qua non of social order and security – that is what armies and police forces are for – and there is often no less need for such control in the partly coercive contexts of present-day compulsory education and schooling. However, there are also clearly contexts of human association – of friendship, family life and even many aspects of civil and political engagement – in which relations of coercive control are clearly less helpful or desirable. In this regard, given the widely recognized purposes and goals of education – to promote not just learning and knowledge acquisition but a love of learning and knowledge for its intrinsic as well as extrinsic value – it should be clear that the authority of the teacher is not readily reducible to social control. So in what does the genuine authority of the teacher consist? While this is certainly a complex and multi-faceted matter, one can readily distinguish a number of key features. Perhaps the first obvious key component of teacher authority is that the teacher should have something to teach – not just in the sense of coming to lessons with pre-prepared material but of having something of importance to say that is also of demonstrable educational significance. The trouble here with latter-day 'competence' or skills-based approaches to teacher training is that they may encourage students to believe the heart of good lesson planning lies in the superficial shuffling of lesson content, clear diction and the deployment of entertaining resources – or that worthwhile lessons can be taught even when a teacher has (often evidently) little interest in or ownership over what is taught. But teachers with authority are invariably teachers who are themselves recognizable authorities *on* what is taught (see Peters, 1966): those, precisely, whose voice is heard and respected by virtue of communicating what is humanly compelling and worthwhile.

However, there is clearly more to pedagogical authority than this. For one thing, a large part of any success in teaching what is worthwhile in an engaging way also clearly depends on proper (Socratic: see Plato, 1961) appreciation of the capacity or ability of one's pupils to comprehend the substance and significance of what one is teaching. Again, while it might be tempting to regard such appreciation as some kind of psychological skill of observation or monitoring, it may not be helpful to view it in this way. Such appreciation is not primarily the product of some special professional training, more a matter of the common or garden knowledge of other minds and motives derivable via the time-honoured route of taking the kind of interest in others that one needs to get to know them. Like all good communicators, good teachers are also good listeners who are capable of generating conversations with (pupil) others, that are also – in the nature of all good conversations – significantly two-sided and two-way affairs. (For the idea of education as a 'conversation', see Oakeshott, 1962.) Trainee and beginning teachers often find

this difficult because they precisely lack the confidence needed to give adequate space to such classroom interaction with pupils. Indeed, it is all too common for student teachers to find themselves caught in a vicious spiral of escalating fear of such open interaction: having approached the lesson in a top-down and personally remote didactic way and discovered that they are failing to connect with pupils, they may retreat into a defensive posture of disengaged repression of any and all further pupil voice or expression. However, the further they retreat from real engagement and communication, the further removed they may also become from any basis of real pedagogical authority in the intrinsic motivation of pupils – and the more ineffective any desperate resort to 'external' management techniques is likely to be.

How then can such failures be helped or addressed? To be sure, sometimes – particularly in early stages of chronic neophyte nerves – the acquisition of a few skills or techniques of crowd control may assist matters. But it is crucial to see that this cannot be either the end or even (logically) the real beginning of good order. One thing that teachers with bad initial nerves will fairly quickly need to acquire is – precisely – 'nerve': indeed, no one who fails to acquire pedagogical nerve or confidence is likely to last long in teaching. But one also needs to be clear that such nerve is not a skill but a quality of spirit or character: to this extent, although it may be learned or acquired, it is not appropriately learned in the manner of a skill – and certainly not in the mechanical or 'automated' way that many skills are learned. Indeed, as a quality of character – a quality for which one can be praised for having or blamed for lacking – it is first and foremost a *moral* quality requiring the exercise of will and the development of wise and intelligent evaluation of the circumstances in which one finds oneself: one learns nerve or courage, as Socrates long ago advised, via honest, balanced and steadfast assessment of one's fears. But, likewise, the knowledge and understanding of others that enables a good teacher to enter into significant educational conversation is also no more of a skill, nor any less a moral quality. Indeed, as Piaget (1932) and other psychologists of moral development (e.g., Kohlberg, 1981) have argued, the general drift of such development may best be understood as a gradual process of 'de-centring' in virtue of which an initially egocentric self comes to recognize and value the needs and interests of others alongside its own – if not actually, as Kant (1967) taught, to place such interests above its own. From this viewpoint, the better part of pedagogical authority is clearly grounded in the deep human respect that really good teachers have for their pupils and in the climate of pupil respect and trust that they are in turn successful in generating on this basis. In short, to recognize that the true authority of the teacher is an 'internal' rather than an 'external' relation is to appreciate that it is a form of moral association more than social control.

Personal Relationships in Teaching

This, however, can only have the very highest implications for the other issue that we earlier undertook to explore in this chapter of the very nature of professional relationships in a 'people profession' such as teaching. This issue, to be sure, is much

bedevilled by certain time-honoured presumptions about what it means to refer to any given human occupation as a profession. On the present view, moreover, this issue deserves taking seriously insofar as there are persuasive theoretical and practical reasons (which I have explored elsewhere: Carr, 1999, 2000) for observing and upholding the familiar distinction of professions from other human trades or services. From this viewpoint, though the conduct of any human occupation may be considered 'professional' or 'unprofessional' to the extent that it is competently or otherwise undertaken, the term 'profession' has traditionally been reserved for those occupations (such as medicine, law and perhaps teaching) governed by (explicit or implicit) codes of practice apparently grounded in ethically universal or 'universalizable' principles of other-regarding service. In this connection, it is often held to be a key condition of 'professions' – as distinct from other occupations – that relations between practitioners and their clients (cases, patients, pupils, and so on) aspire to conditions or standards of strict disinterestedness or impartiality. In this light, the defence lawyer should treat his or her client without prejudice, fear or favour (irrespective of knowledge or strong suspicion of the client's guilt or innocence) and medical practitioners would be expected to devote equal time, attention and expertise to patients regardless of class, race, colour or creed. Indeed, what arguably distinguishes professions from many other occupations – in which profit may be the driving motive (and in which, indeed, impetus to fair trade may well be driven by such profit motive) – is recognition that professional services are owed to clients as a matter of moral *right*.

To be sure, as I have argued in more detail elsewhere (Carr, 1999, 2000), perhaps the key respect in which the business of teaching has a significant claim to recognition as a genuine profession is its concern to promote basic education as a primary condition of human wellbeing and flourishing: just as medical practice aims to satisfy the universal human right to health care and legal practice (at least ideally), the right to justice and due process, teaching and education aim to meet a basic human entitlement to rational and economic autonomy – and it is to this extent that they aspire to the fundamental moral ideals of profession. In this light, good teachers, like good doctors, should strive to ensure that they treat each and every one of their pupils impartially, do not give significant advantage to some pupils over others or show personal preference to some over others. In this light, professional impartiality would appear to rule out some of the more informal or unregulated attachments and associations that would normally be understood by the term 'personal relationships' in other non-professional spheres of human association. But this, however, might also seem to be at odds with those human occupations in which personal relationships would appear unavoidable if not actually desirable – such as social work, ministry and, of course, teaching. Still, as I have also argued on other occasions, much apparent tension and contradiction at this point would appear to follow from some failure to appreciate the complexity of moral value and principle in which much if not most professional association and conduct are implicated.

For, to be sure, although genuine professions are answerable to general or universal (*deontic*) principles and imperatives of justice and fairness as impartial distribution, much if not most professional practice also requires adjustment

of such general principles to particular contexts of professional association and engagement. In other words, much professional conduct is likely to require highly context-sensitive deliberation and judgement of a kind that is highly dependent on personal and professional character formation of the kind lately discussed in relation to teaching (see Carr, 2007; Dunne, 1993; Smith, 1999; McLaughlin, 2008b). Moreover, impartiality should not be confused – as it often is – with *impersonality*. So, while treating all without fear or favour, a good doctor may nevertheless need his or her 'bedside manner' and also require – no less than the good teacher – to adapt his or her treatment to the sensibilities and sensitivities of members of particular ethnic, cultural or religious constituencies. To this extent, most if not all professional reflection, deliberation and conduct would seem to demand the sort of 'reflective equilibrium' (Rawls, 1985, 1993, 2001) conducive to adequate traction between abstract moral ideals or imperatives and the more particular contingencies of professional experience and practice. That said – and as already noticed – the extent to which professions are implicated in more personal or interpersonal association clearly varies considerably. At one extreme, the dealings of surgeons with (perhaps mostly unconscious) patients may hardly be personal to any great extent. Again, while general practitioners may need to familiarize themselves with the medical histories of patients and also need to be sensitive to class or cultural differences, there is no great necessity for them to get to know patients at any deep individual and personal level – and they might be advised not to do so. However, it would appear to be harder for members of the so-called people professions to maintain such professional distance – and it also seems less desirable that they should do so.

Indeed, we have argued in this chapter that the heart of a teacher's pedagogical engagement with pupils is closer to ordinary pre-theoretical forms of moral association than to the development of anything more like technical expertise. Although it may cost much effort to make myself a fairer or more patient teacher, this is not something I will normally attempt to achieve via the development of skills or techniques. But the justice at which such ordinary pre-theoretical moral deliberation aims would seem to point to some unavoidable level of personal association and engagement. As Aristotle argued in his *Politics* (1962) it is no less unjust to treat unequals equally than to treat equals unequally; hence, as already seen, teachers require – precisely in the interests of classroom fairness – to appreciate the different needs and interests of pupils, and that such needs and interests are unlikely to be addressed by purely impersonal or impartial modes of association. We need to be clear, moreover, that this is not some regrettable defect of pedagogical practice – the falling short of some ideal of professional objectivity – but precisely part of what it means to be a good teacher. Good teachers need to know those they teach as well as they can, and to establish positive personal relationships with pupils (of inevitably different individual characters) in order to teach them effectively and to address their particular needs and concerns as well as possible. At the same time, however, this cannot but court equally understandable professional and public suspicion of such seemingly inequitable treatment and generate some tension with any and all professional regulation expressly designed to guard against it. This tension is liable to

arise in some very specific areas of teaching and it may be appropriate to conclude this chapter by drawing brief attention to some of its common manifestations.

First, no matter how educationally well intentioned they may be, attempts to give additional educational support to some (less able or more able) pupils may be regarded by pupils and/or parents as discriminatory. Indeed, recent political and professional pressure towards the so-called educational 'inclusion' is often perceived by parents as unjust – when, for example, the learning of their children is impeded because of a teacher's need to attend to the disruptive conduct of other pupils. Second, there are questions of privacy and confidentiality. Teachers may feel that in order to help pupils – personally or educationally – they need to know more about their circumstances than is quite proper for them to know. Likewise, pupils who trust teachers may wish to confide information that teachers would rather not hear – precisely because it might have legal implications (if children are being ill-used at home or are themselves law breakers). In such cases, though teachers may rightly feel that they should *both* know *and* not know more, they are clearly faced with hard choices. Third, there are questions of pupil protection. Here much latter-day professional educational legislation has been rightly concerned to regulate teacher conduct in the interests of precluding any and all child maltreatment and abuse as well as racial or religious discrimination. Conversely, there may be the need to protect teachers against accusations of abuse and discrimination from pupils. However, despite the evident benefits of professional regulation in eliminating negative and undesirable relations between pupils and teachers, such regulation is clearly not without its downside: indeed, it is also liable to engender widespread suspicion and mistrust in schools and their communities in a way that is quite inimical to development of the positive and 'internal' aspects of teacher–pupil relations advocated in this chapter.

To be sure, none of these tensions between universal imperatives of professional engagement and more personal modes of educational association are likely to be unfamiliar to teachers: on the other hand, it would seem that none of them would appear susceptible to resolution via further educational legislation or the development of new pedagogical technology. This is, I believe, because teaching is simply not reducible to general codes of professional conduct or to technical expertise – or some combination of these – in the manner of (at least some) other occupations. In this regard, I have long argued that the guiding principles of significant pedagogical practice are primarily ethical or moral norms – not in Kant's (1967) sense of universally self-justifying prescriptions apt for disinterested practical application, but in Aristotle's (1925) sense of particular and particularized ideals of personal human association. As any teacher grappling with the difficult educational business of monitoring pupil progress is likely to know, one cannot really teach something well to others until one has the measure of their interests, abilities, inhibitions, insecurities, loves, hates, and so on: in short, until one has got to know them in a way that is perhaps closer to informal pre-professional than any formal professional association. In short, without denying *any* role or place for regulatory principles or technical expertise, the present upshot is that reflection upon the nature of good education and teaching is more appropriately focused on the clarification, cultivation and

promotion of human moral and intellectual virtues and values than on the development of educational legislation or technical skills.

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Chapter 5
School Values and Effective Pedagogy: Case Studies of Two Leading Edge Schools in England

Wendy Robinson and Robert James Campbell

Introduction

This chapter draws both from our work on differentiated teacher effectiveness and from our school-based research on effective pedagogy for gifted and talented students in England. Our study of differentiated teacher effectiveness critiqued educational effectiveness research, with its dominant focus on measurable pupil learning outcomes, for its neglect of any sustained analysis of values, both in their broadest educational sense and in relation to specific values underlying teaching and learning (Campbell, Kyriakides, Muijs, & Robinson, 2004a, 2004b). We argued that effective teaching is inherently underpinned by moral values, especially in relation to the nature of learning and the school/classroom climate, and that any sustainable model of differentiated teacher effectiveness must include an analysis of the values of the schools and teachers involved. As part of the study we tentatively explored possible areas for re-evaluating the values dimension of effective teaching, including the value of independent pupil learning and the study of inclusiveness and classroom climate, and called for more empirical research in these areas. We subsequently developed a related project, which developed detailed case studies of eight English secondary schools, selected on the grounds that they had been judged outstandingly effective, under the English external inspection system, for the quality of both their management and their teaching and learning. A major focus in this project was the role of the explicit school-wide ethos and values adopted by the schools and the nature of the influence such values had on classroom practice and pupil learning.

This chapter presents findings from two of the case studies whose school-wide ethos and values were constructed very differently, but who both shared similar outcomes. It is in three parts. First, we offer a theoretical discussion of values and effective teaching, rooted in the Durkheimian moral framework and in relation to independent learning and school climate. Second, we present findings from the two case studies. Third, we discuss the implications of our findings for wider research

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on values and education. The chapter is not designed to provide a comprehensive analysis of values and education, nor a detailed analysis of school ethos, values or climate, which is far beyond its scope and has been done elsewhere (see Freiberg, 1999). Rather, our aim is to highlight the dearth of values in the educational effectiveness literature and to then illustrate, by way of two empirical case studies, the significance and pervading influence of values in whole-school ethos and culture.

Values and Effective Teaching

Durkheim's Moral Framework

There is a consensus in the classic sociology literature that the processes of education are suffused with values and moral purpose. In the view of the French sociologist and philosopher, Emile Durkheim (1925), the education system functions for society as an apparatus for the formation, the reproduction, or the reinforcement of moral identity and moral order. For Durkheim society was 'a certain intellectual and moral framework, distinctive of the entire group . . . society is above all a shared consciousness and it is therefore this collective consciousness that must be imparted to the child' (as cited in Durkheim, 1961, p. vii). The role of social institutions such as the family and the school was therefore one of moral socialisation. It followed that Durkheim saw the apparently technical matter of the rules and routines of school and classroom life – the 'discipline of the school' – as embodying in palpable form for the child the deep structure of society's moral order.

Discipline was not merely the means of enabling teachers to instruct more effectively, for it was through experiencing school discipline that the child learned a sense of duty to society:

> Too often, people conceive of school discipline so as to preclude endowing it with . . . an important moral function. Some see it in a simple way of guaranteeing superficial peace and order in the class room. . . .In reality, however, the nature and function of school discipline is something altogether different. . . .It is the morality of the classroom. . . .The class is a small society. It is therefore both natural and necessary that it have its own morality corresponding to its size, the character of its elements, and its function. Discipline is this morality. . . .It is essentially an instrument—difficult to duplicate—of moral education. (Durkheim, 1961, pp. 148–149)

Durkheim has been criticised for being unduly functionalist in his over-arching emphasis on the social structure. In particular, his analysis seems to the modern sensibility too categorical, in a world where identity is thought to be more flexibly, more actively and more individually *constructed*, than socially imposed (Giddens, 1991). Pupils act upon the moral order of the school to shape it, as well as being shaped by it.

Nevertheless, Durkheim's general analysis of the moral order of society having to be reproduced in the moral order of the school has remained highly salient. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), for example, has argued that the school is becoming the only universally experienced site for the

formation of moral identity and that this has consequences for the nature of the work of teachers (OECD, 1990). Contemporary teachers are engaged in moral development as much as cognitive development, even though we acknowledge that critical theorists such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) would stress the social repression involved in such moral socialisation.

The important question therefore is not whether values influence schooling in general so much as how they influence more specific values associated with effective teaching. Although there are exceptions (e.g., Dunne & Wragg, 1994; Kyriacou, 1997) for the most part the educational effectiveness literature has tended to adopt a model that appears at first sight value-free; the model adopts a measure of student outcome or progress, and attempts to establish the most efficient school or classroom processes for achieving them. Despite appearances, it is not value-free so much as based in a value system of instrumental pragmatism, in which ends are taken for granted and means pursued without reference to them. The consequence has been that the literature has insulated effectiveness research from both the larger moral frame of education, and from the need to see this reflected in more specific values underlying the teaching process.

Yet, it is clear that effectiveness in teaching carries value assumptions. It is a central focus for the 'performativity' ethic (Ball, 1999) and has connections with the drive for increased productivity in systemic reform (Apple, 1986). In the contemporary context, it is possible to see educational effectiveness as deeply implicated in the trend to globalisation and the pressure for education systems to feed into increased economic productivity (Scheerens & Bosker, 1997).

To illustrate the argument we have selected two areas of focus for values analysis in teacher effectiveness: the concept of learning, that is, what counts as worthwhile achievement or learning; and classroom climate, including the nature of teacher–pupil relationships. We treat these separately for the purposes of analysis, though they are usually inter-related in practice. We have chosen *independent learning* and *inclusiveness* as examples of values in relation to learning and classroom climate, respectively, but they are obviously not the only values that might be used.

Effectiveness and Learning: The Value of Independent Learning

Pring (1992, pp. 19–20) argues that it is inappropriate to consider monitoring standards of learning without first enquiring into the value base for judgements about standards. He criticises the 'lack of explicit and detailed criteria by which judgements (about standards) are made', on the grounds that the concept of achievement has built into it 'the mastery of something worthwhile'. Standards are, on this argument, the benchmarks by which judgements about achievement are made, but they reflect, often inexplicit, values. They are not the values themselves. This provides Pring with a critique for international comparison of educational effectiveness. '. . . as society comes to value different forms of life . . . so do our moral purposes change,

and so too do the standards by which we assess moral worth . . . it makes it logically impossible to make sensible comparisons of standards . . . across cultures unless those cultures share a common set of values'.

Drawing upon Pring's (1992) analysis, Richards (2001) argues that the measurement of standards achieved in classrooms by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) is invalid precisely because there is no examination of values:

> Currently the Ofsted inspection process involves collecting, evaluating and reporting evidence but without any explicit reference to aims and values. . . . Judgements of the 'effectiveness' of schools or departments are empty unless it is clear what aims are being effectively achieved or what values successfully embodied. . . .The nature of the standards is presupposed; they are not discussed or seen as contentious . . . yet . . . they are dependent on values and therefore potentially contentious. (pp. 12–13, 19)

From our point of view these analyses force an examination of what counts as valuable learning – what kinds of learning might be thought worthwhile, and therefore should arise from, or be the objective for, effective teaching.

We are immediately faced with an empirical difficulty, since most studies of teacher effectiveness take performance in standardised tests as the outcome measure, sometimes with the implication that it stands as proxy for other kinds of learning. There are exceptions as Mortimore (1998) points out. Some studies have measured the impact on self-esteem or self-concept, and some have investigated performance on practical tasks. None has examined teacher effectiveness on independent learning, that is to say, the kind of teaching which encourages and enables students to learn for themselves, to develop meta-cognitive awareness, to take some control over the learning process by being less dependent on the teacher and more ready to challenge the received wisdom of the teacher. Such learning has not been included in the empirical studies, on the whole. One probable reason for this is that it is difficult to measure validly.

Yet this kind of learning is highly valued in a world where electronic sources of information are widely accessible, where the ability to learn for oneself is in high demand in many occupations and where the concept of lifelong learning has become increasingly important. Furthermore, we would argue that this kind of learning is intrinsically more valuable than much of the learning measured by conventional testing, irrespective of its value in the world outside school. This is because, even with very young children, it confers a kind of dignity upon the learners; it embodies respect for them as learners and reflects a questioning of authority relationships in teaching and learning; its underlying value position is the acknowledgement that knowledge is tentative and learning requires scepticism. If teachers hold such learning as their objectives, it is reasonable to expect it to be included in the measurement or assessment of their effectiveness.

This view finds expression in Kyriacou's (1997) concept of effective teaching; he argues that effective teachers have to respect students as learners. For teaching to be effective there has to be mutual respect and rapport between teacher and student, based upon a commitment to fair treatment. He argues that teachers must show genuine care for each student's progress, must respect students as learners and must respect them as individuals. This requires a particular value position on the

nature of learning in which an appropriate degree of responsibility for learning has to be devolved to students. Teachers should set up ‘learning experiences in which the views and opinions of pupils can be heard, developed and elaborated, in which pupils are given a large measure of control in shaping and carrying out learning activities’ (Kyriacou, 1997, p. 109).

Thus, any model analysing teacher effectiveness might need to be able to accommodate this, and other values, held by teachers as a particular view of learning.

Effectiveness and Classroom Climate: The Value of Inclusiveness

We have argued already that, following Durkheim, we cannot conceptualise classroom effectiveness as merely instrumental, designed only to maintain order and generate cognitive gains. Any classroom reflects values for instance, fairness of treatment and respect for persons, and this has been recognised, to a limited extent, in those studies where classroom climate has been examined as a factor in teacher effectiveness. (For example Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schweitzer, & Wisenbaker, 1979; Kyriakides, Campbell, & Gagatsis, 2000; Mortimore, Sammons, Stoll, Lewis, & Ecob, 1988; Reynolds, Creemers, Stringfield, Teddlie, & Schaffer, 2002.) However, the emphases in these studies have been on instruction-related factors, such as teacher expectations, degree of openness, extent of differentiation, work-related questioning and class management. These do embody values, but the studies tend not to develop detailed analyses of the values per se; the classroom climate in these studies is defined primarily by a focus on work and on time on task.

The question therefore is whether a distinctive set of values associated with classroom climate can be identified. The value of ‘inclusiveness’ may be an interesting example. By this we mean a respect for all pupils and a commitment to enabling all pupils to achieve their potential. Dunne and Wragg (1994) refer to an ethos in which relationships are warm, teachers hold all students in positive regard, bias and stereotyping are minimised, and students’ views and perspectives are canvassed inclusively. Self-evaluation by pupils is encouraged, and (anticipating Kyriacou’s argument) there is ‘transfer of power and initiative based on teaching children to act responsibly . . . and the curriculum is negotiated secure in the knowledge that pupils share purposes and values’ (Dunne & Wragg, 1994, p. 41).

A more elaborated analysis of inclusiveness (using a slightly different terminology) is offered by Pollard (1997). He argues that classrooms should be ‘incorporative’, by which is meant a classroom ‘consciously designed to enable each child to act as a full participant in class activities and also to feel him or herself to be a valued member of the class’ (Pollard, 1997, p. 111). Pollard cites extensive research to classify the problems of developing such a classroom climate in four areas, viz., ability, gender, race and social class.

It is a difficult task to envisage how a model for research might incorporate appropriate values. This is not primarily because of the technical problems associated

with measurement, and with validity and reliability, though there are difficulties in that respect. Despite Peters' (1970, 1973) argument that there are some fundamental values in education, the real challenge arises from the fact that in different societies, in different schools, and for different individual teachers, there may be differences in values. These differences arise from cultural differences in society as well as at the school level. We would argue, however, from the point of view of research, that it is important to consider the significance of appropriate value diversity in research designs investigating effective teaching. This would vary from setting to setting. So, for example with very young children in pre-school settings, collaboration and social interaction might be the values espoused. In difficult secondary schools, changes in student attitude and motivation toward learning might be the values espoused. In our empirical case studies of secondary schools deemed successful under the very performativity driven model critiqued above, we were able, to examine the relationship between explicit values adopted by schools and the nature of the influences such values have on classroom pedagogy, especially in relation to students identified as gifted and talented. The project developed eight case studies of secondary schools, through interviews with staff and students, and through direct observation of classroom teaching. A particular feature of the methodology was to capture, as far as possible, pupils' own views on their schools (for a fuller report on the methodology see Robinson, Campbell, & Mazzoli, 2006).

The two cases presented in this chapter have been selected from the larger group because they represent two very different models of whole-school ethos and values, as well as very different geo-demographic profiles and geographical location within England. The first, King's Spafford, is a mixed 11–18 City Technology College on the outskirts of an industrial town in the East Midlands. The second, St. Ethelreda's, is a small girls' Church of England (CoE) comprehensive school for 11–18 year olds in an inner–city London borough, with a high proportion of ethnic minority students.

The Case Studies

The presentation of the two case studies is in three parts. First, there is a brief contextual vignette of the school. Second, there is a general discussion of whole-school values, ethos and climate. Third, there is a discussion of pupil perceptions of whole-school values, ethos and climate. The data was collected between 2004 and 2006 and is presented in the present tense, relevant for this period of time.

King's Spafford: Contextual Information

King's Spafford is a City Technology College, situated on the edge of an industrial town in the East Midlands. It has independent status and is comprehensive. It has 1250 students on roll aged 11–18 (250 in the Sixth Form), and is therefore larger

than most other secondary colleges, and there are more boys than girls. The college is oversubscribed. It partly selects students at age 11 as directed by the government, for their aptitude in science and technology, but otherwise the spread of abilities is similar to the national spread.

The college boasts a series of external awards which bear testimony to its commitment to excellence. It was amongst the first cohort of Leading Edge Schools announced in 2002 and has established an online resource and training centre to assist local teachers in developing their practice. In the same year, the DfES invited the college to create a prototype of an online service for teachers with video footage of excellent classroom practice in conjunction with six other schools. In 1998 the college was chosen by the DfES to be a Masterclass provider for local gifted and talented students, for which demand is high. It is also one of the few schools to have been awarded the ISO EN 9002 Quality Assurance Standard and it has the Investors in People award, which was reconfirmed in 2002. It received a School Achievement Award from the DfES in 2003.

The college has a strong link with the local community. A few students have English as an additional language and 2% of students come from ethnic minority backgrounds. The percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals is in line with the national average at 10%. Fewer students than is average have SEN or have statements to indicate their needs.

The college received a very favourable OFSTED report in November 2001 citing outstanding student achievement by age 16 and excellent leadership and management. GCSE standards are amongst the best in the country with the percentage of 15-year olds achieving 5 A*–C grades, consistently placing the college in the top five state mixed comprehensive schools in national league tables. In 2004, 100% of students achieved 5 A*–C grades and there is a very low gender gap. As a result, boys significantly outperform the standards attained by boys nationally.

School Environment/Ethos/Culture

What is most distinctive about King's Spafford is its innovative and highly professional culture, but one where the interests of the students genuinely come first. Its website states that 'excellent student care, innovative practice and very high expectations all contribute to outstanding results'. The 2001 OFSTED report endorsed this statement and also focused on the unique and innovative culture of King's Spafford:

> In this environment, no student is average. As students step through the turnstiles and register their attendance with their smart cards at the beginning of the long working day, they enter a different and challenging environment that demands that they have the highest aspirations of themselves. All students are regarded as individuals and are expected to aim high to use their talents and potential for learning to the full.

The college has a much longer working day than most secondary schools, from 7.30 am to 6.00 pm and students are also present for breakfast. Formal classes start

at 8.35 am and after 4.00 pm there are extra-curricular activities and students can stay on to complete their homework. Students have 7 hours more time in lessons each week than students in most schools over a five-term academic year. The environment consists of very modern, light, purpose-built facilities which are smart and clean and can be described as more corporate than school-like, appearing to exude confidence. There is a lot of activity with children moving freely around the building and working in various kinds of study area.

A key feature contributing to the college's unique ethos is that students of all ages and members of staff share facilities on an equal basis and to this end, there is, for instance, no staff room and there are no bells at the end of lessons. Students spend a lot more time with staff than they do in many other schools, taking two meals a day and two breaks a day with staff present and adult expectations largely determine standards of behaviour. Students can use the facilities after formal lessons and in the holidays freely and open study access areas are available with IT access and a wireless network. This is workable as registration of students is recorded electronically through the use of a smart card, which also functions as a coach pass, library card and payment for college meals. The open access policy is rarely abused, which testifies to the cohesive and integrated nature of the college, but furthermore, as described in its prospectus:

> This open access philosophy is central to the belief that students, in charge of their own learning, are capable of achieving above normal expectations.

The OFSTED report endorses this belief:

> Relationships are very good. Students are expected to act sensibly and maturely–and do so . . .Attendance is much higher than average. There is no unauthorized absence.

The college library is modern and well resourced with a state of the art IT facilities including the short-term loan of wireless laptops to the students. The college also possesses an editing suite with industry standard equipment; an advanced electronic music studio, DJ technology suite and individual practice rooms; a multipurpose theatre for dance and drama productions; a business centre including a lecture theatre and conference rooms; and floodlit all weather sports pitches.

Each student has a personal tutor to act as an advocate on their behalf and the school also encourages a home/college partnership. The college has a good standard of behaviour which it maintains is attributable to the belief that students and staff need to live together in a well-ordered society with respect for each other. The school prospectus also states that:

> The College places great emphasis upon caring for the individual student in every lesson throughout the day, ensuring equality of opportunity and entitlement. In this way we believe our students are best able to realize their true potential and to make a responsible contribution to their own learning.

Communication between the college and its students takes place via e-mail (each student has their own account) and a series of television monitors around the school. Routine information is passed to students during the tutor period and is reinforced during assemblies. 'Assemblies place emphasis on high aspirations and expectations

of students morally, socially and intellectually' (OFSTED report). King's Spafford also has a comprehensive website with access to curriculum material and online courses.

King's Spafford defines the learning culture around a set of values that privilege individuality and autonomous learning, openness to new initiatives, seeing connections across subjects, linking learning to wider applications, using a wide variety of resources and working in a wide range of settings, and encouraging self-reflexive learning. Their website goes on to highlight ways in which staff can encourage this kind of culture via creating a learning culture, through providing questions and challenge, and carefully considering their planning and resources. There is also a detailed discussion on the website about what constitutes differentiation.

Student Perceptions/Experience of School Culture, Values and Ethos

Students were aware of the exceptional resources that they had access to, one saying that 'the facilities at the school are as good as you can get'. The IT facilities were particularly praised by the students who clearly recognised that this was not a universal feature of all schools:

> I know other schools usually lock them up or something, because they don't trust students but they really trust us . . . nothing ever gets damaged or anything, it's really good, you feel safe here.

But, along with this the students stated that there came an expectation for very high standards of presentation, which they recognised was providing them with useful skills.

They stated that teachers gave freely of their time and were happy to stay after lessons and provide extra help. The close working relationship between staff and pupils was endorsed by students interviewed. They all mentioned their personal tutors, with whom they have contact time every day, as a source of support and provided examples of how they acted as advocates on their behalf; 'my tutor would be the first person who I'd ever go and see about a problem, because I feel like I can just tell him anything'.

The students feel very supported and motivated by their teachers, and clearly work hard, but in an environment which does not have a strong individual reward system. The students do feel praised if they do well and state that they have clear feedback. However, this is not a main focus of the wall and corridor displays or assemblies for instance. In fact the students demonstrated a very mature and balanced attitude to achievement, once again endorsing the college's aims and demonstrating that high achievement can go hand in hand with students feeling in control of their workloads. The culture of hard work that was observed on visits was also endorsed by the student interviewees; 'It's virtually a business place and we get down and work.' The students also endorsed the fact that discipline was not a problem; 'you always get the person that tries to muck around and stuff, but they

get sorted out within a few minutes'. The notion of challenge is embedded into the whole college ethos and reflected in the way the students speak about their work.

A key element of the King's Spafford curriculum is a comprehensive differentiated structure across all subjects in which students are not streamed or grouped by ability but can choose to work at one of four levels; basic (minimum acceptable for age), standard (average performance for age), extended (above average performance for age), advanced (at least one year in advance of average for age). The college students were all very clear about the different levels at which they could work and demonstrated that the system was both easy to fit into and work with. Each lesson commences with around 20 minutes of teaching time on core material to students working at all levels. Students are then given a lot of freedom to make their own choices about which level to work at. They stated that they were helped in their choices by their teachers, but it did not appear to be the case that there was a problem with students regularly pitching themselves below or above their capabilities:

> . . .people don't all want to do advanced work . . . they want to like do the work that they know they can do and not struggle to try and beat somebody who's better than them.

They explained that they received detailed feedback from teachers with a marking scheme that reflected the levels they could work at, which helped students to be clear about whether they were working well at their chosen level, but also whether they were being provided with enough challenge.

The students spoke freely about how they both felt challenged by the ethos of the college and that they also challenged themselves, one student stating that a member of staff had told him that not doing well in an A-level he was taking early would not be a problem as he was doing it to be challenged. There is an interesting relationship between achieving well in examinations which the students interviewed frequently referred to as a driver and the school celebrating this in terms of its standing in the national league tables, and the notion of work that should be relevant to each individual and inherently challenging regardless of external validation.

St. Ethelreda's: The School in Context

St. Ethelreda's was founded in 1699 which makes it one of the oldest girls' schools in the country. In 1928 the School moved to its present home in South West London. The catchment is the Local authority of Lambeth which is improving at a rapid rate and is in the top four local authorities in the country for 'value added' results. It is designated an Excellence in Cities area. St. Ethelreda's is a fully comprehensive Church of England Voluntary Aided High School, and Technology College status was awarded in 1996. The school has been awarded Sportsmark and Investor in People status. It is also a Lead Practitioner School for Equality and Inclusion. It opened a sixth form in 2003. There are 759 pupils on roll, which makes the school smaller than other secondary schools nationally.

Entry requirements state that 60% of pupils must come from practising Christian families with the other 40% of places being open to pupils from the local area. Attainment on entry is broadly average, but the socio-economic background of pupils is overall well below average with 25% of pupils on free school meals, which is above the national average of 16%. Almost 90% of the pupils are of Caribbean or African heritage, with a significant proportion (23%) speaking English as an additional language, which is high. A high percentage of pupils have lone parents. The number of pupils with SEN is 87 (11% of the total) and this is slightly lower than the national average (although the number of pupils with statements of SEN is higher than the national average). The percentage of 15-year olds achieving 5 or more A*–C grades in 2005 was 73%. Standards have improved consistently over past years. GCSE results were below the Lambeth average in 1994 (an LEA which itself had results well below the national average), but have climbed steadily and since 1997 have always been above the LEA average. By 2001 results rose above the national average and have been there ever since. Standards are now very high compared with those of pupils in similar schools, and the school is in the top 5% of schools nationally for the value added by the school. The school is oversubscribed and received a very favourable OFSTED report in November 2002, being identified as a very good school with no significant areas of weakness.

School Environment/Ethos/Culture

A plasma screen in the reception area welcomes students and visitors with messages that reinforce the positive school environment. Laminated posters in the classrooms also reinforce the key school messages with regard to high expectations, collaborative learning, anti-bullying and expected behaviour, often by using motivational quotations from famous people to encourage self-esteem. There are many wall displays and photographs around the school and there is evidence of work from most subjects and key stages, including performance data of SATs and GCSEs. In the science department individual girls who had achieved top scores were named. The building is old and potentially could look shabby, but instead it is cheerful and the overall impression is that learning is fun. The school uniform is carefully policed.

There is an interactive whiteboard in every classroom and all teachers have a laptop. The computer suites which the students can book into from 8 am to 5.30 pm are very popular with students and are commonly used for both coursework and homework.

A good starting point from which to uncover the whole-school ethos is the statement by the Head teacher in the school prospectus. Here she says that ‘we believe all our pupils have gifts and talents hence our huge range of extra curricular activities. . ..’ This is echoed on the website which state that:

> As a Christian school we constantly remind our students that they all have God-given gifts and talents and we celebrate these every day in our teaching, our events and in the day-to-day life of the school.

The school takes many opportunities to celebrate achievement publicly with prize evenings and end of term achievement assemblies. The staff handbook states that:

> there ... must be a clearly defined and understood system of rewards.... Honours Day, Achievement assemblies, NRA day and daily assemblies will also be used to affirm girls in their achievements ... Prizes will be given annually at the school Prize Giving for attainment and effort for all year groups ... The rewarding of attainment or effort within subject areas is to be encouraged ...

Assembly is an important time not only for the school to praise girls individually and collectively, but for the school to come together as a community and share in collective worship. It is a very affirming whole-school event which is quiet and dignified and challenges stereotypes, urging girls to be proud. This act symbolises much that is important for the school and which helps to create its collective ethos. The sense of community is underpinned by the school's support for individual pupils' physical and emotional wellbeing, which in turn is 'closely linked to their ability to learn' (Staff handbook).

Another key focus of the school is enhancing and affirming pupils' self-esteem as a means of enabling them to reach their full potential:

> We seek every opportunity to affirm our pupils and enhance their self-esteem ... There must be an ethos which emphasizes the importance of developing self discipline and promotes confidence, a feeling of self worth and respect for each other ... (Staff handbook).

The staff handbook goes on to raise on numerous occasions ways in which all staff are expected to have a role in continually setting the highest possible standards and expectations. St. Ethelreda's sets great store on behaviour management and states that:

> It is the right of each pupil to be educated in an atmosphere which enables her full potential whatever that may be, to be reached. It is essential therefore that we set and accept only the highest standards of behaviour. Failure to do so will mean that we fail our pupils because they will not be working in an atmosphere conducive to learning. (Staff handbook).

Student Perceptions/Experience of School Culture, Values and Ethos

The pupil voice comes across very strongly in the school's prospectus and the relationship between staff and students is close and respectful. The aspirations that the staff have with regard to supporting their students appear to be met:

> Although Yr 11 is stressful because of all the exam pressure, the teachers keep you going. They're continually reminding you to stay on track. Revision classes are offered every Saturday, so the teachers actively help us to take the pressure. They ease it by helping us to revise.

> When your teacher says well done, that's it, that's enough for me. The personal touch is important. You feel cared for as an individual... You're someone to the teachers and you want to make sure you do your best. (Pupil quotes for School Prospectus).

Interviews with pupils showed that they felt supported within school by peers and staff whom they could turn to. Girls highlighted the fact that they felt under pressure to produce good quality work, but this pressure did not appear to come from the staff alone. Since most girls do not come from a background of higher education take-up, if they were to go to university they would be breaking new ground and so their strong sense of ambition and self-belief was particularly impressive and although clearly fostered by the school, it appeared to also be very much self-driven. They were clearly thinking ahead, and displayed some awareness of issues around funding further education and family support.

Pupils demonstrated a good knowledge of the awards system and showed that this was a motivational factor for them. Where they had received certificates, they kept these and showed them to their parents. They also appreciated the ICT available at the school, particularly open access computers and the use of interactive whiteboards. The interviewees appeared to make good use of the facilities on offer including the library, the new sports hall, and the lunchtime and after school clubs and the possibility of staying on site to do their homework. This positive response to activities on offer is largely due to the fact that the school listened to the requests of the pupils in an audit of need that was carried out during Personal, Social and Health Education lessons:

> Additional Saturday and Easter revision sessions were requested by KS 4 pupils; KS 3 pupils voiced their need for expanded access to the ICT facilities and structured support for home work assignments . . .

All these and the other requests were enacted with the result that there was a very high take-up rate of the revision sessions. Every subject offers at least one homework club a week, some of which are drop in sessions, where individual queries are addressed as well as other more formalised supplementary lessons. The 'Raising Achievement' report states that:

> All of the foregoing (enrichment and extension events) contributes towards raising self-esteem in very tangible ways. There is a real sense of ownership by the pupils, who feel that they can give their talents expression and are valued as individuals . . . many of the clubs and subject specific sessions were organized in response to requests, which engenders self-esteem and the sense that pupils have a real stake in the school and are not only listened to, but their needs matter and are being met in practical ways.

Pupils stated that:

> It is really good at recognizing talent . . . This school is exceptionally good at motivating us.

> Here the teachers genuinely care about your dreams and aspirations so your talents are nurtured. Everyone has opportunities that will encourage and prepare them for the future.

> I've obviously been put in the top sets for a reason, you know, I should be able to do it. And then I started, you know, working really hard and that really brought my grades up.

Conclusion

Each case study represents quite distinctive whole-school ethos and values. King's Spafford is framed very much around a highly professional, almost corporate, work-oriented environment, which fosters student-directed learning within a culture of mutual support and trust between students and teachers. With high expectations of all students and high aspirations, this culture encourages students to take responsibility and ownership of their own learning and for ensuring that they set challenging goals for themselves. The emphasis is on individuality and autonomous learning – good practice being modelled by the staff.

In contrast with the highly 'professional' flavour of King's Spafford, St. Ethelreda's is much more 'pastoral' in its approach. It is particularly notable for its strong collective ethos, based on family values, which pervades much of what happens in the day to day life of the school. Its Christian values underpin the school ethos, which appears to confer on each girl a strong sense of belonging to a community with clear values and goals. This school culture has been fostered as a result of the context in which it operates, where it cannot be taken for granted that education is prized and that expectations even for the able will involve higher education. A very clear and strong leadership team in the school therefore models the values and aspirations that it hopes to confer on its pupils. A key feature is their belief in building self-esteem which clears the pathway for effective learning for all girls, and this is supported by a strong culture of rewarding and celebrating achievement.

Whilst the whole-school ethos and values of the case studies are very different they seem to achieve similar ends. Both schools are overt and proactive with respect to their rewards systems and the use of praise to motivate and foster a culture of achievement, not only in academic areas, therefore recognising the diversity of their pupils. Both schools refer in some way to a culture where the adults 'model' good practice and demonstrate the values that are held in high regard. King's Spafford seems to take this one step further by actually creating a more adult-like environment. Pupil perceptions of their relationships with teachers are very positive and staff clearly have a good knowledge of pupils, although this is achieved by the schools in different ways; in King's Spafford through a more professional environment and in St. Ethelreda's through a more pastoral environment. There is a sense in both the schools that individual pupils cannot slip through the net – they matter to their teachers.

Both of these case studies, with their respective 'professional' values culture and 'pastoral' values culture offer important insights into the theoretical discussion of independent learning and classroom climate discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Their commitment to mutual respect and support between teachers and pupils in the learning process, supports Kyriacou's (1997) concept of effective teaching, and emphasises the importance of independent learning. Their fostering of inclusiveness through quite different whole-school approaches also suggests that the relationship between these two factors is circular with values made explicit through the formation of school policy being reflected in teacher and student behaviours in classrooms, and with student and teacher voice being represented in the schools' policy-making

groups. The cases also support the notion of learning values through participating in the moral life of the school, as in the Durkheimian model, rather than following a discrete programme of values education. The cases support a re-conceptualisation of pedagogy as being an issue of values, articulated at the whole-school level, rather than restricted to technical effectiveness by teachers in classrooms, and could offer important lessons for the future leadership and shaping of educational organisations.

- A culture of valuing the whole pupil, not just academic achievement, is interesting in two schools who have all achieved well academically. It is worth exploring whether a focus on the holistic needs of students and support for multiple aspects of success is an environment that also lends itself to better supporting G&T pupils.
- Pupil perceptions of their relationships with teachers are very positive and staff clearly have a good knowledge of pupils, although this is achieved by the schools in different ways; in CS1 through a more professional environment and in CS2, through a more pastoral environment. There is a sense in all the schools that pupils cannot 'slip through the net'.
- Schools use sophisticated tracking and monitoring techniques and CS1 particularly is exemplary in this respect, providing evidence that is of benefit to gifted underachievers in particular. They also follow up this evidence with close mentoring or other forms of support.
- Students appeared to unite around the fact that being identified is a positive experience and the culture of challenge fostered in the schools is a positive one. This finding is of great importance and helps to counter the negative stereotypes that are still in existence.
- The students supported the findings of the lesson observations that practice varied from teacher to teacher, and subject to subject, and that there was still scope for increased challenge for the most able. It is also important to ensure value-added for exceptional students.

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Chapter 6
When Research Meets Practice in Values Education: Lessons from the American Experience

James S. Leming

Introduction

> Like a steady drip from a leaky faucet, the experimental studies being released this school year by the federal Institute of Education Sciences are mostly producing the same results: 'No effects', 'No effects', 'No effects'. (Viadero, 2009, p. 1)

From the earliest days of the founding of the American Republic a belief in the power of science to unlock the secrets of nature and thereby improve the lot of Man has been a part of the American ethos. Such founders as Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, James Madison, and John Adams all were, in their own way, passionately interested in science. The founders even contained the world's most well-known scientist, Benjamin Franklin. Franklin's discoveries into the nature of electricity made him, next to George Washington, the most celebrated American of the 18th century. An example of the importance of science to the early American republic is found in the letters written between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson after both had retired from public service. In the 165 Jefferson/Adams letters written between 1812 and 1825 Washington is mentioned only 3 times, but Jacob Priestley, one of the founders of modern chemistry, is mentioned 52 times (Johnson, 2008).

It was this abiding belief in science and technology, coupled with deep-seated commitments to free markets as a principle upon which to organize economic life, and individual rights and democratic governance that provided the basis for the emergence from a former collection of British colonies to the world's only superpower at the end of the 20th century. Recent efforts, notably within the US governments' Institute for Educational Sciences, to pursue the development of scientific knowledge that will inform the development of "research based practice" in American schools have raised as many questions as answers about whether such a pursuit will have the desired pay off.

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This chapter is based on two recent writings by the author that cover the same subject matter (Leming, 2008, 2009). The line of argument and evidence is modified and extended below.

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This chapter will examine past history and current efforts of research in moral/values/character education and identify three characteristics of the research–practice environment, past and present, which have limited the development of a strong link between researchers and practitioners. The chapter will, in conclusion, assess the extent to which the current gap between researchers and practitioners can be overcome and propose a perspective on research-into-practice that might increase the potential for bridging the gap between researchers and practitioners in character education.

A Brief History of Research and Practice in Character Education in America

The application of the methods of science to the field of education in America began in earnest in the third and fourth decades of the 20th century. While an earlier Office of Education had been established in the federal government to collect facts and statistics, President Hoover's 1931 advisory committee on education in an effort to move beyond partisanship in educational debate optimistically argued that "... differences of opinion, tenaciously held, are dissolved by revelations of pertinent facts established by scientific method and presented in understandable terms" (as cited in Rudalevige, 2008, p. 17).

The promise that progress in education would follow the same path that it had for agriculture and medicine, however, was not fulfilled for education, and especially for character education. It has been widely accepted among scholars of character education that the impact of the signature research into study into character education (Hartshorne & May, 1928–1930) – the Character Education Inquiry – was devastating for the cause of character education. Such statements as "From a research perspective the death blow to character education was delivered by Hartshorne and May's famous research on character ... its effect was to debunk the very notion of character itself, thereby pulling the rug out from under the educators" (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989a, p. 127), "The results sent immediate shockwaves through the character education community" (Setran, 2000, p. 315), and "The impact of the Character Education Inquiry can hardly be overstated ... this report became the scientific backbone of the liberal progressive character education movement and the chief empirical critique of conservative pedagogy" (p. 317) were based largely on the scholarly writings of educational progressives and a decline in number of citations for "character education" during the 1930s in *Education Index*. These assessments, however, failed to take into account the views of practitioners and what was occurring in America's classrooms.

Assessing the Impact of the Character Education Inquiry

By the time of the Character Education Inquiry (CEI) the shift toward the use of scientific methods in education and away from metaphysics and philosophy was nearly complete. When the President of Teachers College, Ernest D. Burton,

initiated the Inquiry in 1923, it was placed under the immediate supervision of Professor Edward L. Thorndike, the director of the Division of Psychology of the Institute of Educational Research (Hartshorne & May, 1928–1930). Dr Hugh Hartshorne, Professor of Religious Education at the University of Southern California and Dr Mark A. May, Professor of Psychology at Syracuse were hired to serve as co-directors of the inquiry. The Character Education Inquiry ultimately became one of the most frequently cited and significant research studies of the 20th century (Borrstelman, 1974).

The attractiveness of the CEI to educational progressives of the era was based on the findings derived from the basic psychological research contained in the report. The particular finding that received the most attention was referred to as the doctrine of specificity: "a child's conduct in any situation is determined more by the circumstances that attend the situation than by any mysterious entity residing in the child" (Hartshorne & May, 1930). Additionally, with regard to the efficacy of character and religious education in the promotion of character, the authors concluded that ". . . the mere urging of honest behavior by teachers or the discussion of standards and ideals . . . has no necessary relation to conduct . . . the prevailing ways of inculcating ideals probably do little good and may do some harm" (Hartshorne & May, 1930, Vol. 1, p. 413).

Given this critical view of character education it is not surprising that many would concur with the assessment that the CEI was "bad news" for the character education movement. However, Leming (2009) has recently argued the first major effort to use the methods of science to study character education was less than a roaring success in clarifying the impact of character education programs on youth character or on the development and practice of character education. In this study, careful examination of educational documents of the era of the 1930s indicates that the current practice of character education was little influenced by the findings of the Character Education Inquiry. For example, 20 years after the publication of the CEI, Henry Lester Smith, Dean Emeritus of the School of Education of Indiana University, conducted a national survey of character education practices for the Palmer Foundation (Smith, 1950). It is worth noting that the respondents had no difficulty assessing their current character education efforts. Smith received 300 responses: 77 from colleges and universities involved in teacher training, 124 from public schools, and 41 from state superintendents of education. Smith concluded, "there is a decided variance in opinion as to the methods that should be used in character education" (Smith, 1950, p. 9). While many from the three groups above did not express an opinion regarding the direct versus indirect debate,[1] of

[1] Generally, direct methods accorded a more central role to teachers and their determination of the content of the lesson, teacher planning of the lesson, and the incorporation of the lessons into the formal curriculum (e.g., history, literature, civics). Indirect methods tended to be more incidental and arise as the occasion dictated. Indirect lessons were based on student experiences. In indirect teaching, "preaching" and "moralizing" on the part of the teacher were to be avoided. Students were asked to locate the moral lesson for themselves and children formed their own plans and solved their own problems. The basic difference between direct methods and indirect methods

those that did, the state superintendents and colleges of education favored the indirect approach by better than two to one. Respondents from the public schools were evenly split between the two methods (35–35).

Smith noted that practitioners were pragmatic in their appraisal of the effectiveness of the two methods:

> While many schoolmen in institutions of higher learning and in administrative positions in the public schools are so ardently pointing out that the direct method is ineffective and outmoded, there are schools all over the country—in large cities, in towns, in rural areas—actually making use of the method and enthusiastic over the good results obtained. In short while some are crying 'It can't be done,' others are going ahead and doing it. (Smith, 1950, p. 10)

There are three major reasons why the Character Education Inquiry did not, as has been presumed, send an earthquake through the educational establishment following its publication. First, many did not see the results of the study as either conclusive or compelling. There was sufficient skepticism among teachers, administrators, and university faculty regarding both the quality of the findings and the limited focus of the study. Beals (1950), in a history of the development of the early character education movement, noted that with regard to the development of school-based practice in the 1930s that:

> In harmony with the findings of modern psychology there was trend in the direction of the use of the indirect rather than the direct method. Research studies, however, failed to show, to any great extent, the superiority of the indirect method. (p. 158)

The frequently cited conclusion of Hartshorne and May regarding the lack of efficacy of character education programs was in fact an inference drawn largely from non-experimental comparisons of intact groups and was not consistent with a wealth of other contemporary educational research. A greater quantity of relevant, and in many respects better, research was available to teachers and educational leaders in this era that could be utilized to reach a very different set of conclusions about the practice of character education. There was a competing body of research that reached different conclusions regarding best practices, and it was easy for character educators, if they carefully read the research, to pick and choose from a wide variety of studies and findings (Leming, 2009).

Evidence that research findings may be interpreted in multiple ways is found in Kenyon (1979) who claims that the results of the CEI were deliberately distorted in order to further the cause of those wedded to particular educational agendas. He makes a particular point regarding the distortion of the efficacy of the direct approach noting that the often cited sentence of Hartshorne and May that "prevailing ways of teaching ideals and standards by direct inculcation of probably do little good and may do harm" (Vol. 1, p. 413) is not the complete idea being presented. Hartshorne and May (1928–1930) go on to finish this idea with the recommendation that the focus for character education should be ". . . on the reconstruction of school

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centered on the extent to which the lesson was teacher centered or student centered. Of course, even this distinction contained many shades of grey.

practices in such a way as to provide not occasional, but consistent and regular opportunities for . . . forms of conduct as make for the common good." (Vol. 1, p. 414) This perspective is one that many proponents of the direct approach would approve of. Hartshorne and May did not argue, therefore, that direct methods had no place in a good character education program, but rather that such methods should take place within an educational environment that reinforces the same virtues as those being systematically taught.

Second, the CEI, due to its length and complexity, was both inaccessible to many and the results were seen by many as more negative than positive when it came to implications for practice. Its length, 1,782 pages over three volumes, and the relatively minor emphasis in the study on the impact of school programs on students, would seem to insure that it would not achieve wide readership. It provided no practical suggestions for teachers on how to improve their teaching, but rather concluded that current effort are ineffective – "no effects" – and offered only vague injunctions to use indirect methods.

Third, the common interpretation of the results of the CEI was that there is no such thing as character and teachers should not attempt to shape students' conduct in a preordained manner. This common perspective on the implications of the CEI ran counter to the conventional wisdom in schools and as a result made little headway with practitioners. The persisting issue of the link between pedagogical practice and theory and research was a salient then as today. Issues of classroom management and teaching in "real world" classrooms for many teachers made the application of indirect methods seem impractical. In the era under study, the calls for progressive pedagogy emanated largely from the cloistered halls of academe or the secluded offices of large city superintendents of schools. While the character education movement had strong grass roots, attempts to shape its development were largely top-down in nature with the advocates for change far removed from the perturbations of classroom life. The shape and evolution of the practice of character education was more a function of the requirements of life in schools than from the exhortations of theorists and researchers. As one of the perceptive observers of the era stated:

> . . . long before philosophy had defined the educator's problem, the kindergarten child would have been an octogenarian . . . nor can department of research bring immediate aid because time must always be the essence of their investigations. . .the educator who desires to make a desirable social product from the seemingly riotous and sometimes lawless material sent today from home to school to be "educated, if you please" must assume an immediate and independent position. (Anderson, 1930, p. 308)

A Tale of Two Research Programs – Kohlberg's Moral Development Program and Values Clarification

When moral/values education resurfaced as a curricular area of interest in the late 1960s and early 1970s the influence of E.L. Thorndike and his emphasis on measurement and experimentation in education had not waned. Campbell and Stanley's

(1963) highly influential book on experimental designs provided a sacred text for educational researchers of the era. In this book, they paralleled the argument put forth by President Hoover's committee on education and succinctly presented their commitment to the experiment as:

> ... the only means for settling disputes regarding educational practice, as the only way of verifying educational improvements, and as the only way of establishing a cumulative tradition in which the improvements can be introduced without the danger of a faddish discard of old wisdom in favor of new novelties. (p. 2)

This perspective was a central component of the training of the researchers of the era (including this author), and as a result research into moral/values education curricula was dominated once again by the experimental method.

The year 1966 signaled the beginning of a new period of interest in the morals and values development of youth. Character had fallen from the lexicon in favor of the more psychologically and empirically friendly terms of values and morals. Merrill Harmin, collaborating with Louis Raths and Sidney Simon, co-authored *Values and Teaching*, the highly influential first statement of the theory and technique of values clarification (Raths, Harmin, & Simon, 1966). In the same year the developmental psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg began to turn his attention to educational settings (Kohlberg, 1966). Values clarification, along with the cognitive developmental approach to moral education of Lawrence Kohlberg, dominated the field of moral or values education for the next 20 years.

As is typically the case with educational movements, it is difficult to judge exactly how much impact values clarification had on educational practice in America's schools. It is clear that the values clarification approach was by far the more popular approach with teachers than the approach of Lawrence Kohlberg. For example, one handbook of practical strategies for values clarification sold over 600,000 copies (Kirschenbaum, 1992, p. 772) an almost unheard of figure for an education methods textbook of this era.

Values Clarification

From the perspective of values clarification the goal of moral education is for each student to achieve greater clarity regarding his/her values by following the prescribed seven step valuing process. The theory of values education held that "... if we occasionally focus students' attention on issues in their lives, and if we stimulate students to consider their choices, their prizings, and their actions, then the students will change behaviour, demonstrating more purposeful, proud, positive, and enthusiastic behaviour patterns" (Raths et al., 1966, p. 5). The teacher was urged to be only a facilitator of the valuing process and, for fear of influencing students, was to withhold his/her own opinions. Whatever values the student arrived at, they were to be respected by the teacher.

A vigorous research program evolved based on the values clarification approach. Between 1969 and 1985, 74 studies using school-aged youth were conducted where

values clarification strategies served as the independent variable (Leming, 1987). A consistent pattern of findings emerged from these studies; namely, there was only limited success at detecting significant changes in the dependent variables (Leming, 1981, 1985, 1987; Lockwood, 1978). The values clarification research program utilized a wide range of dependent variables. While the percentage of the studies finding the predicted results varies from dependent variable to dependent variable, the predicted change in a given variable is seldom found in more than 20% of the studies (Leming, 1987). For example, in the 14 studies that assessed the effect of values clarification activities in classrooms on self-concept only 4 found a statistically significant effect. Similarly, in the 21 studies that assessed changes in values as the dependent variable, only 3 detected statistically significant changes.

One would anticipate that such a pattern of findings would be unsettling to proponents of values clarification and would result in the rethinking of theory, research, or method. In the second edition of *Values and Teaching* (Raths, Harmin, & Simon, 1978), published 12 years after the first edition, the theory was unchanged. Research into the values clarification pedagogy continued to examine the same hypotheses and dependent variables.

In the case of values clarification, one reason why research findings had little impact on the practice of values clarification in schools or on its theory is that the approach was wildly popular with teachers and students[2] and was consistent with the broader re-examination of the nation's cultural mores taking place during the era. In addition, proponents of values clarification selectively interpreted the existing research, even though it was largely not supportive, as supporting their theory and pedagogy. For example, in a 1977 article entitled "In defence of values clarification" the authors state "80% of the studies lend credibility to the assertion that the use of the valuing process leads to greater personal value (e.g., less apathy, higher self esteem, etc.), and greater social constructiveness (lower drug abuse, less disruptive classroom behavior, etc.)" (Kirschenbaum, Harmin, Howe, & Simon, 1977). This conclusion was reached in spite of the fact that between 1973 and 1977, in 29 values clarification doctoral dissertations, a positive effect for values clarification was found in only 20% of the studies (Leming, 1987). The proponents of values clarification tended to cherry pick the research and rely on "reports" – unpublished studies that did not attempt to control potential sources of bias – rather than sources that utilized experimental designs. Additionally, the proponents of values clarification tended to interpret trends in the data that were not statistically significant as supportive of the methodology.

In the end, however, it was not empirical research that resulted in the decline of values clarification. Analyses that pointed out the ethical relativism, therapeutic bases of values clarification, and potential threats to privacy rights (Lockwood, 1975, 1977; Stewart, 1976), coupled with a shifting political climate in the country,

[2] The author was a long-haired high school teacher during the late 1960's and can personally attest to the excitement and interest value clarification brought to the classroom. He can also attest to the concern of administrators and parents over the use of the lessons.

contributed to a state where values clarification became anathema in most schools. A positive view of authority, parents, or community was nowhere to be found in values clarification theory.

The Cognitive Developmental Approach of Lawrence Kohlberg

Moshe Blatt, one of Kohlberg's doctoral students at the University of Chicago, first demonstrated how the cognitive moral developmental theory could be applied to the practice of moral education. Blatt hypothesized that if children were engaged in the discussion of morally complex issues (dilemmas) and systematically exposed to moral reasoning one stage above their own, they would be attracted to that reasoning and attempt to adopt it for their own. Blatt found that after a 12-week-program of systematically exposing students to moral dilemmas and "plus one" reasoning, 64% of his students had developed one full stage in their moral reasoning (Blatt, 1969; Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975). In the moral dilemma discussion approach that developed out of Blatt's research, the teacher's role was to serve as a facilitator of student reasoning – to assist the student in resolving issues of moral conflict and to insure that the environment in which the discussion took place was one contained the conditions essential for stage growth in moral reasoning.

Reviews of the moral discussion research program (Enright, Lapsley, & Levy, 1983; Lawrence, 1980; Leming, 1981, 1985; Lockwood, 1978) have reached similar conclusions; namely, that in approximately 80% of the semester length studies a mean upward shift in student reasoning of 1/4–1/2 stage will result when students are engaged in the process of discussing moral dilemmas where cognitive disequilibrium and exposure to examples of the next highest state of moral reasoning are present. A 1985 review that utilized meta-analytic techniques with moral reasoning measured by James Rest's Defining Issues Test, found an average effect size of 0.22 for 14 junior high school studies and an effect size of 0.23 for 20 high school studies (Schaefli, Rest, & Thoma, 1985). An effect size of 0.22 represents a positive change of 22% of a standard deviation compared to the comparison group. Most statisticians interpret effect sizes in the range as "small." The authors noted, in assessing the significance of the data reviewed that "To date, no studies have demonstrated directly that changes wrought by these moral education programs have brought about changes in behavior" (p. 348).

Despite the relatively high quality of the research designs, from the perspective of the classroom teacher, research on the moral discussion approach was not seen as compelling. First, the stage growth found as a result of the moral discussion approach is in the stage 2, 3, and 4 range and small – usually less than one-third of a stage for interventions one semester in length and on average two-thirds of a stage for year-long interventions. Second, none of the moral dilemma discussion studies used any form of social or moral behavior as a dependent variable. Moral reasoning was the only dependent variable. Kohlberg and his associates did argue that moral reasoning and moral behavior were related at the principled level (Kohlberg & Candee, 1984), however, analyses of the evidence has detected only

weak associations (Blasi, 1980). Thus, even though it was found that the moral dilemma discussion approach “works”, it appeared to be of little practical utility with regard to achieving the character education objective of influencing students’ character-related behavior.

The conceptual complexity of the developmental stage theory, the difficulty of managing productive dilemma discussions with school-age youth, and the lack of salience for teachers of stage growth in students, coupled with the realities of classroom life, comprised a triple whammy for the approach. Unlike the values clarification approach, the Kohlbergian approach to moral development never did receive wide attention in our nation’s classrooms.

In the late 1970s Kohlberg’s perspective on moral education underwent a major change. This change did not specifically grow out of the research program, however, but rather out of a realization that the approach did not address the more practical concerns – student behavior and discipline – of parents and school personnel. As Kohlberg noted in 1978, “I realize now that the psychologists abstraction of moral cognition . . . is not a sufficient guide to the moral educator who deals with the moral concrete in the school world . . . the educator must be a socializer.” (Kohlberg, 1978, p. 14). It is clear that the major impetus to change in the cognitive developmental theory of moral education came from outside the “plus one” research program. Kohlberg’s personal experiences with educational programs in prisons and experimental high schools in the Cambridge area, criticisms of the approach regarding its alleged value neutrality, and Kohlberg’s own increasing appreciation of the views of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1961), were all powerful influences that led Kohlberg to shift his focus to the moral atmosphere of the school – the just community (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989b). However, like the moral dilemma discussion methodology, the just community approach also seemed impractical to many school personnel and never did gain acceptance despite its appealing rationale.

In the era of the late 1960s through the mid-1980s, a substantial body of research was produced on the values clarification and cognitive developmental approaches. This research, however, contributed little to the popularity of, or lack of, the approaches in schools. Although the pedagogy of the moral dilemma discussion “plus one” approach was clear and the research of high quality, it did not gain traction in schools because of the complex developmental understandings required of teachers and the difficult discussion skills required in implementation. In addition, its objectives did not seem relevant to the needs of teachers facing everyday character-related issues in their classrooms and schools. In this respect, it had much in common with the indirect methods proposed in the early character education movement.

With regard to values clarification research, two characteristics are worth noting. First, interpretation of the values clarification research findings varied widely. The proponents viewed the results, many with weak designs and insignificant findings, as supporting the program’s efficacy. Second, it was clear that regardless of how the findings were interpreted, the research quickly became irrelevant due to shifting cultural and political factors. Political concerns regarding the approaches value neutrality and quasi-therapeutic bent soon became the dominant concern about the

approach. As one proponent of values clarification noted, values clarification had fallen so out of favor with educators by the early 1990s that “Some administrators today would rather be accused of having asbestos in their ceilings than of using values clarification in their classrooms” (Kirschenbaum, 1992, p. 772).

Research in Character Education in the 21st Century

In the late 1980s the shift from the terminology of moral and values education back to the use of character education was given legitimacy in the United States when in 1987 the Secretary of Education, William J. Bennett, organized a conference in Washington, DC entitled *Moral and Character Education* (Pritchard, 1988). In effect, this conference signaled that, for the Reagan administration, education for the character of youth would be a national priority. Also, in the early 1990s, a number of publications signaled that character was now the preferred term for what the schools should be doing (Bennett, 1993; Kilpatrick, 1993; Lickona, 1991; Wynne & Ryan, 1993). Through the presidencies of Regan, Bush Sr., Clinton, and Bush Jr., character education has remained an area of interest of the US Department of Education.

The first significant bi-partisan legislation of the Gorge W. Bush administration (2000–2008) was the No Child Left Behind act in 2001. Frustration over lagging test scores and poor showings of American students in international achievement comparisons led Congress to take strong action. At the heart of this legislation was a focus on assessment of educational progress and an emphasis on evidence-based practice. The impact of the No Child Left Behind legislation of 2001 was that American education committed itself to a national effort to forge a strong link between research and practice. This drive for “research-based practice” was formalized when in 2002 the Education Sciences Reform Act was written into law. The general purpose of the legislation was to remove educational reform from partisan politics and establish scientifically based methods of identifying effective (and ineffective) educational practice. Within the US Department of Education the Institute for Educational Sciences was created, which in turn gave birth to the What Works Clearinghouse (WWC).

The stated goal of the WWC is “... to provide educators, policy makers and the public with a central and trusted source of scientific evidence of what works in education ... fulfilling part of IES’s overall mission to bring ‘rigorous and relevant research, evaluation and statistics to our nation’s education system.” http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/references/idocviewer/doc.aspx?docid=1. The WWC’s model for the advancement of educational practice is similar to that of the Food and Drug Administration’s (FDA) approval process for drugs. Educational researchers will produce experimental studies and the WWC will vet the studies with a view to evaluating their quality and claims regarding effectiveness. The WWC reviews of quality will then be made available to the educational community. While the WWC lacks the statutory authority to regulate or require specific curricular products for schools, it is assumed that good products/programs will

be adopted and poor products/programs rejected. This implicit adoption model assumes that linking government funding to curricula judged to be effective will create incentives created for schools to implement WWC certified curricula. The hope is that through the adoption of "proven" and "effective" methods and programs the education will be transformed in a way that scientific research resulted in revolutions in medicine, agriculture, and transportation in the 20th century. This "review-certification-adoption" model, however, appears not to work as simply as imagined.

It is gradually becoming apparent that the idea that practice can be informed and improved though assessments of "what the research says" is a much more complex task that it appeared at first glance. In a recent *USA Today* article the following was concluded about the state of educational research:

> More than five years after President Bush's No Child Left Behind law told educators to rely on "scientifically based" methods, the science produced is often inconclusive, politically charged or less than useful for classroom teachers. And when it is useful, it often is misused or ignored altogether. (Toppo, 2007, p. 6D)

For school personnel looking to educational research for guidance, recent headlines in educational publications such as the following must be disappointing:

> Math programs seem to lack a research base.
> Preschool education: Complications all over.
> Abstinence programs don't work. Largest study to date concludes.
> Research on inclusion is inconclusive.
> Reading curricula don't make cut for federal review.
> WWC takes stuffing out of Asian tiger (Singapore math).
> Proof of positive effect found for only a few character education programs.

It is apparent that after almost 100 years of efforts to improve educational practice through research the potential for developing a science of character education depends more on how teachers and curriculum developers view research than the quantity and quality of the research itself. The current state of research into character education reflects many of the same characteristics as educational research in general.

One insight into how research is viewed in the field of character education can be gained from looking at the popularity of research versus non-researched programs. Three widely used character education programs – DARE (www.dare.com), Character Counts (www.charactercounts.org), and Learning for Life (www.learning-for-life.org) – report on their websites 26 million, 5 million, and 1.7 million students, respectively, enrolled in their programs annually. The DARE program research has repeatedly been found to be ineffective (Clayton, Cattarello, & Johnstone, 1996; Lynam et al., 1999) and neither the Character Counts program and the Learning for Life program has a single research study that meets minimum standards for a controlled experimental design.

On the other hand, two well-researched character education programs – Positive Action (www.positiveaction.net) and the Child Development Project

(www.devstu.org/cdp) – cannot come close to these numbers of students nation-wide of the three programs above. The Positive Action program currently is in classrooms with approximately 390,000 students (C. Allred, personal communication, November 12, 2006). The Child Development Project, which has spent millions on high-quality research, can count 20,000 classrooms today or approximately 440,000 students (E. Schaps, personal communication, October 23, 2007). Clearly, more than a solid research base and a carefully developed program are necessary for wide adoption today.

Another perspective from which to make a assessment the role of research in shaping character education today comes from an analysis of the Character Education Partnership's *2009 National Schools of Character: Award Winning Practices* (Character Education Partnership, 2007). In this report a Blue Ribbon panel of character education experts judged 10 schools nation-wide to be exemplary with regard to the practice of character education. Each school and its practices are described in detail and references provided. It is apparent that each school has developed a program unique to their school. The general pattern is that no program rests explicitly on research-based "what works" criteria. It would be unfair to make too strong a statement regarding the role of research in developing these programs given the nature of the narrative, but the distinct impression is that these programs were "home grown" and that research played little part in the curriculum development process. [3]

A final perspective on the current link between research and practice is drawn from the work of the What Works Clearinghouse. Reviews of the research, undertaken to ascertain what works in the field are demonstrating that the development of a science of character education will not be an easy task. As of May 2009, the What Works Clearinghouse staff has identified 41 character education programs (http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/reports/). The WWC reviews were able to identify 93 studies of 41 programs that qualified for review. The results of the reviews are clearly written and easily viewed in table format. Seven studies met evidence standards, 11 met evidence standards with reservations, and 75 studies (80%) did not meet evidence standards. Research findings were reviewed in three outcome domains: (1) behavior ($N = 9$), (2) knowledge, attitudes and values, and values ($N=$ 10), and (3) academic achievement ($N = 3$). Of these, one program was found to have strong positive effects on behavior and on academic achievement, and one program was found to have strong positive effects on knowledge, attitudes, and values. Five programs were found to have *potentially* positive effects (a less rigorous standard) on behavior, one was found to have potentially positive effects on knowledge, attitudes and values, and two programs to have potentially positive effects on academic achievement. Overall, in the 11 studies, in the three domains, of 23 possible

[3] In a confidential discussion with one of the Blue Ribbon Panel expert reviewers it was communicated how frustrating it was to almost never hear any discussion of research from school personnel to support the award winning practice.

effects, 10 were found to be positive or potentially positive. Within the scientific community, replication is a key to establishing confidence in a research finding or theory. Replication entails multiple studies using different subjects and different researchers. In only 3 of the 11 WWC character education curricula above did two research studies for a curriculum met WWC evidence standards for inclusion in the review. In eight studies the WWC report is based on a single study.

The What Works Clearinghouse (WWC) rigorous review standards have resulted in the elimination many studies published in high-quality peer-reviewed research journals. For example, many of the research studies on the Child Development Project did not make the cut of the WWC due to the fact that data analysis was based on school level comparisons rather than classroom level comparisons even though the curriculum was designed as a school-wide program. Battistich (2008) raises the issue that despite the weaker statistical claims that may be made if the unit of analysis for effects were clusters of students rather than whole schools "... the preponderance of evidence strongly suggests that CDP had positive effects on students." (p. 340) In other words, he claims that the findings are consistent across studies and of great practical significance even if the research does not achieve statistical significance in all cases.

Conclusion

As can be seen from the above discussion, the relationship between research and practice in character education is frequently neither clear nor seen as compelling by practitioners. Three characteristics of the cultures of the practitioners and the researchers are at the core of understanding this disconnect within the research–practice relationship. First, such issues as the quantity and quality of the research are a particular issue of concern today, especially with regard to the summaries prepared by the WWC. Practitioners and policy makers alike can appropriately ask do we have sufficient research of high quality to make informed decisions about research-based practice? Questions regarding the utility of research findings for classroom teachers are today as much of an issue for the What Works Clearinghouse as it was with the Character Education Inquiry. With the CEI, as with the WWC, the research seems to point more to the conclusion that certain programs and practices do not work, rather than providing guidance for practitioners by identifying what does work.

Second, one of the central goals of educational research is to develop context-free and generalizable knowledge, but as most teachers will argue, context matters a great deal. Researchers give great attention to sampling methods and research design with a view to the production of context free knowledge about curriculum and pedagogy. However, for practitioners context is at the heart of their decision-making processes. At educational conferences in America teachers will always flock to presentations of other teachers about what works in their schools than they will to sessions where research findings are being reported.

Third, there exists a healthy skepticism among teachers about whether the research community can provide to practitioners trustworthy knowledge to guide practice. Teachers are aware that there is frequently research on both sides of the questions and they do not either have the time, desire, or expertise to sort through and evaluate the competing claims. In conversations in 2007, the author held with 50 practising teachers in central Michigan the depth in teacher's minds of the disconnect between research and practice and the skepticism teachers hold about research was apparent. Representative teacher observations regarding how curriculum decisions are made and the role of research included:

> All (the curriculum) is driven by benchmarks and standards. We are driven to achieve these goals and the existing curriculum might not get us there.
> Different personalities often end up teaching very differently.
> Research doesn't even show up on the radar screen when it comes to curriculum.
> We've got to do something and something quick with our students. We are not going to wait for research.
> If you have an idea there is research out there somewhere to support that idea, for example, research on middle schools has changed 180 degrees in two years.
> Kids change from year to year. Last year's curricula often doesn't work with this year's students.
> There are really multiple curricula in many classrooms. Differentiated instruction (hot topic today) actually means multiple curricular approaches. High ability/low ability and high income/low income students are examples of the need to differentiate the curriculum.
> Q: What accounts for the curriculum that exists on your desk?
> A: Marketing—politics—affordability—administrative whim.

Today, as it was throughout the 20th century, "what research says" or "what works" reviews are seen as not salient by many practitioners due to its failure to provide clear and consistent guidance, incomprehensibility, and lack of relevance to the classroom tasks that teachers face in their varied environments.

More fundamentally, this failure to find a significant impact of research on practice in character education may be due to a fundamentally flawed assumption about the relationship between the two pointed out by John Dewey:

> The scientific content of education consists of whatever subject-matter selected from other fields, enables the educator, whether administrator or teacher, to see and think more clearly and deeply about whatever he is doing. Its value is not to supply objectives to him, anymore than it is to supply him with ready-made rules. Education is a mode of life, of action. As an act it is wider than science. (Dewey, 1929, p. 75)

Dewey went further to describe his concerns over a basing educational practice exclusively on science:

> The sources of an educational science are any portions of ascertained knowledge that enter into the heart, head, and hands of educators, and which by entering in, render the performance of the educational function, more truly educational than it was before. But there is no way to discover what is more "truly educational" except the continuation of the educational act itself. It may conduce to immediate ease or momentary efficiency . . . to seek and answer in some material that already has scientific prestige. But such a seeking is an abdication, a surrender . . . It arrests growth; it prevents the thinking that is the final source of all progress. (pp. 76–77)

From the author's perspective, a more fruitful approach to understanding the role of research in improving practice will be found in the act of listening to teachers and trying to understand how they develop their classroom practice. This involves both understanding their perspective on the utility of educational research and how they apply it within the contexts where their craft is practiced. We as researchers must remain open to the possibility that our role may not be as significant as we might like it to be. Growing out of a more realistic view of how research is perceived and used may possibly develop a more salient role for our work.

The chasm between how teachers approach the design of educational practice and how researchers view the process is apparent in the view that the value of research-based and data-based decision-making is that it allows school leaders to avoid making decisions "... through a trial and error method (or worse still making decisions in the dark—a not uncommon education practice)" (Fusarelli, 2008, p. 196). Fuscarelli's out of hand rejection of teacher's curriculum work based on past practice and trial and error reveals the depth of the gulf between researchers and teachers and unfortunately may close off a potentially fruitful area for study.

A large part of the "research into practice conundrum" is based on the differing cultures of the researcher and the practitioner. From the researchers perspective the goal is to develop context-free and generalizable knowledge. It follows, from this model, that research-based practices, being the best available and highest quality evidence, will be faithfully implemented (treatment fidelity) in classrooms to achieve the desired educational outcomes. From the educational practitioners perspective the goal is to achieve the desired outcomes in a local setting that in many respects is unique, and hence largely not generalizable. It is apparent that many teachers make adaptations to "curriculum as designed" that dramatically affect what researchers call treatment fidelity. Most elementary school teachers will report that there are often significant changes from year to year in their students that require that they significantly adapt their curriculum accordingly. High school teachers likewise will point to differences between and within classes in a given year that require pedagogical flexibility. In an ingenious study by Kennedy (1999), she developed two packages of articles consisting of the following genres of research: experimental, a non-experimental comparison of two approaches, autobiography, survey, history, and disciplinary study. Teachers were then asked to indicate which studies they found the most persuasive, the most relevant and which influenced their thinking the most. Kennedy offers that the hypothesis that best fits her data is "that teachers find value in articles that address the relationship between what they do and what students learn" (p. 527). Kennedy concludes from her study that arguments for the superiority or quality of one genre of research over another is less important than the teacher's perspective on the relationship between the study and their classroom situations.

The practitioner who is focused on character-related outcomes will turn to research only under a limited set of conditions. Specifically, the research must be seen as salient, clear and comprehensible, and utilitarian in meeting his/her real world character development needs with students in the local classroom, school, and community.

In an effort to develop a perspective that links research to the practical needs of practitioners Burkhart and Schoenfield (2003) propose viewing educational research as an enterprise akin to engineering. An engineering approach would be less focused on developing generalizable views of how schools and pedagogy work and would instead be more directly concerned with the development of high-quality solutions to practical problems. From their perspective, "general theories are weak, providing only general guidance for design; nonetheless they receive the lion's share of attention in the research literature. Local or phenomenal theories based on experiment are seen as less important or prestigious than general theory, but are currently are more valuable in design" (p. 10). James Shaver (2001) describes the differences between developing a science of education and educational engineering in the following manner:

> Engineering is technology, not science, not even applied science. It is a different type of research enterprise with a different epistemology. The purpose of engineering is (not to create more knowledge) practical and set in a social context. The purpose is to create artifacts that serve humans in a direct and immediate way. Knowledge is generated to be used in the design, production and operation of artefacts that meet recognized social needs. (p. 233)

According to Vincenti (1990), engineering is technology and technology is not a derivative from science, but is an autonomous body of knowledge different from science. The generation of engineering knowledge follows from a different type of research enterprise with a different epistemology. Campbell (1960) has described this different epistemology as "blind variation and selective retention." Blind variation refers to the process by which alternative solutions to the practical problem at hand are selected and tried out. These variations do not take place randomly, but are selected without complete or adequate guidance. Selective retention refers to the process by which observed successes and failures become part of the knowledge base that leads to the design of useful artefacts. While some such as Fusarelli (2008) would denigrate such a process, I would argue that in fact this is how educational practice evolves and improves. Of course, with regard to the observed successes and failures, warrants must be established for the moral activity of teaching, and therefore disciplined inquiry is required. As I have observed character education lessons in America's schools over the past 25 years I have been struck at how quickly teachers are in their adaptation of the existing print curricula. Some teachers are natural born storytellers and constantly build that into their classrooms. Other teachers frequently incorporate examples from popular culture into their lessons. And some teachers do neither of the above, but stick with the curriculum guides.

In one high school classroom in the St. Louis area I observed a teacher that had made major changes to the character education curriculum I was evaluating. When I questioned the teacher she provided a rationale that appeared warranted, but it did not contain a single reference to research. Instead she based her approach on prior experiences and insights into her students. I did not find this teacher mindless or blind about her decision-making, but rather relying on pedagogical content knowledge. Lee Schulman (1987) has proposed that the appropriate way to understand expert or effective (best) education practice is through the study of the cognition of

expert teachers and their understanding of their practice. He describes "pedagogical content knowledge" (PCK) as ". . .that special amalgam of content an pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding" (p. 8). In this author's interviews and focus groups with character educators (Leming & Yendol-Hoppy, 2004), it was noted that many of the most effective teachers had a well-developed understanding of what works with their students and were unhesitant and unrepentant in changing time, methods, and content to suit their understanding of effective character education.

Lagemann (1989) has argued ". . .that one can not understand the history of education in the United States unless one realizes that Edward L. Thorndike won and John Dewey lost (p. 185)." The experimental science paradigm has been, and remains, a highly influential perspective within the educational community with regard to how to improve educational practice. However, as I have argued above, the potential of educational science on educational practice is still far from a success story. So, how are we to know, if we adopt the educational engineering framework regarding how effective character education programs are developed, that once an effective program is engineered it comprises an effective program? The first step in this process will be to assess if the stakeholders are satisfied. If staff, administration, students, and parents are enthusiastic about the program, this by itself should be given great importance. In the process of assessing satisfaction the selection of appropriate indicators will play a role. This will result in the second general step in the process, namely if the program is meeting it's goals – if it results in socially valuable artifacts. Local data should be collected and evaluated in this process. If differences of opinion are detected regarding the value of the program, that information should go into the process of further consideration of growth of the program. Careful observation and measurement, and even experimental designs, have an important role to play in the above processes. However, if that knowledge is to be used in the further design and improvement of programs it will be just one of many sources drawn for the local context to be used by school personnel.

The ideal role for educational researchers will remain little changed if the point of view presented in this chapter were to be adopted. That goal should be to produce high-quality and relevant research studies on questions that will have salience to teachers and other researchers and report those studies clearly. In addition, it remains important for teachers to have the knowledge and skills to be able to read educational research and conduct inquiries in their classrooms and schools to assess if their efforts are achieving the desired results. One issue facing research utilization today is the idea among many researchers and school personnel that research leads to some sort of settled truth. The very phrase "What Works" implies that we can achieve a degree of certainty, when in fact research knowledge is always provisionally held knowledge. Too often the quest for certainty, encouraged by effectiveness reviews, results in confusion and frustration and flight from research when simple answers are not forthcoming. If researchers and practitioners were to focus more on educational contexts and developing a deeper understanding of the processes that teachers engage in when acting as curriculum engineers, it is likely that these understandings would result in closer links between research and practice.

The guiding question of this inquiry has been to search for a deeper understanding and conception of research-based best practice for the field of character education. While my analysis accords a place for research in the development and public warrant for best practices, I believe we must look beyond experimental research for the deepest insights into effective practice. I am drawn to Dewey's notion of teacher reflection and experience as a broader and more fruitful perspective. Just as Dewey called for teachers to be aware of and utilize the educational conditions, physical and social, to design student experiences that lead to growth, so too should educators be driven by the ideal of continuing growth in their practice. Any view of the link between research and practice that presents research as "settled" knowledge and determinate of educational practice closes off the possibility of openness to further professional experience and growth and therefore may be more educative than mis-educative. Thorndike may have won, but Dewey was, in the end, right.

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Chapter 7
Mathematics Education and Student Values: The Cultivation of Mathematical Wellbeing

Philip Clarkson, Alan Bishop, and Dr Wee Tiong Seah

Introduction

For a long time the association between student affect and performance in school mathematics has been well known. However the intricacies of this association are still being teased out. In the current political environment when educational institutions are being explicitly asked to foster an environment that promotes student wellbeing, this association has taken on a new and significant meaning. School mathematics is not just about the performance of students, although some politicians and others in the community have tried to define it in this manner. Equally, "working mathematically" means far more than being good at a specified set of skills and more than being able to show mastery of various conceptual structures.

Experienced teachers do understand that the wellbeing of many students diminishes when they are asked to engage with mathematics learning. Underlying such engagement and hence mathematical performance, although not always recognized by all teachers in the hectic activity of a classroom, is a command of a specific language that holds the conceptualizing process together. Moreover, and of particular importance for this chapter are the values, and their language, embedded within mathematics and its pedagogy.

We will structure this chapter in four sections. First there will be a review of some of the relevant research literature related to affect, attitudes and emotions in mathematics learning and teaching. Second the discussion will then focus in on pertinent literature concerning values in mathematics education. Third these strands of the literature will be brought together with a new construct: mathematical wellbeing. Finally this construct will be used to elaborate a research and development agenda.

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The Impact of Values Education

Values in education in Australia became a focus for research and action in schools when the Federal Government in the early 2000s announced its intention of funding projects that highlighted the teaching of values. This initiative side-stepped the notion that any time a teacher teaches, values are being enacted, since there is interaction between people. Nevertheless this government action initiated a great flurry of activity, some of which is reported in this volume (see Toomey, Chapter 2, this handbook). Much of the implementation and research looked at obvious questions of how values are best taught and what influence context plays in such teaching; for example, formal teaching contexts versus non-formal situations. It appears that most situations that were developed in schools were cross-curricular by nature. That was understandable since the nine values[1] highlighted in later government publications (DEST, 2005), and which became the focus for funding, are clearly drawn from societal values, none of which would be denied as being important in young peoples' formation. Nevertheless many educators were sceptical of such a listing to be the focus for values education (Jones, 2009). As one participant of a focus group called to discuss the implication of the government policy for university teacher education courses put it "These are motherhood statements. No one is going to disagree about teaching kids these values. BUT the key is what you mean by them and that will rely on the teaching contexts developed".[2]

One issue then is, are these or other values clear to the students as they go about the business of their normal routines of school life? If values are foundational to students' wellbeing,[3] then certainly they need to become aware of them and how they influence their normal living. Given that for students their schooling revolves around "going to classes", do they experience values that they recognize in those class times? It would seem to be counterproductive to the development of values if the only time that they became important was at special times, such as when completing cross-curricula projects, unless such projects are the norm for a particular school.[4] So, can the values that are targeted be embedded in the normal teaching of school subject areas? There seems to be no doubt that this is so, although the aim of many government-funded projects seemed to suggest that the explicit teaching of values in other than normal teaching was what was needed.

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[1]Integrity; Freedom; Responsibility; Respect; Doing your best; Honesty and trustworthiness; Fair go; Care and compassion; Understanding, tolerance and inclusion.

[2]This was one of the four focus groups at four different universities that Clarkson was asked to chair as part of the Australian Council of Deans Committee Project to promote the teaching of values. Comments such as this one were voiced in all groups.

[3]"Wellbeing refers to students' physical, social and emotional well-being and development. . .these elements are integral rather than incidental to learning. Learners will find it difficult to engage with learning programs, if they are distracted by significant physical, social and emotional issues" (Catholic Education Office, Archdiocese of Melbourne, 2008, p. 1).

[4]Most Australian schools run their teaching days through specific subject teaching.

However there is a class of values that was not embedded within the current general debate on the teaching of values to young people in school and which we will argue also is imperative for students' wellbeing. These are values that are central to the formation of particular subject areas, and guide their scholars in how they should act and think if they are to become practitioners at a deep level of the subject. Students might be able to answer test items correctly, but unless they know what the values are, and can enact them, they may have difficulty comprehending the deep structure, nuances and understandings that come with being a geographer, linguist or scientist. Furthermore, unless they are aware of such values, as well as the procedures of manipulating knowledge, the experience of connectedness, purposefulness of learning, some sense of control over your learning, producing productive work, engagement with others and the task, all aspects of what the research literature suggest link to students' wellbeing, will not be present (Chapman, Toomey, Cahill, Davis & Gaff, 2007). We argue that this is true for mathematics, although an unexpected implication for some. Indeed the learning of the values embedded within mathematics will start at a very early age of schooling, whether teachers, students or parents are aware of this implicit values learning.

In this chapter we explore some of the research literature on this issue that began in the early 1990s, although we acknowledge that there were precursors to this issue that pre-figured some of what we debate today. We discuss what values are embedded in this mathematical aspect of our culture and how they differ from attitudes, beliefs and other affective dimensions that have been explored in education. We also reflect on some of the research that has looked at teachers attempting to explicitly teach these values, and hence in Lovat's terms impinge directly on teacher effectiveness (Lovat, 2005). We will argue that given mathematics takes up a substantial period of a student's time when at school, their knowledge of and knowing acquisition of the embedded mathematical values will impact on the whole of their wellbeing, but in particular on a new construct that we describe, their "mathematical wellbeing". But we begin by taking a brief broad view of affect in mathematics education research, and in particular the most common variable, that of attitudes. This will help position the explicit research undertaken on values, which then follows. We bring the chapter to an end by moving beyond the notion of values per se and suggest a new emotional domain, paralleling Bloom's cognitive and affective domains (Bloom, Engelhart, Furst, Hill & Krathwohl, 1956; Krathwohl, Bloom & Masia, 1964), in association with the new construct of mathematical wellbeing (MWB).

Affect and Attitudes in Mathematics Education Research

Prior to the 1980s, there was a general understanding that attitudes of students to their mathematical study were important, and much research was conducted. However normally the final aim of this research was to understand how attitudes impinged on students' understandings and how attitudes impeded or enhance

performance, rather than for its own sake. During the 1980s and the 1990s, a change occurred. One key point that possibly marks the end of this change was the chapter by McLeod (1992) in the first handbook published by the influential National Council of Teachers of Mathematics in the United States. Affective issues, rather than the catch-all term of attitudes used until then, began to be seen as important in their own right. Hence by 2004 in summing up of the "Working Group" sessions on "Affect and Mathematics" at the International Congress of Mathematics Education in Copenhagen, a key comment was that we certainly need to be studying students' knowledge of mathematics, but there was also a need for the study of affective issues in their own right, not just into the impact they have on performance or understanding (Clarkson & Hannula, 2008). However the two-way relationship between knowledge and affect was also an important area of research. Hence there was a "triple bottom line", to borrow a business term, for this research area. In some ways this reflects recognition of the different cognitive and affective domains that Bloom and his co-workers had mapped out in the 1950s and the 1960s, although the affective domain was little used in mathematics education. The two-way influencing between the two however is perhaps new. Further detailed exploration of these issues will be undertaken in later sections of this chapter.

During the 1990s and the 2000s, it is true to say that research in this area has also become more nuanced. "Attitudes" are seen as important, but as noted above this term is no longer used as the summary or "catch-all" term. The broader term "affect" is now in common use. Therefore students' beliefs and values on the one hand and their feelings and emotions on the other have also become the foci for research. Attitudes are often now seen as an intermediate area between these extremes. Although these affective notions are often simply positioned in diagrams to indicate relationships between them, rarely is there discussion as to whether there is any movement between these identified affect notions, and if so, what might be the cause. This is an area of research that needs to be undertaken.

Another change is that this area of research now concentrates both on the students and on their teachers. In particular, pre-service education students are often used as participants in research projects. Thus there is far more differentiation in present-day research. There is now recognition that different key participants in the learning classroom may hold different values or beliefs, and the interplay between these is important. In the past there seemed to be far more research devoted to the attitudes of students only. Assumptions were made that of course students would model their values or attitudes or other affective disposition on those of the teacher in mathematics classrooms. In the last few years, these associations have been problematized and are the focus of study.

Before briefly reviewing some of the relevant research literature, it is instructive to note the place and role of affect in curricular documents that teachers work from, as well as other professional avenues that mathematics teachers consult. Statements discussing the importance of students having a positive attitude, disposition, motivation, confidence or just plain "liking" of mathematics were easy to find in a variety of state education system curriculum documents. Indeed it would be a surprise if such statements were not to be found in such documents. An electronic search was also

made of the presentations given at the 2005 Australian Association of Mathematics Teachers' conference. Again a variety of papers clearly suggested that having a positive disposition to mathematics for both students and teachers was important. Finally many articles in professional journals, which give teachers interesting topics or approaches that will hopefully capture the attention of students and promote positive attitudes to mathematics, were easy to find (for example, Hekimoglee, 2005; Shallcross, 2005). Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that the mathematics teaching profession regards positive attitudes towards mathematics as important.

Rather than complete a comprehensive search of worldwide literature, we inspected the research undertaken in Australasia in the last four years, an important and influential subset of the worldwide mathematics education research. The first notable point to make is the lack of research in this area. Although a variety of journals and conference proceedings were inspected, there was relatively little indication that ongoing deep research into attitudes and other affective variables was taking place. Apart from some focus on values and beliefs (dealt with in the next section), by far the main variable considered in the research was that of attitudes. In the main the notion of attitudes was mentioned as important within research reports and at times was included in the rationale for the particular study. Rarely was attitude itself isolated as an issue for which data were collected, however, and nor was it mentioned in the conclusion of such studies. The impression is gained that although students' and teachers' attitudes are of some importance, other constructs should and do take centre stage. In the reporting of research results, attitudes are at best an afterthought to ensure that there is some roundedness to the results. One wonders whether key terms that drive research on student learning and mathematics teaching, such as notions of "community of practice" and "the zone of proximal development", are really thought of as more than theoretical notions. If researchers really considered what it takes to have a "community of practice" that actually functions well, or a situation where students' "zones" become key teaching parameters, then for the participants to possess attitudes to each other and their mathematical activities that are positive, becomes self-evidentially crucial. This review of the literature on attitudes suggested however that researchers are not seeing this crucial assumption that they are making and leaving under-examined. However, even with this rather sombre assessment of the research on attitudes, there have been snippets in recent research that are well worth noting.

Leder and Groternboer (2005) comment at some length on the role that attitudes play in relation to beliefs, values, feelings and the like. In reviewing the literature, they suggest that for them attitudes are an intermediary category, more stable than emotions and feelings, but not as stable as beliefs and/or values. In reading this short but useful introduction to the area of research several notions come to mind. The first centres on whether there is always a potential developmental path from feelings towards beliefs. Clearly some feelings do transform into deeper belief, but whether there is a set path, which may or may not include attitudes, would be interesting to research in the mathematics context. Further it might be that researchers need to take more care in this area when engaging in self-reporting studies. How the issue of whether respondents are reporting their more surface emotions and feelings, or

whether the deeper attitudes and indeed beliefs and values are influencing responses, in self-reports is rarely noted as an issue by researchers. Even for observational and interviewing data, it seems to take careful preparation, insight and persistence by the researchers to discern whether respondents are going beyond feelings and emotions. These notions are complex in themselves, as is the interplay between them. In these comments we have to some degree played down feelings and emotions in preference to attitudes, beliefs and values. However this may not be appropriate, as we argue more fully later in this chapter. Many of us in everyday circumstances act on our surface perceptions, rather than deep well-thought-through beliefs. This may be reflecting an undervaluing of emotions and feelings, as seems to be happening at present in the research community. Hence, we may not be capturing all that is needed. Thus the interplay and perhaps transition between all of these notions need further research.

Of the few studies that looked at attitude and mathematics as a core aspect, there were few surprises about what was studied and the results. Hence, Handal and Bobis (2004) found that when using a novel teaching approach, students' attitudes initially increased, but then tended to fall away to give no lasting change. Beswick, Watson and Brown (2006) found that the students' attitudes to mathematics fell as they progressed through school. The authors also noted that many of the teachers they were working with were ambivalent and uncertain regarding the pedagogy they should use in teaching mathematics, but interestingly they had in general quite positive beliefs about the mathematics they actually had to teach. Clearly teachers can and indeed do have quite varying attitudes to subject matter and pedagogy. Nisbet and Grinbeek (2004) commented that it is often assumed, naively by many, that teachers change in a simple linear fashion, including changing their attitudes. But the authors, reflecting on their results, pointed out that change is always complex, multifaceted and indeed takes a long time. Finally Cooper, Baturo, Warren and Grant (2006) reminded us that indigenous approaches to attitude and motivation are important, and these need to be integrated into teaching to suit the cultural milieu. In particular indigenous conceptions of these personal attributes vary quite considerably, compared to Western notions, and hence the way they operate in classrooms may well be very different. It seems that this is a crucial area that needs much further and urgent attention.

Finally it is worth noting the results of an international study as it impinges on Australia. Australian students participating in the PISA study have shown that two aspects of student beliefs, namely, mathematics self-efficacy and self-concept, correlated positively with mathematical literacy performance. Multilevel analysis "suggests that the factors that may have the greatest influence on Australian students' mathematical literacy, as assessed in PISA, are the attitudes and beliefs of students, which stand out above any of the other factors incorporated into the model" (Thomson, Cresswell & de Bortoli, 2004, p. 203). However, below-average self-efficacy means were reported both by higher performing countries (compared to Australia) such as Finland, the Netherlands and Korea and by lower performing nations like Brazil and Thailand (Thomson et al., 2004, figure 7.12). This suggests that the direction of beliefs may not be a determinant of performance as might be assumed. Asian students (from Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and Macau)

reported the four lowest mathematics self-concept scores, the other self-belief variable, amongst the nations surveyed. From a socio-cultural standpoint, this result may have implications for Western nations which are experiencing high numbers of Asian immigrants.

Interestingly there is another idea, related to affective issues, that does not seem to have been canvassed at all in the mathematics education research literature, which would be worthwhile to explore. It was noted above that one of the relationships explored at length has been how attitudes impact on understanding and performance in mathematics. However there are other relationships that might also be important. At present there is much discussion in the education literature and in public as to why there are so few students who continue with the serious (undertaken for its own sake and not to gain bonus points for tertiary entry, as happens in some Australian education systems), non-compulsory study of mathematics in the last years of secondary school and go on into university. In this discussion much has been made of the mathematics curriculum, students' performance in mathematics and the lack of adequately qualified mathematics teachers throughout secondary schools. All these seemingly do have an impact. However a little-considered variable in this important debate is students' attitudes to mathematics and its teaching. Khoo and Ainley (2005) have shown that students' general attitude to schooling does impact on whether students begin tertiary education, but also that students' performances on literacy and numeracy tests have little impact. Interestingly, these trends seem to have been set by the time students were in the middle years of secondary schooling, well before the final years of school, which are often regarded as the time students make up their minds about what they will do with their lives. It may well be that students have already made up their mind about at least what might be foundational issues by then. An analogous study with mathematics as the focus, rather than general schooling, may well be useful.

Indeed this type of research needs to be broadened beyond whether students continue to tertiary studies, to the impact of their mathematical studies through life. This would ask whether affective issues, rather than their cognitive performances, or the interplay between these sets of issues, have any impact on people's lifelong learning disposition. We return to this theme in the last section of this chapter. Before dealing with the future however we now turn to a specific analysis of the central affect issue for this chapter, values and the closely related notion of beliefs, as they are understood in mathematics education research.

Values in Mathematics Education

Unlike attitudes, the role of values in mathematics education has been explicitly acknowledged and researched only over the last two decades or so, although the nature of values has meant that they would have underpinned the different studies in this field all along. An explicit focus on values as they relate to the learning and teaching of mathematics can be traced back to Alan Bishop's (1988) book *Mathematical Enculturation: A Cultural Perspective on Mathematics Education*.

In this publication, Bishop proposed that the development of mathematics in the Western civilization has demonstrated its valuing of three pairs of complementary values, each corresponding to one of the three components of culture as described by White (1959). Thus, the valuing of *rationalism* and *objectivism* in Western mathematics would reflect the ideological component of cultures, while the valuing of *control* and *progress* reflects the sentimental (attitudinal) component, and that of *openness* and *mystery*, the sociological component. This culturally laden nature of mathematical values is evident in similar research in other cultures. For example, Xu and Wang (2008) contrasted the valuing of *rationalism* in Western mathematics with the valuing of *artistry* in Chinese mathematics. Similar discussions are represented at length in Zhang and Wan (2006).

In the mid-1990s, Bishop's (1996) conception of values that are relevant to mathematics pedagogy saw a need to categorize values, namely, mathematical values (which are related to the discipline), mathematics educational values (related to the pedagogy of the discipline) and general educational values (related to general educational objectives). Later, Seah's (2004) research with immigrant teachers of mathematics led to a proposal of another category that plays out in the professional lives of teachers, which he called the organizational values as these reflect what the schools or local educational authorities regard as important.

How does educational research regard values in mathematics education? According to Bishop (1999), "... values in mathematics education are the deep affective qualities which education fosters through the school subject of mathematics" (p. 2). In this definition, Bishop's regard for the pervasiveness of values was evident in his assertion that values are more internalized than conceptual and procedural knowledge. One way of interpreting this development from affective qualities to values can be found in Seah (2004), when he proposed "values represent an individual's internalisation, "cognitisation" and decontextualisation of affective constructs (such as beliefs and attitudes) in her socio-cultural context" (p. 43).

Another approach to understanding values is in terms of its operation. Seah (in press) conjectured that regardless of their sources (that is, affective or otherwise), values constitute an individual's soft knowledge that underlies the individual's command of hard knowledge, which in turn has both cognitive (e.g., mathematical thinking) and affective (e.g., mathematical wellbeing) components. That is to say, cognitive and affective functions that are activated in one's engagement with mathematics and other things are mediated by the relevant values one espouses.

The experience gained from the various values research studies that were conducted over the last decade or so – and the accompanying informal communication and interaction amongst some of the researchers involved in these studies – had been helpful also in supporting an increasingly clear picture of the nature of difference between values and beliefs. These two terms are sometimes used interchangeably in daily speech, yet Bishop and Seah (2008) assert the following about them:

> (They) have based ... [their] current research on the theoretical notion that values operate, and are revealed, when choices are made .... The essential difference between values and

> beliefs is that one may hold various beliefs but it is when one must make choices that one's values come into play (p. 131).

That is, if a belief is concerned with what one considers to be true, then what one values would represent the emphasis and importance one accords to the related belief(s), and indeed the behaviour that flows from the value rather than the background beliefs (Clarkson & Bishop, 2000). As an example, we may believe that it is true that student use of graphic calculators or CAS frees up time for learners to engage in higher order thinking activities in mathematics. The value, on the other hand, is a manifestation of what we value personally, be it *technology*, *higher order thinking* or *efficiency*, or indeed all three. That is to say, the emphasis we place on one or more of these values influences, and in turn are influenced by, our beliefs about student use of graphic calculators or CAS.

Thus, alternative research findings have been emerging, which distinguish amongst the several concepts, such as attitudes, beliefs and values as noted in the previous section, that had traditionally been regarded collectively as affective in nature (see, for examples, Krathwohl et al., 1964; McLeod, 1992), providing insights to the stance adopted in the literature that values are more internalized modes of other affective modes. The distinction above between beliefs and values beyond their relative positions on a cognition–affect continuum is an example. The underlying influence of values in the articulation of attitudes and beliefs, as well as of cognitive processes, is a research strand that further highlights the implicit power of values. In addition to Seah's (in press) idea of soft knowledge mentioned above, there is also Mandler's (1989) theory that perceives emotions as an expression of values.

Research into values in mathematics education can generally be regarded as having been developing in two different directions. One is concerned with the fostering of "desirable" civic, ethical and moral values in the younger generations through mathematics learning (see, for example, Seah & Kalogeropoulos, 2004; Wong, 2005). The other direction relates to ways in which mathematics learning (including performance) might be enhanced through the teaching of values (see, for example, Seah, Atweh, Clarkson & Ellerton, 2008, for a review of research conducted in recent years in Australasia). It appears that between these two research directions, interest amongst mathematics education researchers has been understandably more evident in the latter. In the current discussion of the mathematical wellbeing of students, and of how this relates to a sense of mathematical wellbeing in society, it is thus the research into how values optimize mathematics learning and teaching that would be reviewed below. This review will now look specifically at the knowledge we have currently regarding what teachers, wider institutions, society and indeed students' value in the contexts of mathematics, mathematics pedagogy and school education. It is envisaged that this approach will enable us to better understand how interactions between participants in the mathematics learning and teaching process, and between them and their socio-cultural context, might contribute to a sense of wellbeing in mathematics learning or teaching. It is our thesis that this aspect of affective health is a key factor of the overall experience of wellbeing in an individual.

Teachers' Values

To many students, the mathematics teacher is the "public face" of discipline. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that it is the teacher's own values about mathematics and mathematics pedagogy that play such a crucial role in shaping students' wellbeing in discipline and in its learning. The *Values and Mathematics Project* [VAMP] acknowledged this and sought to investigate the extent of control teachers have over their own portrayal of values in mathematics lessons in Australia. A challenge faced in this values research project, which took place in the late 1990s and the early 2000s, was the observation of a lack of shared vocabulary amongst teachers with which to discuss values and their role in (mathematics) education (Clarkson et al., 2000b).

What teachers value in their practice appears to be affected by pre- and in-service teacher education programmes, as well as by the intended curricula. A 2005 survey of 2924 teachers of mathematics and 612 heads of mathematics in Australia found that "irrespective of their tertiary background or years of teaching experience, teachers [of mathematics] valued ongoing professional development" (Harris & Jensz, 2006, p. 20), and that "in general, teachers [of mathematics] valued their disciplinary grounding and the practical aspects of their education studies" (p. 28). Another study researching with a smaller group of teachers echoed this observation: "teachers' values in the classroom are shaped to some extent by the values embedded in each subject, as perceived by them" (Bishop, Clarke, Corrigan & Gunstone, 2005, p. 158). Yet, teachers' values were also found to be shaped in some ways by official curriculum statements. In the *Values in Science and Mathematics Education* project, it was found that features of mathematics pedagogy that were valued by the primary and secondary teachers reflected the ideals of constructivist, reform-oriented mathematics lesson planning, as opposed to those of more "traditional" pedagogical practices.

Teachers' values as they are espoused in their mathematics teaching have "a powerful (negative or positive) influence on students' affect" (Frade, Carneiro & Faria, 2008, p. 11). The research team had adopted VAMP's conception of values as being beliefs in action (e.g., Clarkson et al., 2000a) in their work in Brazilian urban secondary schools. Also, teacher identification in questionnaires of what they value was also found to be different from what was interpreted through the lesson visits, thus echoing VAMP's concern over the validity of self-identification of values.

Immigrant mathematics teachers' values with regard to mathematics, mathematics pedagogy and education in general were investigated in Australia by Seah (2004). Through the professional experiences of teachers coming from different cultures, a sense of what the mathematics education system in the state of Victoria valued could be identified. This study was also interested in the ways in which these immigrant teachers negotiated about perceived differences in values between cultures, and it was found that each participating teacher adopted a variety of strategies in such situations depending on the context they were in. Five main responsive strategies were recorded (see Seah, 2005), with the first three (that is, status quo,

assimilation and accommodation) signalling an increasing acceptance of the "other" culture. The other two approaches, namely the amalgamation or appropriation, represent the embracing of the essence of the different cultures in one's worldview, decisions and actions. These two approaches thus have the tendency to generate new cultures as a result of the interaction amongst the different values from different cultures (see Seah, 2005, for details).

A parallel project to VAMP was undertaken in Taiwan that worked not only with teachers as VAMP did but also with students. Chin and Lin (2000) found that the values subscribed to by teachers were identified and matched with the values of their respective students. The shared experiences of teachers and their students in the mathematics classroom developed and shaped what the Taiwanese research team called the pedagogical identities of one another. This seemed to give firm evidence that the influence of teachers on students' value formation is a real effect.

In summary, teachers at times find it hard to articulate the values they are teaching or espousing in mathematics classrooms, but there is no doubt that they are teaching values whether they do so consciously or not. The Taiwanese work also assures us that students are aware of the values espoused by their teachers, and the teachers' values do impact on those that students are learning. However, as indicated earlier, teacher values are not the only factor in play.

Institutional Values

Classroom discourse and interactions are continually shaped and reshaped by institutional and societal phenomena. There is potential for "desirable" institutional values to be introduced to students through school mathematics, at the same time optimizing the quality of the mathematics learning experience for students. Wong's (2005) conception of a *NE* × *ME matrix* illustrates one such example, in which *NE* refers to the teaching in Singapore of its nationhood and values in National Education and *ME* refers to the mathematics education program. It is noteworthy that Wong established a case for the culture dimension to complement the existing knowledge and process dimensions of mathematics education, wherein this third dimension relates to "things *about* mathematics, rather than mathematics itself .... [and which] includes a strong value element" (p. 6).

An Australian study by Ingvarson, Beavis, Bishop, Peck & Elsworth (2004) studied the significance of the role played by mathematics departments in secondary schools in Australia, with a view to seeing how the departments structured and influenced the teaching by the individual mathematics teachers in the department. This is a relatively unexplored area for research, but as they say: "Student learning is typically affected most directly by the quality of opportunities for learning that individual teachers can provide. However, the quality of teaching is in turn affected by a wide variety of conditions at the school (and community[5]) level"

[5] Our addition in brackets.

(p. 15). Their research uncovered a wide variety of departmental structures, both formal and informal, together with an equally wide variety of significant values fostered in those departments. For example, at one school the interviewed teachers "see their goal as creating a mathematics learning community, which they call 'a Mathematics Network'. One example of this is that some staff run extra after-school mathematics problem solving sessions two days a week, sometimes based around the Mathematics Olympiads" (p. 60). In another school, there are no weekly meetings, but plenty of informal ones, mainly about mathematics. "We have to interact because of the common tests in the school". Also one afternoon after school once a term the staff has a meeting followed by wine, etc. It is then that they discuss new texts, some calculator programs, and it's also a time for sharing interests. "We're a consistent, coherent group with basically a program in mind, that we can execute, and there are no slackers . . .. those who can't hack it don't want to be in it". "You have to build the ethos" (p. 63).

They also compared schools at which students scored high in the PISA international assessment with those where the students scored low, and then looked at the level of consensus within a mathematical department within these schools. The results suggest that principals and department heads in "high PISA" schools were more likely to report a high degree of consensus amongst staff about standards for quality teaching and learning mathematics (see Table 7.1).

The extent to which textbooks play an institutional role varies from one education system to the next. It is fair to say, however, that whether the survival of textbooks is determined by market forces in one culture or the publication of textbooks is subject to governmental approval in another, textbooks are often written with the intended curriculum in mind. That is, to varying degree, textbooks portray institutional values of different education systems. Seah and Bishop (2000), for example, analyzed two sets of Years 7 and 8 textbooks used in Singapore and two sets from the same year levels in Melbourne, Australia, to compare and contrast the mathematical and mathematics educational values that were represented. Dede (2006) in Turkey used the same framework to analyze eight 6th and 7th primary mathematics textbooks, arriving at similar findings as Seah and Bishop (2000). The only two differences were in the ways in which Turkish textbooks emphasized *openness* more than the complementary value of *mystery*, and their greater emphasis on the mathematics educational value of *accessibility* over *specialism*.

Table 7.1 Comparison of PISA ranking of schools and schools' self-ranking (see Ingvarson et al., 2004, p. 44)

	School		
PISA Rank	Low	High	Total
Low	5	5	10 (37%)
High	0	17	17 (63%)
Total	5 (18%)	22 (82%)	27 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 10.4$: Sig. $p = 0.003$.

Societal Values

The various values that are enacted by different participants of the mathematics learning and teaching process are also mediated by what are valued in the respective communities and societies within which the lessons take place. One way to see this influence is to note the disruption that sometimes occurs when members of different societies interact. Galligan's (2005) ethnographic research with Australian lecturers teaching university preparatory mathematics overseas, for instance, has revealed how the conflicting values they experienced were grounded in the respective Hong Kong and Australian cultures. This prominence of societal values has meant that mathematics teachers' professional wellbeing can be affected when they teach in foreign lands, such as when they migrate. Given the common misconception amongst teachers that mathematics is culture-neutral and mathematics teaching does not involve (cultural) values (Seah, 2004), it can be expected that migrating mathematics teachers will be hit hardest since they are likely to be least prepared for value differences in the ways in which mathematics is effectively taught in different cultures.

Such disruption does not necessarily lead to an impasse. Seah's (2004) work with immigrant teachers of mathematics in Australia revealed that value differences, as perceived by these teachers, could be negotiated in a variety of ways depending on the context in which the value differences took place. The variety of ways of negotiating value differences represents varying degrees of espousing one value and rejecting the other, as well as different ways in which the values are synthesized to draw out desired features inherent amongst the values concerned. This knowledge is especially significant in this discussion because the teachers' negotiation strategies represent alternative ways in which differences of values might be resolved and, in doing so, teachers' professional wellbeing can be reclaimed. There are certainly direct implications for students' mathematical wellbeing.

In particular, the negotiation strategies of status quo, assimilation and accommodation represent the different extents to which values attributed to one societal culture are embraced over values attributed to another societal culture. Existing cultures are redefined and reconstructed, however, through the strategies of amalgamation and appropriation; in this sense, these two strategies are more culturally productive as the teachers' perception of value dissonance is addressed, and professional and mathematical wellbeing is reclaimed.

Research into values by the mathematics education research community might have been more active if the community had not experienced what Clarkson (2005) called a lack of a shared language with which to discuss values. This phenomenon may well reflect the relatively young history of mathematics educational research into values. Nevertheless, related research conducted around the world to date has highlighted the real possibility of mathematical, mathematics educational and educational values impacting on the quality of learning and teaching through the ways in which they shape individual student's mathematical wellbeing. This brings us back to consider students' values in the next section.

Students' Values

An understanding of what mathematics students value in their learning process constitutes our fourth dimension of capturing and incorporating relevant wisdom of practice in mathematics education research. As Keitel (2003) has said; "Their [students] explication can serve as a base for [the] interpretation of classroom practices and outcomes" (p. 4).

An analysis of children's drawing representing situations when they were learning mathematics well in Victoria, Australia, showed that young children valued the learning of mathematics and numeracy concepts in out-of-school contexts as much as within schools. The participating students were also valuing concepts beyond *number* and *computation* (Bishop & Clarke, 2005). Another study, also conducted in Victoria, collated primary school students' drawings of their individual impressions of effective mathematics lessons in schools. The findings revealed that in the primary school years, these lessons featured a co-valuing of *fun*, (teacher) *experience*, *board work* and (teachers' explicit) *explanation/instruction* by both students and their teachers (Seah, 2007). In particular, 67% of the 118 students related the valuing of *fun* in mathematics lessons in which they learnt particularly important. Similar feedback from pre-service primary school teachers' recall of their experiences as mathematics learners in Australia and Singapore were sought (see Seah & Ho, in press), and *fun* is once again the most highly valued feature of effective mathematics learning. Yet, "enjoyment or fun is rarely connected to doing mathematics, in contrast to other school subjects" (Keitel, 2003, p. 5). The high school student participants in Chin and Lin's (2000) study also identified *fun* as one of the few values they acted on in evaluating assessment items. What do these findings imply for the facilitation of more effective mathematics pedagogy then? If mathematics and/or its teaching can be made to be more fun and enjoyable, what will that look like in ways which are sustainable? What implications does this have for learning mathematics in depth? How can we guard against students feeling increasingly immune to what are potentially fun and enjoyable mathematics learning activities, such that this value is continually sought after, but rarely experienced?

Keitel's (2003) analysis of what German high-ability secondary students articulated in post-lesson interviews revealed the values held by them with regard to mathematics learning. These included *application*, *enjoyment/fun*, *mystery*, *assessment* and *collaboration*. What is significant about this study is that some of the values which the students identified, namely *application*, *enjoyment/fun* and *collaboration*, were not perceived by them to be similarly valued by the education system. Equally significantly, "they demonstrate that the "same" teacher's script is very differently understood and experienced by students, and that there are also commonalities and differences in inventing ways for living with their struggles" (Keitel, 2003, p. 4).

With the above consideration of some of the pertinent research on values in mathematics education, we can now turn to a new construct that builds on this work.

The Development of Mathematical Wellbeing

Having explored the relevant ideas associated with affect in general, and attitude and values in particular as they relate to mathematics education, we are ready to bring these lines of research together and propose the notion of mathematical wellbeing (MWB) as an idea which we believe impacts crucially on aspects of mathematics learning. It would certainly be useful for teachers and educators generally to have an understanding of this idea, since in our view it has the potential to link cognitive, affective and emotional educational objectives, something that is lacking in our field.

As noted earlier in this chapter, there was a time when the aim of learning mathematics was only perceived as a cognitive objective – when explanations of mathematical achievement or non-achievement were couched purely in cognitive terms. Later came the acceptance of the necessity to consider affective objectives also, not just as an adjunct to the cognitive but also as a "driver" of mathematical learning or non-learning. Central to a deeper understanding of the role played by the affective aspects was the teasing out of what some of these aspects actually were. We have argued here and elsewhere that a pivotal aspect was in the notion of values. We now propose that a consideration of wellbeing offers a new way of recognizing the importance of the emotional aspects of mathematics learning, and where the emotional can also be the driver of affect and cognition. Our conception of MWB is a developmental one, based on the ideas from a taxonomic stage approach developed by Benjamin Bloom and his co-workers (Bloom et al., 1956). They originally proposed a 6-level cognitive domain structure. This was then added to with a 5-level affective domain (Krathwohl et al., 1964) (see Table 7.2). A third domain was originally proposed that dealt with the kinaesthetic development of students, but this was never published.

Although much research has tended to concentrate on one or the other of these two domains, and hence has driven something of a wall between them, in the original grand plan these domains were seen as working in concert with each other, and together being useful in describing and explaining learners' overall abilities as they related to a specific area of learning. For example, it is clear that students use the thinking skills embedded within the cognitive domain to make decisions related to the affective domain. This does not mean however that students move in a related lock-step fashion through the levels of both domains. Nevertheless, clearly there is a relationship between the domains. It is hard to imagine many students operating at level 5 in the cognitive domain, but operating at only level 2 in the affective domain when considering a particular area of study. The reverse scenario is also difficult to imagine for many students.

But before proposing an MWB construct, we believe a gap in the literature needs to be filled. The MWB construct cannot just be derived from the cognitive and affective domains developed by Bloom and his colleagues. An emotional component is also needed. Hence we first propose, on the way to developing an MWB construct, a third emotional domain (see Table 7.2). This is followed by our proposal of the MWB construct (Table 7.3) before, in the following section exploring tentatively the relationship between the two.

Table 7.2 The three domains: cognitive, affective and emotional

Cognitive	Affective	Emotional
The cognitive continuum begins with the student's recall and recognition of *Knowledge* (1.0),	The affective continuum begins with the students merely *Receiving* (1.0) stimuli and passively attending to them. It extends by more actively attending to them, and by	The emotional continuum begins with having some *Feelings* (1.0) towards a school subject, recognizing that in its presence some feelings are created, and these
It extends through his/her *Comprehension* (2.0) of the knowledge,	*Responding* (2.0) to stimuli on request, willingly responding to these stimuli and taking satisfaction in this responding,	grow to become the student's behavioural and emotional *Responses* (2.0) to the situation, either positively or negatively, which then
his/her skill in *Application (3.0)* of the knowledge that is comprehended,	his/her *Valuing (3.0)* the phenomenon or activity so that he/she voluntarily responds and seeks out ways to respond, by acceptance of a value (3.1), by preference for a value (3.2) and by commitment (3.3) to a value	leads to a regular and *Expressed reaction (3.0)* in the context of the school subject, together with an active searching for a range of pleasurable experiences, or an avoidance of any non-pleasurable experiences, with an increasingly
and the skill in *Analysis* (4.0) of situations involving this knowledge, his/her skill in *Synthesis* (5.0) of this knowledge into new organizations, and finally	and through *Conceptualization* (4.1) of each value responded to, so that there is an	*Conscious* (4.0) awareness and rationalization of the feelings experienced and the choices made, leading to
a skill in *Evaluation* (6.0) in that area of knowledge to judge the value of materials and methods for given purposes.	*Organization*of these values into systems (4.2), and finally organizing the value complex into a single whole, leading to a *Characterization* (5.0) of the individual.	an *Organized* (5.0) set of life-style choices, maximizing the satisfactory experiences and minimizing the unsatisfactory.

A continuing major concern for teachers is when students seem to develop an over-powering negative set of feelings for a particular set of situations in their school. This clearly is often exemplified with students' feelings in mathematics sessions. In essence, this is an overpowering emotional response to the situation. Indeed, by the time some students are in the middle of primary school, it seems that they have become fixated at the second alternative of level 3 of the emotional domain (Table 7.2) with the exhibition of avoidance behaviour towards mathematics. We suggest that the third domain may give teachers some guidance in gauging students'

Table 7.3 Stages of the construct "Mathematical Wellbeing"

Stage 1: Awareness and acceptance of mathematical activity
At this first stage the learner is aware of mathematics, not as a coherent body of knowledge but as a collection of mathematical activities. There is an awareness of the different nature of mathematics from other subjects/topics at school. The learner recognizes a mathematical activity as different from a language or a sport activity and it is accepted as a worthwhile pursuit. The learner feels comfortable in the mathematical learning context, although he/she has a passive acceptance of such experience and is disinclined to seek them out.
Stage 2: Positively responding to mathematical activity
At this stage, mathematical activity invokes a positive response. More than just acceptance of the activity, here there is a welcoming of it and some pleasure in its pursuit and in its achievement. This pleasure develops feelings of self-confidence and positive self-esteem, which reinforce the acceptance and worthwhileness of mathematical activity in general.
Stage 3: Valuing mathematical activity
At this stage the learner appreciates and enjoys mathematical activity to the extent that there is an active seeking out of those activities and of people with whom those activities can be shared. Awareness grows of the human development of mathematical knowledge and of one's place in the mathematical scheme of things. The learner reaches acceptably high (to them) levels of mathematical competence.
Stage 4: Having an integrated and conscious value structure for mathematics
At this stage the person has developed an awareness of their appreciation of mathematics, of how and why they value it, and where that valuing might lead them in the future. The learner is confident in their level of skill and competence and in their ability to judge their own strengths and weaknesses.
Stage 5: Independently competent and confident in mathematical activity
At this stage the learner is a fully independent actor on the mathematical stage. Sufficiently independent to be able to hold one's own in mathematical arguments at various levels, the learner is able to criticize other's arguments from well-rehearsed criteria.

emotional responses to such situations. We also wonder whether they may also be able to overtly plan learning situations, being more conscious of their students' potential emotional responses by using the emotional domain that we propose.

Using this three-domain stage structure, we can now summarize the main ideas of MWB, again as a developmental model. This is summarized in Table 7.3.

These then are the stages that we propose a learner progresses through on his/her way to consolidating a state of mathematical wellbeing. Recognizing the importance of these different stages is crucial for all teachers because they will occur at different ages for different learners. Teachers may see some aspects of cognitive development, but crucially fail to see the relationship of those with the learner's affective or emotional wellbeing. Again, an emotional growth may only be superficial or related to some other aspect of the mathematical learning situation, such as the behaviour of other learners, since we know that the roles of significant others in the classroom can be influential for cognitive, affective or indeed emotional reasons.

Relating Mathematical Wellbeing to Cognitive, Affective and Emotional Educational Objectives

Just as important as the stages in this portrayal of MWB development is the idea of how the MWB provides a framework for seeing links between the cognitive, the affective and the emotional aspects of mathematical educational objectives. An approach might be to compare these three domains of educational objectives against the development of mathematical wellbeing as presented in Table 7.3. There, as a student develops his/her mathematical wellbeing, we can see features of cognitive, affective and emotional objectives being satisfied at each stage. Thus, for example, a student who has been feeling a greater sense of MWB might be beginning to respond more positively to mathematical activities (that is, stage 2) either knows or comprehends the mathematical demands inherent in these activities or tasks (cognitive domain), at the same time that the act of responding is reflective of both affective and emotional educational objectives. The attainment of mathematical wellbeing, then, accompanies student developments in the cognitive, affective and emotional domains. At the same time, the interaction between mathematical wellbeing and growth in cognitive, affective and emotional objectives leads to these factors feeding on each other, given that a positive sense of wellbeing can stimulate self-confidence and foster enabling attitudes, and so on. In fact, in recognition of student (dis-)engagement being a prominent issue in mathematics classrooms, and to the extent that student engagement with mathematics relates to the state of an individual's mathematical wellbeing, there is a strong case for academic consideration of the ways in which the cognitive, affective and emotional growth of students in their working with mathematics can contribute to the many benefits brought about by the corresponding development of their individual MWB. That is to say, if the interaction between MWB and cognitive/affective/emotional growth is indeed so mutually dependent and influential, then our ongoing quest to confront student dis-engagement (one of many manifestations of MWB) takes on new meanings, highlighting the importance of adopting a multi-prong approach involving cognitive, affective *and* emotional considerations.

The role played by values in this process of facilitating MWB is likely to be considerable, given its significance in the affective domain, and also in the cognitive and emotional domains. The central place of values within the affective educational objectives is relatively explicit in the ways in which the Taxonomy has been articulated; Levels 3 through 5 are concerned with the development within the learner of a value complex that characterizes the individual. In the emotional domain, on the other hand, the involvement of values is more clearly expressed through the organization of personal life-style choices in Level 5, but it is also reasonable to perceive of the personal valuing process taking a part in the Level 4 operation of rationalizing feelings and subsequent decision-making. Similarly, as a student grows cognitively, he/she acquires the competence to value materials and methods and can make decisions as to their quality related to given tasks, represented by Level 6 of the cognitive domain.

Students attain cognitive, affective and emotional educational objectives to different degrees at every stage of their mathematics learning. At any one time, the different domains shape, and are shaped by, the student's state of MWB. The higher order functioning of the different domains – a capacity expressed as the ultimate educational objectives in the respective taxonomies – involves the evaluation and fine-tuning of an individual's value system, which in turn results in an increasingly integrated and conscious value system (see Table 7.3) that regulates MWB. This higher order functioning constitutes a student's life skill, which he/she then takes from school in order to contribute to the economic and social life of society. In other words, a more successful school (and mathematics) education equips the student with this level of independence and (mathematical) wellbeing to deal with the many types of issues one comes across in life. At this level of personal growth, values and (mathematical) wellbeing are both stable enough to be regulating, and fluid enough to allow for adjustments as new insights and experiences "make one wiser"!

This relationship between values and wellbeing had been investigated in contexts which are not directly related to mathematics education. Eckersley (2004), for example, discussed how cultural values such as *individualism* and *materialism* affect a person's wellbeing. Amin, Yusof and Haneef's (2006) study with nearly 3000 students in Malaysia had revealed the impact of social values on human behaviour, which then affects personal wellbeing. Douglas (2005), then chairperson of the research and development group "Australia 21", called for a need to enact four major value shifts in people's lives so that health and wellbeing within communities could be sustained.

Our central point is that the fostering of positive MWB needs to take into account how individual values have been – and continue to be – shaped and harnessed. As an example, the successful cultivation of a student's valuing of *resilience* and *hard work* presents the student with opportunities to respond to intellectually challenging instances in his/her mathematics learning experience with a positive and enabling MWB. Alternatively, a student's valuing of *creativity* will likely support a more positive approach to novel mathematical problem situations, boosting his/her MWB in the process. On the other hand, one could picture a senior student who has developed over many years a relatively negative MWB, sadly not an unusual state of affairs in schools. Her higher order cognitive, affective and emotional functioning has shaped this outcome. However, this outcome need not be regarded as a given that is fixed for life. Our argument for this perspective of the interaction between MWB and cognitive/affective/emotional educational objectives has provided us with an insight into how we can capitalize on creative and purposeful designs of learning activities to stimulate such a student's independent critique and reviewing competence to potentially redefine his/her MWB. We acknowledge that this is highly complex, but at this level of functioning, the learner is well-equipped to evaluate cognitively, rationalizing her emotional experience and decisions, in ways which characterize her being and wellbeing.

Developing a Research Agenda

Earlier in this chapter, we proposed a new construct (MWB). To build that construct we needed to develop a new emotional domain. We have indicated why we believe the MWB construct is needed and briefly speculated about how the underlying processes operate. The perspectives we propose are both empowering (for teachers and learners alike) and exciting. Part of the excitement resides in the many opportunities that these perspectives open up for researching. There seems to be at least three areas on which it would be worthwhile for future research to concentrate:

1. investigating the construct;
2. the utility of the construct; and
3. the development of students' MWB.

We have identified a number of research questions within these three areas that we anticipate fellow researchers and educators may wish to explore:

1. *Investigating the construct*

    a. How valid is the construct of MWB in terms of its recognizability by teachers and researchers within and between the stages of development?
    b. What types of behaviour do teachers imagine students will engage in at the different stages?
    c. What is the theoretical relationship between the three domains of educational objectives and MWB?
    d. Is MWB necessarily a developmental construct?

2. *The utility of the construct*

    a. How might teachers be able to use the MWB stages with good effect in the mathematics classroom?
    b. Given an imaginary piece of dialogue at a parent–teacher evening, can teachers gauge the parents' assessment of the students' MWB stages?
    c. To what extent do teachers and researchers agree on a student's MWB stage?
    d. To what extent can students place themselves within the MWB stages?
    e. How do teachers know, and just as importantly how do students know, when they are fixated at a particular stage?

3. *The development of students' MWB*

    a. How does students' MWB develop in mathematics classrooms?
    b. What influence does peer pressure have in students' progression through the MWB?
    c. What impact do factors beyond the classroom have on MWB, and what is their relative importance, compared to factors located in the classroom?
    d. How might teachers facilitate the cultivation of students' MWB?

e. Is the scaffolding that a teacher may use the same for transition between all stages of the MWB?

The last two research questions (3d and 3e) are rather distinct from the previous ones. Unlike the preceding research questions, which are relatively theoretical in nature, these last questions particularly explore the specific actions that might be taken by teachers to put in practice the various theoretical and philosophical understandings of the cultivation and development of MWB in students. As the reader might have inferred from our discussion so far, we take the view that by the nature of their work, teachers are constantly cultivating and influencing students' developing MWB, through the ways in which they value various aspects of their professional tasks and their interactions with students, through the ways in which they plan and execute their lessons and through the ways in which they respond to critical incidents in the day-to-day functioning within their mathematics classrooms. Rather, in proposing these last two research questions, we are encouraging research activities to focus on exploring how the cultivation of students' MWB might be conducted more purposefully and consciously by teachers. Hence, we elaborate questions 3d and 3e with the following:

- How might we tap into current MWB academic and practical knowledge to develop MWB positively amongst students?
- What teacher knowledge might be harnessed to support this task?
- How might student attainment of cognitive, affective and emotional education objectives be guided by teachers in ways that facilitate positive and empowering MWB amongst students?

Conclusion

It is a common but for us an unpleasant experience that we are still not used to after teaching mathematics between 20 and 50 years: You are at a social gathering and it becomes known that you are or have taught mathematics. Most of the adults then start to recall their negative experiences of doing mathematics at school. Most sad are older people recalling experiences from long ago. With the varying types of nuances and emphases that they use to relate their story, it becomes clear that these and presumably other related experiences are still hurting. This is not a positive advertisement for their mathematical wellbeing.

The MWB construct as proposed in this chapter overlaps with the meaning given to the more general construct of educational wellbeing (footnote 3 of this chapter). The MWB highlights the fundamental place of students' emotional development, an issue that has only gradually acknowledged, although only implicity, in recent years within the mathematical education teaching and research community. By building this construct, we have tried to give depth to this issue and sought to provide a

possible way forward where students' emotions can now be explicitly addressed when doing mathematics.

When speculating on the notions of lifelong learning, we argued sometime ago that although many students master the procedures of mathematics, be these up to mid-secondary school or through to undergraduate university level, rarely is it that any sense of mathematical achievement ultimately stays with people (Clarkson et al., 2001). Rather, it is their emotional feelings about mathematics, and the sense they made of the inherent mathematical values, that linger on through their lives. We now reformulate this speculation and suggest that those few students who are able to positively respond to mathematical activity (Stage 2 and further of Table 7.3) are the ones who do not look back on their mathematical experiences in school as times they wish they had missed. These are people who move into a long-lasting sense of mathematical wellbeing, and hence presumably can be that much more productive within their society and more constructive as they talk to their acquaintances and children about the good times of doing mathematics. Clearly, there is much to be done in mathematics classrooms to reinvent these places of learning. A refocusing on values and emotions, we believe, will help to bring a greater sense of mathematical wellbeing to our students.

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Chapter 8
Value in Shadows: A Critical Contribution to Values Education in Our Times

Dalene M. Swanson

Introduction

In one sense, the term values education comes across as a non-sequitur. It is similar to saying Sahara Desert, when "Sahara" (or sahrā) means desert in Arabic. Education is not divested of values. Its conception, discourses, implementation and practices, however broadly or narrowly these are defined, present a number of often interrelated values that are either explicit, as might be recognized in Social Justice Education, or implicit, as in the "hidden curriculum". The term values education may be seen to operate as having dual signification. It first, in the performance of the term, makes explicit the values-laden nature of pedagogy and practice, and, second, it highlights the need for debate as to what values need to be made explicit. Such a debate requires a more prominent focus in the educational arena to the extent that education for education's sake is most often the key assumption made within the political policy arena and educational field to a great extent. "More of it" and universally spread is often viewed unquestioningly as a good thing, and how effectively we may "transmit" it through "knowledge transfer" or "knowledge mobilisation" seems to sum up, in the general sphere of things, what is important to consider in this arena and in the social sphere at large. This general conception aligns with an increasingly materialistic trend towards efficiencies, standardized and evidence-based practices in the educational field inherited from corporate philosophies and marketization. In this newly inherited vein with a strong internationalizing and (trans)national thrust, the commodification of educational programmes whose purposes are underwritten by economic forces render insignificant any discussions that have at their centre questions and concerns about education as moral, spiritual, ecological or values-based. It is in the light of the contemporary globalizing context

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of mass education whose rightness and usefulness about "effective" "content" and "delivery" have become increasingly foreclosed and underscored by "best practices" that precede philosophical engagement, divest educators of their right to judgement about what might be best for their students, leach intellectualism and spirituality from educational processes, and preclude a plurality of alternatives. The neoliberal agenda for education has been set, and it is an agenda whose thrust rests on progressivist ideals, modernization and economic development at the cost of other vitally important considerations of the human condition, such as ethics, freedom, democracy, egalitarianism, justice, spirituality, ecological knowing and wellbeing.

In attempting to redirect that which he viewed as the problematic social effects of the current economic development agenda, Amartya Sen (1999), winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics, wrote in *Development as Freedom* that "focusing on human freedoms contrasts with narrower views of development, such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product, or with the rise of personal incomes, or with industrialization, or with technological advance, or with social modernization" (p. 3). Education internationally has suffered under this same economic and ideological agenda, and it too requires redirection and the opening up of the public sphere to create places for contemplation, debate, intersubjective feeling and resistance. In this sense, values education, for me at least, is not merely another packaged panacea for societal and educational ills. This would summon up unattended-to shadows and discursive ghosts in the Derridean (1994) sense, in the same way that the new commodified educational programmes have done within the onslaught of a global neoliberal agenda as a new form of sophisticated economic colonization, foreclosing on alternatives and muting diverse voices. Instead, values education serves as a discussion place: a means of placing back on the agenda questions that foster contemplation and put forward, as worthy, a plurality of ideals about what may be important for educational practice, for those being educated, for those teaching those that affect the world, for those that will affect the world in the future, for society on both a global and local level, and for a vision of a sustainable justice-oriented set of possible approaches to the Earth and those – all of those – that inhabit it. It is not a set of advocated values in itself more than a place to grapple critically with crucial ideas about motives, purpose, ideas and what may be of worth to/in educational practice "glocally", and why. Such questions are imperative in a world increasingly suffering under rampant poverty, global violence, widening inequity, increasing politico-religious polarization, entrenched injustices, diminishing resources, spreading global capitalism and the devastation of indigenous people and the environment on a massive scale.

With these questions in mind, I now go back a few paces and enter into a discussion through a narrative rendering about issues of interdiscursive agency and its investment in values as aligned with prevailing power relations in various educational discourses. Which discourses, which curriculum subjects, and their social status and agency within the social domain have strong reciprocity with the nature and effect of the values produced in programmes and courses in the educational sphere, and in the philosophies of practice and pedagogy deployed.

Setting a Context for Values of Power

At a special debate held at a prominent Western Canadian university in 2008, an internationally renowned scientist who won a prestigious international prize for Science spoke to a crowd of academics in their Faculty of Education. The award-winning scientist had been hired at great cost by the university administration to "improve the teaching and learning of science" at the university. He spoke to the crowd on his vision of a successful science pedagogy and a set of practices for the university to boost achievement in science courses at that institution. The crowd of academics, a substantial number of whom are considered world-class leaders in specific areas of pedagogy, curriculum studies, including science education, and educational studies more broadly, sat politely listening to his presentation. I was fortunate to attend this event. I say "fortunate", not necessarily for the insights that the world-renowned scientist offered, but to witness the dynamics and discursive interactions at play, which provided powerful insights into the nature of power, discourse, context and ideology. There were a number of highly regarded internationally recognized science educationalists present. Almost all of these had never been deferred to by the university administration or the incumbent world-renowned scientist for advice on ideas for improving science education at the post-secondary level at this institution despite their expertise in this area and knowledge of local conditions. These were science educationalists who were actively involved in science education research locally and internationally. They sat respectfully listening to the scientist expounding on the programmes and practices that had so far been implemented at the university under his auspices. Needless to say, there was an enormous elephant in the room. At the Q & A period with the audience, everyone seemed too embarrassed to address it, including myself, so blatant was the disjunction between this scientific expert's narrow knowledge of educational theory and practice evidenced in the language of ideas he used, and the vast array of robust debates in the educational field in which this faculty engaged on a daily basis. The gap was significant. One lone voice spoke up. As a science educator of some standing it was more than fitting for her to speak out. She posed her comment as a question, asking politely of the esteemed scientist whether his pedagogic vision of apprenticing science students at this university from "novices" to scientific "experts" was in fact a conception of educational practice that might be somewhat outmoded or limited. His retort came across as petulant. Rather than listening with openness and humility to ideas from experts in scientific pedagogy for which he was the lesser learned authority, he responded by saying that he was "personally insulted" by her comment. With such a slap-in-the-face response to her legitimate question, what further was there to say? The ironies, contradictions and reversals, double entendres and paradoxes were multiple, and it does not take much to note that the entire premise on which the "scientific expert" had been hired and on which he had made his presentation was "out of joint". In fact, the real "insult" was the disregard for the intellectual efforts and contributions of the science educationalists in the Faculty of Education at that institution and elsewhere, and the dismissal of their pedagogic knowledge, authority and achievements in their field in favour of the voice of "pure" Science.

One of the most poorly attended to issues in educational discourse and practice, most especially within the sweep of the New Knowledge Economy, is the effect of power on the discursive field, the verticulization of discourses in the social domain and the (ill)legitimizing effects of agency on what can be said, what can be made possible, in what context, by what means and authority, and by whom, where and when. These effects are often collapsed or ignored in the sweep of naturalizing and neutralizing discourses of efficiencies-based neoliberal discourses that enclose an intellectual and cultural commons (Bowers, 2006). Insufficient engagement with the structural and ideological assumptions that underlie many of the "progressivist" advocacies that advance and maintain a neoliberal status quo impoverishes educational debates. As such, normative issues surrounding an ethics of care, democracy, freedom, egalitarianism, as well as visions and values of more holistic ways of being in the world and coming to know, are ignored, dispensed with or at very best assumed present, without acknowledging complexity, contradiction and conflict and demanding proper critical interrogation. In effect, recognition of the values-laden nature of educational praxis, most especially where objectivity is assumed within scientific or scientistic discourses, is mostly rendered absent. This denial of subjectivity serves as a means of maintaining scientific authority and is a mechanism of its "boundary work", demarcating scientific from non-scientific discourses (Gieryn, 1983). Here, objectivity becomes synonymous with "Truth". More importantly, as a consequence, spaces for resistance to hidden and embedded ideological norms, which often have dangerous but unseen implications for the future of all the Earth and its citizens, are annulled.

Bernstein (2000) provides a useful sociological framework for describing the effects of power on the interactions and discursive context described in my opening narrative. The "strong voice" of Science as a "vertical discourse" with its strong "insulations" as a bulwark against subjective contamination of other non-scientific or scientistic discourses produces "silences", in Bernsteinian terms. The strong voice of Science as a prominent verticularized discourse speaks over the "weak voice" of the more "horizontal discourses" of education that are an integrated bricolage of a number of disciplines and fields. This produces the effect such that the "renowned scientist", embodying the authority of Science, does not see any problem with speaking for, on behalf of and down to science educators on issues of science education. Such assumptions about his own expertise, rights and authority as a scientist are rendered as "plain to see" (McLaren, Leonardo & Allen, 2000, p. 113) in his eyes and are without question. The privileged position and "recontextualizing gaze" (Bernstein, 2000; Dowling, 1998) of Science affords it the authority to speak on behalf of other discourses and recontextualize these practices in its own terms (Dowling, 1998), most often narrowing, reducing and simplifying such discourses to ensure "a fit" with the language of science. I have discussed this in the following texts: Swanson (1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005a, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2007a, 2008) in other contexts. The dramatic irony is not lost, however, in the scientist's response that he was "personally insulted". His individualized identity as a scientist and its authority are constituted as one and the same. The embodiment of conflicting discourses of power is evident, with emotional effect. The political here is personal.

The fact that this scientific expert's presentation to educationalists on aspects of pedagogy for which he was certainly the lesser expert can easily be taken as an insult to those who do possess the expertise, dispensing with their knowledge in favour of the authorial voice produced by the phallus of Science. Science permits no retaliation in its assault on the educational field, as its right to do so. This legitimacy is ordained. Science can speak for Others but cannot be reproached, maintaining the Hegelian master–slave relationship (Hegel, 1956) between the discursive fields. Scientific discourses are pre-eminent in the existing hierarchy of the "social division of labour of discourses" (Bernstein, 2000) in the social domain. Consequently, the possibility of a reversed event, where a Science educator speaks non-deferentially on the subject of Science to scientific experts, is highly unlikely. Our "renowned scientist" embodies scientific legitimacy over other discourses beyond his specialization and knowledge as "rightful" and as a "natural" condition of the existing order of things, not recognizing that such authority is a product of the socially-constructed hierarchy of discourses in the social domain and therefore arbitrary. His apparent lack of recognition of the power dynamics at play, investments of power that have afforded him such a position of relational authority and that spill over into other domains beyond his expertise, acts as a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) against the discursive possibilities generated through the intellectual activities within the field of educational discourses. It rebuffs the alternative pedagogic possibilities that may have been possible with greater institutional credence. The discursive play within the existing power relations also points to the production of mythologizing practices (Barthes, 1972). Here, Science can speak for discourses beyond itself (Dowling, 1998). The weaker voice of Education is delimited in this context and becomes subsumed within the "silences" produced by the strong voice of Science and the insulations it produces. Furthermore, by espousing a philosophy of educational practice that refers to an apprenticeship model from "novice" to "expert" as *the* aspiration for "improved science education", the scientist locates a narrowly functionalist mode of pedagogy and (perhaps unwittingly or intentionally) deploys a neoliberal ideology invested in rhetoric of "best practices", "standardization", "outcomes-based" and "evidence-based" approaches to educational practice within a techno-centered Knowledge Economy. Rather than advancing the assumed "legitimacy" of scientific objectivity as uncontestable, these narrated interactions I have described here point instead to the paradigmatic and values-laden nature of educational and scientific discourses and the hegemonies that underlie them. The denial of such embeddedness of values in scientific discourses is in itself a problematic ideological position that repulses contestation and other (re)imaginings of pedagogic alternatives and cripples their potential for embrace.

These positions and perspectives of "objectivity" and "neutrality" are historically inspired and have resonance with attitudes towards scientific authority from ancient and modern history, but seem to reach their zenith with the Enlightenment and beyond. The words of the acclaimed scientist Karl Pearson ring clear in this respect. Pearson, greatly threatened by Science's becoming "tainted" by subjectivity and openness, wrote at the turn of the twentieth century that Science admits the following:

> . . . no interested motive, no working to support a party, an individual, or a theory; such action but leads to the distortion of knowledge, and those who do not seek truth from an unbiased standpoint are, in the theology of free thought, ministers in the devil's synagogue. (Pearson, n.d., as cited in in Porter, 1995, p. 75)

For Pearson, and following from the Rationalist and Enlightenment movement, knowledge, and in particular scientific knowledge, is spoken of as separate to bias, possessing a god-like purity and "Truth", as if it were able to stand alone, transcendent in time, uncontaminated by doctrinism, polemicism, partiality and prejudice. Ironically, Pearson's theologizing of science invokes a contradiction. Whilst he represents science as divest of doctrinism and any association of science with subjective sentiments as being flagitious, he paradoxically speaks of it in terms of its Omnipotence in prescribing the moral (and religious) space in which knowledge is founded. The relationship between the mathematical sciences and educational discourses offers the same tensions and paradoxes. It is invested in the denial of the values-laden nature of scientific and educational discourses as contextually elaborated within existing and competing relations of power. In the sense that it compounds the effects on the lives, wellbeing, choices and possibilities for young and adult learners, this denial and the agency that sustains it go further, however, to a question of ethics.

Values in Educational Discourses: Mathematics Education as Exemplar

Notoriously, mathematics education, until more recently and then only in small measure, has been commonly assumed a neutral discourse. This claim follows on from and contributes to the previous discussion, noting the agency between discourses and the dominance of scientific and scientifically invested discourses over others along a hierarchical continuum in the social domain. As before, the production of "objectivity", "neutrality" and "authority" inheres in scientific dominance within the social division of labour of discourses and reproduces it. Unlike other school curriculum subjects such as history, social studies and language studies, mathematics has been viewed as free from bias and inherent values. It is for this reason that I use school mathematics and mathematics education as examples, as they appear to be the least likely to be considered "values-laden". As one "already knows" from prevailing common sense discourses that arise and reproduce themselves in the social domain, one can either "do" mathematics or one "can't". This globally circulated assumption is a reflection of the all-pervasive differential access to the "regulating principles" (Bernstein, 2000) of school mathematics as a "natural" condition. If it is constituted as "the way things are", then there is no purpose in contesting it as undemocratic. It is simply part of the doxic order of things, an unchangeable reality to which one has to resign oneself and accept one's lot as a "can do" or "can't do" subject of mathematical discourses. Mathematics is not viewed as socially and historically constructed. It is merely a/the "Truth". Mathematics is not recognized as elitist, discriminatory and exclusive. Bishop (2000, 2008) draws attention to these

values that are implicit in mathematics teaching and pedagogical practice. It is generally considered a simple fact of life that some can progress in this subject and "succeed" at it as an arbitrary condition of biological make-up at birth and some cannot. The further fact that differential access is tied very strongly to access of opportunity in later life, attributable to the same hierarchy of the social division of labour of discourses that affords mathematics, as the Queen of the Sciences, such pre-eminence, is often not acknowledged as being unjust. Such differential access that aligns with a historically-produced social hierarchy of discourses contributes to the existing unequal social relations as a mechanism for the maintenance of an oppressive status quo. The social inequities and injustices that are maintained and reproduced on a global scale through the practice of school and post-secondary mathematics and its gate-keeping role are seldom contested as undemocratic.

To begin to address the issue of democratization of mathematics education, and this applies to education in general, is to render explicit the ways in which it is value-laden and to ask what goals are being advocated in curricula and practice. The national agenda is very much caught up in the ideological formations that mathematics education takes in different nation states, tied to a global agenda with an expanding neoliberal mandate. As Bishop (2000) notes of the Australian context:

> At present, for example, in my country, as in some others, the economic rationalists hold political power and their demands are for the efficient delivery of a narrow range of specified mathematical competencies by limited, and preferably cheap, means. I have no doubt that the goals being reached by this kind of approach in no way address the concerns for democratisation of mathematics education that many of us aspire to. (pp. 1–2)

Skovsmose and Valero (2001) also reference mathematics education's dissonance with democracy and the need to develop a critical relationship between them. Others also speak to the hegemonies of mathematics education discourse and practice in various contexts (see some examples, Khuzwayo, 1997, 1998; Valero, 1998; Vithal, 1999, 2000; Volmink, 1994), and to the sociology of "failure" and disadvantage that is (re)produced (see some examples, Dowling, 1998; Lerman and Tsatsaroni, 1998, Swanson, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005a, 2006a, 2006b, 2007a; Zevenbergen, 2003). In so doing, many address the problematic of the Eurocentric nature of dominant Western mathematics curricula throughout the world (examples, Atweh, 2007; Atweh & Brady, 2009; Dowling, 1998; D'Ambrosio, 2001b; Powell & Frankenstein, 1997) as a form of Western cultural imperialism (Bishop, 1990). Arguably, this may be the root hegemony, along with mathematics education's globalized/ing economic utilitarianism, that has produced very divisive practices in mathematics education globally, and concomitantly carries dangerous forms of cultural domination and associated oppressions. The recognition of the problematic nature of many of the values embedded in Western/global mathematics discourse and practice as recontextualized in local contexts throughout the world prompts the need to seek justice-oriented alternatives. These have often been forthcoming in the form of the Ethnomathematics movement (see D'Ambrosio, 1997a, 1997b, 2001a, 2006; Gerdes, 1997), Mathematics for Social Justice movement (see Atweh, 2007, 2009; Ernest, 2007; Gutstein, 2008) and "culturally-responsive" mathematics education (see Barta & Brenner, 2009), amongst others. Endemic on a global

scale, however, is the general and dangerous point of view that mathematics education is value-free and ideologically neutral and has nothing to do with democracy, justice or moral values. Such widespread attitudes, unfortunately, assist in maintaining an oppressive status quo and continue to detrimentally affect the lives of many individuals and groups in local contexts across the globe, delimiting opportunities, enclosing freedoms and negatively impacting their livelihoods and wellbeing.

The often suppressed ideological investments of mathematical discourse and practice in various contexts align strongly with questions of ethical engagement. Why we "do" or "don't do" mathematics, who has access and what kinds of mathematics are taught or not taught to whom, and why, are caught up in these considerations. Ideological discourses are at play hidden by the representation of the mathematical sciences as objective. The political and economic utilitarianism of mathematics education curricula globally is often framed within a neoliberal and neocolonial economic development model. Such a politically utilitarian pull aligns similarly in terms of investments of power and interest with the way in which mathematics curricula are constituted within citizenship discourses that feed off nationalisms and competitive globalization agendas, thus perpetuating new techno-scientific hegemonies and industrialization that advance neocolonialism. The power that mathematics asserts within the social domain is extensive as it is divisive. It serves to rationalize and normalize cultural, socio-historical and geopolitical differences and inequalities rather than complicate or disrupt them. Becoming critically aware of the operationalization of such networks of influence, their critical interconnections with discourses of power, the deployment of ideologies and the social hegemonies produced on a global structural level are aspects of the political economy of mathematics education that is, for the most part, ignored in academic and other public debates. For those who hold to the defunct position that mathematical sciences are objective and all but political, such broaching of mathematics education's complicity in contemporary interrelated political agendas of economic development, linear progressivism, unsustainable techno-centered industrial globalization and neocolonialism is often dismissed. It is a position that often elicits threatened reactions from more conservative quarters and free-marketeers. This position is also without recognition that "objectivity" is already a position of ideological bias. Unless there is a fuller appreciation of the complex implicatedness of mathematics education, as dominantly practiced globally, on contemporary societal and environmental ills and injustice, I assert that there is little chance of a deeper understanding of how one might approach a mathematics education as moral and ethical practice. At the core of any mathematics education practice should lie the moral questions of "why" and "for what" and "for whom" and "to whom" and "with whom" are we teaching this and, if so, "why this way"? It should also be asked: with what and whose wisdom? What investments of power and ideology lie hidden in any single judgement to act mathematically and/or pedagogically in a chosen way, and what assumptions about what is good for those engaged in mathematics education precede us without our awareness or critical language of empowerment to question or to chose to act otherwise?

'Good' Education, and an Ethics of Purpose and Ideal

Gert Biesta (2009), in his inaugural lecture *Good Education: What it is and why we need it*, attempts to get at the core of the purpose of education behind the scenes of a set of common assumptions about educational value premised on economic development agendas and globalizing neoliberalism. The effects of this trend have been the spread of a surveillance and audit culture that has considerably narrowed discussions about and towards evaluation and measurement, about what is good and worthy to be evaluated – if at all, and about who might need to be made "accountable" for what and why. It has increased standardization frameworks underwritten by an "efficiencies" agenda that increasingly sees education as a commodity within the Global Knowledge Economy, one that is framed within the terms of relations of exchange, thereby emphasizing narrowly functionalist, techno-centrically utilitarian and skill-based approaches to teaching and learning as the only valuable forms of educational practice. Furthermore, it eliminates considerations about whether there may or may not be any purpose to education other than to contribute to economic development and growth and the viability of the nation state. Absent, for the most part, are discussions about what the moral implications and responsibilities may be to those being educated or not, whether these are democratic and fair and whether they have anything to do with normative questions of ethics, ecology, care, spirituality, justice and other worthy human values. Biesta (2009) notes:

> By using the phrase "good education" and not, for example, effective education, successful education or excellent education – I wish to make it clear from the outset that I am dealing with a normative question. In my view questions about education always raise normative issues and therefore always require value judgements, i.e., judgements about what we consider to be desirable. In plural democracies like ours (speaking within Scotland/the United Kingdom/the European Union) we should not expect that there will only be one answer to the question as to what constitutes good education. It rather is a sign of a healthy democracy that there are ongoing discussions about the purpose and direction of such a crucial common endeavour as education. (p. 1, parentheses inserted)

Biesta (2009) bemoans the rise in competitive league-tables that pit students and schools and nations against each other, especially in mathematics (contributing to my earlier discussion of the divisive values entrenched within dominant mathematics education practices), and the increasing tendency to turn education into an evidence-based profession based on research knowledge about "what works". As he notes in contradiction to the trend towards evidence-based advocacies in education: "there are probabilistic relationships between actions and consequences and never deterministic relationships between causes and effects" (p. 2). Arguing against the new neoliberalized language of "learning" and "efficiencies", Biesta points to the disadvantage of standardization "that takes away opportunities for educational professionals to make their own judgements about what is necessary and desirable in the always particular situations they work in" (p. 6), based on low trust by administrators. As Biesta (2009) continues:

> A second disadvantage about educational standardization is that it takes away any opportunity for a plurality of opinions about good education. This is often done through the construction of a quasi-consensus around an alleged common sense notion of what good education is. One popular version of such a quasi-consensus is the idea that in order to remain competitive within the global knowledge economy schools need to produce a highly-skilled workforce; hence the most important task for schools is that of raising standards in English, science and mathematics. (p. 6)

Education has been held to ransom by a set of values that dictate the terms of its elaboration and interpretation. They restrict the form of its discourses, debates and practices. These values have become a pre-discourse where the means to debate the terms of implementation or practice are forestalled as they are held to the mandates of economic forces that advance global competition over cooperation. They also promote techno-centric industrialized progress over ecological sustainability and global social justice. In this way, they maintain existing social inequalities and inequities as a "natural" condition of market forces over concerns for democracy and egalitarianism, and underscore an ideological status quo that reproduces capitalist relations of production on an increasingly global scale.

So what, then, is a way towards redirecting attention to issues of purpose and the place of debate within the educational field? What might be required to stimulate debate around advancing forms of education focused on core human issues of contentment, peace and wellbeing; on the core ideological issues of democracy, freedom and egalitarianism; and on the principles of global justice? In their preface to *Curriculum Wisdom*, Henderson and Kesson (2004) draw on Walker (2003, p. 60) in stating:

> Curriculum theories ... are about ideals, values, and priorities. They employ reason and evidence, but in the service of passion. Curriculum theories can be analytical as well as partisan, but unlike scientific theories, they are not curriculum theories unless they are about ideals. Curriculum theories make ideals explicit, clarify them, work out their consequences for curriculum practice, compare them to other ideals, and justify or criticize them. (p. xiv)

Through the language of "curriculum theories", Henderson and Kesson evoke questions of "ideals, values, and priorities" and on how these ideals need to be made explicit, to be clarified and their consequences for curriculum practice worked out. These ideals are open to justification or critique. This approach holds at the centre of values education, or so I believe it to be, for without the ideals, the values, the justification and critique, it would become another form of unfettered socialization as has become the historical tenets of education within a globalizing, homogenizing modernism. Even as values education calls forth ideals of a humanistic nature, such humanism requires constant self- and internal reflection in order not to supplant one form of "common good" decided on behalf of others, such as in the economic development model that advertizes wealth for all, with another "common good" that turns out to be not so "good" at all, at least for some (often a vulnerable minority), even if not for others. In bringing the question of "what is good education" back into play and placing it at the door of values education, a critical plurality of opinions is offered, while holding to questions of what is important, worthy, ethical, moral and just. I believe this approach to be crucial to a Values

Education mandate from critical perspectives. To contest the core assumptions that have been subsumed within modernistic educational practices is also the work of a values education if it is to be, almost paradoxically, critically valuable. Biesta (2006) warns us of humanistic ideals adopted in education in ways that deflect the plurality of other options and provide a singularly socializing effect on individuals and groups such that they would lose the critical capacity to critique, question and contest in favour of a given common good into which they are enculturated. An open and critical values education would need to address this even as it advocates for a greater explicit focus on what values we participate in within the educational field.

With this in mind, I enter into a discussion about an African philosophy of humanism as a contribution to values education as an educational ideal. It is an ideal for education that I believe would serve a different purpose to education as currently dominantly practiced and reconstitute its purpose towards human care, collectivism, sisterhood and brotherhood. I draw on this African humanism from my lived experience growing up in South Africa and have witnessed it practiced amongst many indigenous people in lived contexts of its African expression. I assert that this form of indigenous spirituality offers more to an ideal of "good education" within the consideration of worthy human values than many others, or so I believe. It also offers a viable alternative to the standardized, universalized status quo. Biesta (2009) remarks along these lines that the "problem of stories that express a quasi-consensus about good education is also that they suggest that there is no alternative". He argues that it is however, "not too difficult to see that instead of economic competitiveness, we could also argue that as a society we should give priority to care – care for the elderly, care for the environment – or to democracy and peaceful co-existence". Insightfully, Biesta notes that "such priorities suggest a complete different set of educational arrangements and articulate radically different views about what good education might look like" (p. 7).

With these thoughts on an alternative for "good education" that places values of care above economic imperatives, I will now describe Ubuntu towards a philosophy of educational practice as a contribution to a values education. I have written and presented on Ubuntu elsewhere in terms of its contribution to education, an ethically-focused research methodology, and hopeful opportunities for living well in the world (Swanson, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b, 2009).

Ubuntu: A Philosophy of Becoming Human

Ubuntu is short for an isiXhosa proverb in Southern Africa. It comes from *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*: a person is a person through their relationship to others. Ubuntu is recognized as the African philosophy of humanism, linking the individual to the collective through "brotherhood" or "sisterhood". It makes a fundamental contribution to indigenous "ways of knowing and being". With differing historical emphasis and (re)contextualization over time and place, it is considered a spiritual

way of being in the broader socio-political context of Southern Africa. This approach is not only an expression of a spiritual philosophy in its theological and theoretical sense, but is an expression of daily living. That is, a way of knowing that fosters a journey towards "becoming human" (Vanier, 1998) or "which renders us human" (Tutu, 1999), or, in its collectivist sense, a greater humanity that transcends alterity of any form.

Nobel Prize laureate Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, who, in 1995, became the chairman of post-apartheid South Africa's *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, was a strong advocate of the philosophy and spiritual power of Ubuntu in the recovery of "truth" through narratives of atrocities from the apartheid era. He also viewed it as necessary in the more important and subsequent processes of *forgiveness*, reconciliation, transcendence and healing that arise through the cathartic process of truth-telling. In this sense, the extension of notions of "truth" in respect of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission's* mandate exceeded a forensic notion of "truth-finding" to include three others of truth-seeking, which encompassed personal or narrative truth, social or dialogic truth, and healing or restorative truth (Marx, 2002, p. 51). A sense of African epistemology resounds through these postulations of "truth" in their formulation and exposition. As a philosophical thread of African epistemology, Ubuntu focuses on human relations, attending to the moral and spiritual consciousnesses of what it means to be human and to be in relationship with an-Other. This is voiced in the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission's* (TRC's) announcement that "It shift the primary focus of crime from the breaking of laws or offences against a faceless state to a perception of crime as violations against human beings, as injury or wrong done to another person" (as cited in Marx, 2002, p. 51). Again, the TRC's imperative of truth-seeking is underscored by a conception of African epistemology and Ubuntu in its incorporation of personal or narrative truth, social or dialogic truth, and healing or restorative truth.

As I have grown to understand the concept, Ubuntu is borne out of the philosophy that *community strength* comes of *community support*, and that dignity and identity are achieved through mutualism, empathy, generosity and community commitment. The adage that "it takes a village to raise a child" is aligned with the spirit and intent of Ubuntu. Just as apartheid threatened to erode this traditional African way of being – although in some instances it ironically strengthened it through galvanizing collectivist support and creating solidarity amongst the oppressed – so increasing industrialization, urbanization and globalization threatens to do the same.

How might Ubuntu be fostered in educational contexts, not only for Africans, but as a way away from the industrialized and post-industrialized ideologies that render human values as inconsequential against the thrust of economic considerations? Perhaps this may be a focus of a values education debate that places such a philosophy at the forefront of concerns about what might constitute a "good", valuable and worthy educational practice, or set of practices, for Africans and non-Africans alike, and which counters and contests current implicit assumptions.

Conclusion

Values education, I believe, offers a route into providing and debating educational alternatives. It does so by asking fundamental questions of values, purpose, intent and ideal. It should not foreclose on assumptions about ideology and the core human questions of morality, spirituality, wellbeing and care. I believe that it should maintain these questions at the forefront of any further questions about educational discourse and practice, but it should do so with recognition of multiple alternatives, of a plurality of thoughts and ideas about what is for others' educational good, and even who might ask these questions or why these questions might need to be asked or not. I believe that it should also be self-critical and internally reflective, and recognize the ambiguities, contradictions, paradoxes and multiple perspectives that inhere in any advocacy on behalf of others, society and the environment. It should never waiver from the key thematic principles and worthy human values of freedom, democracy, wellbeing, care and justice, but it should do so with acknowledgement of the complexities that such approaches underscore. For to ignore the complexities, pluralities, ambiguities and contingencies is to suppress the shadows and ghosts that wander mournfully through our discourses and debates. We need, in the Derridean sense, to interlocute deferentially with these ancestral ghosts in asking what is more real, more just, more valuable for the education of our children, youth and adults across the globe. To be of value, values education should not just be another form of advocacy for education in itself as much as offer a place for critical debate as to what values should be both the purpose and engagement with/in education, . . . or not at all.

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Chapter 9
Teacher Values Underlying Professional Ethics

Kirsi Tirri

Introduction

In the 1990s, the moral base of the teaching profession and the ethical dilemmas in teaching were popular themes in educational research (Colnerud, 1997; Oser, 1994; Sockett, 1993; Tirri, 1999). In the 2000s the research on teachers' professional morality and ethical conduct in teaching has actively continued (Campbell, 2003; Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008, 2009; Husu & Tirri, 2003; Tirri, 2003, 2008; Tirri & Husu, 2002; Tirri & Puolimatka, 2000). The everyday life of teachers involves relations with pupils, parents, and colleagues. A school provides an institutional context for teachers' ethical dilemmas and interactive relationships. Previous research on ethical dilemmas in teaching indicates that teachers are not always aware of the moral impact of their actions (Jackson, Boostrom & Hansen, 1993). Furthermore, teachers have reported themselves to be ill prepared to deal with those ethical dilemmas they have identified in their work (Lyons, 1990; Tirri, 1999).

These research findings guide us to pay more attention to teacher professionalism in our research and teaching. In this chapter our aim is to identify and investigate teachers' values and beliefs underlying their professional ethics. We build on our previous empirical work on the pedagogical values identified by teachers (Husu & Tirri, 2007; Tirri & Husu, 2006), the values underlying urban school principals' work (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008), and ethically sensitive responses of teachers in critical incidents at school (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2009). We aim to provide a review of teachers' values underlying their professional ethics and discuss them with the values behind teachers' ethical guidelines (Code of Ethics for Finnish Teachers, 1998).

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Morality in Teaching and School Leadership

Morality can be defined as an active process of constructing understandings and meanings relating to social interactions (McCadden, 1998). According to this definition, there is no definite answers to which morality or whose morality we should observe in our everyday interactions. In the context of school community, the values of teachers, parents, and youngsters are in a constant dialog with each other. In addition to personal values, teachers need to consider the ethical standards of their profession. Professional ethics include reflection on the values and virtues of a teacher. According to empirical studies, teachers cannot separate their own moral character from their professional self. The stance of teachers' moral character functions as a moral approach in teachers' reasoning, guiding their ways of interacting with pupils and giving them hope for the future. The professional approach in teachers' reasoning includes rules and principles guiding their pedagogical practice and decision-making. These rules and principles build the stance of teachers' professional character in their practical knowing (Tirri, Husu & Kansanen, 1999).

According to Bebeau, Rest and Narvaez , moral sensitivity is defined as follows:

> Moral sensitivity ... is the awareness of how our actions affect other people. It involves being aware of the different possible lines of action and how each line of action could affect the parties involved (including oneself). Moral sensitivity involves imaginatively constructing possible scenarios (often from limited cues and partial information), knowing cause-consequent chains of events in the real world, and having empathy and role-taking skills. Moral sensitivity is necessary to become aware that a moral issue is involved in a situation. (Bebeau, Rest & Narvaez, 1999, p. 22)

To respond to a situation in a moral way, a teacher must be able to perceive and interpret events in ways that leads to ethical action. The teacher must be sensitive to situational cues and must be able to visualize various alternative actions in response to that situation. A morally sensitive person draws on many skills, techniques, and components of interpersonal sensitivity. These include taking the perspective of others (role-taking), cultivating empathy for a sense of connection to others, and interpreting a situation based on imagining what might happen and who might be affected. Ethical sensitivity is closely related to a relatively new suggested intelligence type, social intelligence, which can be broadly defined as the ability to get along well with others and get them to cooperate with you (Albrecht, 2006; Goleman, 2006).

In our previous study (Nokelainen & Tirri, 2007) the teachers of the urban schools (N=124) evaluated their principals' emotional leadership with an Emotional Leadership Questionnaire (ELQ) that operationalizes four domains of EI with 51 items (Goleman, Boyatzis & McKee, 2002). Teachers' task was to assess their principals' EL characteristics on four dimensions of the ELQ: (1) self-awareness (8 items), (2) self-management (20 items), (3) social awareness (7 items), and (4) relationship management (16 items). First two dimensions measure how teachers rank

their principals' personal characteristics, i.e., self-management capabilities. Two remaining dimensions measure leader's social skills, i.e., how they manage interpersonal relationships. Fifty-one ELQ items were evaluated with a five-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Teachers viewed their principals very positive in the dimensions measuring principals' personal characteristics. According to teachers' evaluations, the principals of urban schools had quite strong self-awareness. Furthermore, the principals were able to keep disruptive emotions and impulses under control, adapt to new challenges, and see the upside in the events. Teachers were also quite satisfied with their principals' high personal standards that would drive them to constantly seek improvements in performance, ability to monitor parents and students satisfaction carefully to ensure they are getting what they need, skills to resolve disagreements, and ability to generate an atmosphere of friendly collegiality (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008; Nokelainen & Tirri, 2007).

The research findings also showed that the principals shared the values of tolerance, care, and equality of people. These values were guiding their work in the school-based projects and co-operation with teachers, students, and families. The principals had good knowledge of different networks inside and outside of school that helped them to provide the best possible education for their students. The principals viewed the school as an important institution in a society where students can learn democracy and human rights (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008).

Studies in moral identity suggest that individuals with exceptional moral integrity are able to go beyond the immediate context and their personal needs, and demonstrate a strong, long-term commitment to ethical causes. Such moral exemplars have greater awareness of political and social issues, and have supportive relationships that contribute to their ability to identify or define situations as moral issues; moreover, they tend to be optimistic and establish a coherent set of goals (Colby & Damon, 1992, 1995). The principals in our study reflected many of the typical qualities of moral exemplar identified by Colby and Damon (1992, p. 315). These qualities included a generalized respect for humanity that was mentioned in many interviews; a tendency to be inspiring to others that was reflected in teachers', parents', and students' interviews; and a sense of realistic humility about one's importance relative to the world at large, implying a relative lack of concern for one's own ego. All the principals served a greater purpose to improve the lives of their students and the school community, and did not only serve to advance their own career (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008).

The four principals also differed in their leadership roles. One elementary school principal was more present in his schools; the other delegated more leadership responsibilities to vice-principals and other personnel. One secondary school principal was very informal and motherly in her work; the other was more professionally oriented and business-like. All the four principals had a unique moral profile that reflected their role and characteristics as an emotional and ethical leader of their school (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008).

Teachers' Values in Critical Incidents at School

Leadership and Emotional Control

Teachers reported situations in which the role of the principal, his characteristics, or leadership qualities were in a central role in coping or solving a critical incident in their schools. In these incidents principals had been able to keep disruptive emotions and impulses under control, adapt to new challenges, and see the upside in the events. They had shown their leadership qualities by their exemplar behavior and skills of co-operating with different parties. This professional attitude had manifested itself in their commitment to educate themselves and develop their own school community. Furthermore, they had shown respect to people with diverse religious and ethical backgrounds and continued to care themselves, their teachers, and students from different families. Principals from all the schools identified several incidents with emotional expressions related to their job as a principal. They emphasized the moral nature of principal's work. In order to be able to act as a moral exemplar in his/her community the principal has to take care of his/her health, his value system, and to be available to his community (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2009).

Teachers, parents, and students also viewed the principals as moral exemplars. The principals' personal qualities, values, and social skills create the atmosphere in the schools that makes co-operation and respect possible in urban schools. The principals in urban schools shared some common values and characteristics that are needed in educating diverse students. They had quite strong self-awareness and capability to keep disruptive emotions and impulses under control, adapt to new challenges, and see the upside in the events. Teachers reported that their principals had high personal standards that drove them to constantly seek improvements in their leadership (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2008).

Caring and Respect

Caring was the most evident emotional expression by both principals and teachers. They all agreed that successful and safe school culture is built on caring. They agreed with Noddings (1992) that caring should include one, the others, and also places and ideas. In the issues related to family problems and diversity the lack of caring was identified as a negative emotional expression. Sometimes the students are not cared enough at home and the school needs to find those who care. Especially with the multicultural families the schools have arranged extra help and critical friends who take the side of the students. In multicultural urban schools, respect is many times the right emotional expression to show ethical sensitivity to families with diverse religious and ethical backgrounds (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2009).

The diversity in schools was also manifested in the differences between rich and poor families. The students from rich families could also have big problems. Furthermore, drugs and loneliness were identified as problems in urban schools. In

the most multicultural school with foreign students the family problems included lack of caring in the basic needs of children. Sometimes the school had to provide the children the basic care they should have received from their own homes. The success of these schools was very much based on their flexible integration and curriculum planning. The students with special needs had tailored, personalized curricula to meet their needs. This work has produced good learning results even with weak students from social disadvantaged backgrounds. The atmosphere of caring, the efforts to meet the needs of individual students from diverse backgrounds and respect for different families in co-operation had created conditions for success and emotional wellbeing in schools (Hanhimäki & Tirri, 2009).

Professionalism and Commitment

Teacher's work requires professional behavior from the teacher. In many difficult situations teachers have to act according to their professional codes and not let their emotions overwhelm them. Teachers' work includes conflicts with parents and colleagues (Tirri & Husu, 2002). Many times teachers cannot separate their professional self from their own moral character. However, teachers are mostly committed to their students and this commitment helps them with the emotional expressions in difficult situations. Co-operation and caring can bring positive resolutions to difficult conflicts. Many cases may remain unresolved or take a long time to close and that makes teachers tired and worried. Professionalism and commitment carry teachers in their challenges and everyday work in schools.

Co-operation

The most constructive emotional expression in the school community is co-operation. In the school culture with multicultural families, respect opens many doors to co-operation. In earlier empirical studies on moral dilemmas with minority groups, compromises have been shown to be the best solutions to these problems (Tirri, 1999). Open discussion on rules and norms is needed to establish some guidelines for organizational morality. In this moral discourse, respect and co-operation are the ethical sensitivity skills needed to meet and understand diverse families. Common rules in schools could also educate teachers, parents, and students to respect each other, care for each other, and pay attention to their ethical sensitivity skills. Good manners could promote emotional expressions in the school community that can build the whole school culture more positive and inclusive for everybody.

Teachers' Pedagogical Values

In a collaborative action research project with 2 educational researchers and 24 elementary school teachers we used the value clarification process to recognize, articulate, and express the beliefs and values of this particular school community

(Husu & Tirri, 2007; Tirri & Husu, 2006). The researchers analyzed the nature of values expressed by the teachers and established a framework for school values. The school values reflected individual, social, and relational values. According to the teachers, all these meta-values are important in a pedagogical context. The most important values chosen by teachers came from all these three main categories of values. The thesis "Teachers emphasize the interests of their community more than individuality and selfishness" reflected important social values of the school and it was chosen to represent the social ethos of the school. The thesis "Teachers educate to tolerate differences" reflected important relational values of the school and it was chosen to represent the relational ethos of the school. Individual values were reflected in the theses "Teachers aim to complete their tasks" and "Teachers try to evaluate their work honestly." These theses were chosen for the teachers to actualize in their school ethos and in their own behavior. Our aim was to support this schools' interest in creating a pedagogical environment that is sensitive to numerous individual backgrounds as supported in the themes of justice, self-esteem, consideration, etc.

The process of values clarification should be anchored to real values expressed in real-world school situations (Husu & Tirri, 2001). If a teacher says she/he values honesty, we should ask her/him to explain what that would mean to her/him in terms of real-world classroom or school behavior. Consequently, we should encourage teachers to identify practical examples where there is a gap between values and their behavior, either on an individual level or an organizational level. We should develop methods that bring behavior in line with our values. At best, value clarification provides an opportunity to take the first step on the road of getting to know our values – and finally, live with them (Husu & Tirri, 2007).

Professional Ethical Codes and Teachers' Values in Schools

In this chapter we have presented teachers' values in critical incidents and in a collaborative values clarification project in schools. Critical incidents were defined here as issues or situations in teachers' work that arise ethical reflection with moral emotions. We were able to identify some key values that teachers expressed in different professional context. Leadership with commitment and emotional control were crucial in critical incidents. Teachers' professional commitment with caring and co-operation were also shown to be sensitive emotional expressions in the critical incidents concerning students and their families.

The Finnish guidelines for teacher's professional ethics emphasize ethical sensitivity in the relationship between teacher and pupil. The teacher is urged to strive to understand the learner's points of departure, thoughts, and opinions, and to handle his or her personal and private matters tactfully. The teacher is also supposed to give special consideration to learners who need care and protection, and not to accept any form of exploitation or abuse of learners. The code also acknowledges that the younger the learner with whom the teacher is working, the greater the latter's

responsibility for the learner becomes. This means that the teacher works together with the adults responsible for the child (Code of Ethics for Finnish Teachers, 1998).

Ethical sensitivity, especially the skill to read and express emotions, was shown to be an important skill in urban schools with diverse student populations. In many critical incidents at school ethical sensitivity had opened opportunities for co-operation. The skill in understanding and expressing emotions is many times necessary for teachers to establish caring relationships with their students and their families.

Teachers' work requires both professional attitude in the middle of difficult situation and caring and respectful approach to students and colleagues. With co-operation and hope the teachers have been able to maintain positive attitude to their work. The professional attitude is present in the ethical codes in the teacher's relationship to the work. In their work, teachers commit themselves to the norms that define that work and to the profession's ethics. According to the codes, teachers should attend to their tasks responsible and develop their work and evaluate their own activities. Teachers are also supposed to accept their fallibility and to be ready to revise their viewpoints (Code of Ethics for Finnish Teachers, 1998). Teachers are also allowed to give of their personality: its development and care is the teacher's right and responsibility.

In our empirical studies teachers' pedagogical values reflected individual, social, and relational values. The teachers praised the ethos of their schools and the culture that made it easy to enjoy schoolwork. Critical incidents concerning the whole school community included issues of common rules and regulations. According to teachers, mutual understanding of rules that majority in school followed helped to create a safe and caring learning environment. This kind of atmosphere in schools had been established with commitment and co-operation. According to the ethical codes, teachers should value their work and respect their colleagues as members of a profession. Teachers should seek a constructive combination of resources and strive for balance between personal autonomy and the work community. In their work communities, teachers are advised to rely on the principles of mutual aid and support, understanding, and accepting the individuality of their colleagues (Code of Ethics for Finnish Teachers, 1998). Teachers work together with the home, the surrounding community, and the larger society. This means that teachers have a relationship to the society in large and their work also guides the future of our society.

Conclusion

Research findings on teachers' values underlying their professional ethics have important implications for teacher education in both pre-service and in-service levels. In pre-service education the student teachers should be introduced to the holistic life in schools including critical incidents with strong emotional expressions. Often these incidents require ethical sensitivity as part of professional competence from the teacher. Student teachers could learn these incidents first through narrative

learning and case studies that are based on real life. These incidents can also be used as cases in role-play where pre-service teachers can take turns in different roles and practice empathy and role-taking skills. In addition to these practical approaches, teacher education should provide a strong knowledge base in professional ethics that would help the student teachers to reflect these incidents with multiple ethical frameworks. The ethical guidelines for teaching profession and the values they are based on should also be introduced to teachers already at the pre-service level. The values of human worth, honesty, justice, and freedom that guide all the interaction between teachers and their students, the parents, and their colleagues should also be reflected and discussed with practical cases. In-service teachers need to update their knowledge on professional ethics and the current research in teaching. The use of current, concrete incidents in teaching motivate teachers to take part in such education. The researchers can provide the current knowledge on research on teaching for this in-service education. Thus, projects that combine theoretical knowledge with practical knowledge in teaching can serve education for teaching in the best possible ways.

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Chapter 10
Teachers as Key Players in Values Education: Implications for Teacher Formation

Adrian Gellel

Introduction

If we agree that schools and educational institutions are to take on the responsibility of playing a fundamental role in the holistic education and formation of students, then we must also agree that a better understanding of the role of the teacher is needed. A values education which comprises, but is definitely not restricted to a curricular subject, occurs in a wide context which presupposes an understanding of the human person and the human community, the goals of education and the relationship between schools, the family, and society. While some might argue that this is too a wide a context, it is difficult to contend that without these precepts one can venture into the endeavor of educating for and in values. If the school were just to stick to the teaching of scholastic disciplines by giving a clear priority to the cognitive and skills components, it would be tacitly acknowledging a specific, restricted vision of education and of the human person.

In this context, teachers play a fundamental role since it is through the relationships that they establish and develop with students, colleagues and the wider community that they share and facilitate values and holistic development. Thus, attention should not only be given to the development and administration of programs and/or to scholastic structures that facilitate the values education of students, but there should also be investment in the initial and ongoing formation of teachers.

Nature and Goals of Education

The human community has moved a long way before recognizing Education as a fundamental human right (United Nations, 1948). For millennia, the ideal of an education that is as accessible as possible was mainly for visionaries and saints, such

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as the Latin Quintilian and St. John Baptist de La Salle. These were moved by an understanding of the human person and the human community. Thus, for instance, Quntilian firmly believed that all human beings could learn because the human mind is of divine origin (Quintillian, 1965). However, their ideals did not find resonance in their contemporary society. The history of schooling and of education in general is a history of fits and starts – a history which very much depended on rulers and social conditions. After all, for millennia, education was directed at the education of rulers and much of the work of philosophers and thinkers on education was precisely how to educate those who were to preserve knowledge and values and transform society (Oksenberg Rorty, 1998).

However, there is no doubt that in this past century there have been great advances in education. The ideals and philosophies endorsed and propagated by the French Revolution had their fair share in making public instruction, at least at primary level, free on the European continent and eventually a principle that has been endorsed by governments globally. Mass schooling and in due course public education for all have supported and encouraged advancements in the fields of learning and instruction. Schools and education as we know them today are the product of a long human journey which is by no means yet over. This journey is influenced by myriad factors, mainly of social, economical, and political nature.

The need, felt by various international organizations, to reiterate that education is a fundamental right (for instance United Nations, Economic and Social Council, 1966; United Nations, Economic and Social Council, 1999; World Education Forum, 2000) points to the frailty of this principle being truly accepted and implemented by all. Additionally, the acknowledgment in practical terms that "education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity" (United Nations, Economic and Social Council, 1966 art. 13(1)) is not without problems.

The concept that education should be directed toward the holistic development of the human person, as an individual, a member of a family, society, and state and a contributor to economy and progress has been reiterated various times (for instance Faure et al., 1972; United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child, 1989; Delors et al., 1996) but such goals are nevertheless often seen as too idealistic and impractical to implement. Indeed, while more than a century ago Herbert Spencer claimed that Education should be directed toward the holistic development of the individual and warned against giving emphasis to an area of knowledge to the detriment of other areas (Spencer as cited by Compayré, 2002), a few years later the French educationalist Compayré offered the following comment:

> (*Spencer's definition*) . . . is wrong in being a little pretentious . . . It is true, perhaps, if it is a question of the ideal to be attained in a complete instruction, accessible to a few privileged men, but it could not be applied to popular education. It soars to high above conditions and social realities (Compayré, 2002, p. 540).

The lure of the practical impacts of education on economic growth and on efficiency is too big, as is evidenced in most recent documents of the European Union.

For instance, in presenting the European framework of key competences for lifelong learning, Ján Figel', European Commissioner responsible for Education, offers the following comment:

> We need to develop our skills and competences throughout our lives, not only for our personal fulfilment and our ability to actively engage with the society in which we live, but for our ability to be successful in a constantly changing world of work (European Union, Education and Culture DG, 2007, p. 1).

The problem with such reasoning is that in Europe personal fulfillment has become a secondary end to economic and social cohesion that appear to be the primary objectives of the European Union (see for instance European Union, Council of the European Union, 2000). Reasoning in utilitarian terms that focus on an education that is subservient to the economy and to the demands of society leads to reductionism and a devaluation of the human person.

While it is true that in the report on the future objectives of education, the Council of Education identified "the development of the individual, who can thus realize his or her full potential and live a good life" (European Union, Education Council, 2001, p. 4) as the first of the three main goals of education, it is also true that the anthropological understanding of the document is very restricted. The Education Council specifies that individuals are to "realise their potential as citizens, as members of society, and as economic agents" (European Union, Education Council, 2001, p. 7). It appears clear that the individual is understood only in subservient terms. No mention is made of an education that fulfills human dignity as was so eloquently agreed upon by all European Union member states in the various international conventions and declarations. In this scenario, education is shaped according to the needs of the state, social coexistence, and the economy as perceived by the political class.

Without doubt, educating the person holistically includes corollary social and economic benefits. However, confusing priorities is detrimental not only to the individual human persons but, in the long term, also to institutions and to society at large. As Biedenkopf, Germek and Michalski (2004) commented, the prioritization of economic growth by the European Union has to a great extent eclipsed other priorities such as solidarity and unity. Biedenkopf et al. (2004) also note that while after the Lisbon Strategy, the political class is pushing competitive values in order to make the European Union the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, the general public does not seem to be moving on the same wavelength. The reason behind this is that markets are not capable of producing and fostering the values of integration and solidarity.

Without ignoring the vital need of a strong economy, it must be said that the markets on their own are inept at promoting and sustaining intrinsic values of human dignity and development, and of solidarity and unity.

Aware that various governments and policy makers were pushing the economic and financial agenda, in his presentation of the report to UNESCO, Learning: the treasure within, Delors (1996) insisted on the need of an education that fosters personal and social development. The Delors commission was fully aware that making education subservient to the agenda of economic progress was detrimental to

sustainable development both on the individual and on the communitarian level. Furthermore, Delors (1996) insists as follows:

> . . . education is at the heart of both personal and community development; its mission is to enable each of us, without exception, to develop all our talents to the full and to realize our creative potential, including responsibility for our own lives and achievement of our personal aims (p. 6).

The promotion and the holistic education of the human person should always be at the centre of any educational project. The primary aim of such a project should be first and foremost to help the human person become more human. This anthropocentric vision for education puts at the fore the belief in the intrinsic goodness of the human person and the trust in the potential of human capabilities of enhancing the goodness and beauty of life not only for oneself but for the whole of the human community and of creation.

While the school's business has been mainly understood to be the transmission and formation of the cognitive knowledge, the affective domain has been generally left for informal and non-formal settings such as Churches and youth organizations. Martin and Reigeluth (1999) note that affective education many a times emerges as a response to social needs such as alcohol problems and teenage pregnancies. However, in recent years the affective domain has become more appreciated as research is consistently showing that it effects learning. On the basis of research, Lazarus (as cited in Snow, Corno & Jackson, 1996) claims that the affective and cognitive functions play a central mediating role in learning and achievement. This assertion was corroborated by various other researches in more recent years (Martin, Marsh, McInerney, Green, & Martin, 2007; Beutel, 2006; Lovat, 2006).

Therefore, by way of argument, the School is not only responsible for training and helping students to acquire knowledge and eventually for contributing to the creation of knowledge but above all, the school is responsible for the wider formation of students. The latter not only is a noble pursuit for education in its own right but mediates and enhances all forms of learning. These aims can only be achieved if the school is capable of setting a balance between the cognitive dimension of education and the formation of character of the individual student, particularly where feelings, relationships, attitudes, and values are concerned. Thus the school should not only contribute to the economic development of society simply by transmitting knowledge but equip students with ethical values that are also essential for the economy itself. As future workers and future consumers, students need to be equipped with knowledge and wisdom which enable them to make right and conscientious choices. Putting the human person first in any decision is an imperative for the development of any sector or dimension of society.

In this regard, Martin and Reigeluth (1999) insist that rather than focusing on taxonomies and competences, education should focus on "affective development as both a process that addresses the individual growth and internal changes and as an end-product that addresses the 'affectively well adjusted person'" (p. 492). The priority to contribute to the formation of the "affectively well adjusted person"

is to be considered urgent and essential in the awareness that the globalization of culture and society, the changing patterns of personal and family life, and the rapid development of information and communication technologies have all had, and continue to have, a significant impact on adolescents and young people. Consequently, in today's western society, taking care of the holistic formation and development of students means working hand in hand with parents/guardians and the wider community.

Given the ever-increasing demands on the family and an increasing individualistic lifestyle, the school must take the onus of contributing to the nurturing of those aspects, including the formation of values and virtues which, if neglected, would eventually lead to the impoverishment of personal and communitarian life.

Teacher Contributions

As Manley (1996) comments:

> . . .throughout history teachers have played a role more profound and subtle than that of instruction. Bringing to their vocation a passion for ideas and values together with a love of children and an understanding of the process by which you plant the seeds of motivation, the profession has inspired millions of people to become everything from community activists to loving parents; from distinguished professionals to valued leaders in every aspect of a society's life. It is imperative that we never lose sight of the teacher in this personal, interfacing sense as the critical instrument in the educational process (p. 213).

However, the above statement is only partially true. From a historical point of view, the status and the type of teachers, and therefore their influence on and in society, very much depended on the importance society gave to education. For instance, Compayré (2002) notes that in pre-revolution France teachers were merely considered little more than domestics; they had a very poor salary and were therefore compelled to do such jobs as beadles, bell ringers, sextons, and even grave diggers. Such a degrading understanding of the teacher was not only limited to France of the pre-revolution period. There are other testimonies coming from diverse periods and locations that demonstrate that society had no respect for teachers. Such was the case in Ancient Israel, where teachers were object of scorn and were considered stupid (Crenshaw, 1998) or in the third century Rome where teachers were very badly paid with salaries which were much less than that of a carpenter (Prellezo & Lanfranchi, 1995a). On the other hand, throughout western history there were those who valued the profession of teaching as indispensable for the individual and society. For instance, in the sixteenth century Germany, Luther rebukes his contemporary society for disrespecting teachers and claims that teaching is the most useful and greatest profession since, according to Luther, to teach in a conscientious manner the children of others is one of the highest virtues (Prellezo & Lanfranchi, 1995b).

However, even though we have to acknowledge, that teachers were viewed ambivalently by societies throughout the ages, one must agree with Manley that

the human element in education and in the act of teaching can be hardly contested. The school has never been a place where knowledge is imparted in an objective, neutral, and value-free context, even if some would like to have it this way. This is, for instance, the mentality prevailing in the French educational system, where the affective is rejected simply because it is considered to be part of the private and the individual's personal life. The predominant philosophy in French education and among teachers, especially secondary school teachers, is that the school should only be concerned with reason and instruction (Audiger & Motta, 1998).

However, even with this framework in mind, it is difficult to deny that there are no constituent relationships that develop in the classroom or in the school corridors. Even the most rigid and detached teacher or the most apathetic teacher will provoke feelings, and consequently attitudes, in students. Through schooling, education occurs in a context which is complicated and animated by human presence and human relationships. It is in and through these relationships that values and attitudes are confirmed or questioned.

The ways this human component is understood to influence education very much depend on the understanding of the goal of education. It is interesting that in developing a policy about teacher education in Europe, one notes a slight, yet important, difference and emphasis in the conception of what is the teacher's role. In a communication, the European Commission understood that teachers play a vital role in helping people develop their talents and fulfill their potential for personal growth and well-being, and in helping them acquire the complex range of knowledge and skills that they will need as citizens and as workers. (European Union, Commission of the European Communities, 2007, p. 2)

In this way the Commission put on the same level of human fulfillment and the utilitarian needs of the economy. If one were to read this statement out of its context, one would probably have no difficulty in accepting it and would probably praise the Commission for including a wider understanding of education and the role of teachers. However, on reading the whole text one immediately notes that utilitarian motives are highlighted while the importance of the holistic purpose of education fades away.

On the other hand, the Conclusions of the Council of the European Union, which take into consideration the above-mentioned communication, widens the understanding of the teacher's role by highlighting three main aspects: the ability to contribute to long-term economic growth, the social relevance of the teaching profession, and the ability to meet social challenges and to provide equal opportunities (European Union, Council of the European Union, 2007). While specifying the social relevance of teachers, the document notes the vital role of teachers in acquiring knowledge and skills, in developing talents, and in fulfilling personal potentials "as citizens throughout their personal, social and professional lives" (European Union, Council of the European Union, 2007, C 300/7).

While the Council of Ministers does not put aside the fundamental contribution that teachers have to make to the economy, the document balances this contribution with other vital contributions, recognizing the importance of the human element.

Profession, Vocation, or Both?

Indeed teachers have also moved a long way before being recognized as important contributors to personal and social development. This recognition has moved hand in hand with the increased importance that Education and the schooling systems have acquired. Thus, it is not surprising that after that the European Union recognized the need for teachers to have a higher education qualification that is not restricted to a specialization in a subject taught in schools, but that also equips them with pedagogical skills (Council of the European Union, 2007), the European Teacher's Union advocated that teachers' initial education should be at least at Master level (European Trade Union Committee for Education [ETUCE], 2008).

Many find no difficulty in accepting that teaching is a profession. However, it is very probable that much fewer would be ready to accept the idea that teaching is also a vocation, perhaps, because of the religious connotations that the latter term has. However, some might be surprised to find that both terms have in fact a religious origin. While vocation, from the Latin *vocatio*, means a call, normally by God, to exercise or fill some position, the word profession, from the Latin *professionem* or rather *professio*, means a public declaration, normally a declaration of belief in a faith or a vow upon entering a religious order. However, in the early modern period the term profession was attached to the professions of Divinity, Law, and Medicine, but in any case it was understood as engaging in a calling, and thus closely attached to a vocation (OED, 1933).

Should one resort to tracing the etymology of words in order to establish whether teaching is a vocation or a profession or both? While admitting that it is not essential, it is interesting to delve into the meaning of terms in order to clarify identity. In his celebrated work The Courage to Teach, Palmer (1998) re-appropriates himself of religious language in order to argue, to some extent in secular terms, for a spirituality of teaching. Palmer (1998, 2000) argues that the call to teach comes from the self. It is a call to be authentic and honor the true self. Thus, for Palmer, vocation is the search for wholeness, an acceptance of the treasure within. The concept of an inner call that leads to a profession is not new. It is surely not tied to the modern or late modern concept of the search for the authentic self. In a letter to Eudoxius, Gregory of Nazianzus (circa 330–390) comments on an ancient custom in Athens where adolescents were presented with tools representing the arts and according to which one they were drawn to and delighted in they would be taught that tool's art. Gregory uses this account to underline an ancient wisdom "that what accords our nature leads to success, but what contradicts nature ends in failure" (Daley, 2006, p. 182).

However, besides reclaiming this ancient wisdom of listening to the self and moving along with one's nature, Palmer also acknowledges that the inner self cannot be disconnected from community. For Palmer (1998) "good teaching is always essentially communal. . .[since]. . .community, or connectedness is the principle behind good teaching" (p. 115). Palmer explicitly claims that the belief in and the need of community stem from the same principle of wholeness of self and

the longing of undividedness. For him it is only when one is in communion with oneself that one can create community with others (Palmer, 1998). In other words, Palmer is in agreement with an anthropological understanding that views the human person as an individual in relation with others, that is, an individual in need of connectedness.

In a similar manner, if one is to take seriously the etymological root of the word profession, it could be well argued that being a professional teacher means being a believer. In this context, the term believer is not restricted to the religious realm but rather tied to a wider understanding that is true to the nature and mission of education and teaching. After all, pedagogical creeds are not new to education. The most noted creed would be that published by John Dewey 1897. This creed, like any other creed, is founded on a specific understanding of the human person, of epistemology, of community, and the goals of education. Given that these understandings and frameworks touch the very essence of our being, of how we relate and how we vision the future, it is comprehensible that it is not easy to find a common ground for a common creed for the profession. In a European context one may draw from the different sources that have merged to form a plurality, although also a somewhat unified identity. The Greeks, the Romans, the Judeo-Christian tradition and to some extent Islam, the early medieval Franco-Germanic tribes, and the Enlightenment have all contributed to the formation of Europe. On the one hand, the debates surrounding the drawing up of a Constitution for Europe highlighted the century-old struggles between Churches and States as well as the wars among the different denominations that led to a peculiar form of secularization seen as a victory of reason, progress, liberty, and worldly pursuits (Casanova, 2008). However, they also highlight the awareness among the European public of the role of the Judeo-Christian traditions in shaping the past and their contribution in present-day society, as witnessed by the long list of sociologist and philosophers among whom are Casanova (2008) and Habermas (2006). There is no doubt that both the secular and the Christian traditions share an anthropocentric vision and understanding. This vision is shared by Christianity in the belief that humans are created in the image of God and that God became man so that humans may participate in divine nature. On the other hand, the Enlightenment tradition declares that the human being is vested with dignity and grandeur.

It therefore stands to reason that were teachers to profess a creed before practicing their profession, they would be required to profess a belief in the goodness and potential of the human person and to declare that they will be committed to facilitate the full development of all those whom they encounter in an educational setting.

Teacher Formation

The European Trade Union for Education belief that “teacher education is the bedrock of education system” (ETUCE, 2008, 12) is not only valid in recognizing the teachers’ contribution to the academic advancement and competence of students.

It is because of the belief in the key role played by teachers in the education and formation especially of younger generations that special attention is to be given to the training and formation of teachers. In this respect, both the European Union and the ETUCE have made clear their commitment to the improvement of teachers' initial and ongoing formation. Both institutions agree that there should be a stronger impetus toward the improvement of teacher education, which is ideally based on a unified system of initial education, professional induction, and ongoing formation (European Union, Council of the European Union, 2007; EUTCE, 2008).

Consequently, in what way should teacher education programs nurture the profession and reinforce a sense of vocation? In declaring the common principles on teachers' competences and training, the European Union, Commission of the European Communities (2005), after recognizing the crucial role played by teachers in implementing Europe's aspirations of becoming the highest performing knowledge drive economy in the world, it also recognizes their contribution to the personal fulfillment and betterment of social skills of learners. To this end, the Commission recognizes the following of the teaching profession:

> [It] . . .is inspired by values of inclusiveness and the need to nurture the potential of all learners, has a strong influence on society and plays a vital role in advancing human potential and shaping future generations (European Union, Commission of the European Communities, 2005, p. 1).

In agreement with the above statement, but also in line with the argument put forward throughout this paper, the basis of teachers' ethos, sense of adherence to the profession and vocation should originate from the teacher's fundamental contribution to the fulfillment of human potential. It is being proposed that any formation program for teachers should be based on the values of respect and dignity due to the human person. The main elements that one must keep in mind when dealing with any person are (i) the inherent ability and need to be in relationship, (ii) the essential element of autonomy, and, above all, (iii) the fact that every person is unique, unrepeatable, and therefore incommensurable. These three constituent elements developed over the centuries, mainly in Catholic philosophy and theology, are not in essence in contraposition to humanist and/or secular views of the human person. On the other hand, one should not be naïve and assume that the Catholic and secular positions are identical. There are considerable differences in the way one and the other interpret and emphasize each of these constituents. The modern emphasis on the individual highlights the reinterpretation of each of the three elements with less importance been given to relationality.

A positive anthropological vision, shared by both Judeo-Christian believers and secularists, does not deny or minimize human frailty. Suffering spurred by egocentrism, shortsightedness, pride, and envy are realities that create and perpetuate social problems. Ironically, these sufferings not only are an open wound in the lives of individuals, families, and communities but also have an impact on the economy. It would be too simplistic to believe that Education can solve these problems and that it can eradicate human-caused suffering. However, Education can bring about change. As Taylor (1991) would put it, we should be engaged in "a continuous

battle for the mind and hearts" (p. 107). In discussing the validity of the Ideal of Authenticity, which means being true to oneself and discovering the true self so as to realize one's full potential, and debating against what he calls the malaise that have been consequently created by the Ethic of Authenticity, namely individualism, instrumental reasoning, and loss of freedom, Taylor argues against confrontational positions. Following Taylor's mode of reasoning, frameworks and paradigms are difficult to change, especially if one takes a confrontational model of instruction. It is only by retrieving what is good in society and in the underlying actions and meanings of communities and thereafter though persuasion, as against indoctrination, that one can hope to initiate a process of transformation that leads to the true nature of humanity.

Indeed, it is with this belief in the goodness of human nature on the one side and the awareness that humanity is wounded by its fragility on the other side that teachers need to be formed. Only in this way can they truly become committed to their vocation and profession.

Proposals for a Formation Program

Having established the basis for a formation program that envisions a wider framework for teacher education than simply training and instruction in content and pedagogy, concrete proposals that value the teacher's role in the formation of persons can now be made.

Lately, constructivism and the contribution made by anthropology have pointed once again to the social and situated nature of learning and knowledge (Cole & Engeström, 1998; Solomon, 1993). Notions of "situated learning," "distributed cognition," "person plus," and "community of practice" have been studied only in these last two decades.

Lave and Wenger (1991) have argued for a reappraisal of apprenticeship in educational settings. From their observations, they came to the conclusion that learning occurs in and through social practice, thus in community through relationships and intensive participation. Consequently, Lave and Wenger propose the concept of Communities of Practice defined in the following way:

> [*Communities of Practice is*] . . . a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice. A community of practice is an intrinsic condition for the existence of knowledge, not least because it provides the interpretive support necessary for making sense of its heritage. Thus participation in the cultural practice in which knowledge exists is an epistemological principle of learning (p. 98).

Becoming a teacher is a process: a process that is sustained through practice and greater involvement with other members of the profession. In Europe, there are various models of teacher education but tertiary education is becoming

a norm with a concurrent model, that is, professional formation given together with subject specialization, being more frequent (EURYDICE, 2005). In general, teachers demand greater link between theory and practice (Centre for Strategy & Consultation Services, 2008). This principle is supported by both ETUCE and the European Union.

Becoming a teacher means becoming part of a Community of Practice that is involved in negotiating meaning, and therefore in a continuous understanding and re-understanding of knowledge, and in building identities. In this sense, participation is a key element of becoming. It implies an active process. It is an engagement that necessarily involves others and thus reflecting both action and connection. This concept requires that student–teachers live and experience schools and the dynamics of classrooms, corridors, and staff rooms. Indeed, while it is true that all initial education courses have some component of practice, it is being argued here that this is not enough, especially for the purposes of inculcating the values that are basic to the profession.

Institutions are currently giving priority to the dimensions of skills and theory and much less, if any, to the creation of a culture that values the holistic education of the person and that offers a comprehensive values education that forms and takes care of individuals and communities. It is therefore suggested that teacher education programs should also provide the opportunity for the formation of communities. In order to create these communities there is a specific need to focus on the affective education of the teacher. Thus, short residential periods, social activities, and discussion groups could be among the techniques adopted to foster a sense of community and to help in the internalization of values that are intrinsic for one's vocation and profession, and analyze, reflect, and internalize those attitudes already present in many schools that are at the basis of the teaching vocation. Since these should essentially be communities of practice, there should be no dichotomy. In some way these sessions should foster a sense of community with a constant reference to the practical and the theoretical, to ideals and reality, to philosophizing and doing. The space provided to create and initiate teachers in these communities of practice should allow for reflection, acquisition, and constructions of symbols, abstractions, stories, and concepts that are at the basis of the everyday life of the teacher and the school (Wenger, 1998). These programs would necessitate concrete links with schools and with practicing teachers. Thus it is almost imperative that these programs, integrated in, or organized in parallel to, formal teacher education courses, are led by teachers who have the language and are able to link with the school reality.

There are various existing programs and/or proposals that can inform and contribute to shape this parallel/integrated formation program. For the purpose of this paper, we shall only outline the essential components of the program and make reference to other views and proposals that can enhance it.

Given that teaching is understood as a vocation and a profession that is founded on the promotion of the human person, a formation program that takes care of the affective dimension of teaching needs to give importance to the following:

i. the teachers' self, particularly the discernment of their vocation, their sense of connectedness, self-esteem, sense of initiative, and care for and love of others;
ii. an understanding of their role in the state and society, particularly in their relationships and roles with parents and communities;
iii. the valuing of the human person as an intrinsically good being with the potential of becoming better and of contributing to the betterment of society and creation;
iv. instilling respect and awe in front of the uniqueness of each student, valued as precious;
v. a sense of awareness and responsibility for the role they as teachers have in touching the lives of individual students;
vi. facilitating a passion for the subject taught in the awareness that advancement of knowledge is not per se a guarantee of progress. In particular, an awareness that most knowledge is not neutral;
vii. creating an attached importance to relationships, intrinsic for one's sustenance and fundamental for learning and formation; and
viii. a respect for the autonomy and liberty of individual students.

The work of Parker Palmer, together with the retreat sessions for teachers organized by the Center for Courage and Renewal (http://www.couragerenewal.org) on the basis of Palmer's insights, can surely enhance the present proposed program. There are other valuable insights (see, for instance, Whitcomb, Borko & Liston, 2008; Lovat, 2005) that integrated with the fundamental principles enunciated in this paper can only enrich the program.

Conclusion

The issue is not the shaping, or the contents of a formation program. Neither are the fundamental values upon which this program is outlined of major concern. The various intergovernmental documents attest that education and teaching are intrinsically linked with the full development of every individual. The real hurdle for concretizing such program is the distortion of priorities. For practical, economic, and, perhaps even, philosophical reasons, cognitive knowledge and the acquisition of skills are viewed to be more important. Even if the education of the whole person is not valued per se, it should be valued on the basis that recent research is confirming that educating and taking care of the affective dimension has major positive and practical implications, even on academic achievement. It is hoped that a re-evaluation of priorities is made for the benefit of individual students, and for advantage of the community and society. In this context, it is being argued that the role of the teacher is indispensable since education, especially in schools, is founded on relationships. The rediscovery and formation into a teaching that is not only a profession but also a vocation can guarantee that the human element in education is cared for and promoted.

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Chapter 11
Valuing the Self

Kristján Kristjánsson

Introduction

During the last quarter of a century, drastic shifts have occurred in approaches to the nature and role of values education. For one thing, it is hardly called into question any more that schools need to teach and transmit values, as distinct from simply teaching *about* values. Wolf cries of 'indoctrination' have lost their bite, or been silenced by society's need to impose at least a minimal structure of common 'core values' upon an increasingly fractured and heterogeneous populace. For another thing, values education tends to be understood less than before in terms of a particular school subject; more in terms of a general value-imbued enrichment of students' learning experiences pertaining to every school subject. In practical terms, this means placing values at the centre of the school's ethos and hoping that values and teaching quality form a 'double helix' of academic and personal achievement (see various articles in Lovat & Toomey, 2009).

Contested Paradigms

If we focus more specifically on values education as moral education, we have also come a long way since the 1980s. In 1985, Teachers College Press published an overview of 'contemporary approaches to moral education' (Chazan, 1985). The approaches ranged from Durkheim's socialisation view and Kohlberg's Kantian-inspired cognitive-developmental approach to Wilson's rational utilitarianism, value-clarification models, and the views of those who reject any formal moral education whatsoever. Writ large, none of those approaches would count as 'contemporary' less than 25 years later. The anti-moral-education guard has been reduced to a few scattered mavericks, the idea of the mere clarification of existing values has more or less imploded and the aspirations of those who simply wanted

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moral education to 'apply' insights rubberstamped by this or that abstract moral theory (be it Kantian or utilitarian) have taken a downward turn, to be replaced by more agent-centred and context-sensitive hands-on approaches. Today's manual of 'contemporary' approaches would be likely, therefore, to include chapters on character education (inspired by an ethics of personal virtues), social and emotional learning (inspired by the ideal of emotional intelligence), and care ethics and citizenship education, among other things. The touted methods would include service learning, habituation and role modelling of moral exemplars.

Can one trace a pattern in those shifts and turns? Perhaps the general pattern is away from the theoretical towards the practical and away from the social towards the personal, although the recent emphasis on citizenship or 'civic' education and the focus on environmental values (such as sustainability) mitigate that latter trend somewhat. This pattern goes hand in hand with the final latter-day shift in approaches to values education that deserves a mention here and will form the centre of much of the remaining discussion. I call it the 'inward turn': the exaltation of *the self* from a mere subject of value – a value-recorder if you like – to an object of value: an object to be prized and valued independently, esteemed, respected and nourished. Without first valuing oneself or one's 'self', as the theory goes, one cannot learn to value other things. This assumption may not seem novel; even Aristotle posited that other-love presupposes an ability to love oneself (1985, pp. 252–256 [1168a5–1169b2]). In recent times, however, the idea of self-valuing has assumed a life of its own, taking on new forms and dimensions. In the following section, I review recent debates about the notion of *self-esteem* and cast a glance at some of the neighbouring conceptual terrain – a terrain pertaining to what psychologists call *self-concept*. I specifically explore the role that the cultivation of high self-esteem has been considered to play in the educational process. In the final section, I retrieve an even older and more traditional ideal of values education relating to the self – that of *self-understanding* – and ask what has come of it of late. I argue that a liberalist-inspired 'positive psychology' has yielded a conception of self-understanding that involves a drastic rupture with an older, more deeply entrenched Aristotelian conception. Thus, some hard choices must be made if we still think that values education should aim, either primarily or secondarily, at self-understanding. I cite copiously from my previous papers on various aspects of 'self-concept', not because I consider any of them to constitute the last word on the matter but because some of them summarise handily the current state of play in areas that I consider from a more wide-ranging perspective in this chapter.

Recent years have revealed with increased clarity an ongoing overt or, more commonly, covert struggle between psychologists and philosophers over who should hold authority within the discipline of values education. (No one seems to mention the educationists, as if they represent only the third and least important wheel under the wagon!) This struggle is more than a Foucauldian fight for discursive power and authority; it epitomises a clash of contested theoretical paradigms on the very nature of values and education in values. Take the disagreement on whether 'emotional intelligence' is essentially an amoral performance concept or a moral *eudaimonia*-type concept (see Kristjánsson, 2007a, Chapter 6), and the recent debate on the

merits of 'moralised psychology' versus 'psychologised morality' within the field of moral psychology (see Carr, 2007). Or consider the divisive takes on self-esteem and self-understanding illustrated in the following two sections. To complicate matters, fervent debates also rage *within* psychology, especially between social psychologists and personality psychologists, on the ontological-cum-epistemological status of the concepts of self and character (see Kristjánsson, 2008a, 2009c).

Although I am a philosopher, my working hypothesis is that the choice is not merely between a moralised moral psychology (the 'right' choice) and a psychologised morality (the 'wrong' one), as Carr (2007) suggests, but rather that disparate philosophical and psychological research traditions can be made to interact constructively in order to illuminate the matter at hand (Kristjánsson, 2009b). It is wise to remain sceptical of both philosophical armchair psychology and a conceptually sloppy and morally barren 'moral' psychology. The method I prefer, and try to apply in the following sections, is one of mutual adjustments of philosophical insights and psychological research, with the ultimate aim being that of a 'reflective equilibrium' between two different but mutually corrective inputs. Such two-way traffic is nowhere better at home than in the educational arena, which can do neither without the conceptual groundwork of the philosopher nor the empirical spadework of the psychologist.

Self-Concept

If we understand the self to mean the set of character states that make us what we truly are, then interest in the self can be said to hark back at least to Aristotle (1985), although he did not have at his disposal a specific concept of self (in a non-metaphysical sense) as distinct from that of moral character. The self resurfaced as a metaphysical concept in the writings of Descartes and Locke, only to be severely and famously problematised by David Hume (1978, Book I). The alleged 'self' is, for Hume, nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions without a common core. William James (1950) was the first psychologist to study the self systematically, and it was he who created the notion of global self-esteem (see below). Interest in the self, as in other 'internal constructs', took a dive in psychological circles during the heyday of behaviourism from the 1930s to the 1950s. Humanistic psychology, however, 'rediscovered' the self, and it has since been the object of unremitting academic and public attention. Whenever questions of motivation, value or character are on the agenda, psychologists find occasion to invoke the prized self-construct (see, e.g., Pajares & Schunk, 2002).

It is appropriate to talk here about 'self-construct' because psychologists are not interested in the self as understood by philosophers from Aristotle onwards – namely the self as the set of characteristics that truly make us what we are, whether we are aware of it or not – but the self as the set of beliefs and attitudes (feelings/commitments) that we hold in relation to ourselves. Suppose that I am seriously mistaken about who I really am – that I consider myself to be more generous, more helpful and better liked by my peers than I really am. Let us call it a case

of mistaken self-identity. When psychologists talk about 'the self', they are referring to that mistaken identity, not to who I really am (see further in Kristjánsson, 2009c). To forestall misunderstandings, I call the sense of self that psychologists are interested in *self-concept* – a term favoured by psychologists (see Greer, 2003, for a detailed history of twentieth-century self-concept research). Since James, psychologists have been most concerned with homing in on people's reported levels of satisfaction with the perceived global ratio of their achievements to aspirations: the now-notorious notion of *global self-esteem*. To confuse matters, some psychologists fail to distinguish between 'self-concept' and 'global self-esteem', as specified by James. Yet it is obvious that if we understand 'self-concept' to refer to the totality of people's beliefs and attitudes towards themselves, global self-esteem only forms part of the total mosaic. Self-esteem can also be *domain-specific*: I may have little self-esteem as a math student even though my global self-esteem is high.

Self-confidence is another facet of self-concept. Self-confidence refers to the belief in one's capacity to succeed at a given task. This notion – which can also assume either a global or a domain-specific form – is logically distinct from self-esteem. There is no logical contradiction in believing firmly in one's ability, if one tries hard enough, to succeed at *x*-ing, even though one has little esteem as an *x*-ist here and now. Conversely, one may lack confidence in further ventures at *x*, although one is pleased with one's current ability at *x*-ing. Bandura's research (1997) seems to have shown that self-esteem and self-confidence are not only logically but also empirically distinct; he prefers to call domain-specific self-confidence, which has been the focus of much of his research, 'perceived self-efficacy', in order to prevent its conflation with either self-esteem (global or domain-specific) or global self-confidence.

Then there is *self-respect*: the extent to which one follows a moral code and is disposed to avoid feeling and acting in a manner unworthy of oneself. Just as in the cases of self-esteem and self-confidence, it is possible to distinguish logically between a global and domain-specific form of self-respect. It is a matter of much philosophical debate between moral situationists and moral dispositionists, however, if such a distinction is empirically tenable (Kristjánsson, 2008a). One may doubt if self-respect is really part of self-concept – if it can be shoehorned into this particular psychological construct. The problem is that self-respect is not essentially a belief concept. Although the belief that one can do things makes one self-confident, the belief that one has strong self-respect does not make one self-respectful, any more than the belief that one is a good driver makes one a good driver. Indeed, we tend to suspect people of hypocrisy rather than self-respect if they have inflated beliefs about their level of self-respect. Still, the self that is referred to in the concept of self-respect seems to be the same self as that which is at issue in the concepts of self-esteem and self-confidence: the unitary self of everyday moral and social encounters, as opposed to a metaphysical, perceptual or material self. Moreover, self-respect obviously involves a host of beliefs *relating to* the self – beliefs about what is worthy for the self to think or do – although these are not beliefs *about* the self in the same sense as beliefs about self-esteem or self-confidence are. There have been recent attempts in psychological circles to retrieve self-respect as

an under-researched facet of self-concept (see, e.g., Roland & Foxx, 2003), and I think we have good reason to take such retrievals seriously (Kristjánsson, 2007b).

What is the scientific status of self-concept? Have psychologists succeeded in locating something singular in the prodigious plurality of sundry notions that nest around the self of everyday experience? If by that we mean whether or not they have identified a natural-kind concept, the answer is obviously no. If the claim is the more modest one, however – that they have specified a cluster concept with reasonable defining features, general intuitive appeal and at least some *prima facie* explanatory force in making sense of everyday human experiences – I think we should give the psychologists the benefit of doubt and agree that self-concept has a promissory status that is not inferior to that of many related but better established open-textured concepts such as *personality* and *character*. Notice that this acceptance of conceptual serviceability does not imply that self-concept in general or some particular facets of self-concept, such as global self-esteem, can automatically be granted a powerful mediating influence on human behaviour. The common claim that a 'positive' self-concept is fundamental to educational achievement, psychological health and rewarding relationships amounts to no more than a slogan in the absence of empirical investigation.

Before turning to recent philosophical critiques of self-concept – which are primarily critiques of the notion of global self-esteem – let us ponder over its halo effect. What propagated this sudden groundswell of interest in people's beliefs about themselves from the 1960s onwards? Two explanations are true but trivial: This interest coincided with certain research paradigms within psychology and it harmonised with dominant themes in the folk psychology of the period. Yet these explanations merely move the question up one level: What motivated the appeal of those paradigms and of this folk psychology? One possible explanatory route is that of a conspiracy theory; the self-mantra is then seen as part of an explicit or implicit conspiracy by self-help gurus, quack therapists and unscrupulous politicians to feather their own nests. This is essentially the explanation given in Furedi's widely read *Therapy Culture* (2004) and in Rose's earlier diagnosis of 'psy culture' (1996). Yet it fails as an explanation to the extent that it does not account for the origin of the great need that 'psy culture' or 'therapy culture' seems to have met. Recall that many other ideas were also up for grabs at the time, but it was the one about the dangers of a vulnerable self that sold.

More academically inclined analysts may want to point to certain research findings within psychology which filtered through to the public – findings that are often assembled under the umbrella term 'attribution theory'. According to those findings, people tend to act in line with the attributes that they consider themselves as possessing, whether or not they actually possess those attributes, and the explanations which they like to give of their own behaviour (see, e.g., Dweck, 1999, for educationally salient applications). Hence, the importance of self-concept (the constructed self as identity) as distinct from the true self (if such a self exists at all). Along with those empirical findings, a dominant group of psychologists has been pursuing an ideological and a research-based agenda, which has aroused considerable media interest – an agenda characterised as 'positive psychology' and seen

by some academics as no less than ‘a revolution sweeping psychology’ (Marsh & Craven, 2006, p. 133). These psychologists claim that academic psychology has been obsessed with negative and pathological components of human functioning. But the time has now come, they argue, to focus on positive features: the nature of well-functioning selves, healthily esteemed, valued and respected by the persons possessing them (see Martin, 2006, for a critique). Might the self-concept’s dramatic rise to prominence have been the result of a successful marketing strategy within psychology, a situation in which positive psychologists managed to convince a sufficient number of their peers that they had been on the wrong track?

I have argued elsewhere – albeit in a somewhat different context (Kristjánsson, 2009a) – that none of those accounts suffices, and that we need to revert to an historical-iconographic model in which interest in the vagaries of the self is explained as a stabilising conduit for culturally entrenched liberalist ideas about the self’s natural trajectory from the time it ‘leaves home’ (cf. Taylor, 1989) until it reaches ‘salvation’ through self-discovery. Space does not permit me to elaborate upon this suggestion here; however, some of its essentials become clear in the final section of this chapter where I dissect the two competing conceptions of self-understanding that are abroad in the literature.

The vast majority of psychological studies conducted under the banner of self-concept during the last 30 years or so has actually been about global self-esteem and its expected correlations with various educational and socio-moral factors. The initial hypothesis – sometimes dressed up in textbooks almost as a truism not requiring corroborating evidence – is that high global self-esteem is positively and even causally correlated with educational achievement and pro-social behaviour; hence the urgent need to ‘boost’ self-esteem at school and in the home. I take it that readers are aware of the grandiose claims that have been made in the name of this overarching hypothesis (see, e.g., Branden, 1969) and the profuse research that has been conducted to establish such correlations. Warning signs have long been raised within social science circles, by both educationists and psychologists, about the dangers of allowing students to acquire self-esteem on the cheap (learning to esteem that which is unworthy of esteem), and about the short voyage from high self-esteem to self-obsession, self-centredness and plain old selfishness (Damon, 1995; Pajares & Schunk, 2002; Stout, 2000). Important as these general points are, more salutary for present purposes are some of the subtler objections aired by philosophers about the very idea of self-esteem. It is on those positions that I concentrate now, as a telling tale of the struggle for custodianship of the field of values between psychologists and philosophers. I have had occasion to explore some of these objections previously (Kristjánsson, 2007c, 2008c), but I review them in a more systematic fashion here.

Philosopher Richard Smith (2002, 2006) places little educational stock in the notion of self-esteem; he deems the concept to be seriously flawed, in fact. Smith distinguishes between ‘instrumentalist’ and ‘non-instrumentalist’ claims made in the name of self-esteem. On an instrumentalist reading, raising self-esteem is considered valuable because it makes children better learners; on a non-instrumentalist reading, self-esteem is seen as a distinct educational aim, perhaps even the ultimate

aim of all education (2002, p. 91). Smith tenders two main arguments against the instrumentalist reading. One is the familiar one about the effects of empty cajolery in devaluating the currency of praise; the other focuses on the corrosive influence that self-esteem worship has had on present-day ideas about 'personalised learning', where undue (in Smith's words, 'chilling') attention is being paid to giving students tasks pitched at precisely their current level of aptitude in order not to have their fragile self-esteem wounded should they fail. Nevertheless, Smith leaves some room for instrumental self-esteem as one goal of education among many – if it is not sought directly or exclusively. He refrains, however, from explaining clearly what kind of self-esteem he has in mind; it is surely not the flawed notion of psychological notoriety. Smith objects even more strenuously to a non-instrumental reading of self-esteem. He argues that global self-esteem, as measured by social scientists, is an artificially created notion, without a comfortable home in ordinary language. Most seriously, it obliterates important distinctions made in ordinary language: it runs together and obscures different kinds of self-beliefs. We may describe a student as being mild, quiet, meek, self-effacing, lacking in self-confidence, shy, humble or diffident, for instance. But we would never – unless we had read too many self-help manuals for our own good – dream of describing a student as having 'low self-esteem' (Smith, 2006).

Philosopher Ruth Cigman (2004) concurs with Smith in rejecting the social science conception of global self-esteem, although she embraces a sophisticated version of self-esteem as educationally salient more explicitly than he does, and even claims that it may sometimes be pursued directly. She calls it 'situated self-esteem': our thick, ordinary evaluative concept of either reasonable or unreasonable self-belief. Cigman makes two interesting empirical claims in her writings on self-esteem. One claim is that, although we should try to cultivate *reasonable, realistic* self-esteem in ourselves and others, this requirement does not apply to young children; for developmental reasons, they constitute an exception. What young children need to guard them against the potential hazards of failure is 'basic self-esteem': a sense of boundless self-worth. Such basic self-esteem derives primarily from the childhood experience of being loved and liked. Even when it means that children think they are capable of much more than they really are capable of, it would be self-defeating to try to relieve them of their delusions (Cigman, 2001). Cigman's second claim is that people such as school bullies, who tend to score high on typical psychological self-report measurements of self-esteem, are often fakers and fraudsters trying to disguise their inferiority complexes as bravado (Cigman, 2004).

In earlier rejoinders to Smith and Cigman (Kristjánsson, 2007c, 2008c), I pointed out first, in response to Smith's objections, that an instrumentalist reading of self-esteem need not consider indiscriminate self-esteem an educational goal; rather, it is 'justified self-esteem' that should be the objective. Moreover, a detailed study of the recent literature on 'personalised learning' or 'individualised education' in the United Kingdom and the United States reveals no unhealthy fascination with preserving students' self-esteem by feeding them on a diet of easy tasks; rather the emphasis is on mastery experiences: accomplishing tasks a chunk more difficult than students' previously established level of aptitude in order to improve their

self-confidence, as distinct from their self-esteem (Kristjánsson, 2008c). As far as Smith's linguistic objection is concerned, I agree that both social-scientific and philosophical investigations should take ordinary language as their starting point. Researchers may have good reasons for departing from ordinary language, however, or for sharpening it to a finer edge. Some concepts in everyday use (take 'self') are too ambiguous to serve as research material and do stand in need of conceptual regimentation. Others (take 'nervous breakdown') are not scientifically useful, full stop. Sometimes the invocation of operationalist neologisms may even be necessary for particular purposes (take 'IQ' as measured by IQ tests).

Although I totally agree with warnings against the I-am-the-king-of-Romans-and-above-grammar tendencies of some social scientists, we can take comfort in the fact that psychology has proved to have quite an ability to self-correct: to deconstruct its own constructs when they fail to pass the test of empirical serviceability. This is essentially what has happened recently with William James' notion of global self-esteem, at least as far as its educational ramifications are concerned. As amply demonstrated in a recent meta-analysis, satisfaction with the general ratio of one's perceived accomplishments to aspirations has yet to yield significant educational correlates, positive or negative. Academic performance does not require students to love and esteem themselves in general. More surprising, perhaps, is the fact that high global self-esteem is, if anything, connected to anti-social and risky tendencies rather than pro-social and healthy tendencies – perhaps because of the sense of invulnerability that it evokes (Baumeister Campbell, Krueger & Vohs , 2003). This much-cited analysis has more or less killed the interest in global self-esteem. For me, that is a noteworthy achievement of the social science conception. Someone could complain that the obsession with global self-esteem has wasted enormous resources on a fool's errand, given the 11,313 abstracts in PsycINFO 1985–2006 that dealt with or included a reference to the concept. But my point is that an intuitively appealing idea – the idea that one's global estimation of one's successes has a significant impact on educational achievement and general behaviour – has turned out to be untenable. The only way to learn that was through careful scientific experimentation. And there, James' construct of global self-esteem proved enormously useful, if not useful in exactly the way that James and most subsequent theorists had predicted.

I have previously criticised Cigman's fraud hypothesis for implicitly perpetuating one of the myths of the self-help industry – that anti-social behaviour and attitudes must eventually be traceable to low self-esteem. The reality is, in fact, that the psychological evidence seems to provide us with the simple explanation that people who score high on self-esteem tests *do* have high global self-esteem, but that such self-esteem is not always a good thing to have. Indeed, peer reports and parents' reports of people's global self-esteem seem to correspond substantially with self-reports, although the same cannot be said for the reports of teachers; they typically believe that the global self-esteem of their poorly performing students must be low (Kristjánsson, 2007c).

Cigman's other hypothesis – on the reasonableness of unreasonable self-esteem in young children – seems more plausible. Empirical evidence for Cigman's

conjecture may come from the very research tradition that she distrusts; the small and infrequent correlations that have been found between high global self-esteem and educational achievement exist primarily in the youngest age group (Marsh & Craven, 2006). I wonder, however, if Cigman's hypothesis needs to be formulated in terms of self-esteem at all. When she describes happy children with 'basic' but unrealistic 'self-esteem', it seems to me that she is describing children not with an inflated view of the ratio of their achievements to aspirations – or at least not children who are bursting with enthusiasm *because* of such a view of themselves – but rather children with an abundance of self-confidence. Their self-confidence may well be the result of a 'boundless' sense of self-worth, inspired in them by the love and attention of parents and other caregivers (*à la* attachment theory; see Ferkany, 2008). But self-worth is not the same as self-esteem – that is, self-esteem on the traditional post-Jamesian understanding under discussion here (although some psychologists have muddied the conceptual water recently by referring to what I call 'self-worth' as 'implicit self-esteem', see Koole & DeHart, 2007). People with a sense of self-worth believe that they possess a self potentially worthy of its own esteem and the esteem of others. They carry about with them, as William James (1950) put it, 'a certain average tone of self-feeling' which is independent of the reasons they have for satisfaction or dissatisfaction (p. 306). Self-worth, then, like self-confidence, is forward-looking: linked to emotions of hope and courage, rather than (like self-esteem) to retrospective pride. Optimistically looking forward to achieving x is not the same as the satisfaction of having achieved x – and it is only that satisfaction that matters for Jamesian self-esteem. It must be admitted, however, that the link between self-concept and emotion is still seriously under-researched; the discursive field has so far exhibited a strong 'cognitive' bias. In any case, the dramatic fall from grace of global self-esteem as a valued educational indicator does not mean that firing salvoes of self-confidence into students – even unrealistic self-confidence in the case of young children – cannot be an educational asset.

In my earlier response to Cigman, I posited that, rather than global self-esteem, we should consider three facets of self-concept – three variables that could plausibly have educational importance: self-respect, domain-specific self-esteem (relating particularly to the relevant school subjects) and domain-specific self-confidence (Kristjánsson, 2007c). Cigman may argue that I have simply presented bits of my own favoured armchair psychology. That is partly true in the case of self-respect. Although raising self-respect is often mentioned as a goal of values education programmes, few empirical studies of the socio-moral relevance of self-respect, let alone its educational relevance, have been conducted to date (see Roland & Foxx, 2003). Yet I have tried to work out some of the conditions that must be met in order for such measurements to take place (Kristjánsson, 2007b).

As far as domain-specific self-confidence (aka 'perceived self-efficacy') is concerned, however, considerable empirical research supports the original armchair hypothesis that one's confidence as a math student does predict achievement in such related areas as math tests, although confidence in one domain does not extend into other domains (Bandura, 1997). The final hypothesis, on the educational relevance of domain-specific self-esteem, is also more than a pipe-dream. In fact, prior to

and particularly after the publication of the meta-analysis demolishing global self-esteem, psychologists have turned their attention towards this facet of self-concept. A formidable mountain of literature already exists displaying relevant research findings. Taken together, this body of research seems to show that little if any correlation exists between academic and non-academic components, yet academic achievement is highly correlated with academic self-esteem and achievement in specific academic fields even more highly correlated with self-esteem in those fields. What is more, the causal chain, when probed, does not lead merely from academic achievement to academic self-esteem, as could have been expected, but also leads in the other direction. This finding carries significant practical implication for educators: Domain-specific performance and domain-specific self-esteem seem to be reciprocally related and mutually reinforcing variables, and teachers may be well advised to spend time improving them both. That said, recent research concurs with common sense in that the gains of merely enhancing self-esteem without improving performance are likely to be short-lived, as are the gains of enhancing self-esteem out of proportion with actual performance (see Marsh & Craven, 2006, for an extensive overview; Marsh, Trautwein, Lüdtke, Köller & Baumert, 2006, for an impressive individual study; cf. also Swann, Chang-Schneider & McClarty, 2007).

In summary, self-concept has, in recent years, acquired prominent status as a target – not only of values education narrowly understood (especially self-concept *qua* self-respect) but of education in general (self-esteem and self-confidence in various guises). In this section, I have tried to unravel some of the complexities of self-concept and the contrasting opinions on its uses and usefulness. Particular attention has been paid to philosophical critiques of self-esteem in order to elicit some of the tensions between psychological and philosophical approaches to the valuing of the self. The final section offers one further avenue of divergence. Meanwhile, the tentative conclusion is that philosophically minded educators should not fear contamination from the empirical muck in which psychologists swim. Education is, after all, that perennial melting pot of theory and practice, of ideas and facts.

Self-Understanding

As Alexander Pope famously taught us in his poem *Know Thyself*, the 'proper study of mankind is Man'. In the spirit of those words, the ideal of self-understanding has, from earliest times, loomed large in theories of education in general and values education in particular. Indeed, few theorists would baulk at calling self-understanding a time-honoured educational ideal (see, e.g., Jersild, 1952; cf. Noddings, 2006). What precisely fosters and what stifles self-understanding is the focus of a long-running literature. Perhaps I should say 'long-running literatures', for as I demonstrate in this section, promoters of self-understanding do not speak with a uniform voice or avail themselves of a unitary conception.

I now introduce two competing conceptions of the everyday concept of self-understanding, which I term, for want of better designators, the *Aristotelian* and

the *positive-psychology* conceptions. I might have been inclined to call them the 'philosophical' versus the 'psychological' conception, to sharpen the contrast that I have been trying to draw in this chapter, but I hesitate to do so. Not all philosophers would adhere to the 'Aristotelian' conception, but although Aristotle did not write specifically about self-understanding, it can be carved out of lore found in his writings (esp. 1985). The 'positive-psychology' conception is actually philosophical in origin: it harks back to Rousseau and a number of liberalist philosophers. Furthermore, many psychologists other than the 'positive-psychology' guard would adhere to something like the conception characterised below. But because its loudest adherents in today's world are the so-called positive psychologists, I think the title is befitting.

I begin with a summary (Table 11.1) of the distinctions that I want to draw and upon which I elaborate. (I single out for consideration contrasts that are relevant to the issue at hand. This table obviously does not do justice to all the subtleties of the two positions.)

Table 11.1 Contrasts between the Aristotelian and the Positive-Psychology Conceptions of Self-understanding

	Aristotelian self-understanding	Positive-psychological self-understanding
(a) Self to be known	Thick, substantive	Thin, formalistic
(b) The self's relationship to value	Receptor of objective value	Donor of subjective value
(c) The process of self-understanding	Outward-looking, social	Inward-looking, psychological
(d) The value of self-change	Revelations of truth	Epiphanies, existential jumps
(e) Emotions following self-understanding	Pleasant and painful	Pleasant
(f) The ultimate goals of self-understanding	Truth, self-respect	Psychological effectiveness, authenticity, self-esteem

(a) The Aristotelian self-to-be-known comprises the character states that one actually possesses; for in order to be able to change those states for the better, one must first know what they are. The self is understood to be other-entwined and culturally embedded from its first moments of self-awareness. By contrast, the positive-psychology self is thin and isolated – wrapped up in an inner space. Lacking content from its inception, it nevertheless possesses the formalistic capacity for choice. It is essentially a choosing self: choosing not only what it wants but what it is.

(b) The Aristotelian self learns (if all is well in its initial upbringing) to recognise, appreciate and identify with the good as an objective, inter-human reality. The good is not invented by or for the self; it is out there in the world. The positive-psychology self, on the other hand, creates values through its choosing. There are no objective, inter-human values out there apart from the rational requirement of not undermining, via one's own choosing, the possibility of other

selves to choose their values and ends. If that requirement is fulfilled, any value choices made by the self are as good as any others, as long as they are internally consistent and free – hence 'authentic'.

(c) On the Aristotelian conception, self-understanding follows an interdependent pathway. We learn to understand ourselves through our social relationships and our socio-cultural environment. We first learn general moral truths through early habituation and then gradually acquire practical moral wisdom through the grasping and attuning of those truths in encounters with other people. On the positive-psychology conception, self-understanding follows an independent pathway as we learn, through introspection, to decide who we want to be. We must 'leave home' – leave our communal and cultural background behind – in order to find ourselves. 'Finding myself' does not mean finding something that was always there, but understanding what I want to make of myself and then actualising that choice. Self-understanding and 'strong autonomy' (a notion criticised by Winch, 2005) thus go hand in hand.

(d) When people change for better, in the Aristotelian understanding, they discover objective truths that have hitherto eluded them (see further in Kristjánsson, 2008b). Such discoveries are characterised by a sense of accomplishment. When people change according to the positive-psychology understanding, however, they choose or re-choose their identity: re-determine themselves (see, e.g., Walker, 2005). Self-change is characterised by sudden epiphanies, unexpected or unforced shifts in our understanding (Hogan, 2005) – or by non-rational existential jumps into the unknown.

(e) Although self-understanding is a good thing, in the Aristotelian understanding, it is not necessarily pleasant. We may learn things about ourselves and our relationships with others that shame and embarrass us (which also harmonises with a Socratic conception of self-understanding as the realisation of one's own ignorance). Only for the ideally perfect moral person will self-understanding be wholly pleasant. Positive psychologists, however, consider the main criterion of a successful self-change to be pleasure and psychological adaptiveness. This does not mean that the change itself is pleasant – the discovering self is, after all, an essentially vulnerable self – but that the final destination is characterised by 'positive emotions' which simply means 'pleasant emotions'. So ingrained is this understanding in many contemporary theorists that even those who would not be counted as positive psychologists are held firmly in its grip. Take a recent article in which the Gadamerian notion of 'being pulled up short' (undergoing experiences of disorientation and the realisation of one's limitations) is seen as a 'challenge' to the idea of self-understanding as a focus of teaching and learning (Kerdeman, 2003). Far from being a challenge to self-understanding on the Aristotelian conception, the experience of being frequently pulled up short would constitute a prototypical example of self-understanding, however disorientating and unsettling it may feel.

(f) The ultimate goal of Aristotelian self-understanding is, on the one hand, appreciation of truth and, on the other hand, a self-respect in which the mature self has learnt to respect itself as the possessor of moral and other truths. The self

> is valued because (and in so far as) it is, in fact, valuable. The ultimate goal of positive-psychological self-understanding is psychological effectiveness and self-esteem. Any doctrine which claims the status of objective truth is to be rejected (Hogan, 2005, p. 84). Authenticity replaces truth: Authentic are the persons who have actualised their unique and original ways of being and who understand their feelings and express them transparently. Such persons have good reason for self-esteem – namely, the best (or only) there is. Their selves are valuable because (and in so far as) they are, in fact, valued.

This overview merely skims the surface of many deep-seated theoretical issues. I hope it has given readers a sense of the centre of gravity in two radically different conceptions of self-understanding, however, while conveying a general sense of contrasting philosophical and psychological outlooks. The best way to summarise the differences in these perspectives is probably by saying that in the Aristotelian conception, self-understanding means bringing one's identity or self-concept into line with one's real self. On the positive-psychological conception, there is no 'real' self to be understood. What can be understood is only one's self-construct which can be chosen, polished and, if you like, emancipated. Notice here, as an historical aside, that although Hume famously denied the existence of a substantive metaphysical self in Book I of his *Treatise* (1978), he retrieved the notion of an everyday moral self in Book II, thereby coming closer to the Aristotelian than to the positive-psychology conception in the above schema. Notice also that modern-day radical postmodernists, although sharing many of the presuppositions of positive psychology, reject its 'modernist leanings', thereby casting scorn not only on the Aristotelian self but also on the idea that an internally consistent, authentic and rational self-construct can ever be arrived at through a process of self-discovery and emancipation (see, e.g., Gergen, 1991; criticised in Kristjánsson, 2008b).

Which of these two conceptions of self-understanding is more plausible? Although I do believe we have ample grounds for favouring the Aristotelian conception (see Kristjánsson, 2007a), it is outside the purview of this chapter to argue that point. What I wish to convey is simply that adherence to one or the other of those two competing conceptions depends on one's general beliefs about human nature and the existence of objective moral truth – issues on which a reflective educator can hardly avoid taking a stand.

Should schools promote self-understanding? For once, both Aristotelians and positive psychologists would concur in saying 'yes'. They would do so for radically different reasons, however, as I have tried to demonstrate – although the practical methods in the classroom may seem to differ less. Both camps would, for instance, promote students' self-reflections and try to disabuse them of wilful or non-wilful deceptions. Although few educators would take exception, therefore, to the claim that self-understanding is a fundamental education value, we should recall that this claim is not incontestable. Renowned authors such as Henrik Ibsen and Eugene O'Neill have toyed with the idea of self-deceptions and unrealistic pipe-dreams as 'vital lies' that enable the average person to avoid self-contempt and existential despair. Like blinders on a horse, self-deceptions may help us to move forward

unhampered by distress (see Martin, 1985, p. 7). Philosopher Amélie Rorty has also praised selective uses of self-deception, claiming that, like programmes for completely eradicating the vices, 'attempts at doing away with self-deception would damage habits that are highly adaptive' – 'habits' that include romantic love and unswerving loyalty (Rorty, 1975, p. 22; see also Flanagan, 1991, p. 144). Although there may at times be some truth in the Rousseauean dictum that an educator has no more right to tell students things that they do not want to hear than not to tell them things that they want to hear, I would argue that the general point about people's need for self-deceptions underestimates the enticement and self-transformative value of objective truth (Kristjánsson, 2008b; cf. Carr, 2003), as well as people's capacity to cope with distress when truth turns out to be unsettling. It is no coincidence that 'informed consent' and truth-telling have become ground rules in the health sector. Even John Stuart Mill, that uncompromising advocator of happiness as the ultimate moral goal, wrote a long chapter in *On Liberty* (1972) entirely in praise of truth and its value in human life (and the disvalue of trying to suppress it). It is true that young children are not always ready to hear the truth about everything, including themselves – witness, for instance, Cigman's well-taken point earlier. However, I see no reason for educators to shirk from seeing self-understanding as a valid general aim of education in general and values education in particular.

Conclusion

To end on a practical note, I suggest that the method of self-reflection may not always be the most appropriate one to achieve self-understanding. It is not only the case that there may be absolute psychological constraints on the degree of reflective self-comprehension that finite beings such as ourselves can achieve (cf. Flanagan, p. 144); psychological experiments have shown that encouraging self-reflection can sometimes lessen accuracy in self-understanding by prompting rationalisation and slanted intellectualising. Couples who analyse their relationships extensively, instead of simply getting on with the business of being together, are more likely to break up, for example (Wilson, 1985). Perhaps this finding provides evidence for the Aristotelian insight that the best way forward for self-understanding is not through an inward gaze and 'self-work' but through sustained serious engagement with others (cf. Martin, 2006, p. 214). Citing the results of psychological research at the end of this chapter also relates to a point that I have harped upon throughout: Philosophers and psychologists need to quell their mutual unease with each other's research, and educators should avail themselves of insights from both sides – as well as from their own practical experience – in making sense of the business of education.

This chapter has been about the current regime of the self as self-concept. Much recent scholarship on values education is hospitable to the idea that to value other things one must first learn to value oneself: have a positive self-concept. Although there is undoubtedly some truth to this belief, I hope that the considerations presented here have both clarified it and demonstrated its problematic nature.

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Chapter 12
Values and Wellbeing in the Curriculum: Personal and Public Dimensions

Graham Haydon

Introduction

As will be clear from many of the chapters in this handbook, the field of values education and student wellbeing is large, multi-dimensional and not susceptible to easy definitions. While the terms 'values education' and 'wellbeing' are now widely used in educational discourse in several countries, it cannot be taken for granted that these terms are understood in the same way in all countries or even across all the educational discourse within any one educational system.

One complication is that academics and policy-makers may take different stances towards the terminology that is popular in educational discourse at any given time. The concerns of policy-makers give them reasons to adopt a terminology that can serve a practical purpose of one sort or another. Sometimes, the purpose will be to have notions that can be made operational, so that they can be used, for instance, in the setting of targets and the measurement of the extent to which targets are achieved; here, a degree of rigour in definition seems essential. At other times, or even at the same time but for other purposes or other audiences, the point is more to have a notion that can be used as a rallying-cry or motivator, or a shorthand that can be used as a headline summary of some aspect of policy. In democratic societies in which the majority of teachers are employed in public schools, and such schools are attended by the majority of students of school age, it is important for government to communicate both with teachers and with the general public. Ideas that educational policy is geared both towards fostering a sound basis of values and towards promoting student wellbeing sound good in public statements, and educators may be able to rally around such ideas, even if the messages conveyed consist in rhetoric more than in careful analysis.

Academic commentators are not (or at least, I would argue, should not be) under the same immediate practical pressures as governments and policy-makers. One thing academics should be able to do is to take an analytical and critical perspective

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on policy-makers' choice and usage of terminology; at least I would claim this is one important role for my own field of philosophy of education. In this chapter, I want to take such a perspective on the notion of values and wellbeing. I shall not be doing this as an abstract academic exercise, but will take as a reference point the recent and current position in educational policy in England.[1] I shall consider the places allotted to values education and to wellbeing, and the relationship between these two, in the context of demarcations within the curriculum, and more particularly in the context of two recognized curriculum areas in England that arguably should have a shared concern both with values education and with wellbeing: these are, first, Personal and Social Education and, second, Citizenship Education.

My major interest throughout this chapter will be in the way a concern with values and with wellbeing is recognized within the formal curriculum of schools. I would not dispute that the concern that schools have with values and wellbeing can and should extend far beyond the formal curriculum. As we shall see below, policy-makers in England have been aware that there are many ways in which schools can pursue values education and wellbeing outside the timetabled curriculum. Nevertheless, the formal curriculum constitutes the context within which many of the public expectations for the performance of teachers and schools are set, particularly where, as in England in the last two decades and in many countries for longer, there is an officially prescribed curriculum. So, it is worth examining how the concerns with values and wellbeing have been reflected within a particular country's curriculum.

In taking the curriculum in England as my example, I am not offering it as a model to be followed by other educational systems; in fact, I am presenting it more as a cautionary tale. I said above that the two areas of Personal and Social Education and Citizenship Education *arguably should* have a shared concern with values education and with wellbeing. That is not however the way the two areas have in fact developed in England. Instead, their stance towards values education and the promotion of wellbeing is one of the ways in which these two subjects have diverged from each other. I want to offer an account of that divergence and a critique of some of the assumptions on which it is based.

The Personal and the Public

One theme running through this account will be the interaction of the personal and the public. Different curriculum areas may accommodate or reflect the personal and

[1] The reference to England rather than to the United Kingdom is deliberate, since in areas of values education and concern with wellbeing there are significant differences between different parts of the United Kingdom (arguably, the approaches of Scotland or Northern Ireland may be better than that of England). Also, the National Curriculum to which I refer below applies to England and in most respect to Wales but not to Scotland or Northern Ireland. To avoid the complexities of untangling throughout this chapter which remarks apply to which parts of the United Kingdom, I shall refer only to England throughout.

the public dimensions of values and wellbeing in different ways. Before turning to specifics, I shall briefly illustrate the fact that values education, perhaps obviously, and the promotion of wellbeing, perhaps less obviously, has these personal and public sides.

In any society, there is a legitimate public interest in the values education of each generation. From this public perspective, there are shared values, important to the functioning of society, and it is to be hoped that a new generation will, so to speak, be brought into line with these already existing values. Various locutions about what goes on, such as 'transmitting' these values, or 'inducting' the young into these values, are expressions of essentially the same picture. Within this picture, from each individual's perspective, the values are 'out there' rather than inside.

Yet, at the same time, it is clear that values can be intensely personal. While values that in some sense are shared across society can be internalized in particular individuals, these individuals may interpret these values, be motivated by some values rather than others or have particular priorities among values in ways that are more personal and not so widely shared. Recognition of this point is vital but it can easily be overstated, as in the following statement, found almost at random by a web search for 'personal values':

> Each of us has our own unique set of values, which serve as an internal compass guiding us in subtle ways…As you learn about values, keep in mind it's easy to confuse your personal values with family or societal values. If you find yourself making a decision based on what you *should* or *must* do, you aren't using your own values (http://www.lifedynamix.com/articles/Inspiration/699.html).

Educationally, an exclusive concentration *either* on some such notion of personal values – apparently excluding any notion of publicly recognized obligations – *or* on the external public grid of values – apparently excluding a personal commitment – would be impoverished. Moreover, how that fact can be accommodated in the curriculum is a further question.

In contrast with the broad notion of values, wellbeing may at first sight seem to be located firmly in the personal dimension. It is, after all, the wellbeing of individuals – student wellbeing – that education so often is meant to be concerned with. An understanding of what wellbeing involves however cannot be divorced from values, precisely because wellbeing is itself an evaluative notion. Wellbeing can be attributed to a person when that person's life is going *well*; but what counts as going well is unavoidably open to interpretation in the light of some standard of better and worse, that is, some values. These values, in turn, may be ones personally subscribed to but, even if so, it is unlikely that they will be totally idiosyncratic; societies and cultures offer to individuals a certain repertoire of standards by which to judge whether a life is going well (White, 2007). To a degree, what counts as wellbeing may be culturally relative, but that recognition, in turn, does not rule out the possibility that certain standards may have an objective grounding; in other words, there may be *some* aspects of living – such as, perhaps, freedom from severe and chronic pain – that must be included in *any* intelligible conception of wellbeing.

Corresponding to these possibilities is the ambiguity in many educational and policy statements about wellbeing as to whether the notion is to be interpreted in a subjective or objective sense. In the subjective sense, wellbeing can be attributed to persons when those persons *think* that their lives are going well – judging – perhaps implicitly – in the light of what matters to them. In the objective sense, certain understandings of what it is for a life to go well are taken for granted, for instance, being in good health, being adequately housed, being secure from physical or mental abuse, and so on, will be taken as necessary ingredients of wellbeing, independently of the subjective perceptions of the person concerned. Concentrating on such factors as these allows comparative measurements to be made, for instance, of the level of children's wellbeing in different countries. If *education* is to be involved in the promotion of wellbeing, however, it cannot be concerned only with the objective circumstances of students' lives, but must recognize that individuals' attitudes towards those circumstances and the decisions they make in the light of those circumstances are also factors in their overall wellbeing. As Harry Brighouse puts it, 'having objectively good things in one's life is not enough for a flourishing life. For somebody actually to flourish, they have to identify with the life they are leading. They have to live it from the inside' (Brighouse, 2006, p. 16).

The personal and public aspects of values and wellbeing could be recognized in formal curricula, and in wider educational policy, in a variety of ways. As it happens, educational policy in England, which has been very far from static in recent decades, has already reflected a number of the possibilities. So, rather than attempt a purely analytical sorting out of the possibilities 'in principle', I shall use an historical overview of this particular situation to bring out some of the points on which policy for any educational system would have to make decisions, implicitly or explicitly. This approach will also provide the opportunity to note the apparent relevance to values education and wellbeing of a curriculum area that is often overlooked in education policy on these issues. This is the curriculum area known as Religious Education.

Before the 1990s: The Role of Religious Education

In comparison with many other countries, England, and the United Kingdom generally, came very late to official and explicit recognition of a place in the curriculum for values education, citizenship or a concern with wellbeing. In England, between the Education Act of 1944 and the Education Reform Act of 1988, there was just one compulsory subject in the school curriculum, namely, Religious Education. The fact that this subject was mandated by law almost certainly had something to do with instruction in religion being seen as a vehicle for moral education. At the time of the 1944 Act, of course, it was widely assumed by legislators in England that religious education would involve the transmission of Christian faith and Christian values. It is unnecessary here to tell the story of the cultural changes in the next few decades that involved both an increasing secularization of English society and an increasing presence within that society of religions other than Christianity. Both of

these tendencies contributed to changes in religious education, which meant that in many schools – including some faith schools – it became much more an education about religions and could thereby no longer be seen as a vehicle for transmitting a particular set of values.

Even if religious education was no longer to be a vehicle for the transmission of a received set of values, however, it could nevertheless provide an opportunity for students to reflect on their values and their underlying beliefs about the world and attitudes towards life. Such reflection could be aided by an understanding of ways in which the values and beliefs of others were similar or different.[2] For instance, to a student who had grown up in a family environment in which nothing but material success in life was stressed as a goal, it could be news that there are large traditions of thought in which such success is downplayed. Moreover, the realization, preferably through personal contact, that there are people who both inhabit such traditions while, at the same time, enjoying many of the benefits of consumer culture may open up wider possibilities in conceiving of one's own wellbeing.

At its best, religious education can have a significant role both in developing (without inculcation, still less indoctrination) students' sense of values and in giving them access to a broader sense of what wellbeing consists of than they might otherwise have access to. Besides, some students, even if a minority of the whole student body, do want to engage in reflection on the 'deep questions' of life; for these students, support in such reflection will contribute to their wellbeing – even if they do not come to answers they can count on as definitive. In England, it is often teachers of religious education – many of whom have some academic background in philosophy – who are the best equipped to discuss these deep questions with their students.

Religious education continues to be part of the curriculum of schools in England. It is *not* part of the National Curriculum that came into force in 1989 and still, after several modifications, continues. Since religious education was already compulsory before the National Curriculum, there was no need to bring it into the same framework as the newly compulsory National Curriculum subjects. It may be that many schools treat the requirement for religious education in a fairly perfunctory way, thereby not realizing its potential for contributing to values education and wellbeing. At the same time there are signs that where the opportunity for a more extended engagement with the study of religion – sometimes in conjunction with philosophy – is offered as an option to secondary students it is becoming more popular.

It is not, however, any part of my argument here that religious education by itself could do everything that a curriculum needs to do with regard to values education and wellbeing. One reason for this has to do with broad public perceptions of the

[2] It is often suggested that knowledge and understanding of the values and beliefs of others can be important in the development of tolerance and respect for others, and hence in the maintenance of harmonious coexistence between different cultures in a plural society. The relevance of such knowledge and understanding to an individual's own self-reflection, and hence to wellbeing, is less often noted.

relationship between values and religion. If religious education were the only part of the curriculum in which issues concerning values were explicitly addressed, this very fact could be seen as upholding a tight link between religion and values. Within a plural and broadly secular society, some groups would welcome the reinforcement of such a link, while others would react strongly against it. Regardless, overall, it would be conveying an inappropriate educational message, and that would probably be the case at the level of public perceptions *even if* the teachers of religious education encouraged their students to reflect critically on the religious dimensions of values and wellbeing.

A second and more concrete reason for not regarding values and wellbeing in the curriculum as the exclusive concern of religious education is that a curriculum needs to make available to students specialized perspectives and expertise on a range of issues that are important to values education and wellbeing; on many of these issues, there may be some distinctive religious perspective but there is no special expertise resting in religion. Three such areas that, since the 1980s, have actually been incorporated into the required curriculum in England are as follows: first, matters of physical health and safety; second, matters of finance and economics; and, third, matters of politics. I refer for the moment to 'politics' rather than 'citizenship' because I shall be saying more below about how citizenship relates to the other concerns. Before seeing how these areas came to be addressed within the formal curriculum, we can continue the historical overview so as to acknowledge that the relevance of aspects of schooling outside the formal curriculum was officially recognized.

The 1990s: (1) Beyond the Formal Curriculum

The National Curriculum that came into force in England in 1989 consisted in the main of a list of standard academic subjects backed up by detailed programmes of study and attainment targets. These subjects did *not* include anything identified by an explicit concern with values: there was not, as in some countries, any curriculum subject called 'ethics' or 'moral education' or indeed 'citizenship'. Citizenship did figure at that time as one of a list of cross-curricular themes, but in most schools this and other such themes had little impact, partly because they were not examined and partly because of the practical difficulties of teaching content with no specific location in the curriculum.

This is not to say that the National Curriculum documentation did not recognize the importance of such areas. In a brief preamble it stated that the school curriculum should be one that:

(a) promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society; and
(b) prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.

While traditional subjects obviously catered to mental development, and physical education and sports to physical development, the areas of moral and spiritual development had a much less clear connection with anything in the formal curriculum. Nevertheless, the body responsible for inspecting schools, Ofsted (The Office for Standards in Education), was charged with reporting on the quality of education in schools not only in respect of their teaching of formal subjects, but also in respect of their contribution to the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils. There was much discussion in the first half of the 1990s about just how schools should go about promoting such development.[3] Most of this discussion focused on moral and spiritual development.

These two terms – 'moral' and 'spiritual' – were frequently coupled together in discussion at that time. The focus on moral development was reinforced partly because it was a concern of particular individuals who happened to be in influential posts either in government or in public agencies with responsibilities for education and partly because some high-profile events that involved strikingly unacceptable behaviour by young people[4] gave rise to public concern that schools were failing in their (perceived or alleged) role as moral educators. The focus on spiritual development was reinforced by the quite reasonable uncertainty on the part of many teachers about how – outside of the context of religious education – they were supposed to promote this. The linking of moral with spiritual development no doubt reflected a widespread view that even if morality did not have to be linked to religion, moral development and spiritual development in an individual were linked; in effect, even while there was an acknowledgment of public, 'external' moral standards, a personal commitment to these standards was treated as an aspect of spiritual development. While the concern that schools should be doing more about the education of their students in values was a public concern, the appropriate response was seen in terms of the development of qualities and commitments in individuals.

At the same time that the public concern implicitly presupposed some shared moral stance, the view was often expressed that in a multicultural society like England in the 1990s, there was actually no public consensus on the values that teachers should be transmitting or trying to encourage. It was in awareness of that perceived problem that, in 1996, the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority convened a group of experts and commentators, representing a wide range of interest groups, religious organizations and charities, to demonstrate if possible that a consensus on values could be found. This group, named the National Forum on Values

[3] Often in England there have been different public agencies responsible for advice, policy or administration of different aspects of education. This loose structure was reflected in the 1990s in attention to spiritual and moral development: within a space of 3 years, papers were published on the subject by Ofsted (1994), the National Curriculum Council (NCC, 1993) and the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA 1996).

[4] Most notably the case of James Bulger, a toddler abducted and killed by two boys who were aged 10 at the time.

in Education and the Community, did draw up a list of shared values, subdivided into values related to the self, to relationships, to society and to the environment. Details of this list can be found elsewhere.[5] Two points are worth further notice in the present context.

First, the list is a wide-ranging one that from a more recent perspective can be seen as having links with questions of personal wellbeing as well as with citizenship; for instance, it contains not only the obvious and rather open-ended prescription that we should 'understand and carry out our responsibilities as citizens' but also such ideas as that we should 'develop an understanding of our own characters, strengths and weaknesses'; 'develop self-respect and self-discipline'; and 'take responsibility, within our capabilities, for our own lives'. It could be said that the Statement covered a spectrum of values from the personal to the public.

The second point of interest concerns the public function of the production of such a list of values. There is a sense in which the very production of a statement of values by a national forum inevitably put the emphasis on the public dimension of values. The aim was to show that there were values held in common; the educational value of this was that schools could have confidence in referring to these values as ones that were publicly shared, and thus they could show that they were *not* engaged in an attempt to inculcate values that belonged only to one sector of a plural society. Indeed, the Statement of Values was not promulgated as a list of values that schools *should* inculcate; exactly how the Statement might be used by schools was left more open than that.

Here again there were possibilities that could have been adopted – and that might perhaps have been adopted in some countries with different educational and political traditions – but that were not adopted in the English context. Schools were never put under a legal obligation to inculcate the values in the Statement. Nor was there any expectation that the Statement of Values should form part of the syllabus of any curriculum subject. Indeed, it could be argued that, for better or worse, the potential of such a statement was never developed.[6] A later report on diversity and citizenship said that it had been 'perceived by some to be a weak and meaningless set of watered-down 'politically correct' values (Ajegbo, 2007, p. 93).

If there is one overall lesson to be learned from these attempts in the 1990s to pursue matters of values education through whole-school and cross-curricular ways, it is perhaps the sheer difficulty of that attempt if there is nothing to tie it down to recognized subjects in the curriculum. It is time, then, to return to curricular developments, beginning with one that already had a presence in many schools prior to and quite independently of the National Curriculum.

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[5]The statement can be downloaded from http://curriculum.qca.org.uk/key-stages-1-and-2/Values-aims-and-purposes/ (accessed June 1, 2009). It is also reprinted in Talbot and Tate (1997). For commentary on the statement and follow-up work by SCAA see Haydon (1998).

[6]The Statement of Values survives in a somewhat attenuated form in more recent National Curriculum documentation: see 'Values underpinning the curriculum' at http://curriculum.qca.org.uk/key-stages-3-and-4/aims/index.aspx (accessed June 1, 2009).

The 1990s: (2) The Development of Personal and Social Education

Personal and Social Education had been developing in many schools through the 1980s. Since this area had no nationally prescribed content, and no examinations, it could be approached very differently in different schools. The academic literature of the 1980s that reflected on this curriculum area showed that it was widely perceived to be at least in part, and perhaps centrally, about moral development (cf. Pring 1984; Straughan 1988). On that basis, one can plausibly imagine an alternative history of the development of values education in England, in which personal and social education would have been recognized as the main (non-religious) vehicle for moral education and values education more generally. However, that did not happen. By the end of the 1980s, some voices such as John White's (1989) were already suggesting that the focus of Personal and Social Education should be on personal wellbeing rather than moral development. White's view turned out to be rather prescient (not entirely coincidentally, since his voice was heard in deliberations through the 1990s about changes in the National Curriculum). Personal and Social Education did come to focus on questions of wellbeing, though it was some time before this focus became explicit and official (cf. Halstead & Pike, 2006, p. 113).

The first step towards that outcome was the increasing centrality in Personal and Social Education of health-related concerns, including sex education, so that what at the beginning of the 1990s was generally called PSE, by the end of the decade was regularly and officially referred to as PSHE. The increasing prominence of this particular range of concerns makes the curriculum area of PSHE a sort of nexus of public moral concerns and concerns with the wellbeing of individuals. While wellbeing can be variously interpreted, as noted above, it is hardly debateable that good health is a contributory factor, that illness generally detracts from wellbeing and that, for the most part but perhaps not always, pregnancy in girls still at school is likely to be deleterious to their own wellbeing. At the same time, there were in the 1990s – and perhaps still are, although decreasingly so in an increasingly liberal social climate – public moral concerns contributing to the prominence of sex and relationships education and drugs education within PSHE.

It would have been possible for PSHE to develop as a curriculum area in which conservative moral opinion in society tried to inculcate its point of view in the young. Again, that is not what happened. Instead of sex education (for example) trying to put across the message that sex between persons of a certain age is wrong, or that unprotected sex is wrong, and so on, it encouraged young people to make their own decisions about how they live their lives, provided they do so in full knowledge of the likely consequences of one decision or another. In other words, the dominant ethos of PSHE came to be one of informed choice, part of a broader liberal ethos shared by many teachers and increasingly by a wider public.

Such an approach clearly has much to do with individual wellbeing. It fits with the idea quoted above from Brighouse, that 'having objectively good things in one's life' – such as not being pregnant at the age of 14, or not becoming addicted to

drugs – 'is not enough for a flourishing life'. For somebody actually to flourish, they have to identify with the life they are leading. They have to live it from the 'inside'. It has to be as a result of their own decision that they avoid what would be harmful to them and achieve what is good for them.

This is not, of course, a values-free approach in the way that it might appear to be. An approach to personal and social education that puts the individual's freedom of choice at the centre must inevitably operate as an aspect of values education in which that very value is promoted. One can hope – and teachers will often intend – that this value will be promoted not only as a self-regarding value – that individuals should consider the consequences of their decisions for their own interests – but also as an other-regarding moral value – that individuals in exercising the freedom to decide how to live their own lives will respect the like freedom on the part of others. There does, however, seem to be some risk that the self-interested aspects of the message will be dominant. To the extent that this seems to be happening, there will be the more reason for including in the curriculum something that puts a more explicit stress on responsibilities to others; this is what seems to have happened in England with the introduction into the curriculum of Citizenship.

It is worth noting that the ostensible focus on the value of individual freedom is not the only one operative at the policy level. At the level of social policy, it is often said that better sex education will reduce the occurrence of unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (similar arguments can be made about drug use, for instance). It is convenient for policy if an educational approach that emphasizes individual choice happens to deliver results that seem desirable from a broad social perspective, but it cannot be guaranteed. Policy will face a dilemma if it should turn out empirically that desirable social consequences are more likely to be achieved through an educational approach that gives less scope to personal choice.

Before turning to Citizenship, the historical review should first be brought up to date as regards PSHE. In the version of the National Curriculum that came into force in 2000, PSHE was officially recognized in the National Curriculum for the first time, although it remained non-statutory, that is, not compulsory for schools. In yet another version – applying to secondary schools – published in 2007, there were significant changes in the recommended – but still non-statutory – programmes of study for PSHE. Most significant for the present chapter is that the documentation for PSHE was explicitly organized around the notion of wellbeing. The overall programme was divided into two parts: first, Personal Wellbeing; and, second, Economic Wellbeing and Financial Capability. The prominence given to the latter would appear to be an expression of concern that young people were not learning how to manage their personal finances, but this same prominence had the odd result that economic wellbeing was seen not as an aspect of personal wellbeing (which it surely must be, if poverty and debt can be serious constraints on life opportunities) but as a distinctive form of wellbeing.

While the notion of wellbeing is prominent in this documentation it is nowhere clearly defined. There are also several mentions of students needing to explore their own and other people's values. Interestingly, explicit use of the word 'moral' occurs only in combination with 'dilemmas'.

Within an education in which little remains static for long, it is likely at the time of writing that PSHE will for the first time be given the same status as other National Curriculum subjects, that is, will have a statutory programme of study. The reason for this is the kind of instrumental policy reason mentioned above: that sex education in particular is considered to be too important to be left to the discretion of individual schools and teachers.

Into the Twenty-First Century: Citizenship

In 1997 a new Labour government in Britain brought in a Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, who was committed to raising the profile of citizenship both within education and in public life more generally. Within a few years, Citizenship had become a required subject in the National Curriculum with a statutory programme of study – a status that had not to that point been achieved by PSHE.

Citizenship – both as a broad educational concern, and in its more specific manifestation in the English National Curriculum – has an inescapable but not straightforward relationship with values education. Outside of specifically educational discourse, there are people to whom 'being a good citizen' is almost synonymous with fulfilling one's moral responsibilities; from such a point of view, citizenship education is a matter of instilling a sense of these responsibilities. It is, that is to say, almost synonymous with moral education, where moral education itself is seen – on the model of values education mentioned earlier – as a matter of bringing a new generation into line with publicly existing expectations and obligations.

That there is a moral element to citizenship education should hardly be in dispute, but equally it should be clear that to identify citizenship education with moral education – let alone the whole field of values education if that is interpreted more broadly – is to do less than justice to both. Citizenship education, even if it does involve influencing the development of moral thinking, must also involve learning about social and political structures and about possibilities of action within those structures and possibly to change those structures. Moral or values education, at the same time, needs to retain the personal aspects mentioned above.

So what is the position in National Curriculum Citizenship in England? From the beginning, Citizenship has contained as one of its strands 'moral and social responsibility'.[7] That phrase 'moral and social responsibility' is one that might sit equally comfortably within Personal and Social Education; but instead, as we have seen, there is little that is distinctively 'moral' within PSHE. In contrast, there are more

[7] This was one of three strands introduced in the report by Bernard Crick (1998) that paved the way for National Curriculum Citizenship. The other two were political literacy and community involvement. Later, as a result of the Ajegbo (2007) Review, a fourth strand, diversity, was added.

frequent mentions in the Citizenship documentation of moral rights, moral responsibilities and moral problems, while notions – with a clear positive evaluation – of democracy, justice, tolerance, freedom, diversity and the like – are prominent. On the other hand, the term 'wellbeing' does not figure at all in the Citizenship documentation.[8]

What seems to have happened is a bifurcation between PSHE and Citizenship (most noticeably at the secondary level) in which PSHE has personal wellbeing at its heart while Citizenship is concerned with the realm of public values. In the final section of this chapter, I want to offer some reasons for thinking that this particular 'division of labour' is not optimal.

Citizenship and PSHE: Two Subjects or One?

First, it must be acknowledged that there are significant respects in which Citizenship and PSHE must be approached differently. It is important to make this point because in England, it is often the same teachers who are responsible for coordinating the teaching of both subjects in a school. In 2005, Ofsted reported that schools often thought they were teaching citizenship when in fact they were teaching PSHE. The difference was in whether issues were approached in their personal or their public dimensions:

> Citizenship treats at [sic] a public dimension what PSHE treats at a personal level. Thus conflict resolution in citizenship is not about the problems experienced in individual parent-teenager relationships. However, topics like bullying, teenage pregnancy and drug abuse, which are naturally the content of PSHE, take on a citizenship dimension when the questions addressed are to do with topical local and national issues, policy, and what can be done to bring about change (Ofsted, 2005, p. 6).

There is no doubt that some such distinction is important for citizenship in a liberal democracy and hence for citizenship education. Indeed, a rather more subtle distinction is needed than is recognized here by Ofsted. In addition to differentiation in terms of subject matter, a distinction is needed in terms of the kinds of reasons to which citizens, when acting as citizens rather than private individuals, can appeal when deliberating or seeking to persuade others on matters of public import. The basic principle here is 'public reasonableness' (Rawls, 2001), requiring that citizens – and the politicians representing them – are able to argue over and defend public policy in terms that all fellow citizens can acknowledge as relevant, without having to subscribe to any particular controversial worldview (Brighouse, 2006, pp. 67–72). This means, for instance, that a young woman whose own thinking about whether to have an abortion would be grounded in her religious beliefs

[8] The above comparison is based on the 2007 programmes of study for PSHE in Key Stages 3 and 4 and for Citizenship in Key Stages 3 and 4 (QCA 2007a–2007f). These are available as downloads from http://www.qca.org.uk . Changes may have been made to the PSHE programmes by the time of publication of the present volume.

must put those beliefs to one side when arguing as a citizen over what the law on abortion should be.

The capacity to make such a distinction between public argument and personal commitment is one that individuals may not develop by themselves. Education may well be needed to develop a sense of public reasonableness. Besides, the very idea that citizens should make this disjunction is itself controversial and merits discussion. The obvious place in the curriculum for such learning and discussion is Citizenship. However, this is not sufficient reason for saying that there must be a total bifurcation between considerations addressed in Citizenship lessons and those addressed in PSHE lessons. There are at least four (not independent) reasons for regretting too great a bifurcation.

First, to confine the terminology of wellbeing exclusively to PSHE is liable to convey the message that wellbeing is a personal, indeed private, concern. This is to neglect the important public aspects of wellbeing. This is partly an empirical point: some of the objective conditions of individual wellbeing are only likely to be obtained or maintained through public action. In any state that has not devolved public decisions entirely to the marketplace, government action is important in trying, for instance, to reduce poverty, to make jobs available, to support access to satisfying educational opportunities and leisure activities, as well as in ensuring the implementation of the very educational programmes, such as sex and relationships education or drugs education, that may have a direct influence on individual wellbeing. The activities of individuals as citizens can influence the policies and priorities of governments in these respects.

Second, there is a moral point related to the above empirical point. It is that to recognize responsibilities towards fellow citizens is to consider that the wellbeing of fellow citizens matters. Indeed there is – though the point is debatable – no good reason morally to confine one's responsibilities for others wholly to others who are fellow citizens of a nation state. Everyone who contributes to charities such as Oxfam, or to international pressure groups such as Greenpeace, is recognizing that the wellbeing of others beyond national boundaries matters morally. From this moral perspective, it is a peculiarity of the National Curriculum in England that explicit appeal to the importance of wellbeing is confined very largely to a context in which students are encouraged to make informed decisions with their own individual wellbeing primarily in mind. To generalize from this point, a sharp bifurcation between PSHE and Citizenship misrepresents the reality that there are *not* two different sets of values, these being personal versus public values. Despite what was said above about public reasonableness, for most people there will be many values that are (quite rightly) common to their decisions about their own lives and to their discussion with others about public issues, for example, that it is good for people to have some say in what happens in their own lives; that pain and misery are things to be avoided; that loving personal relationships are good; and that adequate nutrition is important, and so on.

Third, related to both the empirical and moral points, there is a conceptual point, already anticipated above, about how wellbeing is to be understood. To take a purely individualistic view of wellbeing – that wellbeing is about how far the interests of an

individual are satisfied – is to neglect the fact that aspects of the social and cultural environment can themselves be directly pertinent to an individual's wellbeing, even in a subjective, not only objective sense. It can matter to me that I live in a society in which others have good lives as well as me; I *can* consider that my life is diminished to the extent that others are in misery. The attitude famously expressed by John Donne (1987) in his 'no man is an island' meditation – 'any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind' *is* a psychological possibility. Perhaps such perceptions are more likely for individuals living within certain religious traditions than for those whose world is purely secular. The important point nonetheless is that by the very fact of dealing with wellbeing only within PSHE, the National Curriculum in England reinforces one particular, individualistic, stance that individuals can take towards their own wellbeing, and thus reduces the possibility of their conceiving of their wellbeing in a broader way.

Fourth, it is important for education to remember that private individuals and citizens are not two different sets of people. They are the same persons, and it is these persons that schools are endeavouring to educate, not citizens in one part of the curriculum and private individuals in another. Too sharp a bifurcation between Citizenship and PSHE fails educationally in not recognizing a place for guiding individual students in reflecting on the balance in their own lives between considerations of their personal wellbeing and the public considerations of citizenship. In effect, the message of PSHE is 'look after your own wellbeing through making informed decisions related to your own interests (provided you don't infringe on other people's right to do the same)' while the message of Citizenship is 'be a good citizen, engage in public affairs, make your own contribution towards making society better for all'. However, how are individuals to balance their response within their own lives to the first message and the second? There is nothing in either subject (nothing at any rate explicitly written into the official documentation) that addresses this question.

Conclusion

What seems to be needed is a space in the curriculum in which students are encouraged not to compartmentalize, but rather to bring together the concerns of personal wellbeing and public responsibility, to reflect on how both of these concerns will weigh in their own lives. There might be more than one way within the curriculum of recognizing this point. One might be to make interconnections between the two subjects. The documentation (see footnote 8) does make occasional reference to links being made between PSHE and Citizenship, but in more specific contexts, such as the importance to both subjects of the understanding of diversity. One might, however, wonder whether it was a wise move initially to make a sharp distinction between PSHE and Citizenship if it is then important to make links between them. Another possibility might be that the conception of PSHE itself is expanded so as to give more scope for and encouragement to individuals to reflect on what they are to make of their lives and how they are to find their own way through the environment

of values – with both personal and public repercussions – in which they live (see Haydon, 2005).

As suggested earlier, this historical/conceptual review of developments in the curriculum in England regarding wellbeing and values education has been something of a cautionary tale. Arguably, the way the curriculum is now arranged in England is an example of how *not* to do it. Even if the present arrangements are worth defending, the way by which those arrangements were arrived at – by gradual accretion and differentiation, rather than joined-up thinking – may be an example of how *not* to do curriculum planning in the area of values and wellbeing.

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Chapter 13
Classroom-Based Practice in Values Education

Laurie Brady

Introduction

Many approaches have been used over the years to promote values education and wellbeing in school programmes of 'moral education', 'character education', 'citizenship education' and 'personal development and social studies'. These include the drilling of moral laws, the rote learning of scriptural texts, the punishment of the wrong so that the right will be achieved by a process of trial and error (or even meting out punishment as admonitory and salutary), the reading of and deductions from moral biography, the discussion of conflict or dilemma stories, the imposition of external adversity as character building, the presentation of values clarifying strategies and the practice of role play.

Four major contemporary approaches to values education in Australian schools can be identified, though these approaches may not be implemented in the same way elsewhere and may not be regarded as strategies in their own right. For example, role play is not mentioned in the relatively recent and American-based *Handbook of Moral and Character Education* (Nucci & Narvaev, 2008). The major identified approaches are the trait approach that is based on moral absolutism and finds expression in explicit teaching or through moral biography; values clarification that is based on moral relativity; the cognitive developmental approach that is based on facilitating transition through invariant stages and is practised through discussion of moral dilemmas; and role play involving the fostering of multiple perspectives. This chapter examines the theory, strengths, limitations and classroom practice of each of these four approaches.

Evolving practice in values education can be largely attributed to changing perceptions of learning and teaching. Brady (2006) traces an evolution in broad approaches to learning and teaching from traditional to progressive to collaborative and defines a model of contemporary learning and teaching that draws from social constructivism and that is captured by Bruner's (1996) claim that learning should

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be participative (students being engaged in their learning), proactive (students taking initiative for their learning) and collaborative (students working with each other and their teacher to promote their learning). Such a dynamic view of the learner, coupled with an equally dynamic role for the teacher, presents an exciting view of the contemporary classroom that both contextualizes the challenges for values education and accounts for changes in its expression. For instance, the prescriptiveness of the traditional trait approach in Australian schools (exposing students to the lives of exemplary characters, and 'teaching' the values demonstrated by their behaviour) was consistent with a transmission model of teaching by which the teacher 'passed on' knowledge to students and has been substantially replaced by the values-relative approaches of values clarification and role play that are arguably more consistent with progressive and collaborative models of learning and teaching.

The Trait Approach

The trait approach is based on the notion that values education should comprise predetermined traits or qualities that can be taught. Kohlberg (1975, p. 673) referred to the approach pejoratively as 'the bag of virtues approach'. While often cited desirable virtues include honesty, loyalty, tolerance, trustworthiness, service and compassion, the implicit question is 'what values' and 'determined by whom'. For example, Aristotle's 'bag' was temperance, pride, liberality, truthfulness and justice and those of the Boy Scouts are honesty, loyalty, reverence, cleanliness and bravery. So the approach is based on values absolutism: certain prescribed values are deemed more worthy than others.

Advocates argue that it is the responsibility of educators and parents to transmit the moral-cultural heritage to students by teaching the desirable values, either explicitly or indirectly through having the values exemplified in the lives of traditionally well-known historical characters. In Australian schools, this fare included Grace Darling, Lord Shaftesbury, Florence Nightingale, Gandhi and Caroline Chisholm. Also implicit is the notion that teachers can evaluate achievement in terms of the behavioural outcomes: that students are more moral if the requisite values are demonstrated in their behaviour.

The indirect approach that utilizes moral biography is the typical expression of the trait approach. Biography is thought to provide the raw data for discussion, and the learning principle is that of transfer: if we are sufficiently impressed by the values by which eminent people lived their lives, we will adopt them as our own. Proponents claim that a biography need not simply comprise one or a number of desirable behaviours for potential adoption, but that it can be potentially powerful in presenting the feelings and thoughts that guide action in specific contexts.

Conventional practice involves the teacher reading the biography (usually abridged to a page or two) and focusing a discussion on the values demonstrated. Effective teaching involves more than simple deduction of qualities or values. It includes examination of the reasons for, and consequences of action, and the

transposition of the demonstrated values into student-centred contexts ('Can you think of ways that you could practise these values in your own life at home or at school?'). Some negative perception of the approach may be explained by ineffective expressions of practice including the reading of the story without the character being subjected to scrutiny through discussion; the reading followed immediately by the teacher's request to draw a picture of an incident; or in extreme cases, the teacher extracting the value from the story and preaching by exhortation or admonishment.

Of course the prescription of values need not necessarily pre-empt explicit or indoctrinative teaching. The specified values may comprise a framework for open-ended discussion and values-relative approaches to values education. For instance, the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* (DEST, 2005a) nominates nine values for Australian schooling (care and compassion, fair go, freedom, honesty and trustworthiness, integrity, respect, responsibility, understanding tolerance and inclusion). While the document doesn't address the pedagogy, the work of Rowan, Gauld, Cole-Adams and Connolly (2007, p. v) prescribes strategies for each of the nine values through which students are encouraged 'to form inclusive interpretations of the values, questioning our perceptions and exploring the overt and covert assumptions that shape our expectations of the value'. Rather than use full biographies, the authors use brief extracts, often defining moments from speeches or reports that exemplify the desirable values of the lauded character or speaker. These extracts may be followed by specific questions about the value ('What examples of care and compassion are shown?'), but are more typically followed by a great variety of values clarifying strategies (developing a list of actions that demonstrate the value and using a Y chart to describe what each example sounds like, looks like and feels like). In this way, prescription and relativity are blended.

Possible limitations of the approach include the following:

- The formerly posed questions of 'what values' and 'determined by whom' pose a dilemma. The difficulty of selecting a desirable bag of virtues is confounded by the problems of achieving consensus and arriving at definitions. The fact the 'pride' is one of Aristotle's virtues, but also appears on the list of Seven Deadly Sins, highlights the problem. The appeal to supposedly universal values like honesty and service only provides a partial defence, as definitions are relative, are defined by the conventional culture and rely on the teacher's authority for their justification. As constructivism is the prevailing theory of teaching and learning in Australian schools, the nine values for Australian schooling, however 'universal', need to be reconstructed and co-constructed by learners and teachers.
- If indoctrination is regarded as undesirable, students must be given freedom to determine their own beliefs and actions and be provided with reasons and alternatives. The trait approach is not *ipso facto* indoctrination. The provision of a framework like that of DEST (2005a) may provide a focus rather than be tightly prescriptive. 'As long as we provide reason and explore alternatives alongside the teaching of our preferred core values', Neilsen (2005, p. 4) claims, 'we may have explicit values education without indoctrination'.

Other relatively minor criticisms relate to the traditional use of moral biographies:

- Moral biography typically presents the lives of great adults, and these models are thought to pose a possible problem of student identification. The subjects have traditionally been non-Australian and have often prompted the response from young students 'have you got to be dead to be famous?' Such a limitation may be overcome by providing the biographies of young, contemporary and 'local' characters and by encouraging students to relate the demonstrated values to modern contexts and their own lives.
- The possible problem of not finding a certain character whose biography exemplifies a particular value is also diminished by adopting the approach of Rowan et al. (2007) in providing extracts that capture a person's thoughts and feelings, rather than relying on actions as the sole indicators of a value. Imagine the difficulty for instance of using a biography that is no more than a simple chronology of 'events' to exemplify and then accurately identify empathy as a behaviour.

Values Clarification

Values clarification is the most frequently advocated of the four approaches. At least 20 of the 22 strategies recommended for values education in the NSW Department of Education and Training's (2004) *Values in NSW Public Schools* are values clarification strategies, as are the eight strategies suggested by DEST (2005b) in *Values for Australian Schooling Professional Learning Resources*. The popularity of the approach may be explained by a number of factors. First, while some strategies are sophisticated, many (involving listing, ranking or responding to open questions) are easy for teachers to devise; second, student clarification and construction of their own values are consistent with the nature of contemporary teaching and learning; and third, the non-prescriptive and values-relative nature of the approach (enabling students to determine their own values) may be perceived as an answer to the bewildering array of values exposed to students, and the consequent dissatisfaction with any one imposed set of values.

The approach involves students identifying their values and beliefs 'in an effort to enable them to be more self-directing in life's confusions' (Lipe, n.d., p. 6). This reflection process to clarify the confusion, proponents claim, makes the student more purposeful and productive (thereby contributing to their general wellbeing), less gullible and vulnerable, a better critical thinker and more socially aware.

Values clarification is based on the notion of values-relativity, that is, in contrast to the trait approach for which values are prescribed (values absolutism), students are encouraged to adopt their own values, provided they are personally meaningful. The approach does not focus on the content of values, or the imposition of a set of core values, but the process of acquiring them.

This process, initially outlined by Raths, Harmin and Simon (1978), involves students in meeting seven criteria that are subsumed by three processes: *choosing*

(freely, from alternatives and after reflection); *prizing* (cherishing and being willing to affirm the choice publicly); and a*cting* (acting upon the choice and acting repeatedly if necessary). All seven of the criteria must be met to collectively constitute valuing. Teachers provide strategies to help students decide what they value, and engage them in a form of Socratic dialogue by which they are guided through the three processes.

Following are simple values clarifying strategies taken from Rowan et al. (2007), DEST (2005b), DET (2004) and CAZR (2003):

- *Y chart*. Students develop a list of actions that demonstrate a value (say care and compassion) by listing, respectively, in the three segments formed by the Y, what the value looks like (people helping, people giving), sounds like (gentle talking, 'come with us') and feels like (warm, friendly).
- *Values continuum*. After an issue is presented by the teacher, two extreme positions are identified at the ends of a line, and students place themselves along the line according to how they agree or disagree with the issue or statement. They can alter their position on the line after consulting the students initially positioned each side of them.
- *Inside–outside circles*. Students are placed in two concentric circles so that each student faces another. After they discuss an issue nominated by the teacher, one of the circles is rotated a number of places so that each student is exposed to a fresh opinion. The teacher continues to rotate the circles until students have experienced a variety of exchanges.
- *Ranking*. Students are given numerous statements on an issue and asked to rank them in order of importance or commitment.
- *PMI*. Students are required to list the positive (Plus), negative (Minus) and interesting (Interest) aspects of a nominated issue, thereby articulating their own values.
- *Consequences chart*. Students record the likely consequences of decisions and actions based on the values that individuals or groups hold. The chart assumes the appearance of a 'branching' graphic organizer.

Other strategies include the Values Shield (students showing what is meaningful to them by drawing symbols on a cardboard family crest); SWOT analysis (students identifying the relevant Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats relating to an issue or situation); Likert scales (students rating contentious statements on an issue from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree); unfinished sentences (students completing a sentence structured by the teacher to elicit a feeling, opinion or value); discussion cards (students discussing issues written, often by themselves, on cards) and voting questions (students voting on contentious issues with raised hands for agreement, thumbs down for disagreement and arms folded for undecided).

Strategies are presented to students, typically in small groups, though sometimes individually or as a whole class. While the students are completing the tasks, the teacher attends each group, facilitating by asking questions related to the three

processes. For example, for *choosing from alternatives* the teacher might ask 'Did you consider another possible alternative?' and 'Are there some reasons behind your choice?'; and for *affirming*, the teacher might ask 'Would you tell the class how you feel?' and 'Are you willing to stand up and be counted for that?' Once the tasks are completed, student responses are typically shared in discussion with the whole class, though exceptions may be made for very sensitive issues or vulnerable students.

Values clarification has been criticized for being superficial in that rather than focus on personal values, it often involves the trivial. Lipe (n.d., p. 11) argues that 'by admitting that values clarification is also concerned to help persons clarify private matters, they (the authors of the approach) open the door for practically any and everything imaginable' (implicitly, superficial and surface beliefs like declaring a preference between different foods or cosmetics). Of course such a criticism can be overcome by the teacher's judicious selection of lesson content. Kohlberg (1975, p. 673) condemns the major tenet of the approach in his criticism of its superficiality: 'in not attempting to go further than simply eliciting awareness of values, the approach assumes that becoming more self-aware about one's values is an end in itself'.

In criticizing the theoretical foundations of the approach, the seven criteria that must be met to realize a value are suspect as indicators. A few questions suffice in posing these concerns. If choosing freely is a requirement, might there not be cases where a person has a powerful value that has not been freely chosen (for example, a person reared in a strong, cultural tradition)? If public affirmation is a requirement, is the person who chooses to remain silent, perhaps out of sensitivity to others, disqualified from owning the value? Do people miss out on 'owning' a value if they satisfy the first six criteria yet fail to repeatedly act on that value? What comprises acting on a value (might not public affirmation constitute an action in its own right?) Most current users of values clarification probably don't adhere to the process of invoking the seven criteria at all, but facilitate student clarification of values in a less defined and more general way.

The major criticisms are those directed at the values-relative nature of the approach. It should be noted however that even Simon, Howe and Kirschenbaum (1972), proponents of values clarification, argue the absurdity of teaching children to decide for themselves with no initial moral foundation. Without a strict code of conduct, they claim, children will be unable to take a firm stand on any issue, and risk being left in a moral and ethical vacuum with no clear notions of right and wrong. As Lipe (n.d., p. 17) indicates, the relativism of values clarification could be used to justify any and every moral position.

In defending the approach, the criticisms of superficiality and relativism may be countered, respectively, by focusing on 'substantive' values and working within a framework that blends prescription and relativity like that of the strategies Rowan et al. (2007) provide within the context of the nine values for Australian schooling that enables students to construct personally meaningful values within a defined framework.

The Cognitive Developmental Approach

This approach is called ‘cognitive’ because it bases values education, like intellectual education, on the active thinking of students about values. It is ‘developmental’ because it views values education as the movement through stages. These stages, according to Kohlberg (1980, p. 31), are ‘structured wholes’: ‘total ways of thinking, not attitudes towards particular situations’. They define ‘what (a person) finds valuable. . ..how he defines the value, and why he finds it valuable, that is, the reasons he gives for valuing it’ (Kohlberg 1975, p. 672). This distinction between ‘structure’ and content means that we are located at a particular stage according to the nature of our reasoning and not its content. For example, two people might justify two completely opposite stances, say for and against abortion, respectively (different content), and be reasoning at the same stage level (the same ‘structure’).

The focus of the cognitive theorists is therefore to improve reasoning and facilitate movement through the stages, rather than to differentiate between right and wrong decisions. The stages exist at three levels (the pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional) with each level containing two stages. These stages are defined as follows:

Stage 1. Egocentric deference to superior power or prestige, or a trouble-avoiding set. The child follows rules to avoid punishment.
Stage 2. Right action is that which instrumentally satisfies one’s own needs. The child conforms in order to obtain rewards.
Stage 3. Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. The morality of maintaining good relations. The child conforms to avoid disapproval.
Stage 4. Orientation to doing one’s duty and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. The child conforms to avoid censure and resultant guilt.
Stage 5. Duty is defined in terms of contracts, general avoidance of violating the will or rights of others, and majority will and welfare.
Stage 6. Orientation to not only actually ordained social rules but also to principles of choice involving appeal to logical consistency. The person conforms to avoid self-condemnation.

The following are characteristics of the stages and of stage transition:

- People reason with some consistency at a particular stage level, though Kohlberg (1975, p. 672) acknowledges the factors of motive and emotion in accounting for fluctuations between stages.
- The stages form an invariant sequence, and movement is always forward through the stages. Moral ‘deterioration’ or ‘backsliding’ cannot be explained by movement backwards through the stages.
- The stages are ‘hierarchical integrations’, that is, reasoning at higher stages includes lower stage thinking as well. People are therefore inclined to prefer reasoning at a higher stage than their own.

- People can fixate at any one stage, and it cannot be assumed that all adults reach the highest, or autonomous stages.
- The stages are universal in that they relate to all cultures. Kohlberg (1980, p. 17) argued that he could 'define a culturally and historically universal pattern of mature moral thought'.
- A person's intellectual stage (Piaget's stages) set a limit upon the moral stage that can be attained. For instance, a child who is only concrete operational is limited to moral stages 1 and 2, and the morally autonomous person has to be fully formal operational.

Kohlberg (1975) claims that the means of promoting development (movement through the stages) is through the provision of conflict, so the classroom strategy involves the presentation of a moral dilemma story, sometimes called 'unfinished', 'open-ended' or 'conflict' story. It is 'unfinished' because it presents a student-centred dilemma and asks how the protagonist should solve the conflict. It typically includes more than one values issue for discussion and generates disagreement among students. Galbraith and Jones (1975) argue that a class should initially vote on solutions to ensure sufficient conflict before proceeding and use the criterion of at least a 70–30% split.

Moral dilemmas have been used outside the cognitive developmental approach. They are commonly recommended within a values clarification approach and/or to promote specific values. For example, Upright (2002) endorses the value of moral dilemmas for the improvement of empathy. They have great appeal as a strategy in values education because they are so student-centred, and consequently their capacity to engage through discussion. As a result they are often used without a full understanding of the rationale behind them.

There is no established classroom procedure apart from teacher direction of the discussion. Teachers facilitate by asking both questions that clarify substantive issues in the dilemma and questions that are more generic ('Might there be an alternative? Why do you think that? Can you give another example? What might the consequences of that be?'), ensuring that the conflict is not so great as to be daunting, nor so slight as to be insufficiently challenging. Teachers avoid imposing their personal views and judging the responses of students. To do so would diminish the presence of conflict – the agent of moral growth. They may however ensure that the class is exposed to the opinions of those who are reasoning at the next highest stage, as evidence indicates that when students are exposed to reasoning at one stage above their own stage, they are more influenced by it and prefer it as advice.

The author has used three additional strategies as forerunners to full class discussion.

The first involves following the reading of the dilemma with buzz groups. These operate as opportunities for students to talk quietly in pairs for about 2 minutes to clarify their values and ensure that the ensuing discussion is the result of some reflection. The second involves forming the class into small groups, each of which comprises students who agree about a solution to a dilemma, and requiring each

group to list reasons supporting the proposed solution. The third involves forming groups comprising students who do not agree.

While teachers may summarize the discussion and delineate suggested solutions, no particular proposal is endorsed as ‘right’. The conclusion of the lesson does not necessarily signal the end of stage-enhancing conflict, as students may continue to reflect on the dilemma.

Several aspects of Kohlberg’s theory have been identified as problematic. One contested issue is Kohlberg’s claim that the stage sequence is universal: that it is the same in all cultures. The claims that people in different cultures progress through the stages at different rates and reach different ends in the sequence, a finding confirmed by the research of Kohlberg and Gilligan (1971), would not seem to provide a sufficient argument to refute the claim of universality when applied to the existence of the stages. Another issue involves the claim that the theory is ‘androcentric’, that it reflects a male orientation (Kohlberg’s initial sample from which the stages are derived was exclusively male). Gilligan (1982), a leading commentator on this issue, argued that morality for women centred more on interpersonal relationships and the ethics of compassion and care than on rights and rules and that as a result women are commonly located at stage 3 whereas men are more typically located at stages 4 and 5.

The approach has also been criticized for its emphasis on the analysis of moral development within a Piaget-inspired format that focuses on the processes involved in an individual’s moral development. Such an approach, it is sometimes argued, pays little heed to the socio-cultural influences in values education, particularly the tools that mediate learning, notably interaction with others in discussion and the role of language. Such a criticism though would appear to be equally valid for the previous two outlined approaches. Lamenting the lack of a socio-cultural perspective in framing moral education, Turner and Chambers (2006) attempt to ‘fill the void’ by evaluating responses to moral dilemmas using a Vygotskian (socio-cultural) perspective.

A further criticism involves the relationship between reasoning and action. Kohlberg (1975, p. 672) claims that ‘if logical reasoning is a necessary but not sufficient condition for mature moral judgment, mature moral judgment is a necessary but not sufficient condition for mature moral action’. If, as Kohlberg (1975) claims, there is a definite relationship between moral reasoning and moral action, but only at the autonomous level, this may be discouraging for primary school teachers who may understandably look for demonstrably improved behaviour to follow ostensibly improved reasoning. There is arguably no greater likelihood that students who advocate particular values through the trait approach or values clarification will automatically act upon them (unless teachers strictly apply Raths, Harmin and Simon’s, 1978, seven criteria).

A problem often raised by teachers is the difficulty of accurately identifying the stages of students. Kohlberg’s research involved sophisticated diagnosis beyond the expertise and time of most teachers. Yet many teachers feel that if they are to validly assess individual growth, and expose students to reasoning at a higher stage level to

promote development, they need a working knowledge of the nature of reasoning at the modal stage and the plus one stage. While not diminishing the value of possessing an understanding of the stages, teachers should be reassured that they probably possess an informed and intuitive, if non-clinical, appreciation of higher stage reasoning.

Emphasizing process (experiencing conflict to promote stage movement) as opposed to content (endorsing particular values) makes the approach vulnerable to criticisms of values relativity. However, while it stresses open-ended discussion of dilemmas and regards the teacher's opinion as no more authoritative than others, the approach does support the notion that some judgements or reasoning are more 'adequate' than others.

Role Play

Shaftel (1967, p. 84) provides an early definition of role play as 'the opportunity to explore through spontaneous improvisation. . .typical group problem situations in which individuals are helped to become sensitive to the feelings of the people involved'. Typically, two people selected as the players react spontaneously to each other in dialogue to explore solutions to a presented problem. In assuming the role of another person, students step outside their accustomed role and adopt the role of another person. In this way, they are required to become less egocentric, and as a result, they develop insights into themselves and others.

The greatest abuse of the strategy is the failure to make a distinction between role play and play acting. In the latter, the purpose is to reconstruct a dramatist's vision to entertain an audience. In the former, role players are not concerned with an audience. Their purpose is to feel and behave as the character they are designated would feel and behave. Consequently they achieve insight into their own values, and their understanding increases.

The benefits of role play include the following (see Brady, 1989; Van Ments, 1983):

- develops sensitivity to the feelings of others;
- helps students empathize with and understand others;
- enables students to express latent feelings;
- assists students to clarify their own values;
- helps students to release tensions and feelings (catharsis);
- promotes an understanding of the causes and consequences of behaviour;
- provides instant feedback for teachers and students;
- enables students to learn social behaviour;
- facilitates an understanding of the dominant culture and its sub-cultures; and
- assists teachers in diagnosing individual needs.

The following six steps in conducting a role play are an elaboration of the five steps suggested in Brady (1989) and are derived from the author's observation and teaching of over 100 role play lessons.

1. *Solution confrontation*. The teacher identifies the roles to be played for a nominated solution and, if necessary, clarifies the names of characters and sequence of events. This is particularly relevant if the solution is one of several identified from discussion of a dilemma. Alternatively the solution may be for a simple problem scenario that arises in teaching a topic (for example, a dispute between a 'logger' and an environmentalist).
2. *Briefing*. The teacher assists students to enter the role of the character they are to play. Typically, the teacher stands with the two players in a central position in view of the class and addresses remarks to both the players and the audience. The briefing may involve questioning the players and class about what each character in turn might be thinking or feeling ('What might Leif be feeling?' ' Why might she think that?') or it may comprise a statement by the teacher describing the gamut of thoughts and feelings each character might have, to sensitize the players and audience. For both the questioning and statement forms of briefing, the teacher remains as 'neutral' as possible. The effectiveness of role play is dependent on the quality of briefing. Without it, role play, particularly with classes that have limited experience of it, may degenerate into acting to an audience that giggles its appreciation. An effective briefing of the players may take longer than the role play itself, but if the time spent produces an insightful exchange, it is well justified, and an initial briefing need not be repeated for subsequent role plays involving the same characters.
3. *Role play*. Fully sensitized to the feelings of the characters involved, the players react spontaneously to each other in dialogue. The teacher usually indicates which player is to begin and then withdraws. The exchange is unrehearsed; each player reacts to the unpredictable responses of the other; and this 'transactional' quality of role play often produces solutions that are not those initially anticipated by the players or class. Players are encouraged to avoid extraneous chatter, particularly in beginning their exchange ('Hello. Come in. Would you like a drink?'), and to address the issues directly. Dressing up and the use of props is discouraged as it focuses on the theatrical. Role plays usually have a natural conclusion in that a solution is reached. However, there may be occasions when teachers have to use their discretion as to when to terminate the exchange. The author strongly endorses role plays of two characters, as the introduction of more players inevitably frustrates participation and limits the more dynamic and transactional interaction possible with two players.
4. *Debriefing*. This is an optional step that is only implemented if the teacher feels a player needs to be extracted from the role. It may take the form of a simple statement ('Remember Sue, you're not Alan anymore. . .his problems aren't really yours'), or teachers may use the nametag technique: removing the nametag of the character's name when the role play is complete, screwing it up and throwing it in the bin (psychologically disowning the role).
5. *Reflection on transaction*. Once the role play is over, the teacher asks the two players to comment on the transactional nature of the exchange by analysing the thoughts and feelings that particular responses from the other player evoked and how these shaped their own reactions. The class may contribute its perceptions of the interaction and 'test' them by asking the players questions. After the

players have returned to their seats (without applause as this highlights the theatrical), discussion centres on how the class perceived the reality of the role play. Common reactions involve the belief that certain characters were too harsh or too yielding in resolving the dilemma. Whether students agree or not, some insights will have been achieved and some values clarified.

6. *Further enactment*. The discussion prompts further enactments, sometimes involving the same two characters, but with different players, or involving an exchange between one of the original characters and a third. In the case of the former, a new player may be chosen on the basis that he/she thought an original player was not sufficiently real (too harsh or too lenient).

Role play has been criticized for its lack of prescription of values, as has values clarification and the cognitive developmental approach. If students are given freedom to explore their values in spontaneous verbal interactions, it may be difficult for the teacher to be in control of what is being learned. Van Ments (1983, p. 28) outlines the problem and provides a caution: 'it is possible of course to put constraints on the role play so that participants cannot stray too far from the intended path. The greater the constraints however, the less effective the role play is likely to be. It is the power of the imagination which enhances the effects of role play strategies'. Much depends on the insight and skill of the teacher in keeping role play within acceptable parameters.

A second possible limitation involves the threat of self-disclosure or the consequences of that self-disclosure. While this risk is also present for values clarification, it is a greater concern for the emotion-stimulating transactional nature of the dialogue in role play. A warm and supportive classroom culture is essential if students are to be comfortable and free from the risk of teasing or reprisal. Teachers also need to be aware of the dangers of catharsis when it involves highly sensitive personal issues.

As previously indicated, there is a danger that role play, because it is highly motivating for students, will be perceived as entertaining or frivolous (play acting) rather than a sophisticated social learning technique.

Conclusion

It is readily apparent that the four outlined approaches have different theoretical underpinnings that make consensus on one approach for values education an impossible task. The trait approach focuses on developing pre-established values or qualities that can be demonstrated in behaviour, either through explicit (direct) teaching or indirectly through moral biography; values clarification focuses on making students aware of their own values through undertaking an infinite variety of clarifying tasks facilitated by teacher questioning; the cognitive developmental approach focuses on improving moral reasoning that can be identified at different

stage levels, through guided discussion to resolve conflicts presented in moral dilemmas; and role play focuses on becoming aware of self and others through briefed, spontaneous verbal exchanges that explore solutions to given scenarios.

The central concern is the divide between values absolutism by which policy makers prescribe what should be valued and values relativity by which students are given freedom to determine their own values. The former is open to criticisms of indoctrination and inconsistency with contemporary, constructivist notions of learning; and the latter is vulnerable to criticisms that everyone can value what they like and that all values are equally defensible.

While the approaches may be different, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The work of Rowan et al. (2007) that uses values clarification within the framework of DEST's (2005a) nine values for Australian schooling and Brady's (1989) integration of all four strategies within Human Society and PD/H/PE themes are examples of how the approaches can be blended.

The variety of approaches, albeit different, should be perceived as a real strength rather than as a stumbling block. After all, the scope of values education is not a confined curriculum offering. It is, as Lovat and Clement (2008, p. 7) claim, 'a web of relationships extending from the classroom to the whole school and to the parents and general community'. While policy makers should not shy away from statements of intent in values education, it would be a shame to constrain the pedagogy.

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Chapter 14
Values Education and the National Curriculum in England

Neil Hawkes

Introduction

In January 1993, the author was appointed as Headteacher of West Kidlington Primary School in Oxfordshire, UK. Over the following 7 years, he had the privilege to lead the school community as it worked to develop and implement a unique system of values education in the context of the English National Curriculum. Prior to 1993, it had been evident to him that there was a missing ethical dimension in the schooling system. Thus, working with a proactive school community gave the opportunity to vision a way of introducing an explicit ethical dimension to the work and life of the school that would create a values-based teaching and learning culture. The school continues to act as an inspiration to schools worldwide as a model for values education.

The values initiative of West Kidlington School had to fit into the legal framework of the English National Curriculum (DfEE & QCA, 1999) which has two main aims:

Aim 1: The school curriculum should aim to provide opportunities for all students to learn and to achieve.

Aim 2: The school curriculum should aim to promote students' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and prepare all students for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of life.

It was the elements contained in Aim 2 that gave the rationale for the school to develop values education. Advice about the implementation of the National Curriculum further stated that:

> The school curriculum should promote students' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development, and in particular, develop principles for distinguishing between right and wrong. It should develop their knowledge, understanding and appreciation of their own and different

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> beliefs and cultures, and how these influence individuals and societies. The school curriculum should pass on enduring values, develop students' integrity and autonomy and help them to be responsible and caring citizens capable of contributing to the development of a just society... The school curriculum should promote students' self-esteem and emotional well-being and help them to form and maintain worthwhile and satisfying relationships, based on respect for themselves and for others, at home, school, work and in the community. It should develop their ability to relate to others and work for the common good (DfEE & QCA, 1999).

The National Curriculum, in giving such aims and advice, offers little help to schools about how they might implement its spiritual, moral, social and cultural aim. This chapter seeks to establish whether values education, as the embodiment of the aim, can pass on what the National Curriculum describes as *enduring values* and help students to be caring citizens, capable of contributing to the development of a just society. Also, it considers in further detail the government's policy context and thereby the rationale for values education.

A Rationale for Values Education

There is little doubt that the development of values education at West Kidlington Primary School was conducted during a time of growing national interest in encouraging schools to be more involved in the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of students (SMSC). Schools responded by allocating curriculum time to programmes of personal, social and health education (PSHE), SMSC and citizenship. The government's position on personal education is reflected in various official documents issued by Ofsted, the Department for Education and Skills (DFES) and the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). Arguably, such official policy documents have had limited impact on the curriculum. Reasons for this include lack of curriculum time being allocated to these areas of the curriculum; pressures to give the greatest emphasis to literacy and numeracy; and reluctance by teachers to be involved in aspects of personal education, such as values education, because they are unclear about what it means.

The following examination of the UK official documents (government and government related) further considers the rationale for including values education in the school curriculum. The review of official documentation shows the development towards a minimum framework of values education in England and gives an overview of the government's policy context.

Terms such as spirituality, values and moral education are frequently used in government documents and therefore warrant careful analysis. The documentary review begins in 1988. This date is significant because it was then that central government, with its intent to raise educational standards, passed legislation in the form of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA), which introduced a National Curriculum for schools (HMSO, 1988). Prior to this date, schools were not required by statute to follow a centrally defined curriculum. The ERA set education within the context of the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of students

and of society. These dimensions were seen as underpinning both the ethos and curriculum of the school. However, the National Curriculum framework did not explicitly highlight values. It was not until 1999 that the revision of the National Curriculum included a statement of values (DfEE & QCA, 1999, p. 147).

Thus, in 1988 the ERA centralized control over the school curriculum creating a National Curriculum that explicitly required schools to provide a broad and balanced curriculum based on very detailed subject guidance. As stated, values were implicit in the requirement of the Reform Act, requiring schools to pay attention to '. . . the spiritual, moral and cultural. . .development of students at the school and of society in order to prepare young people for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life' (HMSO, 1988). Non-statutory guidance followed from the NCC, which suggested that schools should aim at developing limited personal autonomy, set in a social framework. The guidance said that:

> The educational system...has a duty to educate the individuals to think and act for themselves, with an acceptable set of personal qualities and values which meet the wider demands of adult life (NCC, 1990).

In their review of research Halstead and Taylor (2000) indicate that in the main text of the National Curriculum *acceptable personal* qualities and values were left undefined. They state however that within the five cross-curricular themes, such as in Education for Citizenship, clear references were made to values although the advice seemed, in general, to be ignored:

> Students should be helped to develop a personal moral code and to explore values and beliefs. Shared values, such as concern for others, industry and effort, self-respect, and self-discipline, as well as moral qualities such as honesty and truthfulness, should be promoted (NCC, 1990).

Schools had to wait until 1993 before the NCC (1993) gave explicit advice to them about the moral values they should promote. This was in the form of a discussion paper on spiritual and moral development. In the foreword to the paper, David Pascall, Chairman of NCC, emphasized the important role which education, in partnership with the home, can and should play in the spiritual and moral development of children. This document has not been universally welcomed. Carr (1999) has critically examined the document and accused it of *quite serious muddling of distinguishable questions concerning moral education*. His concern is that the paper confuses issues between social engineering and moral education. Its underlying thinking muddles central questions such as how anti-social behaviour can be ameliorated and how schools can assist students to lead more meaningful lives through a programme of moral education. Carr illustrates the weakness of the paper by pointing out that it talks about the inculcation of moral principles in young people without touching on how this can be done. Such criticisms did not deter central curriculum planners, because in 1995 the paper was reissued by the successor body of the NCC, renamed the Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA). This action was taken on the pretext, explained in the paper's foreword, of a demand for the information (SCAA, 1995). Could the real demand have been from Ofsted, whose inspectors were required (see below) to inspect the spiritual and moral aspects of

schools and realized that schools needed advice? There is little circumstantial evidence that there was a demand from schools for the document but there was a view being more generally expressed that, because of the pressures of the statutory curriculum and assessment framework, schools were giving scant regard to the spiritual and moral aspects of the curriculum. The social context was of a growing concern about the decline in moral behaviour in society. Through the paper, SCAA advised schools that they should promote values such as:

> . . .telling the truth; keeping promises; respecting the rights and property of others; acting considerately towards others; helping the less fortunate and weaker than ourselves; taking responsibility for one's actions; self-discipline. . . (SCAA, 1995, p. 5)

SCAA also recommended that schools should state that they reject 'bullying, cheating, deceit, cruelty, irresponsibility, dishonesty' (SCAA, 1995, p. 5). Also that they should ensure that morally educated school leavers should be able 'to articulate their own attitudes and values...develop for themselves a set of acceptable values and principles, and set guidelines to cover their own behaviour' (p. 6). The paper stressed (p. 7) that the values of the community are reflected in the ethos of the school, that these values determine behaviour in the school and that the values transmitted by the adults in the school should be consistent with those that the school claims to promote. Most significantly, the paper stressed that each school should have a school policy that clarified 'the set of core values which define the school's approach' (p. 8). These values should be stated in a statement of values, the production of which would provide the opportunity for the school community to agree on a set of core values agreeable to all, which they will uphold and ensure that they are explicitly discussed with students and parents. The paper quotes from the 'Elton Report' of 1989, called *Discipline in Schools*. This report's findings noted that student behaviour reflects a school's values. Powerfully, the report supports the central tenet of West Kidlington School, namely that:

> The most effective schools seem to be those that have created a positive atmosphere based on a sense of community and shared values (Elton, 1989).

In its conclusion, the SCAA paper emphasized that, in order to be effective, a school's statement of values needs to be implemented, put into practice, underpin expectations and rules, and *that some aspects of the statement should be kept under permanent review*.

Despite SCAA requiring all schools to produce a statement of values, there was no statutory force behind the expectation. Schools received the discussion paper and, as noted below, only a small proportion of schools developed policies. The advice was interpreted as exhortations, with little guidance on how to support students to develop an ethical code of behaviour, and no resources were given. Three years later, in 1998, SCAA's successor organization, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), published draft guidance on how schools could implement SMSC (QCA, 1998).

Arguably however, for schools to actively consider the values that they espouse, the impetus did not come from the National Curriculum guidance documents cited

above, which schools could take or leave, but from the inspection requirements of Ofsted. From 1992 Ofsted inspectors were required to publicly report on the spiritual, moral, cultural (SMSC) aspects of the curriculum (HMSO, 1992). The Act, which inaugurated the new, independent system of inspection, set out those aspects of schools' work, which the inspections are required to cover. One of the four statutory elements is to inspect how well schools promote SMSC. This posed a considerable problem, in that schools and inspectors needed to determine what was meant by SMSC development in order to encourage and to inspect it.

Problems, surrounding what made SMSC distinctive and how the development of it could be evaluated, led to Ofsted issuing a discussion paper in February 1994 (Ofsted, 1994). In the foreword to this paper, the Chief Inspector of Schools, Stewart Sutherland, stated:

> This publication is unashamedly about values. Above all, it reflects the fact that successive pieces of educational legislation have had at their centre the belief that education in this country is not only about the gaining of knowledge and the acquiring of essential skills [though of course it is about those things], but also about personal development in its fullest sense.
>
> That fullest sense is, in the wording of the 1992 Schools Act, one which encompasses the 'spiritual, moral, social and cultural' development of all students. And one of the central tasks of the new system of inspection is to ensure schools' capacity to encourage that development.
>
> That it [the paper] emerges when it does is because. . .its issue now is, we believe, especially timely. Not only has concern about the moral development of young people been given a particular twist by news events in recent months, but also questions of values have been especially prominent as the result of political initiatives (Ofsted, 1994).

Sutherland placed values at the centre of the school's task of SMSC development. He highlighted the two strands of *relationships* and *the curriculum* as the main ways of promoting personal development in all its forms. He emphasized the importance of a positive ethos, stating that there are concrete signs and unmistakable evidence of its existence that include the loyalty and commitment to the school's values and the consistency with which those values are pursued by teachers and students. However, Rossiter (1996) has questioned whether Ofsted saw SMSC purely as a way of improving behaviour. He cites the evidence from the first page of Ofsted's discussion paper, where the word *behaviour* is used six times.

The Ofsted discussion paper considered the concepts of development in general and then the specific concepts of spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and their definitions, which are considered below. In the section about moral development of students, the paper listed the values that a school should include, which were included in the 1993 NCC Discussion Paper (NCC, 1993). (This is a rare example of one educational agent of government referring to the work of another in the development of SMSC.)

The Ofsted discussion paper provided a revised focus on school opportunities for SMSC and how students respond to that provision, including *whether students are developing their own values*. Responses to the paper informed the writing of the revised *Framework for the Inspection of Schools* (Ofsted, 1995). This laid down

that students' SMSC development was to be evaluated as part of the 'Quality of education provided, through the curriculum and life of the school; the example set for students by adults in the school; and the quality of collective worship' (Ofsted, 1995, p. 19). Inspectors' judgements were, for instance, to be based on how effectively the school provides its students with knowledge and insight into values and beliefs and enables them to reflect on their experiences in a way that develops their spiritual awareness and self-knowledge. Ofsted inspection reports were to have two distinct sections under which values are reported. The sections were under the headings *Students' attitudes, values and personal development* and *How good are the curricular and other opportunities offered to students?*

In 1996 values were given a higher national profile through the SCAA initiated National Forum on Values in Education and the Community (SCAA, 1996). The Forum was established by SCAA following a proposal by its Director, Nick Tate, at the conference *Education for Adult Life: The Spiritual and Moral Development of Young People* held in January 1996. The conference aimed to stimulate debate on matters of shared concern, both among education professionals and others with responsibility for children and young people, including governors, parents, youth workers, employers, religious leaders and academics. The need to widen the debate had become evident during a series of consultations: on the revised National Curriculum, on the Model Syllabuses for RE and on Sir Ron Dearing's (Chairman of SCAA) review of qualifications for 16- to 19-year-olds. All these consultations revealed concern about a lack of focus on students' spiritual and moral development, and its consequences. The conference recommended eight action points, including 'there needs to be a coherent approach to spiritual, moral, social and cultural development' (recommendation 8.3: 19). This has not been achieved because guidance to schools by SCAA did not get approved beyond the initial draft pilot stage (QCA, 1998). The aim of the guidance was to support schools in the important task of contributing to students' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development. The guidance accorded with recommendations made in the statement of values formulated by the Values Forum, boldly stating:

> The successful promotion of students' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and of their mental and physical development, depends on the explicit identification by a school of its values: its beliefs about what matters to it, its students, the school community and society. Values relate to the why rather than the what or the how of doing something: the ultimate purposes that make it important, necessary or desirable to do, say, or think one thing rather than another.
>
> Schools that make explicit a clear and robust set of values are more likely to be successful because, in defining their values, they are making clear what they are aiming to achieve. (QCA, 1998, p. 4)

The Forum on Values and the Community comprised 150 members drawn from a cross-section of society who were mainly nominated by national organizations with concerns for young people or education. It was set up to make recommendations on 'ways in which schools might be supported in making their contribution to students' SMSC and to what extent there is any agreement on the values, attitudes and behaviour that schools should promote on society's behalf' (SCAA, 1996).

The Forum reached a consensus and drafted a statement of values that was sent by MORI (1996) to 3200 schools, 700 International organizations and 1500 adults in order to determine the degree of consensus for the values described in the statement. Between 95 and 97% of respondents said that they agreed with the statement of values. Although there was an overwhelming support for the values statement, it cannot be assumed that all would agree on either the interpretation of the values or the ordering of the values. The Forum argued that, although there would remain a moral debate that would encompass areas of disagreement, there were, however, values to which the general public gave broad assent.

The Forum, therefore, agreed that society has some shared values, but that there is no consensus on the source of these values or how they are applied. The Forum's values statement contains four sections that cover values as they affect the self, relationships, society and the environment. The Forum issued a statement of values, which now forms the basis of guidance for schools and is incorporated in the revised National Curriculum handbook for primary teachers in England (DfEE & QCA, 1999). It has never been made explicit that these values should inform a school's statement of values and that this should be stated in the school prospectus as required by the SCAA discussion paper (SCAA, 1996, p. 8). Neither, as indicated previously, has there been the promised curriculum guidance to support schools that wish to develop values in the context of SMSC.

This handbook begins by describing the values, aims and purposes of the National Curriculum. It states that:

> Education influences and reflects the values of society, and the kind of society we want to be. It is important, therefore to recognize a broad set of common values and purposes that underpin the school curriculum and the work of schools (DfEE & QCA, 1999, p. 10).

At this point, readers are directed to a footnote that suggests that, in planning the curriculum, schools may wish to take account of the statement of values produced by the National Forum and printed in the handbook. It continues by stating:

> Foremost is the belief in education, at home and at school, as a route to the spiritual, moral, social, cultural, physical and mental development, and thus the well-being of the individual...Education should reflect the enduring values that contribute to these ends. These include valuing ourselves, our families and other relationships, the wider groups to which we belong, the diversity in our society and the environment in which we live. Education should also reaffirm our commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust and a sense of duty... (DfEE & QCA, 1999, p. 10).

Following the section on values and purposes, the handbook (DfEE & QCA, 1999, p. 11) describes the two aims of the curriculum as described earlier in this chapter. The aims stem from section 351 of the Education Act 1996, which requires schools to provide a balanced and broadly based curriculum that promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of students at the school and of society and prepare them for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.

The values espoused in the NCC document entitled *Spiritual and Moral Development* (reissued by SCAA in 1996), the values looked for in schools by

Ofsted and the values statement agreed by the Values Forum do not give a clear understanding about the action that was required in schools. What was missing was a coherent and agreed policy, which could be clearly communicated by and through organizations such as SCAA and Ofsted, that schools could comprehend and action in their curriculum frameworks. Such fragmentation presented a dilemma for schools, regarding how to accommodate the various pieces of advice and requirements into a coherent school policy. As noted above, schools were told in the SCAA document, but without statutory force, that they were required to include in their prospectus a clear statement setting out the values that the school intends to promote and which it intends to demonstrate through all aspects of its life. This requirement has not been included as an item for checking by school inspectors during Ofsted Inspections. There is such a requirement on other aspects of school life, such as the school's policy on sex education and religious education. A 1997 National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) survey noted that about one quarter of schools claim to have a values statement, but fewer than one-fifth of schools claim to have a policy for SMSC that shows how aspects of school life would promote these dimensions (Taylor & Lines, 1998).

The curriculum focus for schools continued to be on implementing the subjects of the National Curriculum, particularly aspects of the core subjects, such as literacy and numeracy, with scant regard being given to values dimensions. The driving force for this emphasis was the overriding objective of the government, the driving up of standards in basic, core subjects. The publication of league tables of the standard assessment tests (SATs) in the core subjects of English, mathematics and science ensures that this objective dominates curriculum thinking in schools. Such public accountability appears to have the effect, despite government rhetoric through Ofsted, of discouraging schools from taking a broader view of the development of the student and thereby giving due regard to values education. Government curriculum advice to schools in 2003 began to recognize that schools need to broaden the curriculum and reconsider aims and values (DfES, 2003). Currently, 2009, the Qualifications and Curriculum Agency (QCA) displays on its website what it calls the *Big Picture* (QCA, 2008) of the Curriculum and indicates that the curriculum is conceived as an entire planned learning experience underpinned by a broad set of common values and purposes. A search on QCA's website (www.qca.org.uk) on the theme of values highlights *advice* contained in *A Values Blueprint (written by me in 2004)*, which features the process that West Kidlington School used to develop values education – now recommended as a model of good practice.

In summary, official documentation paints a national picture that shows that, since 1988, national government agencies have issued advice to schools on the need for the curriculum to contain the important strand of personal education of students. Such exhortation has included a focus on values, through SMSC. However, in practice, the pressure of school league tables, with their spotlight on competencies in English and mathematics, has created a perceived pressure on schools to focus curriculum time on basic core subjects and not on values education and more holistic aspects of the curriculum.

Values Education in Practice

The values blueprint of West Kidlington School, as indicated above, has been a source of inspiration to schools in the United Kingdom and worldwide. West Kidlington has been the source of *A Quiet Revolution* (Farrer, 2000, 2005). Its methods have influenced major international values programmes, such as *Living Values* (see www.livingvalues.net). What are these methods? The remainder of this chapter will consider the methodology and pedagogy which the policy context of the National Curriculum allowed West Kidlington School to develop. It draws on information contained in an article the author wrote (Hawkes, 2008) for the Australian Catholic University's Journal of Religious Education.

West Kidlington School considered that the purpose of values education is for schools to think about positive, universal values, such as respect and honesty, and to consider the ways to develop and express them through the curriculum, and that this process should inspire students to express positive values in their lives. That what is missing in society is a shared values vocabulary that is explored, understood and modelled by adults in the school, and that without it students cannot develop their ethical intelligence. Traditionally, ethical thinking came from families and religion, but this can no longer be assumed to be generally the case. In a values-based school, students develop a growing understanding of the meaning of words such as *respect* and *humility* and look for ways of adopting them in their lives.

The author's experience, as a headteacher and researcher, would suggest that values education is the key to improving the quality of education in schools and will positively affect the ethical nature of society. There is an accumulation of evidence (Report of the Australian values education Good Practice Schools Project; DEST, 2006) that there is a strong link between what Lovat (2009) describes as *Quality Teaching* and the provision of what the author describes as *Values-based Education* (Hawkes, 2005). Indeed, quality education cannot exist without these two fundamental components. Evidence from Australia (DEST, 2006) suggests that values education has had a positive effect on school culture in terms of healthier relationships and better learning for students. There is growing evidence, too, of the significant impact of values education on teachers, i.e., powerful collegiate sharing, changing teaching practice and staff morale. Convincing evidence has been published in the final report for the Australian Government Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations Project to test and measure the impact of values education on student effects and school ambience by Lovat, Toomey, Dally and Clement (2009). It states that:

> Overwhelmingly, the strongest inference. . .is that as schools give increasing curriculum and teaching emphasis to values education, students become more academically diligent, the school assumes a calmer, more peaceful ambience, better student-teacher relationships are forged, student and teacher wellbeing improves and parents are more engaged with the school (p. 12).

So, what is *Values education*? values education is a convenient term for a wide range of implicit and explicit activities devised to develop a values-base to the life and work of the school. It focuses on values such as respect and honesty, which

are principles that guide behaviour. It explicitly develops an ethical vocabulary, based on the values words, which becomes a common language accessible to both students and adults. It encourages reflective learning through silent reflection and related techniques. It looks for ways that values can be expressed through positive behaviour in the school and community. Both the formal and informal curricula include values education. Values education is also an important feature of the so-called *hidden curriculum*. This is comprised of what students learn through customs and conventions, discipline and role modelling by adults.

Values-Based Schools: The Hope for the Future

What West Kidlington School realized was that what appears to be missing from many schools, and indeed from society as a whole, is a shared ethical vocabulary based on positive, universally accepted, human values, such as respect, honesty and freedom. To access areas of the curriculum, such as mathematics or science, students require an understanding of the subject area's language. This, the school believed, is also true for understanding the basis of human behaviour, hence the introduction of a shared ethical vocabulary. The school argued that an understanding of these positive human values can provide a sense of personal meaning and purpose, whilst also giving a sense of direction and vision about how to create a stable moral society. Therefore, a values-based school seeks to promote an educational philosophy based on valuing self and others, through the consideration of a values vocabulary (principles that guide behaviour) as the basis of good educational practice. This process is called values education, which can be further described as:

> a way of conceptualising education that places the search for meaning and purpose at the heart of the educational process. It recognises that the recognition, worth and integrity, of all involved in the life and work of the school, are central to the creation of a values-based learning community that fosters positive relationships and quality in education (ALIVE, 2007).

Research, undertaken by the author at Oxford University (Hawkes, 2005), indicates that the most effective teachers of values are those who work to be more self-aware and take time to reflect on the deeper meaning of the values being emphasized in the school. Self-reflective work by teachers is seen to have a powerful impact on students, who make clear connections between what the teacher says and what she does. Such teachers are authentic, seeking to achieve congruence between their thoughts, feelings and actions. They are aware that they have the potential (as we all do) to be consumed by emotion (e.g., anger) and for it to be inappropriately expressed. Developing *reflection* as a tool to aid self-control enables both student and adult to behave in ways that reflect positive human values such as compassion and respect. Transforming afflictive emotions, by focussing on giving students unconditional positive regard (approving the child but not the behaviour), nurtures relational trust. Teachers describe their own positive behaviour as *walking their talk*

or *living their values*. Such reflective work leads to teachers' developing a deepening understanding of the values words. They also have a clearer perception of their own attitudes and behaviour and seem willing and able to model the values. Teachers believe that the students will learn from their positive example. Therefore an outcome of the research is the view that the process of values education must begin with adults (what could be described as the work before the work), before adopting it in the curriculum. From the evidence of the research (Hawkes, 2005), it would appear that values education cannot be taught in isolation from the teacher's own thoughts, feelings and behaviour. It is therefore important for all who work with children to pay attention to looking after themselves, physically, mentally and spiritually. Such wise selfishness then enables the adult to be a positive role model, which is a key principle for developing values-based education.

Implementing Values-Based Education

Values education fosters a climate for learning that makes the role of teachers more enjoyable. Teachers believe this is because values education fosters good interpersonal relationships which in turn help to raise student self-esteem and confidence. The result is that the students produce quality work, respect staff and are well behaved.

Teachers in values-based schools report that teaching about values has a positive effect on what they term 'the inner, spiritual world of students' (Hawkes 2005, p. 229). They think that by talking about their feelings, students learn to express themselves more clearly, control their behaviour and empathize with others (all aspects concerned with the development of emotional maturity). The teachers believe that the students learn about values by talking about them in the context of good teacher–child relationships. They believe that repetition and reinforcement of the values words, across the curriculum, is important for reinforcing their meaning. The evidence, to show that the students understand the values, is demonstrated by their use of them in everyday conversations. Students appear more aware of their behaviour in the playground and out of school. Students are encouraged to form school action teams (SATs) to look at ethical issues, e.g., the number of cars bringing students to school, protecting the environment. Such student involvement and personalization of the curriculum contributes to the establishment of a positive climate for teaching and learning.

An important conclusion of the author's research at Oxford University concerns the explicit values vocabulary. This acts as the platform on which students and staff develop, and deepen, their understanding of issues concerned with ethics and morality. It appears that the systematic introduction of a common vocabulary encourages reflective thinking, which leads to more positive and ethically based behaviour – *ethical intelligence*. Frequent repetition and regular discussion about values reinforce their meaning, with the result that they are more likely to be internalized in the sub-conscious. This in turn reinforces the students' positive dispositions and acts as a check on behaviour. It is argued in the doctoral thesis that it cannot be assumed

that such a vocabulary will generally be introduced to children, unless schools plan to do it through the curriculum.

Values-based schools, such as West Kidlington School in Oxford, UK, aim to encourage students to be reflective by teaching a technique called *reflection* or *silent sitting*, in which students focus their minds, allowing their intrapersonal intelligence (understanding the self) to be enhanced. Students are seen to be able to sit still in personal reflection for extended periods. One outcome is that they became more aware of their capacity to determine their own behaviour in a positive way. Religious foundation schools will rightly argue that they encourage this process through prayer. The evidence, based on the author's doctoral research, indicates that the success of reflection as a method is influenced by the willingness of staff to model the appropriate behaviour – for instance, in school assemblies. The students therefore model their behaviour on that of the teachers. The author has observed many assemblies where teachers appear disconnected and unaware of the negative effect that they are having. Students observe the body language of the adults and, if negative, mirror it. By contrast, teachers in values-based schools believe that if they are reflective (thinking about their words and behaviour) it makes helps them to be more effective role models (Hawkes, 2005, p. 171).

Teachers consider that they are more careful about how they present ideas to children because of values education. They maintain positive attitudes that give affirmation and positive reinforcement to the students. The teachers believe that the students are more likely to reach their academic potential in a class with values-based discipline (Hawkes, 2005, p. 316).

A key aspect of a values-based school appears to be a greater emphasis on the care of self and others. A values-based school values the person of the teacher and encourages self-care and care of each other. Such an emphasis creates a happy school – one that recognizes the importance of a hierarchy of roles (roles: cleaner, headteacher, class assistant) but never of relationships (we are all of equal value). It is a school that has values-based leadership that seeks to release the creative dynamic of all members of staff for the benefit of students.

Another aspect of a values-based school is its greater emphasis on the development of good quality relationships between staff and parents. The teachers recognize the vital importance of the role of families in educating children. They emphasize the importance of developing open, sensitive, active, positive teacher–parent relationships. The development of values education is shared with parents through newsletters and parents' evenings. This ensures a positive partnership between home and school.

Conclusion

Research (Hawkes, 2005) highlighted the positive effects experienced by a school following the introduction and development of values education. It is to be emphasized too that school cultural transformation through values education is not a quick-fix solution, but one that needs time to develop and embed. Values education

is not an easy option. Its consistent application requires continuing commitment by a school's community. Above all, adults have to be aware that their own personal values development is the starting point for the successful introduction of values education. Students are quick to notice inconsistency in staff behaviour and any mismatch between what a teacher requires of students and what they require of themselves.

However, if young people are given the opportunity to seriously consider positive human values, then these values will in turn help them to develop the dispositions (virtues) to live 'a good life'. Also, reflecting about happiness, respect and tolerance helps to build the virtue of prudence (the disposition that allows us to think about what is good for us). Activities such as those promoted by Philosophy for Children (P4C) support such a reflective consideration of values.

Values education is concerned with the very meaning and purpose of life, as it challenges students to consider what is of value to them. It may be argued that many of the social problems, such as anti-social behaviour and those concerned with drugs, are fuelled by an absence of meaning and purpose in the lives of young people. Values education helps us to find purpose and to make sense of ourselves and others. A values-based school, by its very nature, makes a statement about the quality of education that can be achieved and the impact that this can have on society and the world. With this view of the role and purpose of education, values education can positively influence the expansion of universal values, which have such a powerful effect on the culture of the school and on the development of the student and the fostering of a civil, caring and compassionate society.

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Chapter 15
Teacher Practice and Students' Sense of Belonging

Karen F. Osterman

Introduction

Substantial research indicates that students' experience of belonging in school contributes favorably to their emotional wellbeing as well as to a range of attitudinal and behavioral outcomes that enhance learning (Osterman, 2000). The need for relatedness is a basic psychological need. When students experience belonging in the school community, their needs for relatedness are met in ways that affect their attitudes and their behavior. They like school and are more engaged in learning. They have more positive attitudes toward themselves and others and are more likely to interact with others – peers and adults, in positive and supportive ways. They are more accepting of authority and more empathetic to others. Conversely, the sense of rejection is associated with emotional distress as well as a full range of behavioral, social, and academic problems.

For educators, an important part of this research is the understanding that children's sense of belonging is linked to their actual experience in school. While familial background certainly affects students' emotional wellbeing, the sense of relatedness is contextual; to be highly motivated in a particular classroom, the students' psychological needs must be addressed in that specific classroom.

Although peer relationships have a strong affect on children's attitude toward school – and themselves, the research is quite consistent that teachers have the strongest and most direct affect on students' psychological experience in the classroom. From my earlier review of research, I concluded that teachers directly influence students' sense of belonging through interpersonal support, autonomy support, and methods of instruction that support positive interaction with peers. Additionally, I concluded that teachers affect students' sense of belonging indirectly through their influence on the nature of peer relationships within the classroom.

The purpose of this chapter is to draw on current research to develop a deeper understanding of aspects of teaching practice that enhance or detract from students'

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sense of belonging in classrooms and factors that affect teachers' responsiveness to students' emotional needs.

Addressing Students' Personal and Academic Needs

Relatedness is one of three basic motivational needs that are essential to human growth and development. When students feel securely connected with others, when they experience themselves as being worthy of love and respect, this sense of belonging indicates that those relatedness needs have been met. In brief, they feel that others care about them. While this need to belong is important in and of itself, it is important to remember that the three basic motivational needs, competence, autonomy, and relatedness, are integral and interdependent. The quality of the relationship that teachers develop with their students has the most direct affect on students' sense of belonging in the classroom and their subsequent engagement; but, additionally, addressing student needs for competence and autonomy also reinforces and enhances students' sense of belonging. The reality is that students interpret good teaching as caring behavior. To the extent that teachers establish a positive relationship with students, utilize instructional strategies that enable students to learn, and empower them as learners within the classroom, students feel cared for – and they are more likely to be engaged in learning.

Personal Support (Teacher as Person)

In an action research study, LoVerde (2007), the chair of Pupil Personnel Services in a suburban middle school, worked with two teachers in an inclusive science classroom. The purpose of the study was to identify teacher practices that support engagement of students with disabilities. Specifically, the researchers sought to identify behaviors that addressed students' psychological needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness.

The researchers identified specific behaviors that directly addressed students' needs for relatedness. "The teachers genuinely expressed care for the students before, during, and after class" (p. 94) by interacting with the students frequently throughout each lesson, showing fairness and respect, demonstrating their enthusiasm for teaching and learning through words and body language, and disciplining proactively rather than punitively. By treating students with fairness and respect and by encouraging interaction with other students, the teachers conveyed messages of acceptance. In dealing with behavioral problems, the teachers had a deep personal and professional understanding of their students and were aware of special circumstances that affected their behavior. When behavioral problems emerged, then, they were tolerant. They provided corrective feedback, but in a non-threatening and supportive manner.

Two interview studies explored characteristics of teachers that contributed to high school students' sense of belonging and engagement. Certo, Cauley, and Chafin

(2003) interviewed 33 students from seven comprehensive high schools to examine links between students' levels of belonging and engagement. In nine urban schools, Ozer, Wold, and Kong (2008) interviewed 32 seniors, "sufficiently engaged and successful to make it to their senior year" (p. 445). In both studies, students focused on this combination of personal and academic support combined with instruction that respected their autonomy and enabled them to meet challenging expectations.

In the Certo et al. (2003) study, students described caring teachers as those who related to them and were encouraging and helpful. These teachers "knew about students' lives outside of school." They also cared about their grades and offered them guidance. In contrast, students talked about some teachers who gave the impression that they were motivated more by the threat of losing their jobs if students did not succeed on standardized tests rather than from a desire to have them learn. A characteristic that appeared as a negative indicator of caring was the lack of fairness.

The high school students in the Ozer et al. (2008) study listed similar behaviors: Having teachers know their names, being asked why they had been absent, being available to listen, following up on students over time, and caring actions and words: "remember to have a good day . . . you're loved" (p. 453).

Recognizing that the transition to middle school is a difficult time often associated with a drop in motivation, engagement, and achievement, FitzSimmons (2006) designed a qualitative study to "develop a deeper understanding of students' experience during their transition to middle school and, specifically, to identify conditions that supported engagement" (p. 101). Throughout their first year in a suburban middle school, FitzSimmons followed 11 students who had just graduated from her 5th grade class, meeting with them for individual interviews and focus group discussions and examining their academic and attendance records. Although the transition was more problematic for some than for others, by the end of the year, all students demonstrated behavioral, emotional, and cognitive engagement. They attended regularly and participated actively in academic and extra-curricular activities. They had positive attitudes toward teachers, peers, and school and cared about their academic success.

From her analysis, she, like LoVerde (2007), concluded that students' sense of relatedness was the foundation for their engagement. "Students who felt relatedness, in turn, felt competent, academically and socially motivated, and wanted to be active members of their school community" (FitzSimmons, 2006, p. 118). From the students' perspective, the teachers demonstrated care when they called on students, joked with them, used the students' first names, said hello in the hallway, and encouraged discussions "where there was an exchange of personal thoughts, beliefs, or interests" (p. 104). "When students felt acknowledged as individuals, they felt as if someone cared about them" (p. 105).

Cothran and Ennis (2000) interviewed and observed 4 teachers and 51 students from three urban high schools to investigate their perspectives on engagement. Students felt "they were more willing to engage when they felt the teacher cared if they learned the subject matter and cared about them as a person" (p. 112). Caring teachers were willing to work with students and demonstrated concern for their personal life and welfare.

Academic Support (Teacher as Instructional Leader)

While teachers' relationships with students are important, instructional strategies that address students' needs for competence and autonomy also enhance students' sense of belonging. Based on observations, interviews, and survey studies, several dimensions of teacher practice are linked to students' sense of belonging. Teachers who emphasize high expectations; foster a mastery orientation in the classroom; utilize relevant and engaging methods of instruction; respect students' autonomy; and carefully monitor student learning, providing encouragement, feedback, and opportunities to relearn support students' sense of belonging in the classroom. In essence, instructional strategies that enable students to develop as capable and independent learners also convey messages of care.

In LoVerde's study (2007), teachers observed that holding high expectations, developing relevant lessons that provided sufficient time for completion, and emphasizing mastery learning rather than performance outcomes seemed to address students' emotional needs. Consistent with this mastery orientation, teachers never compared the inclusion students with other more capable children. They interacted with students frequently and used these exchanges to check for understanding; provided clear, specific, and timely feedback; and offered extra help as needed. They also protected students' sense of autonomy by offering choices, by organizing the classroom to permit self-direction, and by using language that was encouraging and accepting – "You're right; you can do it" – and avoiding coercive or controlling comments. These strategies enabled inclusion students to experience themselves as competent and autonomous; they also added to students' sense of belonging.

The high school students in Certo et al. (2003) focused on engaging instruction and autonomy support. Students disliked worksheets and note taking and preferred challenging classes and a variety of instructional activities, but particularly "activities that were hands-on and contained opportunities for debate and discussion" (p. 710). Caring teachers tried to make class interesting. Students also valued autonomy, describing caring teachers as those who "listened to students' ideas about classroom rules or . . . projects, letting them have some input" (p. 714*)*

In FitzSimmons (2006), the middle school teachers that students perceived as caring and supportive were fair and instructed in ways that stimulated students' interest in the curriculum. They provided thorough explanations, gave examples, checked for understanding, and were actively engaged in problem solving. All of these behaviors communicated to the students that the teachers cared about them, believed they could succeed, and wanted to help them do well. Similarly, when teachers gave students choices and "let them feel as if they had a say . . . [this made] the students feel like the teachers supported and had confidence in them" (p. 106). In contrast, when teachers did not establish personal connections with the students or used instructional strategies that did not support their learning, "the students felt isolated and ignored" (p. 107).

The high school students addressed similar themes. According to Cothran and Ennis (2000), teachers described as caring were challenging but enthusiastic about

their subjects; and, offering students opportunity for active learning, they established climates where students could be successful.

In Ozer et al. (2008), findings were similar. Good teachers were those who combined good teaching skills and demonstrated commitment to student learning. The students valued effectiveness and clarity of instructional styles and a curriculum that linked work to their lives. They appreciated teachers who helped students to learn, permitting them to revise papers, offering assistance, providing encouragement, and being available to help. Although this study did not address the connection between their respect for teachers and their own sense of being cared for, this becomes a logical conclusion.

Throughout these qualitative studies, students present an interesting perspective on themselves as learners. Regardless of their overall success in school, the teachers that they value, the teachers that convey messages of caring, are teachers who challenge them to meet high expectations, believe in their ability to succeed, and then provide the academic support to enable them to succeed. In essence, these students are focusing on attitudes and behaviors associated with two important educational constructs: academic press and mastery orientation. Two quantitative studies (Andermann, 2003; Stevens, Hamman, & Olivarez, 2007) provide additional evidence linking these two pedagogical perspectives to students' sense of belonging.

Using survey data from 608 student over three time periods, Anderman (2003) examined change in middle school students' sense of school belonging in relation to grade point average; motivational variables, including classroom task goal orientation, expectancy for academic success, academic task values; and teachers' promotion of mutual respect in classes. Although students' sense of school belonging declined from 6th to 7th grade, the decline was less for students who had perceived their 6th grade teachers as promoting an atmosphere of mutual respect in classes. Of the motivational variables, teachers' mastery orientation, or their emphasis on personal effort, mastery and improvement, was the strongest predictor of school belonging across the three waves of data collection ($\pi = 0.41$, $p < 0.001$). Also, contributing to sense of belonging was students' assessment of the usefulness, importance, and interest of particular subject areas. This is an important study because it provides empirical data showing the connection between teachers' instructional practice and students' sense of belonging. Anderman concluded that "students' perceptions of the instructional context of their schooling and motivational beliefs . . . were significantly associated with their sense of school belonging" (p. 17). Perhaps contrary to common expectations, students' sense of belonging was not directly or significantly affected by their expectations of success. Students with "higher grades and those who found academic work interesting, useful, and important reported higher levels of school belonging than did their peers" but students' expectations of success in particular subjects was not a significant predictor of school belonging. These findings suggest that maintaining high standards in classrooms will not alienate less successful students, as long as the quality of instruction remains high on both academic and personal dimensions.

Developing this line of inquiry, Stevens et al. (2007) utilized data from 434 Hispanic students in 5th and 6th grade and 21 teachers (85% White) to determine

the influence of teachers' mastery goal orientation and academic press on students' perceptions of school belonging. A statistical analysis of the model indicated that student perceptions of teachers' mastery goal orientation directly contributed to students' sense of school belonging. Additionally, teachers' mastery goal orientation predicted students' sense of academic press. Academic press, in turn, contributed to school belonging. All parameter estimates were significant at $p < 0.01$. In summary then, to the extent that students perceived that their teachers focused on "learning and understanding content rather than simply reaching a normative standard" (p. 57) and encouraged students to academic excellence, students' sense of belonging was greater.

Establishing a Climate of Support (Teacher as Model and Facilitator)

We know from research that students who are rejected by teachers are also rejected by peers (Osterman, 2000). With some supporting evidence, it seems possible – and likely – that teachers communicate status differentials that affect students' perceptions of each other. As teachers interact with students in the classroom, through their body language, tone of voice, or verbal patterns, their messages communicate their feelings and thoughts about the students. Do they like them, or do they view them as "difficult?" Do they perceive them as capable and committed students; or do they view them as children who do not care, do not try, and cannot succeed? These messages will affect students' perceptions of themselves; they will also affect the way that their peers perceive them. To the extent that teachers like students and interact with them in caring, supportive, and respectful ways, peers are more likely to accept those students. If teachers themselves evidence their dislike, through body language, tone, or sarcasm, these expressions of rejection will be mirrored in peer interaction and affect the development of relationships within the classroom and school.

Additional studies illustrate this relationship between the way that teachers interact with students and students' acceptance by peers.

Schwamb's (2005) study focused on understanding the classroom experience of three middle school students who had been identified as bullies by teachers and staff and examined the relationship between classroom conditions and student behavior. The researcher, the principal in the school, conducted two series of observations in academic and non-academic classes. During the 48 observations, she gathered data on the frequency, direction, and affective quality of verbal and non-verbal interactions of teachers and peers with the "bullies." Four patterns of teacher–student interaction emerged. Two were generally negative and involved classroom situations where teachers largely ignored students or interacted with them minimally, providing neither academic nor personal support. In the first, teachers had little or no interaction with students and conveyed dislike through tone, facial expressions, and body language. In the second, teachers interacted with the students more frequently, but the interactions were predominantly negative and overtly critical.

Two positive patterns included more frequent interaction and support. In one, teachers interacted with the students on an impersonal basis but provided academic support. In the more positive situation, teachers provided both academic and personal support, commending students, encouraging engagement, providing critical behavioral and academic feedback, and communicating through words and actions that they had high academic expectations and cared about them.

Although she identified four patterns, the students' classroom experience was predominantly negative. Each of them had at least one class (in remedial or non-core subject) where the teacher provided both academic and personal support, but, for the most part, the "bullies" were ignored or spurned by teachers who, in many instances, provided neither academic nor personal support. Throughout the observations, Schwamb noted the efforts of those students who had been identified as bullies to reach out to their peers (as well as to teachers). Whether the students were involved in academic activities, requesting aid or information, or making extraneous comments, however, peers reacted in the same way that teachers did – they ignored them, did not respond, and/or conveyed their dislike and disdain. Despite sometimes persistent efforts to gain attention, peers were equally persistent in isolating them. Infrequent interactions lacked positive affect and did not convey acceptance, let alone caring.

Providing a more positive perspective is a qualitative study by Lewis and Kim (2008) that examined children's views on good teaching in a study focused on prevalence of oppositional attitudes toward learning among African American children attending two low-income urban elementary schools. As part of the study, the researchers focused on one exemplary teacher and highlighted the way that she created a sense of community within the classroom. As they explained, "the general classroom relationships and interpersonal dynamics ... supported children identifying with one another and feeling comfortable in the classroom" (p. 8). In addition to creating a learning community, the teacher "also engendered a sense of solidarity" (p. 8). This solidarity was defined by the researchers as "a form of social cohesion that carries with it a sense of mutuality, reciprocity, commitment, connection, and responsibility" that "simultaneously supports students' developing a feeling of we-ness" while also promoting wellbeing of individual members and cultivating students' sense of belonging. Through observation, they identified three characteristics of the classroom that supported the development of this supportive environment: "minimal social hierarchy and shared condition, democratization of support and opportunity, and teaching with integrity" (p. 8). In their explanation, the authors identified teacher practices related to each of these characteristics. The teacher rarely isolated particular children for praise or for problems and "treated most situations as if all children could learn from whatever someone else was doing" (p. 8). By encouraging them to help each other and, by demonstrating this trust in the children's capability, she encouraged solidarity and shared responsibility for each other. The teacher also communicated to the class that she, too, was a member of this learning community by encouraging them to identify any mistakes that she might make. Through these behaviors, the "teacher demonstrated respect for children and provided them the opportunity to show respect toward and support for

one another." By "consistently connecting children to one another" and to herself "the teacher promoted the development of a positive group identity and a sense of we-ness" (p. 8).

Lewis and Kim (2008) also linked autonomy support in the classroom with this development of belonging and community. In this case, the teacher "provided opportunities for children to show that they can be trusted to be responsible for, and responsive to, one another," and she intervened minimally in other to support the development of "autonomous, self-regulated behavior" (p. 8). By distributing responsibility and then supporting students to fulfill their responsibilities, she again encouraged the students to respect and trust each other.

Defining integrity as a combination of intellect, emotion, and spirit, or the heart of the teacher, the researchers asserted that the teacher's integrity and support of the children's integrity ". . . played a key role in their ability to develop productive and caring relationships" (p. 9). This approach "allowed them to connect with children who represented diverse needs, personalities, and abilities" and "created a reciprocal classroom climate in which the integrity of each child could be encouraged, welcomed, and respected" (p. 9). Specifically, this teacher accepted negative feelings from students (e.g., not liking school) and protected them from public humiliation through her acceptance. Her tolerance and her ability to create a safe space for them encouraged mutual respect among the students.

The authors concluded that, through interactions in which they explicitly communicate messages of care, trust, and respect, teachers "tap into, ignite, and support the desire to learn that is already present in African American children through the relationships they establish with those children, and the relationships that they encourage the children to establish with each other" (Lewis & Kim, 2008, p. 10).

Like Lewis and Kim (2008), LoVerde (2007) also perceived a link between teachers' interactions with students and their relationships with peers. The special education students in this inclusion class experienced a high level of acceptance and support from peers. By treating students with fairness and respect and by encouraging interaction with other students, the teachers conveyed messages of acceptance. In dealing with behavioral problems, the teachers had a deep personal and professional understanding of their students and were aware of special circumstances that affected their behavior. When behavioral problems emerged, then, they were tolerant. They provided corrective feedback, but in a non-threatening and supportive manner. Because the students knew that the teachers cared about them, they responded appropriately. Because the teachers did not label these students as problematic, neither did their peers.

These findings are consistent with an earlier quantitative study. Utilizing questionnaire responses from a sample of 2002 pupils and 99 teachers in 22 schools and 118 classes in grades 4–6, Roland and Galloway (2002) examined two sets of classroom variables that were predicted to influence the incidence of bullying. *Management* consisted of four dimensions of teacher behavior: Caring, competence in teaching, monitoring, and intervention. Essentially these variables looked at the nature of teacher relationships with students as well as their pedagogical strategies. *Social Structure* reflected teacher responses about informal relationships between

pupils, students' concentration (or engagement) in learning activities, and norms in the class about interpersonal relationships and work. The final results of the path analysis indicated that both Management and Structure had a direct negative effect on Bullying Others and accounted for 22% of the variance (multiple $R = 0.47$). Management also had an indirect effect on bullying through structure. Using the operational definitions, the study shows that teachers who utilize a variety of teaching methods, are able to explain subject matter clearly, closely monitor student work, intervene to address student learning problems, and convey a sense of personal caring for their students had a positive effect on the social structure in the classroom. Specifically, these teacher behaviors appeared to contribute to a more positive classroom environment where students were engaged in and valued learning and where relationships with peers were governed by friendship and support.

Testing the Theory: Changing Classroom Conditions to Change Student Behavior

In my previous review of the literature, I concluded that "being accepted, included, or welcomes leads to positive emotions … while being rejected, excluded, or ignored leads to often intense negative feelings of anxiety, depression, grief, jealousy, and loneliness" and "is also associated with incidence of mental and physical illness and a broad range of behavioral problems ranging from traffic accidents to criminality and suicide" (Osterman, 2000, p. 327). I also noted that the sense of belonging is associated with psychological and behavioral outcomes that are particularly important in school settings. Specifically, students who experience belonging have higher levels of intrinsic motivation and have more positive attitudes toward themselves, school, adults, and peers. They like school, they're more engaged, and are more likely to interact with others in positive and prosocial ways. Conversely, the experience of rejection and isolation is consistently associated with behavioral problems in the classroom, lower interest in school, lower achievement, dropout, and "various forms of emotional distress including loneliness, violence, and suicide" (Osterman, 2000, p. 343).

These findings offer a different lens for analyzing, understanding, and responding to behavioral problems. Essentially, they suggest that different forms of problematic behavior, whether lack of engagement or disciplinary problems, may be directly related to the child's experience in the school or classroom, rather than a manifestation of low motivation or obstructive intent.

There are two important implications of this research. Differences in the classroom, and specifically teacher practice, should be associated with differences in behavior. Within the school, we would expect to find that the same student might behave differently in different classrooms. Additionally, it should be possible to affect behavior by changing classroom conditions. Specifically, changes designed to enhance the emotional experience of students should lead to positive changes in behavior. In this section, then, we review some evidence to this effect. In studies

by Herr and Anderson (2003) and Schwamb (2005), we see how the behavior of individual students differs from classroom to classroom. In Siris (2001) and Griffin (2008), we see evidence of changes in student behavior in response to intentional interventions: children originally perceived as "problematic" began to act differently as the adults changed their own behavior toward the students. The Siris study also shows how changes in teacher behavior affected peer interaction with students who had been previously victimized.

In an ethnographic study of an all male middle school, Herr and Anderson (2003) described differences in classrooms that seemed to affect students' emotional wellbeing and behavior. In one classroom, a young white teacher had the male black students in her class copy materials for over 50 minutes. As the students began to grumble, she disregarded their complaints, urging them to comply. When students began murmuring and looking out the window, she punished them by withdrawing bathroom privileges. In contrast, students described a very different episode in a classroom that was not tightly regulated. In this class the teacher respected students; addressed personal, social, and cultural issues; checked for understanding; and provided recognition and support. The boys described how their experience with this teacher affected them: "You should have seen us on the playground last year . . . we were always in trouble, fighting and stuff" (p. 428). What made the difference for them was a teacher who enabled them to share their feelings and experiences, gave them meaningful work, and helped them to understand the work. While the study does not directly illustrate how frustration in the classroom contributed to fighting, the students attributed changes in their own behavior to teacher support.

Illustrating the significant role that the sense of belonging plays, perhaps the most important finding of the Schwamb (2005) study was that the students' patterns of behavior differed depending on the quality of their relationship with the teacher. When the teachers interacted with the boys in a positive and supportive way by responding to comments, questions, and concerns in a respectful manner and offering encouragement, recognition, and feedback, there were observable differences in their behavior. The boys initiated more positive interactions with teachers, were more responsive to teacher directives, more accepting of critical feedback, and more engaged in classroom activities. Conversely, where teachers ignored them or provided predominantly negative feedback, there were growing signs of disengagement and more aggressive behavior directed at teacher and peers.

With Lori, who was already extremely withdrawn and disengaged, lack of attention and negative responses by teachers seemed to reinforce her inattentiveness and contribute to total withdrawal. While there were no obvious outbursts in class, there were non-verbal indicators of anger and frustration – loud sighs, scratching holes in her work sheets, and bolting out the door. Only in her remedial classes did Lori experience any positive support. Here teachers recognized her disengagement and actively sought to involve her. They recognized her sense of failure and took steps to insure that she would experience some success. When she did experience success, they recognized her efforts. While both of these teachers supported her academically, the remedial reading teacher went beyond to respond to her personally,

recognizing her emotional concerns, greeting her by name, and offering her a smile. In response, Lori participated and, in one rare instance, she even smiled.

Siris (2001) and Griffin (2008) both conducted action research studies designed to address student problems by enhancing their emotional wellbeing, and particularly their sense of belonging.

As principal, Siris worked with nine elementary teachers to alleviate problems of bullying and victimization (Siris, 2001; Siris & Osterman, 2004). Coding behaviors of bullies and victims as lack of engagement, Siris introduced self-determination theory to the teachers; and the action research plan was designed to alleviate behavioral problems by addressing students' basic needs for competency, autonomy, and relatedness. To enhance students' sense of competence, the teachers decided to provide recognition for accomplishment, develop opportunities for students to show off their strengths, and to highlight positives while downplaying negatives. To support autonomy, they increased center activities and allowed more freedom in choice of assignment, work locations, and partners, while setting rules to preclude rejection. To show students that they cared about them personally and to support positive peer interaction, the teachers focused on active listening and descriptive feedback (in contrast with prescriptive and judgmental feedback). They also planned to spend more personal time with the student, encourage new relationships, monitor choice time to insure that students were not excluded, and to promote empathy by praising supportive interaction and initiating classroom conversations about caring and feelings. During and at the end of the experimentation phase, the teachers reported on changes in their own beliefs and practices as well as the effects on the classroom environment and the experience of the once victimized students. During this 6–week-period, the teachers began to pay attention to their students. By listening to their feelings and taking interest, they began to know the students better, they were better able to empathize with the children and respond to their personal and academic needs. The teachers also discovered that they were models for other students' interactions with the victimized students. More attuned to the effects of rejection, they became more committed to addressing the problem by setting rules about appropriate behavior, articulating that every child is acceptable as a partner, and by complimenting groups when they were inclusive and supportive.

What is impressive is the extent of the changes that occurred in a relatively short period of time. Initially, the teachers noted that the victimized students were reluctant to engage in conversations with them or to participate in class. After implementing their plans, the teachers reported that the students had become more comfortable socially, more outgoing, more confident, and more engaged academically. Several of the teachers also commented on how their own changes influenced peer behavior. As one reported: "Because of all the tattling and bickering, I would get annoyed with her. I didn't have a lot of patience. Now that I've stopped, Dina is feeling better about herself, and I see the children are less annoyed with her" (Osterman & Kottkamp, 2004 p. 134). Another teacher confirmed that, while girls in the class had mimicked her behavior in the past, now, responding to change in her own behavior, they were "much more sensitive and tolerant and accepting" (p. 134). Validating the teachers' observations were comments from the previously

victimized students and their parents. “This is making me feel really good about myself,” one student said. “I really love school now” (p. 136). Several teachers received notes from parents thanking them for special interest, care, and patience. As one father explained, his son “felt happier coming to school this year, happier than ever before” (p. 136).

Griffin’s (2008) study was intended to foster a greater sense of belonging among male high school students who were at risk academically or socially. As his review of the literature indicated, adolescent boys in schools are disproportionately beset by academic, psychological, and social problems. Although the problem is complex, he speculated that at least part of the problem may be related to the quality of the boys’ psychological experience and specifically their sense of belonging in the school community. Supporting this conceptualization was additional research showing that girls are more likely than boys to experience a sense of belonging in school, while boys are more likely to experience isolation and/or rejection. Aggravating the problem is the fact that boys, because of gender stereotyping, are less likely to develop personal relationships with peers or adults and less likely to be able to express their emotional needs.

As Director of Guidance & Counseling in an affluent and homogeneous suburban community, Griffin and the action research team (two counselors, and a school social worker) identified 10 sophomore boys deemed at risk because of poor attendance, social isolation, and/or serious academic or discipline problems. In the initial stages of the study, the team used the Psychological Sense of School Membership Scale (PSSMS) (Goodenow, 1993), interviews, and classroom observations to develop a better understanding of the boys’ experience in the school. Participants also completed the PSSMS at the end of the semester. After an analysis of this data, the team planned a series of interventions, including individual counseling sessions, a group counseling program that included workshops and activities designed to promote supportive interaction among boys and counselors, and a mentoring program linking each boy with a teacher. The researchers gathered information as they implemented the plan; and, at the end, they used a focus group, survey, and additional interviews to assess the efficacy of the interventions.

The boys who participated differed on a number of characteristics. While none was classified, their academic averages ranged from C to A, with the majority having B averages. Only one student had disciplinary referrals, some for bullying. Two were Hispanic; the others were Caucasian. Economically, the boys were from middle-class or wealthy families. They all shared an interest in computers, science, and technology. In terms of appearance, their body language and clothing set them apart from the mainstream.

Responses on the PSSMS confirmed original impressions. In comparison with 75 9th grade classmates, the participants’ responses ($N = 7$) were significantly different on one item (I feel like I belong in the school. $p > 0.007^{**}$). The qualitative data from observations, interviews, and discussions also demonstrated that the boys experienced isolation and rejection in school, both from peers and from certain teachers whom they perceived to be disengaging and uncaring. In interviews, the boys distinguished between teachers who promoted interaction, valued interpersonal

relationships, and used pedagogical practices that fostered engagement and learning from those who dominated instruction and ignored and/or neglected their needs as individuals and learners. In addition, they experienced school as overly competitive and stressful, socially and academically.

At the end of the project, the boys reported that they felt cared for and acknowledged. They felt special because they had been selected for the study; they felt important and cared for because adults asked about their feelings. These changes were evident in their comments as well as in their smiles and expressions of gratitude and warmth. The boys also developed strong connections with each other as the sessions progressed and they became more comfortable in sharing their thoughts and talking about difficult issues: the "kinds of things we would never get to talk about outside of the group." Talking with each other about school "stuff" helped them relieve the stress they experienced, they reported.

Although statistical analysis was not possible, an examination of item means on PSSMS showed improvement in response to three prompts: I feel like I belong, students at this school like me, and my teachers know me well. There were also behavioral indicators of an increased sense of belonging. There was an increase in cooperation, openness, and communication as demonstrated in their continued attendance, interaction, and mutual friendship. The boys also described improved relationships with adults, particularly evident in their efforts to reach out to the counselors for support in a way they had never done before. Their non-verbal communication also became more positive (smiles, laughter). Some students improved academically. One student, who had been absent 40 times as a freshman and 18 times in the first semester of his sophomore year, had perfect attendance in the second semester. The only student with disciplinary problems in the 9th and 10th grade had none for the balance of the year. Another student who had a severe life-threatening eating problem returned the following year with weight gains.

Understanding Teacher Practice

Studies that examine students' experience in school clearly indicate that there are children in school whose emotional – and academic – needs are seldom met. Although theory and research emphasize the importance of addressing human needs, each of these studies demonstrated that the construct of belongingness is not easily or universally embraced in schools. Some teachers challenge the idea that they should be responsible for addressing students' emotional needs; others challenge the validity of the theory, adopting a deficit model that attributes children's problems to the children themselves. Even teachers who understand that this attention to students' psychological wellbeing is an important part of their role may lack a critical perspective on their own work, being unable to identify strengths or weaknesses. In the Siris study (2001), the elementary teachers who prided themselves on concern for the emotional needs of their class were surprised to observe the extent to which they failed to respond to student's individual needs. In the Griffin (2008) study,

the counselors who, by virtue of traditional role divisions, share the most direct responsibility for these non-academic aspects of student life initially had difficulty shifting from a perspective that essentially blames the victim to one that understands the extent to which aspects of the social environment affect student behavior. What these counselors came to learn is that even very simple actions – saying “Hi!” in the hall – can mitigate the social, academic, and emotional problems of at-risk boys. If we accept the importance of this sense of belonging, it is important to understand this contrast between a widely espoused educational philosophy of caring and a practice that falls short of this goal, often for the neediest students. While some part of the problem might be attributed to individual teacher characteristics or instructional competence, there are other reasons to suggest that teachers’ failure to address student needs reflects a more systemic problem, grounded in teachers’ understanding of individual motivation, their comfort in dealing with emotional issues, and accountability pressures that intensify the emphasis on knowledge transmission and decrease the personalization of learning.

Understanding Motivation

Teachers’ attitudes toward students are affected by their understanding of motivation and their interpretations of students’ behavior. Cothran and Ennis (2000) interviewed and observed four teachers and 51 students from three urban high schools to investigate their perspectives on engagement. While the students “reported that their engagement level was variable and the key factor in engagement was the teacher” (p. 111), the teachers, in contrast, “did not believe they should, nor did they feel prepared to, fill the role of primary motivator and engager of students” (p. 110). The students’ responses in this study were consistent with all of the preceding studies. They reported that their attitudes toward the teacher (and their subsequent engagement) were affected by teachers’ willingness to engage in personal dialogue and their ability to listen, respect their ideas, and accept student suggestions about the class. Students also felt “they were more willing to engage when they felt the teacher cared if they learned the subject matter and cared about them as a person” (p. 112), being willing to work with them and demonstrating concern for their personal life and welfare. Teachers described as caring were challenging but enthusiastic about their subjects and, offering students opportunity for active learning, they established climates where students could be successful.

The teachers in this study (Cothran & Ennis, 2000) believed that the students’ attitudes were the greatest impediment to student engagement. “These kids don’t want to do anything. They don’t listen. They aren’t responsible” (p. 110). Rather than seeing a connection between the students’ experience in the classroom and the students’ lack of engagement, the teachers attributed the problem to the students: “they don’t care at all . . . They’re just here because they have to have a class. They think they’re too cool to participate.” As the researchers explained, the teachers

"did not believe their role was to serve as the primary catalyst for student engagement" (p. 110). This response suggests that some teachers have a limited – and flawed – understanding of motivation, or at best, that their perspectives on motivation fail to understand the connections between social conditions, motivation, and behavior.

This is important because the students least likely to experience belonging in the classroom are those who are less engaged. Connell, Halpern-Felsher, Clifford, Crichlow, and Usinger (1995) determined that teachers' interactions with students corresponded with the teachers' perception of the students' engagement; but, more broadly, we can argue that teachers' interactions with students correspond with students' desirability. When teachers have positive feelings about students, that sense of care and acceptance is conveyed directly to the students. As the Schwamb (2005) study illustrates, the feelings of teachers are reflected not only in the frequency and quality of their interaction but also in the nature of their academic support for individual students. Specifically, teachers who do not care for students are likely to adopt pedagogical strategies that do not meet students' instructional needs.

Typically students not favored by teachers are those characterized as problematic. These students have difficulty learning, are not engaged in the classroom, and/or have behavioral problems. Osterman and Kottkamp (2004) described several studies that focused on teacher interactions with students they characterized as "problematic." One, an analysis of 38 written cases prepared by students in an administrative preparation program, confirmed that teachers respond to these students in very predictable ways (Kottkamp & Silverberg, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c), as did a later study by Silverberg (2002, 2003). In these cases, the problematic students were predominantly male (81%), 20% were ethnic minorities, and 29% had limited English proficiency or special education classifications:

> The students were disengaged. They were the daydreamers who spent their time gazing out the window. They were the students who did not stay on task. Unprepared for learning, they failed to do their homework, complete assignments, or bring necessary materials. They were the clowns, the students who laughed out loud and interrupted the class with wise guy comments. They resisted authority by defying or ignoring rules. They lacked social skills and bothered others by invading their space, physically or verbally. They were verbally abusive or whiny, belligerent or apathetic. Regardless of their style, they were all annoying. They distracted other students and interfered with teachers' ability to teach. (Osterman & Kottkamp, 2004, p. 112)

The majority of the experienced teachers preparing these case reports, like the teacher respondents in Cothran and Ennis (2000) attributed these behaviors to emotional, social, or physiological deficits in the students or their families. The teachers thought that the students did not care about learning and felt that their behaviors were intentional. In response, the majority of the teachers withdrew emotionally from the children and reported that they distanced the child, physically and psychologically. They avoided them. As one teacher explained, "Rather than let them bother me, I'll dismiss them as having some personality flaw and try to totally ignore them" (p. 113).

Even teachers who understand the importance of addressing students' emotional needs may not have a conscious awareness of their practice and its influence on children. The teachers who participated in the Siris (2001) study had all volunteered because of their concern for students. At the same time, the study uncovered mental models that affected their interaction with students. At the beginning of the study, the teachers' perceptions of the victims were quite negative. Even though the teachers were sensitive to the students' loneliness and isolation, their response was tinged by certain assumptions. They felt that the students were responsible for their plight; they also doubted that there was anything more that they could or should do. Four boys were medicated for attention deficit hyperactivity; and, while the students were diverse academically, all eight were perceived as troublemakers. Because they were either withdrawn or aggressive, they had trouble forming relationships. They were perceived as too needy and irritating in their efforts to get attention. Like the high school boys in the Griffin (2008) study, these students were also physically unattractive, unkempt, and poorly dressed.

When the study began, all of the teachers were confident that they were doing a good job. Some felt that they provided opportunities for students to experience competence, autonomy, and relatedness in the classroom. Others challenged the idea that students needed their attention. Their job, they thought, was to make students less dependent on them. They also sensed that it was inequitable for them to single out a particular child for attention.

The teacher researchers in Lo Verde's (2007) study were selected because something was going right in their inclusion classrooms. Intuitively, they were doing something that worked; but, until they participated in the research process, they were not consciously aware of how the different dimensions of their practice affected the children. By observing teacher and student behavior in the classroom, the researchers came to what may seem to be an obvious conclusion: good teaching practices addressed students' psychological needs and enhanced engagement. Although the teachers concluded that the most difficult challenge for students with disabilities was to experience competence and autonomy, they also felt that their efforts to address the students' needs for relatedness were foundational.

The children less likely to experience belonging in the classroom are children who present teachers with a combination of academic and behavioral challenges. In discussing reflective practice, Osterman and Kottkamp (2004) emphasized the need for a data-based and critical assessment of practice relative to various standards, including effectiveness. If the goal is engagement, what strategies is the teacher adopting and do they work? The problem is that the use of withdrawal and isolation does not work; and, in fact, it compounds the problem. If teachers incorrectly attribute academic and behavioral problems to personal deficits on the part of the child, children with the greatest need to experience personal and academic support are less likely to have those needs satisfied in their classrooms. If teachers are unaware of their behavior or the way that their behavior influences students, they are unlikely to change.

Emotions and Organizations

Although the teaching profession recognizes the importance of caring and meets the needs of a majority of students,[1] there are organizational constraints that affect the expression of caring. Secondary school teachers, for example, are more likely to emphasize subject matter and underplay the importance of personal relationships. Rejecting their responsibilities for motivation, the high school teachers in Cothran and Ennis (2000) defined their role as one of supplying valuable information to receptive students. Even in early childhood centers (Talay-Ongan, McNaught, & Robertson, 2002) and in elementary schools (Siris, 2001), some teachers are ambivalent about dealing with emotions. With so much attention – rightful attention – to child abuse, teachers may be reluctant to express any affection to students, but more generally, organizations have unwritten rules that stress rationality and suppress emotionality.

Based on extensive organizational research, Argyris and Schon (1974, 1978) identified what they viewed as a meta-theory-in-use, or an internal set of rules that govern organizational behavior. One of the key values reflected in this Model I paradigm is rationality. While more recent research problematizes the absence of attention to emotion in the workplace and challenges the validity of an approach that idealizes rationality to the suppression of emotion (Beatty & Brew, 2004; Goleman, 1995; Hargreaves, 2001; Leithwood & Beatty, 2008), it is apparent that this Model I paradigm is still evident in modern day schools.

Talay-Ongan et al. (2002) describe the way that cultural views and professional preparedness constrain early childhood teachers with respect to emotions. "As a part of professional practice," one commented, "you were not supposed to involve yourself emotionally" (Talay-Ongan et al., 2002, para. 20). Although the teachers felt that relatedness was the essence of their work, explained their understanding, and described ways in which they addressed children's needs, they also expressed ambivalence about the discussion. The teachers in the center read all of the transcripts to verify, clarify, and modify them. As one explained, "on reading the first draft . . ., alarm bells rang. We found ourselves cleansing and sanitizing the transcript, eliminating or squirming over words such as kiss, cuddle, hug, stroke or tenderness." She attributed their concern to discourse about child protection, the professionalism of teachers, and their concern that they had "somehow transgressed the 'rules.'" She continued, that "it is the nature of these 'rules' to silence the emotional lives of teachers and children, and to drive them underground. This silencing," she offered, "allows for little discussion of what actually the nature of the teacher child relatedness is and how it is practiced" (para. 16). Referring to this silencing about emotion, another teacher explained that the "reduction in the palate of

[1] A report on the 2006 high school survey of student engagement, published by the Center for Evaluation and Education Policy, indicated that 78% of 81,499 respondents from the USA agreed or strongly agreed that there was at least one adult in the school "who cares about me and knows me well." In contrast, however, the balance, more than one out of five students, disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (Yazzie-Mintz, 2007, p. 7).

words gives us a cleansed, anesthetic, sanitized professional way of thinking about emotions" (para. 20).

The teachers in the Siris (2001) study were also surprised to find how infrequently their specific students experienced a sense of belonging in the classroom. To enable the teachers to examine their own practice, the teachers observed and recorded instances when the students appeared to feel a sense of competence, autonomy, or belonging. During this 3-week-period, each of the teachers had found examples of student success; and, from the children's positive body language, it was easy for the teachers to see how important these experiences were to the children. Although the teachers started the project with a clear understanding of autonomy and thought that they provided students with ample opportunities for choice and free expression of opinion, during 3 weeks, collectively they found only three instances where the children experienced autonomy. Even more surprising to the teachers was their difficulty in finding examples of relatedness. As one of the teachers explained, "We are struggling to find examples of how we are taking a personal interest in our selected students" (Osterman & Kottkamp, 2004, p. 126). Summarizing their experience, another teacher commented: "It seems that we think we do more than we really do in our daily practice to meet our students' psychological needs" (p. 127). This action research project enabled the teachers to develop a critical perspective on their own practice, but their experience at the beginning suggested that this concept of relatedness remains elusive in teacher practice.

Accountability Demands

Accountability demands in a high stakes test environment and the resultant focus on preparation for the test may also affect students' needs for belonging by diverting teachers' attention away from their relational needs and by indirectly influencing them to rely on instructional strategies that are less engaging and more controlling. Valli and Buese (2007) conducted a mixed-methods longitudinal study of 4th and 5th grade teachers of reading and mathematics in order to determine the impact of federal, state, and local policies on instructional roles. Based on interviews and observations with 150 teachers and principals in 25 elementary schools conducted over a 4-year-period, the researchers identified ways that their roles had changed. One of their findings was that, as roles expanded in other areas, the amount of time directed to affective relationships decreased. "Most of the study's teachers," they explained, "complained of the effect all of the movement had on their students and their relationship with them" (p. 547).

Ryan and Brown (2008) evaluated the motivational perspective reflected in the high stakes testing policies and, based on previous research, considered the likely impact on the motivation and achievement of students and teachers. Through the lens of self-determination theory, the researchers paid particular attention to the importance of autonomy support. One of the important findings is that teachers explicitly pressured to produce high student achievement reduce autonomy

support for their students and rely more on lecture, criticism, praise, and teacher direction, controlling instructional approaches that depress students' motivation, engagement, and achievement. Because autonomy support plays such an important part in students' psychological health, meeting students' direct needs to experience autonomy and also reinforcing students' sense of belonging, this is an important finding.

Whether because of external pressures, flawed conceptions of motivation, or a systemic reluctance to focus on emotional needs in organizational settings – even at the early childhood level, it is not always easy for teachers to address the psychological needs of their students, and particularly those children who may have the greatest need.

Discussion

In my earlier analysis (Osterman, 2000), I identified three aspects of teacher practice that seemed to contribute to students' sense of belonging: instruction, teacher support, and authority relationships, or autonomy. Teacher support I defined primarily as interpersonal support. From this current review, it seems that this definition was far too narrow and failed to detect the critical importance of academic support. Although the personal dimensions of teachers' relationships with children are obviously important, perhaps foundational as several researchers suggested, what the teacher does to support student learning is also important in its effects on students' sense of belonging. In terms of instruction, recognizing that relationships begin with interaction, I focused on specific instructional strategies, like cooperative learning and dialogue, which facilitate interaction. While valid points, the current research offers a much broader perspective on the ways that teachers develop students' sense of belonging. The third factor, autonomy support, emerges again as a critical component, important in itself, but also important through its effects on students' sense of belonging.

Based on the current research, then, I propose, more simply, that teachers enhance students' sense of belonging in the classroom by providing both personal and academic support.

How teachers relate to individual students is important – and integral to their effectiveness as teachers. What students tell us, quite convincingly, is that they want teachers to know them as persons, and more importantly, to be able to empathize with them, to understand their feelings and their needs. As Hargreaves (2001) explains, emotional understanding, or being able to enter into the experience of another, is the key to successful teaching, while misunderstanding "strikes at the foundations of teaching and learning" (p. 1060).

The research also indicates that academic support directly affects students' sense of belonging and identifies specific dimensions of teacher practice that address this important relational need. The strategies that are linked to students' sense of belonging are essentially characteristics of effective teaching; they are strategies

that enable students to be successful and independent learners. Many of the students whose voices appear in these studies have not been successful in school, yet, their expectations correspond quite directly with what we know about good teaching. Students want teachers to help them to learn. When teachers enable students to experience themselves as competent and autonomous learners, they feel cared for. When teachers have high expectations and express confidence in students' ability to meet those expectations; when they are enthusiastic about their teaching and create lessons that are meaningful, interesting, and engaging; when they monitor carefully, using information to support learning; when they rely on classroom management strategies that respect and nurture student autonomy and are fair and proactive, emphasizing recognition and affirmation rather than failure and censure, students perceive this as care. When students perceive the classroom environment to be supportive, they are more likely to be engaged in learning and more likely to interact with others – teachers and peers – in supportive, prosocial ways.

Teachers' work with individual students is obviously important, but students are also grouped for learning and how that group functions affects students emotionally and academically. We know quite clearly that students who are rejected by peers are also rejected by teachers. We know that many of these students who experience isolation in the classroom are also students with academic and/or behavioral problems. Although adults often attribute problematic behavior to students' lack of motivation or inept social skills, research also shows us that classroom climates vary and students' behavior (and learning) differ depending on classroom conditions. The research suggests that teachers affect peer relationships. First, teachers establish standards of behavior. If teachers demonstrate caring and support for individual students, it is likely that peers will act in similar ways. Teachers can also take a proactive stand, encouraging the development of mutual respect and acceptance within the classroom, and establishing norms that preclude intolerance and rejection. When students experience isolation or rejection in the classroom, they are less likely to be engaged and more likely to engage in anti-social behavior. Addressing students' emotional needs helps to minimize disruptive behavior. Teachers enhance students' sense of belonging, then, not only by their own personal interaction, but also by insuring that each student experiences respect and care from peers.

Conclusion

Insuring students' sense of belonging in the classroom is a challenge. The problem is that children with the greatest unmet need for belonging are also less likely to receive the academic and personal support that is so critical for them. At the most immediate level, they are the children who are most challenging to teachers. Academically, they are disengaged and/or have difficulty learning. Socially, they are different from their peers and have difficulty in establishing relationships. While these behaviors often indicate that the students' needs for relatedness are not being met, unfortunately, these same behaviors tend to elicit more withdrawal and/or

rejection. As a result, these problematic children often get neither the personal or academic support that they most need, and problems intensify.

Teachers do not bear sole responsibility for the emotional wellbeing of children; but, as we have seen so clearly both in the words of students and in empirical data, the quality of care that students receive in the classroom has an important influence on their learning and behavior. While there is renewed attention to students' emotional wellbeing in research and practice, it is also important to recognize that there are obstacles, including a lack of accurate information on motivation in a social context, organizational norms that devalue attention to emotions, and external accountability demands that minimize relational efforts and intensify teachers' efforts to control student learning. Having a clearer understanding of the problem, however, foreshadows better solutions.

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Chapter 16
Values of Problem-Based Learning: Perceptions of Facilitators in an Initial Teacher Training Program at Temasek Polytechnic, a Singapore Institution of Higher Learning

Moira Lee Gek Choo

Introduction

Problem-based learning (PBL) was pioneered at Temasek Polytechic (TP) in 1998. A group of lecturers from the Diploma in Computer Engineering, School of Engineering, were keen to explore a learning–teaching approach that moved beyond transfer of knowledge to a wider repertoire of lifewide skills while not diminishing the quality of content. To facilitate the ongoing research and development of PBL, the Temasek Centre for Problem-Based Learning (TCPBL) was established in 1999. As part of the polytechnic-wide implementation of PBL, a team from the Diploma in Marketing together with TCPBL, co-pioneered a project "Educational Innovation for the Knowledge-Based Economy using PBL" which was awarded the Enterprise Challenge Award from the Prime Minister's Office in 2000, the Innovators Award in 2003, and the Enterprise Challenge Shield (a top award for an innovation creating the most value in the public service) in 2003.

In recognizing that amidst numerous interpretations of PBL, there is the need to have a sufficient measure of consistency in the practice of PBL across the schools in TP, the Temasek Centre for Problem-Based Learning crafted the TP PBL framework. The TP PBL framework comprises: (1) the TP PBL essentials – students should be responsible and plan their own learning; a problem is the starting point of learning new knowledge for the students; a lecturer's role is to facilitate students' thinking to achieve the learning outcomes; students should engage in collaborative learning; students should engage in reflective thinking; students should learn through a problem solving process, (2) the TP PBL process – stage 1: group setting; stage 2: problem identification; stage 3: idea generation; stage 4: learning issues; stage 5: self-directed learning; stage 6: synthesis and application; stage 7: reflection and feedback, and (3) a thinking template – namely, Facts, Ideas, Learning Issues, Action Plan (FILA) chart.

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The Learning Academy (the staff development department) at TP conducts two PBL programs to induct lecturers to the PBL process. In the Teaching Higher Education Certificate (THEC) program for new lecturers there is a 2-day segment on the PBL experience where the lecturers experience the PBL process as learners. In addition, for lecturers who are about to embark on their first foray as PBL facilitators, there is a 3-day PBL Foundation Programme encompassing five modules: Understanding and experiencing PBL; Becoming a PBL facilitator; Problem design in PBL; Curriculum design in PBL; and Assessment in PBL.

Research Design and Methodology

This small-scale research paper is based on an analysis of a qualitative case study involving two experienced facilitators and 25 first-time facilitators attending the 2-day PBL learning experience mounted by TP's Learning Academy. My research question is defined narrowly enough so that the research would be focused and yet broad enough to allow for flexibility and serendipity. Qualitative research asks simple questions and reaps complex responses; "profound simplicity" (Weick, 1996) is a hallmark.

I settled on one overarching question pertaining to the values of PBL – namely, "What do you perceive to be the values of PBL?" I chose the case study methodology which upholds participatory elements. Case studies constitute "a particular form of academic discipline, justified by its relevance to the practice of teaching and conducted in a such a manner that the evidence it marshalls as well as its conclusions are widely accessible" (Skilbeck, 1983, p. 16).

Problem-Based Learning and Its Values – As Indicated in the Literature

The genesis of problem-based learning (PBL) is often linked to medical education at McMaster University in Canada and soon after it was adopted by Maasctricht University in the Netherlands. PBL premises itself on constructivist theory where understanding is gradually constructed through active engagement with real-life problems, issues, and questions (Barrows & Tamblyn, 1980; Norman & Schmidt, 1992). In essence, PBL is "the learning that results from the process of working toward the understanding or resolution of a problem. The problem is encountered first in the learning process" (Barrows & Tamblyn, 1980, p. 2). The literature on PBL (Barrows, 1983; Boud & Feletti, 1997) espouses that student learning is enhanced through this learning–teaching approach. First, learning is contextually valid in that the problems are gleaned from professional practice and students acquire knowledge organized around these problems. PBL develops self-directed, reflective, lifelong learners who are able to integrate knowledge, think critically, and work collaboratively with others. Second, learning is collaborative in that students help each other

in both content and process skills. Third, students learn to solve problems in a more effective way. Fourth, PBL is purported to create a strong motivational effect on students who tend to feel that they are engaged in real-life situations across the disciplines and not just theoretical concepts (Lee & Lee, 2005).

Major Themes Emerging from the Research About the Values of PBL

In using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to analyze the research data, major themes emerged as the values of PBL, as perceived by beginning facilitators. Through analyzing the interview data, some of the values which came through as a pattern included the following: engaging in collaborative learning, stimulating thinking through dialog, appreciating diverse perspectives, dwelling with questions, rethinking power issues, and cultivating the whole person in learning.

Engaging in Collaborative Learning

Several facilitators opined that PBL tends to nudge learners toward a shared learning process. One facilitator expressed that PBL "creates the opportunity for collaborative learning to happen." Another commented, "co-operative learning takes place when learners have to work through the problem scenario, negotiate who takes on which topics for self-directed learning, etc.. . .."

From my own experience, I observe that often the terms "co-operative learning" and "collaborative learning" are used interchangeably. This has led to a minimizing of some of the differences which I would like to highlight. According to the literature on collaborative learning (Bruffee, 1993, 1995; Matthews, Cooper, Davidson, & Hawkes, 1995) it is observed that collaborative learning in higher and adult education arenas complements the co-operative learning that children may experience in primary school. Most co-operative learning researchers and theoreticians are social psychologists or sociologists whose original work was intended for application at the 4–12 age levels. Second, co-operative learning approaches tend to be more structured and focused upon specific behaviors and rewards. In contrast, collaborative learning tends not to "micro manage;" not to break tasks into small component parts, and not to provide rewards. Third, these two learning approaches have different epistemological bases. Co-operative learning typically deals with traditional (canonical) knowledge. In contrast, collaborative learning holds to knowledge creation as a social act. Fourth, there is a major difference in the locus of authority. Co-operative learning authorizes the teacher to oversee student participation and to ensure that the process works as predetermined by the teacher. In contrast, collaborative learning emphasizes co-responsibility and the negotiating of agendas. There is

perambulating authority and crossing of power lines. Learning tasks are deliberately "open-ended." The "teacher" is facilitator and a partner-in-learning (Lee, 2005).

The etymological roots of the term *collaborate* come from the Latin *co-labore* which means to work together, implying a concept of shared goals. The term *collaborate* has an explicit intention to "add value." For example, people create something new or different through the collaborative process as opposed to simply exchanging information or disseminating data. Collaboration requires "a mutual task in which the partners work together to produce something that neither could have produced alone" (Forman & Cazden, 1985, p. 329).

In my doctoral research work on collaborative learning (Lee, 1998), I crafted a working description of collaborative learning as follows:

> Collaborative learning mobilises the social synergy that resides within a group of co-learners engaged in a dynamic process of shared inquiry. Through dialogue, learning as shared inquiry evolves by critically exploring the perspectives of others. New dimensions of interpretations are fuelled, issues clarified and interdependence valued. There is an ongoing negotiation of roles among the community of learners.

The implicit assumption in collaborative learning is that adult learners are experienced social beings who can function in collaborative paradigms, possess intrinsic motivation, and are self-directed in their desire to unravel problems that have direct relevance to them (Knowles, 1980).

Stimulating Thinking Through Dialog

One of the recurring points made by facilitators is that PBL typically affords learners a platform where they are able to exchange their ideas about the issue at hand. In a focus group I conducted with five facilitators, the general sentiment shared was that PBL "helps learners with articulating and clarifying their thoughts through engaging in dialogue." In PBL, learning tends to be transformed into an active process where participants are mutually engaged in dialog, often fuelled by questions and a meaningful sharing of roles and responsibilities. Learners are exposed to different perspectives which could see them developing greater discernment. Dialog and critical openness are important to make thinking visible to people who are engaged in a journey of shared learning (Lee, 2004).

The term "dialogue" is Greek coming from two roots words, *dia* meaning "through" or "with each other" and *logos* meaning "the word." The origins of dialog go back to ancient Athens. It was the main teaching method used by Socrates and immortalized in Plato's famous dialogs. This derivation suggests that dialog is a stream of meaning flowing among, through, and between persons. Many adult educators observe that adult learning is best achieved in dialog (e.g., Freire, 2000; Knowles, 1980; Vella, 1994).

The etymological distinction between the terms "dialogue" and "discussion" often used interchangeably is instructive. "Discussion" shares its root meaning with "percussion" and "concussion," both of which involve breaking things up. The term

"discussion" stems from the Latin *discutere*, which means "to smash to pieces." In dialog, there is the free and creative exploration of complex issues, a deep listening to one another, and suspending of one's own views. By contrast, in discussion different views are presented and defended and there is a search for the best view to support decisions that must be made. Dialog and discussion are potentially complementary, but it seems necessary to distinguish between the two and to move consciously between them (Ellinor & Gerard, 1998; Isaacs, 1993). The term "dialogue" is more consonant with the discursive relational dynamics of collaborative learning; there is a constant movement towards "shared minds" rather than a single over-powering position.

The concept of dialog spans a spectrum of discourses such as emancipatory education, literary theory, educational philosophy, feminist pedagogy, and organizational learning. In this section, I touch on some thoughts about dialog as espoused in emancipatory education, literary theory, and organizational learning (Lee, 2005).

In adult education, Paulo Freire is best known as the emancipatory educator who popularized the notion of dialog as an educational form. Freire's pedagogy articulates that the central feature of dialog is the recovery of the voice of the oppressed as the fundamental condition for human emancipation. For Freire, the essence of dialog is "the true word." True words are unities of reflection and action "in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed, even in part, the other immediately suffers" (Freire, 2000, p. 87). To speak a true word is to engage in praxis: to transform the world in accordance with reflection: to name the world.

Dialog is pivotal to Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) literary theory. A "dialogic penetration into the word . . . opens up fresh aspects in the word" (p. 352). This occurs through interaction, which brings more and more features of the other's word into understanding and into a position where it can be related to the listener's own words and so create new discourses. Bakhtin uses the concept of dialog to focus on the continuous flow of interaction and response among individuals. Language, as dialog, is always in the process of becoming. His concept *heteroglossia* implies that culture and society, as well as individuals, are constituted by multiple voices. This legitimates differences of opinion and restores the individual's voice in the creation of cultural patterns. Bakhtin points out that we do not use language; language uses us. The nature of discourse is that the language we encounter already has a history: the words that we speak have been spoken by others before us ("the internal dialogism of the word"). What we speak always means more than what we mean to say; the language that we use carries with it implications, connotations, and consequences that we can only partly intend. The words that others hear from us, how they understand them, and what they say in response is beyond our unilateral control. This relation of speaker, hearer, and language is reflected not only in spoken communication, but with authors, readers, and a variety of texts.

Several virtues and emotions are integral within dialogical engagements: *concern* – in being with our partners in conversation, to engage them in the flow of the dialog, there is a social bond that ignites a commitment to the other; *trust* – taking what others say in faith alongside the risk that comes with it; *respect* – a recognition that each person is equal in some basic way and entails a commitment to being

fair-minded, opposing degradation and rejecting exploitation; *appreciation* – valuing the unique quality that others bring; *affection* – involves a feeling with, and for, our partners-in-learning; *hope* – engaging in dialog with the belief that it holds much possibilities.

In elaborating on the integral role of dialog in collaborative learning, Lee (1998) draws upon developments in contemporary management circles and organizational learning where dialog process is a linchpin. The interface of dialog and its application to organizational change can be traced to organizational theorists such as Senge (1993) and Isaacs (1993). Dialog process as articulated by Bohm (1996) and Isaacs (1993) entails four movements: suspension of assumptions, shared inquiry, generative listening, and holding tension of opposites. Dialog process facilitates and creates new possibilities for communication. The whole group is the object of learning and members share the potential excitement of collectively discovering ideas that individually none of them might have thought of. Through dialog, people help one another to become aware of the incoherence of each other's thoughts, and in this way the collective thought becomes more and more coherent (from the Latin *cohaerere*, "hanging together").

Appreciating Diverse Perspectives

The value of appreciating diverse perspectives was echoed by a facilitator who said, "Inherent in the PBL process is the democratic process of working in teams, communicating and respecting that others have perspectives and experiences which are different from your own. PBL enables us to learn to appreciate other points of view and negotiate for a common outcome." Another commented, "different points of view actually become very interesting, albeit at times it takes up a lot of time to listen to one another and appreciate that others may have perspectives which differ from ours."

The importance of appreciating diverse perspectives resonates with Lindeman's (1926) proposition that intelligent personalities express themselves in individuality, uniqueness, and difference. In much the same vein, Kallen (1964) posits that the basic premise of adult education is "the recognition of (the adult learner's) individuality, the acknowledgement of his right to be different" (p. 99). In terms echoing Wiltshire's (1976) concept of *individuation*, Kallen (1964) views learning as equivalent to self-differentiation and education to be the nurturing of this process. He proposes that educators place before learners alternative beliefs and meaning systems since it is the provision of alternatives which will unfix beliefs and generate flexibility and openness of mind which is one of the aims of education. In proposing that adults adopt transforming perspectives in seeking to relocate themselves in the world, Kallen foreshadows the development of the notion of perspective transformation propounded by Mezirow (1978).

The theoretical rationale for encouraging an appreciation of diverse perspectives comes from the cognitive developmental perspective largely based on the

theories of Piaget and Vygotsky. From Piaget (1978) comes the premise that socio-cognitive conflict creates cognitive disequilibrium, perspective-taking ability, and cognitive development. Vygotsky (1978) observes that human mental functions and accomplishments have their origins in social relationships. Vygotsky's theory strengthens the perspectives of a group as they are arrived at through debate, argument, negotiation, and dialog.

Dwelling with Questions

The research indicates that "dwelling with questions" is closely entwined with the notion of embracing ambiguity in the learning process. A facilitator opined that PBL "does not espouse certainty. It *dwells with questions* and *embraces ambiguity* and it celebrates differences." The capacity to embrace ambiguity might surface through the passage of time. Another facilitator disclosed: "I am learning to live with ambiguity and enjoying it". Echoing similar sentiments, a third facilitator commented:

> Perhaps part of the key to collaborative learning in PBL is an admission that we don't have all the answers. I find myself increasingly comfortable with ambiguity. I don't need to have all the answers all at once. There will always be some questions remaining unanswered.

Ambiguity signals a hermeneutical dimension which is open, moving, and resistant to arbitrary closure. There is sensitivity to revisions of judgments and an openness in leaving gaps where no obvious consensus is possible (Code, 1991; Hare & McLaughlin, 1994). "Productive ambiguity" (Gatens, 1986) recognizes that an idea is rich in possibilities. Learning involves dealing with uncertainty and ambiguity. It is about inquiry and deliberation; becoming critically minded and intellectually curious. The process of questioning is itself a paradox for an uncertain humanity in continual search of certainty (Bateson, 1994; Jarvis, 1992). "Difficulty, uncertainty and error are not necessarily flawed states to be overcome but ongoing conditions of the educational process itself . . . they are educationally beneficent correctives to arrogance and complacency" (Usher, Bryant & Johnston, 1997, p. 25). Indeed, "the human craves for an absolute answer, and yet can discover nothing other than the relative" (Jarvis, 1983, p. 22).

Several writers echo the importance of dwelling with questions. MacMurray (1957) remarks: "The rationality of our conclusions does not depend alone upon the correctness of our thinking. It depends more upon the propriety of the questions with which we concern ourselves. The primary and critical task is the discovery of the problem. If we ask the wrong questions, the logical correctness of our answer is of little consequence" (p. 21). Questions always bring out the undetermined possibilities of a thing. "To understand the questionableness of something is already to be questioning" (Gadamer, 1996, p. 375).

Rethinking Power Issues

The research illuminates that one of the values in PBL seems to be the emphasis given to rethinking power issues in educational contexts. A facilitator remarked:

> The question of power is very much alive in all groups. The appropriation of power has to be discerned, thought about and handled well . . . it should not be an exhibition of personal power on the part of any one person.

The words "discerned . . . thought about . . . handled well" highlight the judicious manner with which power needs to be handled. The phrase "it should not be an exhibition of personal power . . .." echoes Dewey's (1938/1967) sentiments that the will or desire of any one person should not be that which establishes order. Rather, order should arise from the moving spirit of the whole group. Dewey goes on to suggest that the primary source of social control should reside in the very nature of the work done as a social enterprise in which all individuals have an opportunity to contribute and to which all feel a responsibility.

A facilitator observed that "some teachers find it difficult to give up power and control." Facilitators who neglect to rethink issues relating to power often impede collaborative learning. There is the tendency to elevate themselves as the "authorised and authoritative signifier of knowledge" and as the ones who "embody both en-gendered power and authority" (Luke, 1996). They tend to cling onto their stratified roles. Unfortunately, some facilitators accrue a substantial amount of pleasure in their supposed status and embodiment of knowledge. "Just as the omniscient narrator has disappeared from the modern fiction, so will the omniscient teacher disappear from the classroom of the future" (Bruner, 1996).

The notion of power dynamics intimate that power relations are invariably reproduced and maintained throughout the educational process. However, it seems to me that the PBL process nudges the learning community, particularly facilitators, to rethink power issues. In a chapter entitled "With Respect to Use of Power" Lindeman (1926) points out that no human being can safely be trusted with power until she has learned how to exercise power over herself. Power itself, that is, directive energy, is not to be condemned, but there is the need to ask pertinent questions concerning the manner in which it is used. Power-over, even when exercised by the most benevolent, usually debases those who command and those who obey. Forces which deprive others from participation belittle the personalities of others.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that all pedagogic action is symbolic violence inasmuch as it is "the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by a cultural power." If teachers assume that they have full authority to present the "inalienable truth" and are legislators of what is correct knowledge, they are running the risk of placing themselves on too high a pedestal since they are, according to Bauman (1987), likely to be no more than interpreters. They might be claiming a false status for the knowledge they present and also utilizing their position to persuade students to subscribe to what they are advocating. In the same vein, Jarvis (1997) points out that when teachers use their dominant position for their own self-interest, a form of

teaching has occurred, but educators might question whether education has actually taken place.

The phrase "dialogue of authority" (Romer & Whipple, 1991) aptly describes the perambulating authority that might occur in collaborative learning communities such as during the PBL process. It suggests that just as a knower who has developed a unique voice need not lose that voice in order to listen to another, one who has developed an authority does not abandon that authority while collaborating. She merely silences it while absorbing the authority of another or while constructing a new group authority. In collaborative learning communities there should be no "permanent leading caste" but "reciprocal authority."

Cultivating the Whole Person in Learning

This research reflects that in general PBL facilitators embrace the humanistic vision of personhood where whole person learning is emphasized. A facilitator remarked:

> PBL invariably draws upon more than the cognitive dimension of a person. The dynamics, the interactions, the clarifications, dealing with difficult team members . . . can at times be quite a challenge. Invariably the whole person is engaged in the dynamics and the learning that should happen . . ..

Concern for the development of the whole person is a characteristic feature in Jewish education. To the Jews, the idea of knowledge embraces the whole human personality. The Hebrew verb *yada* "to know" means to encounter, experience, and share in an intimate way. The term "holistic" has entered the educational arena to promote a view that an attention to wholeness is more important than attention to the separate and contributory parts. Deriving from the Greek *holos* – whole – the concept refers to an understanding of reality in terms of integrated wholes whose properties cannot be reduced to those of smaller units. Whole person learning seeks to restore an appropriate balance to the different dimensions of life. It enfolds "personal integration" (Miller, 1976) and an "informed heart" (Bettelheim, 1971); it involves the training of "eye, hand and heart" (Reid, 1986) and encompasses an "all-round development" (Van Der Zee, 1991) where "rationality and feeling, memory and perception are not opposed" (Moyle, 1997).

PBL seeks to affirm a holistic view of persons in which thought, feeling, and action are "conceptually, not contingently, connected as aspects of the person's conduct" (Astley, 1994, p. 234). For Bergevin (1967), the term "maturity" refers to the "growth and development of the individual towards wholeness in order to achieve constructive action in the movement from mere survival to the discovery of himself both as a person and as a responsible member of society" (p. 7).

The appeal for the affective dimension to be valued as an integral component in learning is consonant with Lindeman's (1926, pp. 105–106) emphasis that "emotions and intelligence are continuous and varying aspects of a single process and that the finest emotions are those which shine through intelligence, and the finest intelligence that which is reflected in the light of its appropriate feeling". He goes on

to elaborate: “We cannot feel and then understand; feelings may predominate over intelligence but they cannot annihilate it; likewise, to understand anything always partakes somewhat of *getting the feel* of its properties and qualities. Feeling adds warmth to understanding and understanding gives meaning to feeling” (p. 106). Likewise, MacMurray (1957) argues that the significance of feelings for human action is crucial. Reflecting on “emotional rationality” MacMurray points out that it is a “serious mistake to think that rationality has only to do with our intellectual capacities. On the contrary, our feelings and emotions have a reference to the real world, just as our thoughts do” (p. xxi).

Although our emotions are epistemologically indispensable, they are not epistemologically indisputable. Like all other faculties, they may be misleading, and their data, like all data, are subject to reinterpretation and revision. A facilitator’s comment about personalities in collaborative learning who “might use their emotions to control and manipulate the group” describes a deceptive use of emotions. This is a reminder that discordant emotions, if not attended to seriously and respectfully, could hinder the learning process (Lee, 2003).

Conclusion

The genesis of PBL in medical education came about in the hope that there would be a more authentic, holistic educational experience for learners. Several educational institutions have experimented with the PBL process and designed variations to suit their purposes. In the words of several facilitators I interviewed for this small-scale research, PBL “enables learners to become more actively engaged in their own learning journey. It is more about the journey of learning and not just the product.” It is not just a perfunctory model to adhere to, but provides learners with an engaging experience which stretches them as persons in a holistic manner. In essence, the PBL process and the interactions that take place should become a way of life.

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Chapter 17
Values, Wellness and the Social Sciences Curriculum

Deborah Henderson

Introduction

> No one knows precisely how to fashion an education that will yield individuals who are disciplined, synthesizing, creative, respectful, and ethical. I have argued that our survival as a planet may depend on the cultivation of this pentad of mental dispositions. (Gardner, 2008, p. 19)

This chapter addresses a fundamental question, namely, how can *valuing* count as worthwhile curriculum knowledge in the Social Sciences classroom? In attempting an answer, this chapter proposes that explicit teaching practices which focus on values and valuing as core "mental dispositions" in the Social Sciences classroom not only prompt intellectual growth, but also foster student wellbeing. In this way, valuing plays an important role in addressing some of the educational challenges encapsulated in Gardner's epithet.

In discussing the potential of values education in the Social Sciences curriculum to impact upon student wellness, this chapter draws upon Doyle's (1992) knowledge classification scheme for its conceptual and structural tools. Doyle suggested three levels of curriculum formation: the *institutional level* or public policy nexus of policy, society, schooling and learners; the *programmatic level*, or school subject matter knowledge as it is constructed in prescribed syllabuses; and the *classroom level*, where subject matter knowledge is encountered as disciplinary, multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary or integrated knowledge[1] and mediated by teachers and students.

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[1]As explained later in this chapter, the Australian Commonwealth and State governments attempted to coordinate a national curriculum approach during the 1990s via Key Learning Areas (KLAs), one of which encompassed important learnings in the Social Sciences and humanities. This key learning area was termed Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE). However, as curriculum development in Australia is the responsibility of the States and Territories, the specific curriculum emphasis for social sciences in the primary and lower secondary school continued to vary and from the late 1990s individual States issued their own syllabus frameworks for learning in the social sciences. Some States utilised a humanities framework and mandated

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Accordingly, this chapter is structured as follows. First, it commences with Dewey's classification of curriculum knowledge to situate the Australian government's focus on values education in schools. Second, the chapter explores a particular, and contested, national curriculum approach to framing the Social Sciences in Australia as a field of knowledge via a key learning area that emphasised values. Third, it links the potential of selected approaches to valuing with the recent research literature on student wellness and resilience. Finally, the chapter examines a pedagogical approach to fostering valuing as a mental disposition through critical reasoning and inquiry-based learning which, is contends, facilitates social skills that contribute to wellness.

Curriculum Knowledge

The notion that the school curriculum should be relevant to students and draw on their lived experiences was powerfully articulated by John Dewey (1938/1963). Dewey cautioned against instrumentalist approaches to education and noted the problems of a curriculum that positioned students as passive learners unable to participate in the development of what was taught. Dewey's (1916/1966) assumption, that what students experience in the curriculum might also influence their capacity to operate in their social world, challenged traditional or academic rationalist views of the curriculum. The latter emphasised the transmission of existing knowledge and values for the maintenance or reproduction of culture and students as submissive absorbers of information.

Dewey's (1902/2001) observations were made during a period of wide-ranging elementary school reform in many Western nations and his view of curriculum knowledge drew on what he referred to as old and new education (Jackson, 1992). For Dewey (1897/1972), the primary concern of education is "with the subject as a special mode of personal experience for children, rather than the discipline as a body of wrought-out facts and scientifically tested principles" (p. 169). Dewy viewed subject matter as a particular and specialised domain of experience with three linked features. First, it was derived from current experience of the learner; second, it should be encountered in various forms so that it ensures "the progressive development of what is already experienced into a fuller and richer and also more

discipline-based knowledge such as geography and history, whilst other states adopt a multidisciplinary approach that emphasises social and environmental understandings. A third approach integrates disciplinary-based knowledge from history and geography with the inclusion of particular Commonwealth initiatives such as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives, Studies of Asia, civics and citizenship education, gender or futures perspectives in the social sciences. This approach assumes that a single discipline-based approach does not adequately integrate the range of learnings that are essential for developing knowledge and understanding about society and the environment. Debates about what should constitute curriculum knowledge continued in Australia and by 2008, the Australian government embarked on a new national curriculum agenda that emphasises discipline-based knowledge in the Social Sciences via History and Geography.

organized form" (Dewey, 1938/1963, p. 87); and third, the selection and organisation of subject matter must concern social relations in and out of school. Dewey's experiential conception of knowledge established the basis for constructivism, for it positions knowledge as developing from students' experiences and activities rather than from a preconceived final product removed from the realm of human experience. Dewey also emphasised the significance of guidance and direction provided by specialist knowledge in the process of constructing knowledge by learners. In this sense, knowledge cannot be separated from the knower and associated forms of meaning and Dewey's work highlights the link between specialised knowledge, learners and society (Tanner & Tanner, 1995).

For Dewey (1916/1966), education could be organised so that the learner's "natural active tendencies could be fully enlisted" and he claimed that the curriculum benefits of this approach were far-reaching: "the acquisition of information and the use of a constructive imagination is what needs to be done to improve social conditions" (p. 137). As will become clear, this view of curriculum knowledge has considerable significance in theorising the place of values education and student wellbeing in education in general and in the Social Sciences in particular.

Many years have passed since Dewey's works were first published, yet his ideas resonate with some of the current debates about the sort of knowledge students should encounter in the school curriculum at a time of increasing globalisation and uncertainty, as echoed in Gardner's epithet at the beginning of this chapter. The wide-ranging responses to the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001, from despair to hope, symbolise much of this uncertainty. Not long after 9/11, one US educator noted the particular role that Social Sciences serve in the curriculum in relation to values education. As Berson (2002) put it, the "ultimate goal is to combat the doctrine of despair by instilling in our youth the idea that people have the power to spread compassion, understanding and hope throughout our nation and the global community" (p. 144). Berson's observations exemplify Dewey's approach to education and knowing. For schooling in general, and the Social Sciences in particular, plays a much greater role in students' lives than as mere subjects for academic study. In particular, this chapter explores the ways in which the Social Sciences help students to know, understand and appreciate a range of values that are significant in a globalised, multicultural and ever-changing community.

The Australian Values Initiative

The recent values initiative in Australia, which focused on values in the curriculum as part of a specific education strategy to ensure that young Australians achieve their potential, was instigated not long after the events of September 11. In 2002, the (then) Minister for Education, Science and Training commissioned a detailed study of the values taught in Australian and overseas schools in order to ensure that that this initiative was informed by best practice. Its purpose was "to examine how

values were developed and adopted, and the extent to which they inform and influence personal and educational outcomes" (Nelson, 2002, p. 13). The *Values Education Study: Final Report* (DEST, 2003) noted three different domains of values education such as "articulating values in the school's mission/ethos; developing student civic and social skills and building resilience; and incorporating values into teaching programmes across the key learning areas" (p. 11). In formulating a set of draft Principles, the Values Education Study emphasised that in "all contexts schools promote, foster and transmit values to all students and education is as much about building character as it is about equipping students with specific skills" (p. 12). These are important goals and significant to any conception of values education which links knowledge and understanding of values at school to action and experience in daily life.

The Report's findings gave authoritative support to values education in schools and identified different approaches to values education. It concluded from the research literature that debates on values education focused on two major contrasting perspectives. "The first approach, commonly called character education, concentrates on the development of particular attributes or 'virtues'; and the second places emphasis on reasoning, problem-solving, and critical thinking . . . the former values transmission and placed emphasis on shared or approved values, whereas the descriptive approach, by contrast, emphasises the ways of thinking and reasoning children need to acquire if they are to be morally educated" (DEST, 2003, p. 17). This chapter explores the second approach to values education. It contends that incorporating values into teaching programmes across the Social Sciences involves teachers in specific pedagogies that focus on the learning processes involved in ways of thinking and reasoning about valuing.

Studies of Society and Environment as an Organising Framework for the Social Sciences

It is necessary at this stage of the chapter to contextualise a particular form of Social Sciences education in Australia, Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE), that frames the discussion for this chapter for three reasons. First, SOSE placed a certain emphasis on values education in the curriculum, some of which aligned with the Australian government's values education initiative. Second, SOSE was adopted in many primary and lower secondary classrooms across Australia and was therefore a major curriculum framework for teaching values in the Social Sciences. Third, in terms of framing the Social Sciences as a field of study that promotes inquiry-based learning for valuing processes, the aetiology of SOSE stems from earlier attempts to foster critical thinking and intellectually rigorous inquiry-based learning in the Social Sciences curriculum. Each factor is discussed as follows.

At the institutional level (Doyle, 1992), the development of SOSE as an area of study in the Australian curriculum was prompted by the decision of the Commonwealth, State and Territory governments to identify key learning areas

(KLAs) for Australian schools during the 1990s. This collaborative decision was essentially an attempt to update and streamline the nation's curriculum offerings, as under the Australian constitution, education is controlled by individual States and Territories. The assumption was that explicit KLAs would clarify what students across the nation might expect from their schooling and also lessen interstate variables at a time of increasing demands and debates about what the school curriculum should offer.

At the programmatic level (Doyle, 1992), the SOSE KLA was broad, drawing upon disciplines including history, geography, economics, politics, law, sociology, anthropology, psychology and ethics, and perspectives such as Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, Australian, Asian, civics and citizenship, enterprise, environmental, gender and futures. It was defined in two documents. The conceptual strands, inquiry processes, values and cross curricular perspectives were published as a curriculum statement (Australian Education Council, 1994a). This statement was presented as a framework for school-based curriculum development and emphasised substantive, procedural and contextual knowledge. The SOSE learning outcomes were detailed in a curriculum profile (Australian Education Council, 1994b). This outcome approach emphasised what students should know and do with what they know, and it was used to inform planning and provide a framework for assessment. It must be noted that this particular approach to Social Science education was contested and opposed by those who argued that discipline-based knowledge should be prioritised in the Social Science curriculum through the subjects of history and geography (Henderson, 2005).

SOSE advocates assumed that as a designated key learning area, SOSE would ensure that all students had the opportunity to engage with the Social Sciences and Humanities given that less classroom time was allocated to teaching this field of knowledge in a "crowded" curriculum. They argued that Social Education, the broad term which encompasses several social and environmental education curriculum approaches, of which SOSE is one, provides opportunities for both interdisciplinary and disciplinary perspectives to be adopted in the curriculum and that its capacity for cross curriculum perspectives is much greater than disciplined-based curriculum approaches. Furthermore, SOSE educators suggested that contemporary, interdisciplinary study in areas such as Values education, Global Education, Peace Education, Human Rights Education, Studies of Asia, Environmental Education, Ecological Sustainable Communities, Civics and Citizenship Education and Intercultural Education, together with the significant perspectives they bring to understanding society and the environment, cannot be delivered via by History or Geography alone (Reynolds, 2009).

For example, the SOSE KLA also emphasised a particular approach to citizenship education that went beyond understanding and problem-solving and assumed that students would participate in the decision-making processes by using and applying their knowledge in social settings. It could be argued that this notion of critical social understanding and action based on values such as democracy, social justice and economic and ecological sustainability was challenging to advocates of traditional practice. SOSE also endorsed the notion that the curriculum should reflect

aspects of Australian society and culture and that the study of such values was significant to understanding and participating in it. The assumption was that students could not engage with important ideas and issues without addressing the values which lie at the heart of many of them.

The SOSE Approach to Values Education

The SOSE KLA emphasised that values were to be critiqued and investigated, and, that they were contestable. Put simply, values education in the SOSE KLA was to be viewed as any other significant part of the curriculum, with principles to be studied, understood, applied and practiced in an atmosphere of open and critical inquiry. As noted, this emphasis provoked considerable debate (Henderson, 2005). For example, one critic of the SOSE approach to values education argued that it resulted in a "curriculum that substitutes propaganda and indoctrination for basic knowledge. It teaches our children the wrong lessons about the past. It teaches our children to be morally blind" (Mason, 2000, p. 13).

It is argued here that the aetiology of SOSE also stems from earlier attempts to embed intellectually rigorous inquiry-based learning and critical thinking as core procedural knowledge in the Social Sciences curriculum. This movement to foster critical thinking in the curriculum drew upon Habermas' (1972) theory of knowledge-constitutive interests that certain forms of knowledge could be empowering. In particular, critical knowledge (Kemmis, Cole, & Suggett, 1987) and its focus on the ideological basis of phenomena, empowered people to take action and emancipate themselves from forms of oppression. Habermas' emphasis on critical and self-reflective ways of knowing through critical inquiry was first emphasised in Australia in the Social Education Materials Project (SEMP) and the work of the Social Educators' Association of Australia (SEAA), notably through two position papers *Social Education for the Eighties* (SEAA, 1984) and *Social Education in the Nineties: A Basic Right for Every Person* (SEAA, 1990), (Gilbert, 2003).

It must be noted that this approach to critical thinking and the processes of inquiry is not, as is often assumed by its critics, inherently negative. Rather, critical thinking involves processes of investigation and questioning the advantages and disadvantages in wide-ranging contexts from human situations to values, beliefs and practices. The emphasis is on deciding what needs to be accepted and preserved, and what needs to be changed to improve a situation. At base, critical thinking centres on the process of making decisions about what is important, by exploring what is *valued*. Hence, critical thinking can have radical effects, when individuals decide to make worthwhile changes, but also conservative effects, when individuals decide to maintain what is valuable. And critical thinking is inextricably linked to human progress. For example, the Abolitionists challenged the taken-for-granted assumption that slavery was acceptable, the Suffragettes argued for women to have the

right to vote and own property. At the time, slavery and women's disenfranchisement were accepted as part of the natural order and considered "normal". These practices were only challenged when they were questioned and critiqued. And such practices were finally abolished when basic human rights were considered by particular societies to be more *valuable* than distinctions of gender or colour. Hence, critical thinking in the SOSE curriculum promotes the procedural knowledge of *valuing* that aligns with Dewey's (1916/1966) emphasis on education's capacity to "improve social conditions" (p. 137) and Gardner's (2008) call for "the cultivation" of "mental dispositions" (p. 19).

Furthermore, SOSE approach to values was also informed by recent literature on values education. According to Milton Rokeach (1973), values are enduring beliefs about what's important and desirable in an individual's personal and social life. Halstead and Taylor (2000) define values as "principles and fundamental convictions which act as general guides to behaviour, the standards by which particular actions are judged to be good or desirable" (p. 169). Of course, individuals respond to issues differently, depending on the values they hold. Aspin (2003, p. 8) argued that values are not abstract ideas. Instead, values are "embedded and embodied in everything we do . . . We owe it to our students and community not merely to clarify values, but develop the settled disposition to engage in moral action". Values are deeply help beliefs about what is important and play a key role in decision-making. And, values can be expressed in the ways in which individuals think and act.

This chapter argues that Social Science teachers are well placed to take up Aspin's challenge and provide opportunities for students to develop "the settled disposition to engage", for values are not simplistic terms to be prescriptively taught and rote learned. Rather, values embody rich groupings of understandings, dispositions and skills that serve as filters for an individual's interactions with others and their environment. And students require learning experiences which provide opportunities for them to make explicit the connections between the different elements that values embody. In this context, students can appreciate the relationship between understanding values as abstract ideas that can be interpreted and applied to experience, and the knowledge and skills required should they decide to utilise those values they have encountered in the classroom.

The importance of values in schooling has been consistently emphasised by the Social Education Association of Australia (SEAA). SEAA (1990) defined social education as "the active process by which people, through drawing on personal and public knowledge . . . develop and practice values and sensibilities which are crucial to a just and democratic society and sustainable world" (p. 5). It can be argued that the SOSE KLA emphasised values more explicitly than other KLAs, given that values are a significant part of a critical understanding of society and successful participation in it. Thus for the SOSE teacher, values need to be linked with those broader social, cultural and environmental values implied by local, national and global citizenship. This chapter contends that incorporating values into teaching programmes in SOSE engages teachers in specific pedagogies that focus on the learning processes involved in valuing.

Teaching About, Through and for Values

According to the Australian Education Council (1994a, p. 5), values play an important part in the learning processes of studies of society and environment in three ways. First, values are an object of study; second, values influence what is selected for study; and third, certain values are the result of study. In terms of classroom practice in the Social Sciences, Schultz (2004, p. 16) claims this involves teaching *about*, *through* and *for* values, and these are elaborated as follows.

In terms of Doyle's (1992) classification of curriculum formation at the classroom-level teaching *about* values in the SOSE classroom involves making values an object of study and providing opportunities for students to develop their knowledge and understanding of some important terms and concepts associated with this. For example, such terms and concepts might include moral value, value, value judgement, attitude, ethic and practice. Students should have the opportunity to understand that values and attitudes relate to affect – the feeling component of human behaviour – but they are not separate from thinking. Some values are linked to deeply held beliefs about what is right or wrong. For example, if an individual values justice, they might consider it morally wrong when an injustice occurs. In this case, justice is a "moral value". When an individual makes a value judgement, they evaluate something in terms of criteria associated with a particular value. For example, the criteria of ecological harmony might influence an individual's value judgement about an environmental issue. Of course, issues can be complex and might involve a range of values and criteria. Values are considered as more enduring and stable guides to human behaviour and decisions than attitudes, which are predispositions to reacting in a particular way to some stimulus. An attitude can be defined as what an individual thinks or feels about a situation, action, statement or idea. An attitude may reflect an individual's moral values, but it can also reflect other factors such as self-interest.

An ethic is a principle which guides an individual's attitudes and practices. Ethics can be described as the link between the values an individual holds and the things an individual does. For example, if an individual values justice, it could be assumed that their guiding ethic will include a commitment to treating others in "fair" ways. A practice is something an individual does. This can be in a "one off" sense of an isolated act, or in a more enduring sense of something an individual does regularly, or frequently, or consistently. In their proposal for values clarification, Raths, Harmin and Simon (1966) claimed that an individual can only be said to have a value about something if that person is prepared to act on it and carry it out. As Hill (1994) put it, "the act of valuing places an estimate of worth or priority on some object, feeling or idea" (p. 264). Expression of opinion, attitude, interest, appreciation and empathy may well contribute to the process of value formation and to the use of values in establishing priorities. All of these are expressed by individuals as they debate issues, and decisions reflect the priority given to certain values. Of course, what individuals do reflect a complex interplay of moral values, attitudes and other factors.

Teaching *about* values in the SOSE classroom can also involve students in clarifying their own values, analysing the values of others and the beliefs that influence

them, and in searching for evidence for those beliefs. It can involve students in modelling the behaviour associated with values using, for example, a Y or T chart (this is what "social justice" looks like, sounds like, feels like). Other strategies can involve using a concept map related to the values which will be revisited later, or using narratives from stories or fables which epitomise a value.

Teaching *through* values in the SOSE classroom involves making particular values the basis of classroom behaviour, and identifying the choices made in classroom activities. This could involve acknowledging a range of perspectives within an issue or topic; using SOSE key values as organisers for planning activities and using approaches such as peer mediation or conflict resolution techniques to emphasise particular values.

Teaching *for* values in the SOSE classroom involves providing opportunities for students to make reasoned value judgements. Students can also identify those values which result from their studies and the identified values of their school. For example, academic and substantive values will be apparent when students use evidence to justify decisions; service values will be evident when students volunteer to assist others or plan to overcome a social issue such as discrimination or injustice.

Four clusters of values, or variations of them, are regarded as significant in most studies of society and environment syllabuses in Australia. These are democratic process, social justice, ecological and economic sustainability and peace, and are elaborated as followed. Democratic process is based on "a belief in the integrity and rights of all people, and promotes ideals of equal participation and access for individuals and groups" (QSCC, 2000, p. 6). Social justice includes concern for the welfare, rights and dignity of all, empathy with people from different cultures, and fairness. Ecological and economic sustainability are inextricably linked. According to Fien (1996, p. 2.1): "(a) sustainable environment is one in which the natural environment, economic development and social life are seen as mutually dependent – and the interaction between them contributes to the sustainability and enhancement of the quality of peoples' lives and the natural environment". Peace is based on the belief that "to promote life is to promote positive relations with others and with the environment" (QSCC, 2000, p. 6).

Valuing and Student Academic, Social and Emotional Health

Significantly, values education in the SOSE curriculum can be extended beyond the notion of encountering values as abstract ideas to an exploration of the process of enacting values. And SOSE educators are particularly interested in the ways through which students learn to think about, endorse and apply values. As Aspin noted (2003, p. 8), values are "embodied in everything we do". *Valuing* involves processes of feeling, thinking, expressing and responding. An individual employs these processes when they make or imply judgments about what they think is acceptable or unacceptable, negative or positive, moral or immoral. In contrast to the behavioural objectives of a character education approach to values inculcation, a

constructivist approach to values education in the SOSE classroom enables students to engage in the *valuing process* by explicitly teaching them the principles, thinking processes and sensitivities involved. The following section of the chapter explores the broader ramifications of these processes by referring to the literature on schooling and its relationship to student academic, social and emotional health.

Various terminologies such as social and emotional learning, wellness and resilience have been used to describe the range of holistic and more specific approaches that influence students' wellbeing and their learning outcomes in schools. Of the five dimensions that contribute to Eberst's (1984) holistic notion of wellness, two have particular significance for SOSE teachers. These dimensions of wellness relate to emotional/mental and social health. Mental health can be defined in terms of knowing or cognition, and emotional health as the affective domain. Social "health" refers to social skills and social functioning. Some research studies claim that prosocial behaviour in the classroom is linked with positive intellectual outcomes (see DiPerna & Elliott, 1999; Feshbach & Feshbach, 1987; Haynes, Ben-Avie, & Ensign, 2003). Conversely, it is claimed that antisocial conduct often co-occurs with poor academic performance (Hawkins, Farrington, & Catalano, 1998).

Other research studies emphasise a consistent link between perceptions of school and emotional health (Natvig, Albrektsen, Anderssen, & Qvarnstrom, 1997) and it is argued here that a focus on the processes associated with valuing in the SOSE classroom provide the common link between health and education outcomes. For example, school environments that are perceived as positive, such as those which provide an inclusive social climate and affirming learning environments, can increase an individual's sense of success and competence, which, it is argued, leads in turn to better wellbeing, lower levels of depression and fewer subjective health complaints (Aro, Hanninen, & Paronen, 1989). Other studies, such as those by Canfield (1990), Damon (1991) and Sammons Hillman and Mortimore (1995) align levels of students' self-esteem with their capacities to make adjustments and develop social responsibility.

Bernard (1991, 1997) has emphasised the role that school systems and specific teaching practices play in building resilience by promoting caring, connectedness, cooperation and opportunities for contribution. Fuller, McGraw, and Goodyear (1999) also emphasise resilience and define it as an individual's capacity to deal proactively with a range of challenges and liken it to "bungy jumping" through the pitfalls of life. The classroom, in particular, provides a crucial socio-psychological context for student development (Hodge, Smit, & Hanson, 1990; Kuperminc, Leadbeater, Emmons, & Blatt, 1997; Kuperminc, Leadbeater, & Blatt, 2001; Samdal, 1998). As Zins, Weissberg, Wang, & Walberg, (2004) suggest, it is in the classroom that students have the opportunity to develop life skills such as making responsible decisions, managing emotional responses, identifying value positions in challenging situations, responding to such situations appropriately and communicating their responses. As noted, it can be argued that these skills also contribute to students' capacity to develop resilience and positive learning outcomes.

In King's (1998) terms, teaching value processing in the Social Science classroom can turn the classroom into a resource rather than a risk factor during this stage in a student's development.

In curriculum and pedagogical terms, effective teaching and learning in valuing in the SOSE classroom goes beyond procedural mastery (Edmonds, 1996; Harris, 1998; Hofmeister & Lubke 1990) and requires what Darling-Hammond (1996) referred to as a particular and deliberate connection between the teacher, learning and curriculum. Moreover, an increasing body of literature drawing on research on mental health, effective teaching, supportive learning environments and student attainment emphasises that the social and emotional wellbeing which results from this "deliberate connection" impacts positively upon students' behaviour and learning outcomes. As will be seen, the role of the SOSE teacher in emphasising particular teaching strategies and learning experiences that foreground valuing in the classroom is critical to this process.

Pedagogical Approaches to Valuing

This part of the chapter explores further the classroom level of curriculum formation (Doyle, 1992) and specific pedagogical approaches to teaching valuing in SOSE. This focus is necessary as a range of studies indicate that teacher effectiveness at the classroom level of curriculum formation is greater than the whole school effect (Hayes, Mills, Christie, & Lingard, 2006; Hill & Rowe, 1996, 1998; Radenbush & Bryk, 1986; Scheerens, Vermeulen, & Pelgrum, 1989; Willms, 2000). Furthermore, studies that apply the notion of teacher effectiveness on learning to include a values dimension, such as Wang, Haertel and Walberg's (1993) research on school learning, also conclude that factors closest to students, rather than more removed variables, such as school structures and educational policies, impact on the quality of student learning. Research on teacher effectiveness in Australia, notably Rowe's work on the impact of quality teaching on improving student performance (Rowe 2003, 2004a, 2004b; Rowe & Hill, 1998; Hill & Rowe, 1998) emphasises the teacher's agency in this process. This chapter argues that SOSE teachers who include a specific focus on *valuing* have an impact on the quality of student achievement and sense of wellbeing.

Teaching strategies that involve students in the process of *valuing* in the classroom draw upon a range of different elements or sub-processes (Gilbert, 2004). These elements involve various forms of thinking, feeling, expressing and acting, each of which is based on different sorts of knowledge, skills and criteria. It is argued here that these processes provide teachers with the capacity to make a difference in the *intellectual depth* of their students' learning. As Lovat (2009) noted with reference to the Carnegie Corporation's Task Force on Learning (Carnegie Corporation, 1996) intellectual depth implies more than instrumentalist notions of acquired knowledge. For not only are students developing intellectual skills, they are also developing "competencies of interpretation, communication, negotiation

and reflection, with a focus on self-management" (Lovat, 2009, p. 3). This approach is broadly aligned with a moral reasoning emphasis (Kohlberg, 1969, 1975, 1984) which utilises dilemma discussion strategies as a process to facilitate the development of moral reasoning (Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975; Rest & Thoma, 1986) and to also foreground the teacher's role in facilitating such discussions (Dobblestein-Osthoff & Reinhardt, 1992).

For example, if teachers want to plan an inquiry-based SOSE unit of work that investigates how certain values have developed in relation to a particular issue, there are specific strategies teachers can utilise to prompt student understandings of the values principles involved. With reference to the value cluster of ecological and economic sustainability, the first stage of an inquiry unit of work in the classroom might focus on understanding values principles associated with some specific questions (Lemin, Potts & Welsford, 1994). The teacher might frame the following guiding questions as a way of structuring the inquiry: What can ecological sustainability mean? What does economic sustainability involve? In what ways can ecological and economic sustainability be applied to a specific development issue? Why are there different opinions about their applicability? What are their respective strengths and weaknesses? In what ways can this value cluster be contested? Why have people regarded this value cluster as significant? Classroom activities could focus on interpreting and analysing value concepts and how they have originated and developed; recognising values in social and environmental issues and other contexts; identifying implications of values; judging whether ideas or actions conform to or conflict with stated values; interpreting values in formal and official statements such as laws or international declarations and agreements. The teacher would draw upon the following questions as criteria for evaluating student learning in the classroom. Are students able to explain and distinguish ecological and economic sustainability from other related values? Can students demonstrate how this value cluster is relevant and significant to a range of issues and situations? Are students able to apply this value cluster in an authentic and consistent way? Can students explain and justify the ways in which they have applied this value cluster?

The second stage of this process draws on logical and empirical analysis. In framing further questions for inquiry, students will be involved in analysing values issues and judgements to identify rational and empirical claims or assumptions; using critical thinking to assess arguments and interpretation; using techniques of data gathering, analysis and evaluation to generate and/or critique the evidence applied to decisions. The teacher would draw upon a range of questions to evaluate student learning during this process. For example, is students' reasoning logical, consistent and based on higher order thinking? Are alternate arguments considered? Is the range of evidence accurate, comprehensive, reliable and representative? Are there disparities in the evidence that warrant further investigation?

The third stage centres on the valuing processes of empathy, tolerance and open-mindedness. Questions that guide this stage of the inquiry might include: how do others perceive this value issue? In what ways might they see it differently? To what degree should different cultural perspectives be considered? Are there differences between others' views and the student's own views? What possible alternatives or

compromises could be negotiated? Is this desirable? Why? Classroom processes and strategies to support this stage could include listening to, reading about and considering the views of others. Students could suggest how they would feel about issues on the basis of this evidence, and testing their possible responses with others. Teachers could utilise specific teaching strategies such as role play, freeze-frame, value dilemmas, simulation and reflective activities to enhance student learning (Kirman, 1991). The teacher could draw on the following questions to evaluate student learning in this phase. Have a range of other perspectives been heard and considered? Have students accurately understood the experience of others in this issue? To what degree have students sought solutions that might be acceptable to all?

The valuing process of caring is explored in the fourth stage (Noddings, 2002). Students might be involved in learning experiences that involve caring for people and the environment through community service, volunteer work or related activities. Students might weigh up the range of outcomes of decisions, actions and inaction on the welfare of people and the sustainability of environments. Inquiry questions for this stage could prompt students to consider why they might be concerned about this issue. What range of emotional responses have they experienced? How might students want to be treated if they were in this situation? In what ways can students be sympathetic to the experience of others? During this exploration of caring the teacher would be considering whether students are informed of and sensitive to the impact of this action or situation on the welfare of people and the environment. Are students able and willing to act in a socially responsible way in response to their investigation?

The fifth stage involves decision-making about ecological and economic sustainability that draws on democratic principles. Inquiry questions to guide this final phase might include: in what ways can this issue be resolved according to democratic processes? What democratic procedures and rules of conduct need to be followed so that all involved can participate equitably in the decision? (Lemin et al., 1994). How can the democratic rights of all involved be maintained? During this stage students should be engaged in authentic decision-making processes such as student representative councils and classroom/school/community group/interest group committee work. Learning experiences might include simulated decision-making processes such as council meetings, special interest group meetings and parliaments. Students should develop their negotiation and conflict resolutions skills though collaborative discussion and decision making, whilst developing interpersonal and, if possible, intercultural communication skills.

It is argued here that this approach to *valuing* "can strengthen students' self-esteem, optimism and commitment to personal fulfilment; and help students exercise personal and social responsibilities" (DEST, 2003, p. 10). In terms of intellectual depth, this claim is supported by a wide-ranging review of studies on the effects of values education which concluded that values education can "enhance students' higher order cognitive and intellectual development" (Deakin Crick, Tew, Taylor, Durant, & Samuel, 2005, p. 3).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how recent initiatives in values education in Australia emphasise the importance of the process of *valuing* by examining some particular methodologies that foster this in the classroom. It has emphasised inquiry-based approaches in the Social Sciences as significant in linking valuing processes with decision-making skills and proposed some pedagogical approaches to foreground values education in the curriculum formation of SOSE. It has argued that *valuing* can be conceptualised as a mental disposition that contributes to student social and emotional wellness. In sum, the development of the capacity to make informed value choices is a critical factor in promoting wellness and resilience in students and in preparing them for the decision-making skills required for effective participation in society.

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Chapter 18
Inspiration as a Thought-Provoking Concept for Values Education

Theo van der Zee

Introduction

The whole-person approach to learning features prominently in values education. Although not a prerogative of particular schools, religiously affiliated schools have long been familiar with this approach. They see themselves as more than just a temporary stopping place where learners acquire knowledge and skills and also envisage a formative task in regard to the whole person of the learner. The learner's entire person is addressed in all its dimensions: intellectual, expressive, physical and existential. Religiously affiliated schools benefit by this approach, which contributes to good learning results – at any rate, so they claim (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982; Hill, Foster, & Gendler, 1990; Sullivan, 2001). Their formative project is also based on the normative perspective of a particular religious tradition. Catholic schools, for example, attune their educational practices to the notion of human beings as the image of God and to practising righteousness or justice. From that perspective these schools settle for a holistic approach, which may manifest itself in an accent on values education, musical and dramatic performances, sporting activities and pastoral care.

Values education may be seen as a school's formative project. But how do schools carry out this project when they are dealing with a pluriform population? The question raises not only practical problems but also normative ones. Formative projects are normatively oriented, because the educational enterprise is intrinsically value-laden (Lovat & Clement, 2008). Given the pluralism, individualism and secularization of our time this is problematic. That applies to all schools, including religiously affiliated ones. Questions include the following. Can schools actually opt for an unequivocal educative perspective in an era marked by unprecedented striving for individual freedom? And can teachers induce learners to appropriate specific values while at the same time actualizing their own ideas and values?

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In this article I probe the question of how schools can form learners in the present-day context, a project that is inextricably tied up with the people that have to execute it, notably teachers. I argue that teachers can form learners by inspiring them. In support of the argument I present inspiration as a thought-provoking concept, in both a theoretical and a practical sense, when envisioning such a project. I shall explain what inspiration is and how it functions with reference to a recent study. This empirical study focuses on the extent to which inspiration is ascribed to teachers in Catholic schools and how it is thought to influence learners. The research findings can contribute to reflection on learners' education generally and to values education in particular.

Forming Through Communication

By accomplishing their values education project schools form their learners. Forming is often associated with upbringing and teaching. Here, however, I do not equate it with upbringing or teaching, but locate it on the interface between the two. It is seen as a common factor in upbringing and teaching aimed at development of the learner's entire person. Forming is based on pedagogic and educative principles, which are ideals directing teachers' activities. That applies to all teachers irrespective of their institutional or ideological background. Forming is normative. It steers teachers' actions in a particular direction. How a direction is appraised depends on the underlying ideas and values. Hence forming raises both pedagogic and worldview-related questions. Worldview-related ideas and values can help to integrate, orient and criticize pedagogic and educative ideas, or to recapitulate these, for instance by pointing out the point of life (and hence of forming) (Van der Ven, 1998). Thus the meaning of life presented by religious traditions can raise pedagogic activities to a higher level and at the same time keep them fundamentally open. In other words, orientations to forming can, on the basis of worldview-related ideas and values, be integrated, oriented, criticized or recapitulated. Catholic schools, for example, are guided by a perspective on the uniqueness and wholeness of human beings, on the basis of which they explore possibilities of human dignity. The possibilities relate to such things as the uniqueness of every individual as an image of God, solidarity, stewardship of creation, hope and justice. The Catholic tradition contains elements that can help to form people in their wholeness (Hermans, 1993).

Schools may opt for a formative project such as values education from an unequivocal normative perspective. However, various societal developments – such as the pluriformity of school populations – complicate such an unequivocal perspective. Because the population represents many traditions it hardly seems feasible for present-day schools to mould learners in just one tradition. Individualism likewise complicates an unequivocal perspective. It means that people want to be recognized as individuals and as such claim certain rights. Even though they form part of larger wholes such as a suburb, a city, a school or a nation, they experience themselves primarily as individuals. An extreme form of this is individualism, in which the

individual's relation to society is reduced to something inward belonging to that person alone. A school population represents not only a number of cultural, social and religious traditions, but is also a collective of individuals who want to be recognized as such. Learners cannot be addressed or approached collectively (any longer). A third societal development that appears to influence the formative perspective of schools is secularization. By this I mean the growing tendency to find the meaning that people see in and attribute to life in this-worldly contexts rather than in the interaction between this world and God. Thus it seems less plausible for schools to evaluate or augment their normative perspective using ideas and values taken from religious traditions. That invites religiously affiliated schools to reappraise their ideas on forming (Brennan, Archer, & McCormack, 1991). Pluralism, individualism and secularization raise the problem anew: can learners be formed on the basis of just one normative perspective, and if so, how? These developments cast doubt on the possibility of forming learners according to just one clearly defined tradition, as though that tradition would not need to enter into dialogue with others. They also cast doubt on collectivized forming, as though a class can be addressed or approached purely as a collective. Finally, they cast doubt on attempts to integrate, orient, criticize or recapitulate pedagogic and educative ideas on the basis of worldview-related notions connected with transcendence.

How can the formative project of values education be conceived of in both a practical (how to achieve it) and a normative sense (in what perspective), in explicit relation to such social developments as pluralism, individualism and secularization? One way of perceiving formation is through communication (Van der Ven, 1998). Communication can be seen as a common denominator of various modes of forming. Forming takes place in a pedagogic relation between teacher and learner, which is an interpersonal relationship. The assumption here is that teacher and learner are responsible for their own actions and that they can understand each other's thoughts and deeds. Teacher and learner realize their interpersonal relationship by communicating. Hence forming is associated with persons who are communicating with each other. A particular kind of communication is inspiration, which is thought to influence and emanate from teachers. Inspiration refers to the stimulating influence that teachers have on learners. They can inspire their learners by communicating, especially in language. Thus they are expected to inspire learners to develop qualities like critical thinking and to behave in a socially responsible manner.

Teachers can inspire learners by communicating reasons to think, desire or act in certain ways on the premise that that the other is seen as someone who has her own reasons (Hermans, 1993). Thus a learner may have reasons for putting effort into a particular task, but may equally well have reasons for objecting to some measure taken by the teacher. Teachers, too, have their reasons. Reasons are seen as guidelines that help people to make decisions. Teachers at religiously affiliated schools can evaluate reasons on the basis of underlying ideas and values, and learners in their turn are free to appropriate, evaluate and accept these reasons or not. But having reasons does not in itself prompt thought, desire or action. It would be more accurate to speak of motivating reasons. Reasons to think, desire or act are made up of knowledge about something on the one hand, and motivation to do something

on the other. A learner who has appropriated reasons to appreciate beauty also has to be motivated to do so – in other words, he will need to have motivating reasons (e.g., because it enriches his life). Note that such forming chooses to move beyond surface learning to engage learners in genuine depth.

Understood as a formative project, values education, too, can happen through communication. By communicating teachers can form learners' values. One way of seeing this communication is as inspirational. In the present pluralistic, individualized and secularized context it can be expected that teachers are able to provide values education by inspiring learners. Whether this is really the case, remains to be seen. Hence the next section deals with the concept of inspiration.

Inspiration as a Particular Kind of Causation Through Communicating with Others

In this section I explore philosophical reflections on inspiration so as to determine what exactly is meant by the inspiration that teachers are supposed to have and exude. Although inspiration is often associated with religious inspiration, I choose explicitly not to do so. Instead I opt for a philosophical approach. Searle's theory (1983, 2001) on the operation of the human mind and interpersonal communication can help us to determine more accurately what happens when people inspire others.

The first question is how we should understand inspiration in the sense of mental influencing. Inspiration causes certain psychological effects in people, but it is a special kind of causation – what Searle calls intentional causation. That means that it is not simply a matter of cause and effect in the scientific sense or causation according to the model of billiard balls touching each other. When teachers inspire learners by saying, doing or demonstrating certain things, or through their whole attitude and disposition, they are not adhering to causal laws such as the law of gravity that causes things heavier than air always to fall downwards as a result of that force, or like a ball that always rolls away when it is pushed. Intentional or mental causation always involves human mental processes, with radical implications. Inspiration is a typical example. Invariably learners are inspired by teachers' psychological attributes such as humour, patience, involvement and love for their subject. The psychological effects that teachers have on learners when they inspire them include staying power, interest and diligence. In the case of physical causation there are laws governing it. In the case of mental causation there may be foreseeable regularities, but no laws in the scientific sense. People's mental processes do not observe such laws, simply because they are subjective, at least in an ontological sense: they depend on a subject for their existence, hence cannot be separated from that person. The person is always free and in principle can choose from various alternatives. In education that applies to both teachers and learners, hence also to the former's inspiring effect on the latter.

But that does not tell us exactly what inspiration entails. The question is whether and in what sense the inspiration that teachers are said to have and to exude is normative. I answer the question with reference to Searle's theory (1983) on interpersonal communication. He reasons as follows. People can inspire others only by communicating with them, especially by way of language. Teachers can inspire learners by what and who they are, by their actual deeds. But that can only happen if and in as much as there is communication. Mostly, however, people inspire others by what they say and how they say it. This represents a particular form of action, namely communicative speech acts. Every form of speech act observes certain rules in order to communicate intelligibly. For instance, when asking a question one should not make a promise or a statement. If one wants to praise a learner, one does not do so in the form of a reprimand. These are rules governing the meaning and intelligibility of so-called illocutionary acts such as affirmations (e.g., 'that's true'), guidelines (e.g., 'do your best'), promises (e.g., 'we shall come back to that tomorrow'), emotional expressions (e.g., 'congratulations!') and official statements (e.g., 'you have passed'). But when one communicates – whether linguistically or otherwise – one not merely performs illocutionary acts but other simultaneous actions as well. Thus one may persuade, console or encourage people. These acts are not illocutionary in the sense that they are performed *in* words or *in* language. They are perlocutionary acts, performed *via* words, language or nonverbal means of communication. And for these there are no universally valid rules. After all, whether a person is consoled, encouraged or persuaded by other people's words or actions depends not merely on the meaning of their illocutionary acts but also and more especially on the hearer's receptiveness – her past history and psychological makeup, which can vary greatly from one person to the next. Inspiring via language is a typical perlocutionary act of this kind. Teachers can inspire some learners quite powerfully by what they say or how they communicate, whereas it will have no inspirational effect whatever on others.

What can be said is that all inspiration is considered to be a particular kind of causation (of a particular kind of perlocutionary effect). By and large it refers to a specific form of motivation, that is to say, it gives those who are inspired reason to act in a particular way, or at least to choose among different possible actions. In this sense inspiration is normative and offers guidelines. In the case of inspiration the directive is always open. Inspiring someone does not mean that the person will act or choose in precisely the same way as the person inspiring him, although it does prompt a similar kind of action or choice. What is peculiar to inspiration, however, is that it motivates very powerfully and very positively because of the remarkable character of its source, at least in the eyes of those who are inspired by it. What makes a person inspiring to someone else is always a quality or set of qualities in which the inspirer outshines others, at any rate in the estimation of those she inspires. The effect of inspiration is that one wants – very much – to excel in the same way. That is why inspiration is referred to as animation, enthusiasm and passion.

There is another (and new) consideration that has received little attention so far. People's inspirational impact lies not only in their excellence but also in the other's

aptitude. After all, inspiring others implies 'awakening' them to ideas or desires and intentions for which they have a special propensity. A learner without a flair for language will never be inspired by a teacher, however able and enthusiastic, to specialize in language. But a learner who has a sensitivity for plants and animals may be inspired by even the dullest biology teacher to specialize in that subject. Here it should be noted that aptitude, sensitivity, competence and propensities are a special kind of mental state. In an important respect they differ from things like perceptions, memories, beliefs, desires, plans and intentions. What the latter have in common is that they are directed to specific objects or actions in the real world and represent these mentally. When one sees a flower or one wants to pick one the perception includes a mental representation of either the flower or the act. Aptitude, competence, sensitivity or propensity does not represent anything in this sense. They are mental states that are not (yet) directed to any particular object or act; hence they are non-representational. They belong to that part of the human mind that Searle (1983) calls background. All kinds of assumptions and truisms that people take for granted belong to that domain. Just as one may be made aware of an assumption through confrontation with people who do not share it or who question it, so a particular aptitude can be aroused or kindled by the inspiration exuded by another person. Inspiration is in fact to kindle, elevate and bring to life such propensities, potential and other background elements in the sense of transforming them into representational mental states.

Empirical Research into Inspiring Teachers

The teacher's role in learning and formation is crucial (Good, Biddle, & Brophy, 1975; Hattie, 2009; Shuell, 1996). From the foregoing argument one would expect inspiring teachers par excellence to get learners to develop. Whether they in fact exude inspiration and whether it influences learners we do not really know at this stage. Recently a study was made of the extent to which an inspiring influence is attributed to teachers in Catholic schools, which constitute approximately 35% of all schools in the Netherlands and are fully state funded (Van der Zee & De Jong, 2009). The premise in this research was that inspiring is distinct from other forms of motivation. Inspiration is a particularly powerful, highly positive way of motivating, specifically through the outstanding character of the inspirer, at least in the eyes of those she inspires. This element of excellence is essential for inspiration. Another premise is that, while realizing that communication in educational contexts is not one-dimensional, in this article I focus on inspiration that emanates from teachers.

The study was designed to establish whether teachers at Catholic schools are in fact credited with an inspiring influence. To determine this, our first question was whether inspiration is ascribed to these teachers, and second, whether certain qualities are ascribed to learners as the effect of such inspiring teachers. Whether teachers actually exude inspiration was measured in terms of qualities attributed to inspiring leaders. It was assumed that in a sense the teacher's task entails

leadership and has features that are at least partly commensurable with traits specific to inspiring leadership in organizations (Den Hartog, 1997), such as vision, charisma, intellectual stimulation, motivation, providing a role model, competence, attention to learners and seeing the sense of things. Inspiring teachers can be expected to excel in these and other qualities. To measure whether qualities can be ascribed to learners as a result of teachers' inspiring influence we used their mental states that can be rated positively, for example, because they are beneficial to personal wellbeing or conducive to responsible social behaviour. The accent was on positive states of a fairly lasting nature. These states or qualities may be called virtues, such as wisdom, courage, humaneness, fairness, moderation or transcendence (Peterson & Seligman, 2004). It should be noted that not all inspiration is intrinsically good. A source of inspiration may possess qualities that some people consider excellent, but which, rationally, should be condemned. Inspiration always has content, which may be good or bad. Here, however, I only look at positive qualities that influence the development of virtues (that are also appraised positively).

The empirical research took the form of a survey. The questionnaire comprised three sections. The first covered respondents' personal characteristics (age, sex, etc.). The second pertained to contextual background factors, aimed at identifying factors that could influence the ascription of qualities to inspiring teachers and learners. The third section contained questions about inspiring teachers. The first item asked the respondents to name an inspiring teacher. Then they had to answer two questions with that teacher in mind. The first concerned the qualities of the inspiring teacher, and the second concerned learners' virtues.

The research population comprised parents and teachers at Catholic primary schools and learners and teachers at Catholic secondary schools throughout the Netherlands. Participating schools were sent a letter with two questionnaires. Primary schools received a questionnaire for parents of grade 5 learners and another for teachers; secondary schools received a questionnaire for teachers and another for grade 10 and grade 11 learners. The total number of respondents in the four groups came to 1,179. It was made up of 307 parents, 432 learners, 274 primary school teachers and 166 secondary school teachers. There were 34% males and 66% females. The youngest respondent was 13 years old and the eldest 63, with a mean age of 33. Of the respondents 57% saw themselves as Catholics, 4% indicated membership of some Protestant church, 3% said they were Muslims, 5% claimed adherence to some other religion (Hinduism, Buddhism or other) and 31% said they did not belong to a religious community.

The research produced various interesting findings (Van der Zee & De Jong, 2009). First, the qualities ascribed to inspiring teachers are proficiency in their subject and expounding the lesson material lucidly. They are also credited with an ability to motivate learners to achieve while devoting special attention to weaker learners, and finally with indicating what they see as the point of life and how they regard life. The latter I call making sense of things. In short, diverse qualities are ascribed to inspiring teachers. Second, the study shows that the inspiring influence of teachers helps learners to develop social virtues like a sense of justice and social

responsibility, as well as inquisitiveness, a thirst for knowledge and enthusiasm. They also develop such qualities as an appreciation of beauty, gratitude and spirituality. Although the third set of qualities is ascribed to learners to a lesser extent than the first two, the finding is remarkable. The various virtues correlate reasonably well: if a virtue or set of virtues is ascribed to learners, so are several others to a reasonable extent. Third, we found that the qualities ascribed to teachers influence the virtues attributed to learners, almost irrespective of the cultural, social or religious background of the parties. It is noteworthy that knowledge of the subject has a positive impact mainly on the development of inquisitiveness, a thirst for knowledge and enthusiasm; paying attention to weaker learners on justice, social responsibility, appreciation of beauty, gratitude and spirituality; and making sense of life influences all three sets of virtues positively, especially social virtues and spirituality.

The research permits certain conclusions that are pertinent to teachers' inspiration as a positive influence on learners. Some caution is called for, however: since our study is confined to Catholic education in the Netherlands, we should not generalize rashly. But having said that, I infer from the study that seeing the sense of things plays a key role in explaining the inspiration emanating from teachers. It influences not only appreciation of beauty, gratitude and spirituality positively but also inquisitiveness, thirst for knowledge and enthusiasm, as well as social virtues. The influence may be seen as causal, for respondents were asked to keep just one inspiring teacher in mind. Hence one could aver that teachers who indicate what they regard as meaningful in life and how they view life induce the development of virtues like spirituality as well as inquisitiveness, a thirst for knowledge and social virtues. A possible explanation is that these teachers are able to convey authentically or genuinely. In other words, they show that it is meaningful to cultivate virtues (and not just spirituality) and that they can actually be cultivated successfully.

Hence I can state that according to respondents teachers do exude inspiration and that the quality of demonstrating the sense of things is focal in this regard. Because inspiring teachers motivate learners in respect of particular ideas, desires and actions, making sense of them implies giving (motivational) reasons for them. That is to say, inspiring teachers make learners see the sense of their thoughts, desires or actions by advancing sound reasons for these. Making sense should not be interpreted as assigning significance to something. To make sense of something requires both placing it in a larger whole and realizing that the relation to that whole consists in the possibility of success (cf. Aristotle, 1995). Thus the sense of something actually connotes its chances of success. Making sense of an intention or a desire and its fulfilment or realization are to estimate its chances of success. A positive attitude would be pointless if one expects the project to fail but perfectly sensible if one thinks it can succeed. Thus the sense of ascribing inspiration to teachers in Catholic schools consists in the possibility that the ascription is true. If one wants teachers to be inspiring, the sense of that desire is that it will be fulfilled. The normative orientation of inspiration should be viewed in the same perspective, namely that of giving sound reasons for the possible sense of thoughts, desires and actions. Put differently, by making sense of things inspiring teachers can give learners sensible reasons to place their virtues in the larger whole of society, just as their sense of

justice can contribute to a just society. By making sense one can also show that the development of virtues has a chance of success, for instance that learners can actually be enabled to appreciate beauty. Conversely, if teachers fail to make sense of things one cannot really expect learners to contribute to larger wholes or to believe that they will be able to develop virtues. Hence seeing sense of things appears to be a key concept in understanding the inspiration exuded by teachers in Catholic schools.

Reflection with a View to Forming Learners

Social developments like pluralism, individualism and secularization have presented formative education with fresh challenges, especially in schools which aim at forming the learner's entire person. In this article I conceptualize forming as inspiration emanating from teachers that influences learners. This approach seeks to do justice to learners' capacities, ideas and values by allowing for their propensities, potential and other background elements. What new insights does the empirical study of inspiring teachers offer in this regard?

First, the research confirms the view that teachers play a crucial role in forming learners. Qualities like social virtues, inquisitiveness and a thirst for knowledge are ascribed to learners as the results of teachers' inspiring influence. According to this view it makes sense to allow ample opportunity for interaction between teachers and learners with a view to effective formative education. 'Ample' should be understood qualitatively as well as quantitatively. It is above all concerned with the quality of the interaction (cf. Shuell, 1996; Carr, 2005). Without qualitatively good interaction teachers do not have a chance to exert an inspirational influence on learners, and learners do not have a chance to develop their qualities further. In short, forming requires adequate opportunity for interaction between teachers and learners. I shall clarify one aspect of qualitatively good interaction below.

Second, it appears that various qualities are ascribed to inspiring teachers and that they inspire various virtues. Their influence does not emanate from just one quality, but from several. Inspiring teachers not only are proficient in their subjects but also devote attention to weak learners and demonstrate what is existentially meaningful to them. In addition they do not inspire just one virtue or set of virtues, but several. The influence of inspiring teachers helps learners to develop lasting qualities like a thirst for knowledge, a sense of justice and spirituality. In this diversity we were able to discern some conspicuous influences. That is to say, inspiration is itself a pluriform phenomenon in which a number of influences are discernible. They should be seen as regularities rather than rules, lest they be interpreted too instrumentally. But more important is an aspect of the diversity: the element of excellence. Qualities are ascribed to inspiring teachers on the basis of excellence. Because teachers excel in, for instance, devoting attention to weaker learners, one can expect a positive effect on learners. The effects, too, pertain to excellence: learners want to excel in the same way as their teachers. Excelling indicates difference *qua* difference.

When thinking about inspiration such difference *qua* difference may be considered positive. One could argue that excellence (in both teachers and learners) should be rated positively and that forming should not be based on or aimed at uniformity (cf. Frissen, 2007; Young, 1990).

Third, the findings indicate that making sense plays a key role in explaining the inspiration exuded by inspiring teachers. Demonstrating their approach to life and/or their view of the sense of life appears to be crucial for exercising effective inspiring influence in the sense of helping learners to develop various virtues. What does that mean for formative projects at schools? It is recommended that teachers explicitly demonstrate how their actions convey sense, whether these entail teaching, modelling, feedback or whatever. That tells us something about the content of qualitatively good communication between teachers and learners: it should make explicit sense. I have said that sense pertains mainly to placing things in a larger whole. But it is more than that. Making sense concerns more than just the substance of formative education: it also has to do with the fundamentals of pedagogic activities (Carr, 2003). These presuppose sensibleness: they can only succeed if teachers believe that learners will eventually be able to appreciate the sense of formative education for themselves and they open themselves to it. The fundamentals consist in unconditional trust in the meaningfulness of human life. That trust can be expressed in religious terms: religious traditions afford insight into their interpretation of meaningfulness. Thus religiously affiliated schools can ground their formative project in a religious tradition, and teachers can do the same with their pedagogic activities. They could also orient or criticize their formative project or activities on the basis of these fundamentals. By raising the subject of meaningfulness these schools and teachers can contribute to the public debate on education, teaching and forming.

Conclusion

Values education includes various forms of character or citizenship education and learning programmes characterized by a comprehensive pedagogy and a holistic approach. The formative project of values education may be seen as pedagogically imperative for personal wellbeing, social cohesion and academic advancement (Lovat & Clement, 2008).

In this article I have shown how the concept of inspiration helps to probe the formative project constructively in the current context of pluralism, individualism and secularization. Theoretically inspiration is useful if the communication process that forming consists in is viewed as a special form of influencing. Inspiration is seen as a stimulating influence emanating from teachers on the basis of their excellence in certain attributes, which has effects on learners such as the development of lasting qualities. Research has revealed actual influences. It can be assumed that the inspiration emanating from teachers makes learners appropriate good reasons to think, desire and act in a particular way. Good reasons orient their behaviour. Making sense of things is also vital for learners to develop good qualities. Making sense or seeing the sense of something entails placing it in a larger whole and acknowledging

that the relation to that whole lies in the possibility of success. From this one infers that seeing the sense of things is pivotal in orienting learners' thinking, desires and actions. It seems a constructive way of accommodating the normative element of forming.

Inspiration can also help to accomplish values education. Like other ways of forming learners, values education is inextricably tied up with the people involved in it. Values are inseparable from those who assign value to someone or something. By inspiring learners teachers can transmit, clarify and cultivate values. Inspired by teachers, learners can clarify and cultivate values. The role of inspiring people is one thing; another is that making sense is a key factor in inspiration and this is thought-provoking when it comes to the enterprise of values education. That brings me to two final recommendations, one referring to content, the other to the fundamentals of values education. The first is that learners should be given an opportunity to make sense of things. That means they must learn to place the clarification and cultivation of values in a larger whole. Teachers can scaffold learners, not only by questioning values and the value of things, but also by asking whether it is sensible: 'What is this good for?' The second recommendation is to evaluate the various forms of values education in terms of sensibleness. That means assessing to what extent they contribute to larger wholes, both socially (community of learners, citizens or world citizens) and historically (community of generations). For religiously affiliated schools it is also appropriate to consider the contribution of these forms to larger wholes in a religious sense (communion with God) (De Jong, 2007). Here, too, the question is, 'What is this (educational project) good for?'

Values education can be realized through inspiration. Thus it is recommended to assign inspiration a prominent place in reflection on values education and learner wellbeing, both theoretically and in practice. That might show, moreover, that seeing the sense of things is essential for the realization of values education. What exactly that entails calls for further reflection. This study is a modest contribution to that enterprise.

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Chapter 19
Values Education and the Hidden Curriculum

Mark Halstead and Jiamei Xiao

Introduction

The link between values education and the hidden curriculum is widely acknowledged. Hamilton and Powell, for example, highlight the link in their definition of the hidden curriculum as 'the unofficial rules, routines and structures of schools through which students learn behaviours, values, beliefs and attitudes' (2007). It is clear that values are learned informally as well as formally and that the learning of values may often be unintentional and even unconscious. Halstead (1996) claims that values permeate everything that goes on in the classroom, even the seating arrangements and the disciplinary procedures: 'when teachers insist on precision and accuracy in children's work, or praise their use of imagination, or censure racist or sexist language, or encourage them to show initiative, or respond with interest, patience or frustration to their ideas, children are being introduced to values and value-laden issues' (pp. 3–4). All of these things are a potential source of values education, and indeed children learn as much in the domain of values from what they observe and what they experience as they do from what they are told. But what sort of learning goes on? How is it learned? How do children make sense of their learning if what they experience and observe give different messages from what they are told? How aware are children of the values embedded in a teacher's everyday behaviour? Does it ever happen that children learn the opposite of what they are told? There is a dearth of research on these topics, and indeed the whole relationship between values education and the hidden curriculum remains largely unexplored (except by Giroux & Purpel, 1983). What is clear, however, is that the process of learning values through the hidden curriculum may be much more complex than some discussions of learning by example imply (Wilson, 1985, pp. 173–176).

This chapter focuses on just one aspect of the hidden curriculum – the informal learning that goes on in schools, especially in the domain of values and attitudes, as a result of structured activities like registration, assemblies, grouping strategies and

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classroom organization and responsive activities mainly concerned with keeping order, like rewards and sanctions. If we think of lessons as the bricks which make up the wall of the curriculum, the focus of attention in this chapter is on the cement that holds the bricks together. Even though these classroom rules, routines, rituals and relationships have long been acknowledged as educationally significant in terms of school culture (Jackson, 1968), and as a sign of social control (Bernstein, Elivn, & Peters, 1966), children's experiences of and responses to these structured and responsive activities have not been adequately studied in their own right. Indeed, children's experiences of everyday schooling are largely invisible in educational research or else limited to incidental references in traditional disciplinary inquiries into teaching and learning, educational management or the curriculum. The research reported in this chapter seeks to address this imbalance by focusing on children's experiences of school rituals, collective activities and classroom management; on children's own perspectives and understandings of the taken-for-granted routines of school life; and on what children learn from these things (such as how to please the teacher, how to cope with boredom, how to decide whether to obey the teacher or not and how to reflect on what they experience). What the research aims to do is understand children's perspectives, use their own language and see their experiences and their learning through their own eyes. What it achieves is to identify some of the complexity in the processes of learning values. The purpose of the chapter is thus to raise to consciousness certain aspects of schooling that are normally merely taken for granted as an implicit part of classroom life and that have been widely neglected in research. The intention is to make teachers more aware of their own practices and of children's responses, so that they will be able to respond more effectively to children's needs and to improve the quality of their work, particularly in the field of values education. Before we can proceed to an account of the research, however, we must first examine the concept of the hidden curriculum more closely.

Concept of the Hidden Curriculum

The 'hidden curriculum' in schools has been variously defined as 'conformity to institutional expectations, . . . regulations and routines' (Jackson, 1968, pp. 34–35), 'the unstated rules necessary for successful completion of formal education studies' (Anderson, 2001, p. 28) or 'all that pupils learn at school which is not intentionally taught or communicated by the teachers and the school system' (Hargreaves, 1982, p. 47). What these and other definitions from the heyday of research into the hidden curriculum (the 1960s–1980s) share is that the concept is about learning rather than being taught, that the learning is not part of the official agenda of the school, and that it can derive from various sources in addition to the teacher. The key element of learning to conform to institutional constraints (Goffman, 1961) required children at a personal level to develop patience (Jackson, 1968, p. 18), docility (Henry, 1955, p. 33), dependence on adult approval (Holt, 1965, p. 68) and respect for authority (Richardson, 1967, p. 85) and at a socio-political level to accept hierarchical

structures of power and control as natural (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 147). This is often expressed in ideological language as socializing the young into existing class structures which would benefit the ruling classes in capitalist societies. All of this strikes a chord with some of our own findings in school, but in our view it is only part of the truth about the hidden curriculum. In our own research there was certainly much evidence of the class teacher seeking to dominate and control the class through constant surveillance and verbal instructions, and a by-product of this could be that pupils come to accept authority and hierarchical structures as a normal part of society. But as we shall see this ignores the common tendency of many children to resist the teacher's control and to experience a tension between their own wishes and those of the teacher. The result is that the learning that goes on in the hidden curriculum is a more complicated mix of the pupils' own values and those that they pick up from peers, teachers, parents, the school environment and other sources. The second main problem with the ideological analysis is that it ignores the possibility that there can be other (and perhaps more positive) outcomes from the hidden curriculum in addition to the negative experiences of indoctrination and conditioning into an acceptance of the class values of capitalist societies. Dunlop (1984) suggests that things like 'a passion for accuracy' or 'a sense of humour' are also learned mainly through the hidden curriculum (pp. 3–4). More recent research has focused on the hidden curriculum of language and assessment (Meighan & Siraj-Blatchford, 2003, pp. 148–181), the hidden agenda of emotions and human relationships in the processes of learning (Cooper & Brna, 2002) and on constructions of gender through the hidden curriculum (Bank, Delamont, & Marshall, 2007, pp. 529–576). Perhaps we need to reconceptualize the 'hidden curriculum' as a first step to understanding its relation to values education.

The adjective 'hidden' implies that the hidden curriculum is a sub-category of 'curriculum', and so it seems sensible to start with the latter concept – but even the term 'curriculum' is problematic. In fact, it can refer to three distinct concepts, which (for the time being) we will call C1, C2 and C3. C1 refers to the sum of the learning experiences each child has while at school (Johnson, 1968, p. 3; Schools Council, 1981, p. 10). C2 is a sub-section of C1 and refers to everything that children are supposed to learn at school. This definition corresponds to Hirst's (1980) view of the curriculum as 'a programme of activities (by teachers and pupils) designed so that pupils will attain as far as possible certain educational ends or objectives' (p. 9). In other words it is an intentional, consciously planned, objective-driven set of activities. C3 is in turn a sub-section of C2, and focuses on content. It refers to everything that children are supposed to learn at school from a course of academic study, and comes to refer to the formally timetabled course of study itself. C3 is thus distinguished from other intentional activities aimed at educational goals whether compulsory (school assemblies, speech days) or optional (extra-curricular activities). In many countries, the National Curriculum sets out the broad content of C3, which is then conveyed in manageable portions to pupils through syllabuses, materials and individual lessons. The relationship between the three concepts (C1, C2 and C3) is set out in Fig. 19.1, and we are now in a position to see the link between the 'curriculum' and the 'hidden curriculum' more clearly.

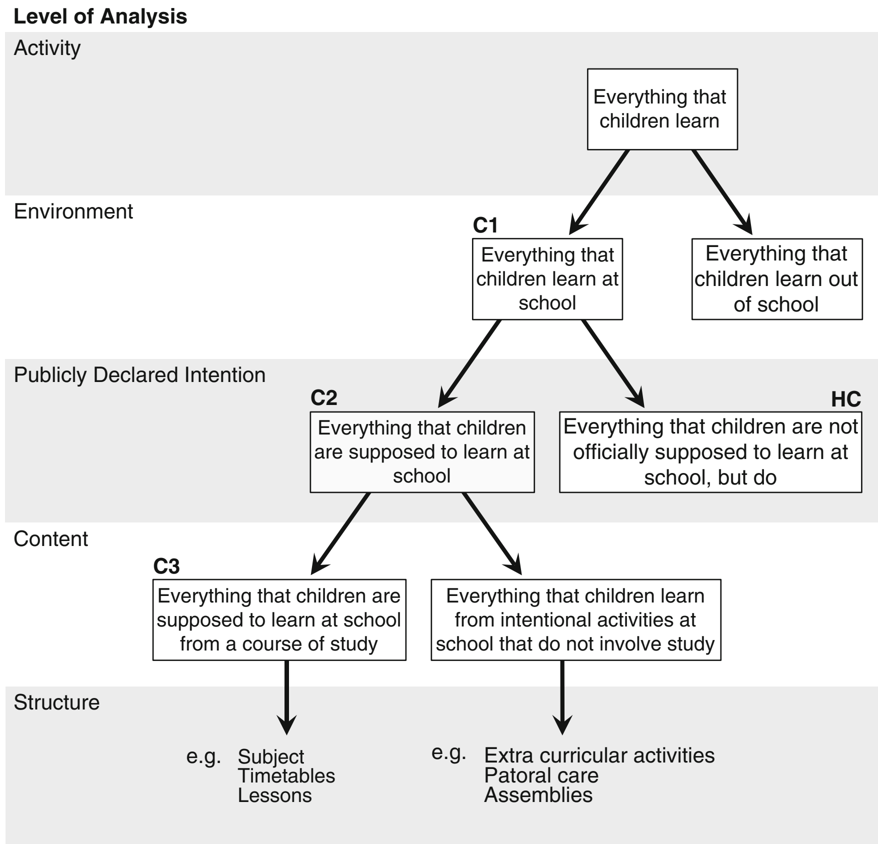

Fig. 19.1 The relationship between the three concepts of the curriculum (C1, C2 and C3) and the hidden curriculum (HC)

We cannot distinguish the hidden curriculum from C1 because, insofar as C1 refers to *all* the learning experiences children have at school, it must include any hidden messages that children pick up as well as planned learning activities. It is similarly unhelpful to try to contrast the hidden curriculum with C3, since the hidden curriculum (unlike C3) occurs both in formal lessons and in informal contexts in schools, both in planned activities and in spontaneous interactions, both through interaction with teachers and through interactions with other pupils and with the social and physical environment. The real distinction comes at the level of intention, and it is the contrast between C2 and the hidden curriculum which is most illuminative of our understanding of the latter. If C2 refers to 'everything that children are supposed to learn at school', then the hidden curriculum can be roughly defined as the things that children are not supposed to learn at school but do (or at least, the things which children learn that do not have the official approval of the school). C2 and the hidden curriculum are thus two mutually exclusive sub-categories of C1.

Because the hidden curriculum is not part of the official activities of the school, it is hidden, so to speak, from the eye of accountability. Because there is no systematic planning, pedagogy or agenda for the hidden curriculum, it tends to be ‘caught rather than taught’ and may involve picking up hidden messages, scraps of knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, ideas about relationships and so on. The hidden curriculum is a form of social interaction whose outcome can normally not be specified, and the messages may be positive or negative, because there is no quality control, no evaluation and no accountability. Clearly, such learning does not only go on in the context of the school, and indeed the term may be used metaphorically for any learning experiences where the nature of the learning is not officially acknowledged, but the present chapter is concerned only with school-based values education and in this context the term hidden curriculum can perhaps best be defined as *all the learning which occurs through the experience of attending school but which is neither authorized by the school nor intended as a means to specified educational ends*.

It is clear from this definition that learning associated with the hidden curriculum can come from fellow students as well as from teachers and the broader social environment of the school and can be beneficial as well as harmful. In this chapter our focus is on one aspect of such learning only – the values (broadly understood) which children learn at school through the hidden curriculum and the role these play in enculturation. We explore the factors involved in such informal learning, including work and play, experience and observation of everyday life in school, and the influence of the affective domain, and we draw our evidence from the children themselves.

Research Methods

The research reported in this chapter consists of an ethnographic case study of children’s classroom experiences conducted in a single class of 8–9-year-old children in a single school in the south of England. Several months were spent closely observing the class, and this was followed by detailed interviews with the children, the class teacher (Mr. McGee) and others. The interviews were all tape-recorded and later transcribed. A new approach to ‘listening to children’ was adopted in order to avoid the usual dominance of adult agendas, and the children were encouraged to express their own opinions and understandings openly within a framework of non-structured friendship-group interviews. The child-centred perspective is important because (as noted below) it is clear that the children’s perspectives on values may be very different from those of adults. The extended period of observation was designed to help the researcher to get inside the children’s experiences and see the classroom through their eyes, and this in turn helped the interviews to be productive in probing the children’s consciousness. These methods were chosen in preference to surveys and questionnaires in order to prioritize depth rather than breadth, to acknowledge complexity and ambiguity in the findings and to allow the children space to tell their own stories and express their own views of their normal life and favourite moments as they chose. The research was carried out in accordance with

standard ethical procedures and principles including informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, the avoidance of risk, the right of participants to withdraw and the avoidance of leading questions or undue influence. Pseudonyms have been used in all reports of the research. The research methods were influenced most closely by Jackson, Boostrom, and Hansen (1993) and Cullingford (2002, 2007).

This chapter focuses on two aspects of the findings – the values that children have (or develop) in the classroom, and the way the values are learned. The former were investigated mainly through the interviews and conversations with the children, the latter mainly through the observation, though in practice it was very difficult to separate out the two aspects. In order to capture as many different layers of meaning and significance as possible, the observational data were initially grouped into two separate categories: school routines and rituals, and child-oriented behaviour and responses. Similarly, the interview data were critically analysed from different angles – first, within the researchers' agenda focusing on specific repeated aspects of school life, and second, from the children's own perspective, focusing on their accounts in their own words of their experiences of schooling. However, the deeper an investigation like this probes, the more difficult interpretation becomes, though perhaps the ambiguity forms part of the richness of the findings. For example, the teacher was frequently observed touching his lip with his index finger as if calling for quiet, moving his finger slowly down his chin, and then smiling. It is difficult to be sure what this momentary action is intended to achieve from the teacher's perspective, let alone to understand how the children respond to it or what they learn from it. Is the action intended to have a different effect from a straightforward telling-off, or is it simply a variation on the standard approach? Is the teacher really annoyed, or is he simply trying to encourage 'good' behaviour? Does the smile imply that the reprimand should not be taken too seriously, or that he wants the children to know that he still likes them and cares for them underneath, or that he sees the need to reassure them at the same time as telling them off? What are the different ways that different children may read this action? What influences the different messages they may learn from it?

Initial Findings: The Hidden Curriculum

The findings from the observations and interviews are many and varied, and only a few will be touched on here. The first is that the way children perceive things in the classroom is often very different from adult understandings. This is well illustrated by the issue of the use of space in the classroom. This topic has featured extensively in the literature on the hidden curriculum. Hargreaves (1977), for example, sees the physical layout of the classroom as 'a symbolic expression of . . . the power relation that exists between teachers and pupils' (p. 101). Not only do teachers have much more space than the pupils and much more freedom to move about (Sommer, 1969, p. 99), but they also control the way the pupils enter and leave the room and the extent of pupils' movement within the room. In their allocation, use and control of space in school, Hargreaves (1977) reminds us, teachers' 'power and authority are

constantly represented and reinforced', and this helps to 'prepare the young for an acceptance' of passive roles as adults in industrial society (pp. 103, 105). In our research, the children show an equally strong interest in the use of classroom space, but their interpretation is different and more complex. One of the things that emerge in the children's interviews is that they are very concerned with where they are placed. In the first group interview the four boys explained that on the carpet they can choose where to sit but at the tables they cannot. They drew a map of how the children are normally set into 'top', 'middle' and 'bottom' tables. This feature of school life is mentioned continuously in the interviews in terms of which table the children occupy. While the children seem to accept the fact that they are organized into groups and that there are ability differences between the groups, they show much dissatisfaction with their lack of freedom to decide whom they sit or stand next to:

KAREN: I don't normally get paired with any of my friends. (Interview 18)

The issue of whether they can sit with their friends seems to loom much larger in their consciousness than any awareness of the teacher's dominance of classroom space.

The second key finding is that children may interpret the same event in very different ways. Even the simple twice daily routine of taking the register evokes very different responses from the children. Generally, registration is experienced by the children as a boring but necessary routine, mainly involving sitting and waiting:

MARK: Well, you don't learn anything from the register. You just learn to behave, and look at the person who is saying it. (Interview 19)

However, two different interpretations emerge from the exchange of greetings that Mr. McGee requires as part of the registration process. One girl regards the greetings as a sign of care on the part of the teacher, but others see them merely as a requirement and put more emphasis on practical matters like apologizing for their late arrival or confirming their lunch category. The alphabetical sequence also raises issues for the children. One group of girls raises it as a matter of fairness:

ANITA: Sometimes the teachers, 'cos they think it's quite unfair for the people at the last of the register, sometimes they go backwards. So they go from the last. The last person to the first person.
ELLA: Mr. McGee does that. And also. . .
INTERVIEWER: Why is it unfair, when you said 'unfair'? Is this. . .?
ELLA: Because they have to wait until last, to call out their names. (Interview 7)

On the other hand, some boys were very certain that the teacher's intention in taking the register in reverse alphabetical order is to keep the children more alert rather than playing fair in terms of balancing the normal order.

The third key finding is that the children rarely respond uncritically to the teacher's instructions or to the expectations of the school. This does not mean that their instinctive response is always to subvert the teacher's intentions (though, as we

note below, this is a not uncommon response), but sometimes that they feel the need to offer some explanation when they do go along with what the teacher requires and at other times merely that they perceive the teacher's advice as irrelevant, particularly when he is telling them to do something outside school. Some children seek to justify the classroom rules in terms of safety requirements or the development of self-discipline or the facilitation of learning, though this still does not mean that they always follow the rules:

HENRY: Well, you need rules in life because if you just go under your rules, you won't be trained. You won't be as good as you like.
ELEANOR: If you don't follow anything, you'll just kind of be like a grumpy person, moody person, won't you?
HENRY: That's true. (Interview 16)
GEORGE: Yeah, even if you don't want to do it you have to do it, 'cos it's for your own safety. But also-, erm, . . . sometimes some people might actually learn that, do things from that.
INTERVIEWER: So do you learn from that?
GEORGE: No, not really. (He grinned.)
INTERVIEWER: How about you? What did you learn?
JESS: It's just usual, for us. We've learned it and now it's usual for us, so . . . Well, it's like expecting it.
GEORGE: It's kind of like to go on routine, because it's like we're programmed to do that. It's kind of planned in our mind. (Interview 11)

Other children seem to think that the teacher makes up rules for his own convenience:

ANITA: It's just easier for the teacher. So they don't have to work so hard really. (Anita and Polly giggled.) So that's maybe easier. (Interview 7)

The children's acceptance of classroom rules is often closely related to their attitude to the teacher:

GEORGE: If you keep by his rules, he can turn out to be quite nice. But Jess doesn't keep by his rules.
JESS: I know. 'Cos I'm not too bothered by them. I'm not very scared. (Interview 11)

Other children are more critical of the teacher's behaviour. On one occasion, when talking about ways of improving the quality of teaching, John did not hesitate to stress the need for the teacher to change his approach to discipline:

JOHN: 'Don't shout all the time. Don't tell us off when we just walk around. That's it.' (Interview 5)

Sometimes the teacher appears anxious to promote family values, and encourages the children to tell their parents they love them and to share their favourite bit of the day with them. But the children respond with a kind of blank bewilderment, as if home is a different world where different values apply:

KEVIN: That . . . that's just stupid. As you know what you did in the day, you know what your favourite lesson is, but you don't . . .You want to keep it a bit private between yourself. (Interview 17)
IRIS: Sometimes you don't really want to tell your parents. (Interview 13)

Certain key values are already emerging in this examination of aspects of the hidden curriculum of classroom life, particularly the importance of friendship, the need for fun and distraction, the principle of fairness and the desire for more freedom of choice and decision-making. But before these values are explored in more detail, we shall say something about the children's experience of the normal school day.

The Normal School Day

The children initiated the term 'normal day' in the second interview and went on to describe the 'normal day' as a set structure composed of programmed activities. They use 'normal', 'routine' or 'usual things' in their explanation of their daily experience:

ELEANOR: I expect like just the normal day at school, really. It's all like the same, really, you know. (Interview 16)
ANITA: You have to change from being like, being able to do whatever you want to do and then you'll have to be like, you'll have to do what you're told, put your hand up and answer the question. (Interview 7)

The fixed expectations of everyday schooling in these quotations capture the experience of boredom, though different children describe it in different ways. Some girls talked about the boredom of repeating tasks endlessly, while some boys complained about the predictability of school life:

GEORGE: Sometimes they might think some of the lessons are bit boring. 'Cos you just sit on the carpet with written things for about half an hour. Even if you know, they are telling you what you'll be doing. And then you're going to do it.
JESS: For five years! (Interview 11)
EDDIE: You've done it like for almost of your life. And you have to do it. And it's like an everyday thing. Yeah. I mean you have to get used to it.
JOHN: And then it like gets boring after a while. (Interview 14)

So what is the normal school day like? The findings illustrate four main dimensions of life for children in the context of the classroom. First, grouping and sequencing always deal with children collectively rather than as individuals. Second, the teacher puts children into their designated places and then gives them comprehensive instructions concerning organizational or disciplinary matters. Third, by supervising the children, assessing their behaviour and rewarding or punishing them according to their conformity to the various explicit or implicit regulations, the teacher puts them constantly under surveillance. They may respond with subversive practices like distraction, disruption and time-wasting (Halstead & Xiao, 2009).

Fourth, the children are explicitly required to seek permission from the teacher for everything they do, and this creates a dependency culture and encourages attention-seeking. The children are constantly aware of the teacher's discipline and sanctions, and these dominate their conscious judgement of the situation in the classroom. At times, the researcher reported herself feeling overwhelmed by the teacher's organization, instruction and classroom management while she was recording what was happening in the classroom.

Children's Values and the Impact of Their Experience in School

As already noted, the children's interviews highlight a number of core values, including friendship, fun, fairness and freedom. Generally, the values are not articulated directly or in detail, but are integrated into the children's descriptions and evaluations of their everyday classroom experiences. This section brings together the various comments that they make on their developing values across the interviews.

Friendship is probably the most significant value in children's experience of schooling; indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that it is the main meaning of school life for many children. They often refer to 'making friends' or the importance of friendship when they are talking about other topics. Both at break-time and in the lessons children try to spend time with their friends, and even during registration, they think about friendship issues. For example, some girls said that registration for them is a time to identify whether their friends will have school dinner or packed lunch so that they can decide who to have lunch with and play with afterwards. In one interview, a group of children raised it as a major issue who they should sit with at the same table. Sitting with one's friends evokes positive emotions like security, trust and happiness. In other interviews girls explained how their feelings during the school day depended on 'experiencing friendship':

HELEN: Well, sometimes at the start of school, I'm like quite grumpy 'cos I've got out and played and I don't really want to go to work. Then at the end of the school day, I'm normally quite happy because like I've seen my friends and I just feel like . . . like not, say grumpy or sad or anything.

INTERVIEWER: So you're happy when the school finished?

HELEN: Yeah, 'cos we've seen our friends. It's like we feel better about it. It's like if something sad happened or anything, just seeing your friends makes you feel better. So then you don't feel so bad later on, as you do in the morning. (Interview 9)

ANITA: I don't like to go to school all the time really. But I don't mind coming to school a couple of days to see your friends and things, 'cos some of the people you don't see on any other time. (Interview 15)

However, the attitude of the school towards children's friendships is complex and ambiguous. The children are aware on the one hand that schools promote the value of friendship both through the overt curriculum (especially PSHE) and through the ethos of the school. For example, when the children discuss the value of schooling, friendship is mentioned as one of the main things they learned:

POLLY: Yeah, and we learn just how to be educated, how to be kind to people, like by sharing, by making friends, also in PSHE, because that's about friendship. (Interview 7)

On the other hand, school conveys the message to children that friendship can get in the way of other important values such as working and learning, and some of the children appear to take this message seriously:

GEORGE: If you talk to your friends, how can you listen to Mr. McGee? How you gonna pass your test? How you can do that? (Interview 11)

RORY: If you sit next to your friends then you talk. Then your whole table will be staying behind. (Interview 15)

It is not clear where the value of friendship originates, but even if it pre-dates school attendance it is clearly reinforced through the hidden curriculum, both through the influence of peers and through the active experiences of the children, as well as through some parts of the school ethos. At the same time the school gives mixed messages to the children about friendship, leaving them in a position where they experience tension between the pleasures of friendship and the need to follow the teacher's instructions to stay apart from friends while working. What this study reveals is that it is not unusual for the practices of schooling to impose conflicting values on the children, and perhaps it is through reflecting on and resolving such conflicts that the children's moral values become more mature. Schooling thus plays an important part in their moral development, but not always in the way that is intended. To the extent that schools acknowledge and encourage children's friendships, however, schooling can become a positive experience for children:

GAVIN: If you had no friends, you would . . . the school will seem like a nasty thing, but whereas if you have friends, there's a fun side of school. (Interview 12)

Fun is also a complex concept in the context of the school, but in one form or another it is an important value for children. Against the backdrop of the 'normal day' and a life lived very much under the watchful eye of the teacher, the children need to have recourse to fun. Sometimes the fun may be organized, or at least sanctioned, by the teacher, such as the distribution of sweets on someone's birthday or the occasional classroom games. In any case, some of the timetabled activities, especially sporting activities, after-school clubs and playtime, may be perceived by many of the children as 'fun'.

ANITA: Well, like play times, we find it quite fun. It's quite nice to see your friends and things and play with them.

RORY: And after school, school clubs. It's time to have fun and see each other. (Interview 15)

As one boy and one girl explained, nobody enjoys nothing at all at school. There must be at least one thing the children like. However, the favourite things expressed in the children's account often do not belong to their ordinary school life. For example, the children in the above interview further revealed that their favourite lessons are *Library or on the field* or *flute lesson*. This highlights their dissatisfaction with 'normal' school things.

Fun and play are usually thought of as the opposite of 'work', which is the general term children use to indicate their programmes of learning at school (C3, to use the earlier terminology). It is clear from many interviews that 'work' for many children is linked to 'boredom' and other negative feelings like repeating 'the same old things' (Kate, Interview 17), and the absence of fun (Polly, Interview 18; George, Interview 11):

KATE: Sometimes when I come into school, I look at the chart [of lessons] and then I see what's on today. And I go 'Boring, boring, fun, boring, boring, fun, fun, fun, boring'. (Interview 17)

In this context, the children frequently resort to making jokes and 'messing about', perhaps as a way of seeking fun through unauthorized channels. Strategies like distraction, disruption, time-wasting, daydreaming, fiddling with something, throwing a pencil, 'messing about', unauthorized talking and trying to have a laugh are the well-documented ways for pupils to get through the more mundane aspects of school life (Delamont, 1983; Pollard, 1985; Woods, 1990). It seems as if there is an undercurrent of minor deviations from the required patterns of behaviour, which may all have their roots in children's boredom or inability to concentrate for long periods or lack of interest in what they are meant to be doing. Once again, there is a conflict between what the children value (in this case, fun) and what the school demands of them. What the school teaches openly is for the children to restrain their natural inclinations and desires, but what the children learn through the hidden curriculum is how to balance their own wishes and values with those of the school. This may involve a finely tuned set of judgements (Is it worth the risk? How likely is it I will get caught and punished? How bad is the action anyway? Will my action cause any harm? and so on).

While friendship and fun appear to represent the dominant values for the children in the context of the classroom, they also mention many other values, including fairness and freedom of choice. Many of the children question the fairness of the teacher's disciplinary procedures and speak critically of him when he tells individuals off, exercises sanctions or refuses permission to sit with friends. For example, although the boys knew that Mr. McGee stopped them covering their mouth to prevent them from talking behind their hands, Gavin raised it as unfair. He said this was because he had a habitual pose with his face leaning against one hand. Some girls also criticized the teacher for unfairness when he told the wrong person off. Several children also expressed the desire for more freedom of choice in the practical organization of the classroom:

ANITA: Maybe you should like ... maybe you feel it's better you should choose who you sit next to on the tables and things. (Interview 15)

The value of freedom of choice also comes to the surface in more profound decisions the children make about how to live their life and what sort of image of themselves to present to others. Should they obey or disobey the teacher's instructions? This can be seen as the autonomous choice of individual children based on their specific understanding of both the nature of the rules and the person exercising the rules. Should they present themselves (in their terms) as a 'goodie girl' or a 'daring boy'? Ella is regarded as a 'good, good girl' by other children in the class. But she struggles with this self-identification. Actually, Henry and Eleanor also share similar thoughts about the question 'Should I be good?' and reveal some aspects of their developing values:

INTERVIEWER: Why don't you like to be good?
ELLA: It's just...
ELEANOR: Because it's just boring.
ELLA: Boring. Yeah. It's better being bad.
HENRY: Why don't you start being bad?
ELEANOR: I don't want to ... I don't. I can't.
INTERVIEWER: OK. But do you think being good is boring?
ELLA: Yeah, it's a bit boring because you just have to listen to all the teacher...
ELEANOR: He always asks you to do stuff just because you would say 'Yes' all the time.
HENRY: Yeah! Yeah, being good, there is a good thing about it. Because you get...
ELLA: You learn more. You learn more.
HENRY: No. You get ... all these good things, like you get early for break. Remember the whole class were staying in ten minutes, 'Eleanor, Ella and Anita, you can all go out'.
ELEANOR: 'These are the people that I can trust to be good'.
HENRY: And I was one of them, actually. (Interview 16)

Conclusion

This exploration of some of the complexities in the workings of the hidden curriculum has shown that the process of learning values in the classroom involves much more than the direct teaching of values (C2 in our terminology) emphasized by some proponents of character education, the teaching by example emphasized within virtues ethics or the conditioning emphasized by some hidden curriculum theorists. Some of the complexity results from differences of personality and family background among individual children, but much is to do with the varied interactions within the classroom, with the different ways that individual children evaluate situations and with the level of thinking that goes into the judgements they make

when faced with moral choices. What the children learn from the teacher's constant surveillance, reprimands and use of rewards and sanctions may be less to do with whether to be compliant or disruptive and more to do with the amount of thought that goes into their response. For example, obedience *may* be an unthinking, passive, lazy response on the part of the children, or merely a desire to 'please the teacher', but the evidence from our research suggests that the children often feel obliged to justify their compliance (in terms of being resigned to the inevitable, for example, or of actually agreeing with the teacher or of being willing to see things from his standpoint), which suggests it is not unthinking. Similarly, disobedience or disruption *may* be an unthinking response to the generally strict atmosphere in Mr. McGee's classroom, or to feelings of boredom, but our research suggests that the children are often conscious of the restraints under which they live at school and of the unarticulated regulating intentions of the teacher and make deliberate choices about how to behave or respond in the light of this awareness. However, the question whether or not to obey the teachers still appears to generate inner struggles in the children. As we noted earlier, even the so-called goodie girls hint that absolute obedience to rules can be unrealistic and arbitrary in reality. While 'resistance' and 'rebellion' sound negative from an educational perspective, they actually demonstrate children's individuality and potential for rational autonomy. This is because they are engaging with the teacher's demands rather than being simply passive; and engagement is a positive learning outcome, even if the particular response involves resistance or subversion. In a sense, *all* children are resistant and subversive to some extent and their behaviour becomes a mirror image of the teacher's surveillance and dominance, so that a kind of balance is maintained in the classroom between teacher and pupils (cf. Halstead & Xiao, 2009).

It is clear that important values education is going on through the hidden curriculum experiences described in this chapter. The children may be learning, for example, about the need for rules and about the impact rules can have on one's relationship with others or they may be learning about the appropriateness of disobeying rules in some contexts. At a deeper level, they may be learning about moral values and moral judgements, though not necessarily the kind of learning that the teacher intends. The teacher may think that his dominating presence and his discipline are helping to guide their behaviour and shape their values, but in fact it seems likely that they are learning values such as tolerance through reflection on his treatment of them. Indeed, it may be their inner or overt resistance to his control that is leading them towards such reflection and thus towards moral autonomy.

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Chapter 20
Towards an Ethics of Integration in Education

Inna Semetsky

Introduction: The Value of Experience

The focus of this chapter is on philosophy of education as it pertains to values education and the development of character. It uses both classical sources and contemporary poststructuralist theory to develop the argument for the creation of a new ethics of integration based on the awareness that significant events in human culture should become unorthodox subject matter to be critically examined and to learn from. Both historically and habitually, we understand learning as a conceptual activity confined to a generic classroom and taking place in the presence of a certain instruction.

In 1916, John Dewey, who still remains a source of inspiration for educational theorists, was the first to expand the boundaries of the concept of learning. Reconceptualizing learning means opening the doors of a generic classroom and letting in real-life human experiences from which we can, and should, learn. According to Dewey, learning from experience means making "a backward and forward connection between what we do to things and what we enjoy and suffer from things in consequence. Under such conditions, doing becomes a trying; an experiment with the world to find out what it is like; the undergoing becomes instruction – discovery of the connection of things" (Dewey, 1916/1924, p. 164).

The value of an experience, or its meaning, consists, for Dewey, in perceiving all the relationships, both possible and actual, to which a concrete event may lead up. Experiential events can embody significant meanings. A real-life event can be understood in terms of a cultural extra-linguistic "text", which is subject to interpretation and meaning-making. This approach should help us in re-conceptualizing the aims of education to suit our present age. We can ask an age-old question, what is the aim of education? Or, rather, what are the aims of education? This long-time controversial question renders multiple solutions. Among philosophers, we can recall John Dewey who asserted that the aim of education is always more education; Maxine

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Green who focused on the education for freedom; Kieran Egan who questioned both the process and product of "open" education; or Alfred North Whitehead who explicitly stated the aim of education as the careful guardianship against useless and harmful, what he called "inert", ideas.

John Dewey defined education as a continual process of reconstruction of experience, that is, a real-life problem-solving activity based on the active, creative human mind interacting with an open world. In this sense, the goal of education coincides with the very educative process as a developing practice. Importantly, for Dewey, if the aim of education is to be democracy, then we should educate for democracy as much as we would democratize for education. The development and sustenance of the collective spirit of a democratic group is what education should aim for, with far-reaching implications for schools to become a mode of social life, the latter in turn to provide the necessary background for children's attainments and social wellbeing. In a continuation and further development of a Deweyan creed in education, the present twenty-first century demands a new semi-formal approach to educational process that I call *educating in/by events*; new model of pedagogy that I call *pedagogy of hope*, and new ethics to inform moral, or values, education that I call *an ethics of integration*.

Nel Noddings' (2006) recent work on the topic of critical lessons is instrumental for establishing a new paradigm for educating in/by events akin to learning from real-life experiences and will be complemented in this essay by the elements of an innovative philosophy of education. This philosophy is grounded in the framework of poststructuralist cultural theory exemplified in the figures of two French philosophers Gilles Deleuze (cf. Semetsky, 2006, 2008) and Julia Kristeva (cf. Semetsky, 2001, 2005, 2007; Stone, 2004). Significant events in human culture of such scope as September 11 can become an unorthodox means for developing the pedagogy of hope and the ethics of integration in a timely manner as paramount for sustaining the global society and the culture of education. A continuing debate regarding the methods of ethics appears unending: "since Socrates [philosophers] have sought . . . criteria for distinguishing between right and wrong and between good and evil" (Baron, Pettit, & Slote, 1997, p. 1). What is common to all approaches, however, is that they are framed by the reasoning of an independent moral agent that presents ethical categories in the form of "either-or" dualistic opposites. Under the assumption that classical ethical theories, either Kantian or consequentialist, or even virtue ethics with its emphasis on the individual character education, became quite inadequate for our new age of globalization, this essay lays down the first stone upon which to further build the philosophical foundations for the new ethics so that present and future generations of educators will become exposed to the fundamentals of this ethics and will be able to incorporate them in their pedagogical practices.

More often than not – and as if Dewey's heritage is pretty much non-existent – education proceeds in its reductive mode focusing on the same technical measurable objectives, even if under several different guises depending on times and political

contexts. Even as Dewey was adamant that "there is ... no succession of studies in the ... school curriculum. ... [and] [t]he progress is not in the succession of studies, but in the development of new attitudes towards, and new interests in, experience" (Dewey, 1887/2000, p. 97), the academic progress (and this is the only progress to be considered in formal educational settings) is still being measured by the successions in studies. As Noddings (2006) notices, the neglect of topics that would have called forth critical and reflective thinking pervades the present system of education. Teachers and students alike are not given an opportunity to reflect on their own thought processes and work habits. For Noddings, critical thinking refers not only to the assessment of formal logical arguments but also to the proper use of reason on matters of moral/social importance including personal decision making, professional conduct, and the range of beliefs. And because decision-making is embedded in experience, real events become topics central to everyday life, including education, the latter in turn embodying matters of civic importance, that is, improving communities and social conditions by means of critical evaluation and (self)-reflection.

The reflective way of thinking and knowing was precisely the mode that in antiquity "defined" true pedagogy as opposed to sophistry. The evaluation and re-valuation of experience enables putting into practice Socratic motto as the "Know thyself" principle (of course, we might remind ourselves that it was precisely the quest for meaning and re-valuation of experience, namely an examined versus unexamined life, that in a long run cost Socrates his life). Noddings (2006) is adamant about the importance of self-knowledge as the very core of education: "... when we claim to educate, we must take Socrates seriously. Unexamined lives may well be valuable and worth living, but an education that does not invite such examination may not be worthy of the label education" (p. 10). In an almost psychoanalytic manner we need to ask not only what we believe but why we believe it; not only what do I feel, but also why? Not only, what am I doing (although we rarely ask even this question!) but why? And even, what am I saying? And, again, why? But the context in which those questions should be asked is more than the private world of the mind, it is social and cultural. Self-understanding involves a critical examination of how external and internal forces affect out lives thus necessarily involves understanding others.

In a social context, self-reflection means looking at the self in connection to other selves and as positioned in the social and cultural environment and for the purpose of exploring mutual affects and interactions. The structure and dynamics of critical lessons that Noddings proposes specifically for schools cannot be taken in isolations from life with its multiplicity of experiences and socio-cultural relations; the real-life events become themselves those critical lessons from which we can and should learn. Importantly, Noddings does not differentiate between critical and reflective thinking: it is by using self-reflection in the context of personal beliefs and decision-making that every domain of human interactions becomes critically examined because no meaning can be given a-priori: meanings are to be created!

Moral Interdependence and the Pedagogy of the Concept

At this point I would like to introduce the idea of the pedagogy of the concept that belongs to French poststructuralist philosopher Gilles Deleuze whose conceptualizations strongly resonate with contemporary discourse in educational theory (Peters, 2002, 2004; Semetsky, 2006, 2008). Deleuze's collaboration on a number of works with social psychologist and practicing therapist Felix Guattari connected philosophy with socio-cultural practices. Deleuze and Guattari referred to their philosophical method in terms of geo-philosophy as beginning with the Greeks. In his move against the Cartesian method of the a priori, clear and distinct ideas, Deleuze speaks of *paideia* stating that for the Greeks thought is not based on a premeditated decision to think: thought originates in the real experience "by virtue of the forces that are exercised on it in order to constrain it to think" (Deleuze, 1983, p. 108). For Deleuze, philosophy cannot be limited to contemplation, reflection, or communication as aiming solely to consensus. It is uniquely a creative practice of inventing new concepts allowing us to evaluate experience, and the pedagogy of the concept "would have to analyse the conditions of creation as factors of always singular moments" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p. 12) embedded in the experiential events. Deleuze's pedagogy of the concept represents an important example of "expanding educational vocabularies" (Noddings, 1993, p. 5) in the concrete context of often conflicting experiences constituting contemporary culture.

Deleuzian "critical and clinical" (Deleuze, 1997) philosophy presents values as future-oriented versus pre-given, that is, plural values that are as yet to (be)come when we re-valuate experience in practice. Deleuze's emphasis on the clinical aspect sharply contrasts an ethical dimension with that of moral values. If moral values are pre-given and ratified by common sense, the Deleuzian ethical dimension pushes in the opposite direction. The ethical, for Deleuze, asks the question of who we might be. And it does so on the basis of recognizing (as Spinoza did before Deleuze) that we have no real idea of who we might become or, as Deleuze and Spinoza put the matter, we do not yet know *what a body can do*. Philosophy therefore, rather than focusing on the classical theoretical question of being, is devoted to the practice of becoming and, specifically, becoming-other. Becoming-other is established via "diversity, multiplicity [and] the destruction of identity" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 44); it presupposes breaking out of our old outlived habits and attitudes so as to creatively "bring into being that which does not yet exist" (Deleuze, 1994, p. 147).

Noddings remarks that the contradictory and paradoxical attitudes we often take towards others constitute one of the great mysteries of human life. Borrowing the term *confirmation* from Martin Buber, she suggests it as an integral part of the relational ethics in education based on care. The idea of confirmation appears to be close to the very meaning of Deleuzian becoming-other, as if establishing in practice the famous Buber's *I–Thou* relationship. The idea of becoming-other, as well of confirmation, emerges from our awareness of moral interdependence, that is, self-becoming-other by means of entering into another person's frame of reference and taking upon oneself the other perspective. Importantly,

the idea of moral interdependence expands from the individual lives to the mutual interactions of various religious, ethnic, and national groups. In the context of education, to become capable, explicitly or implicitly, of becoming-other, means to confirm the potential best in both oneself and another person.

Thus, becoming-other has a deeply engrained ethical (or therapeutic, almost clinical, element) and confirmation should constitute an important component of moral, or values, education. In a range of works, Deleuze and Guattari have established a new critical and creative language for analysing thinking as flows or movements across space. For Deleuze, all "becomings belong to geography, they are orientations, directions, entries and exits" (Deleuze, 1987, p. 2). The constructive process of production of new concepts, meanings and values embodies affects immanent to this very process and (in)forming the flows of thoughts and effects. Deleuze's philosophy is a sort of constructivism as a creation of concepts. The creative education will have paid attention to places and spaces, to retrospective as well as untimely memories, to actual and potential actions, and to dynamic forces that are capable of affecting and effecting changes thus contesting the very identity of subjects participating in the process.

Experience is always already public: it is, for Deleuze, a-subjective and pre-personal because it is the meaningfulness of experiences comprising significant real-life events that is the very precondition for the subject-formation. It is the micropolitical dimension of the whole of culture as a contextual, experiential and circumstantial site that precedes the production of subjectivity. Human "self" therefore does not presuppose identity but is produced within a dynamic process of individuation which is "populated" (Deleuze, 1987, p. 9) by socio-cultural relations. As Deleuze (2000) says, we are made up of relations and experience makes sense to us only if we understand in practice the relations between several conflicting schemes of the real experience. In fact, novel concepts are to be invented or created in order to make sense out of singular experiences and, ultimately, to affirm this sense. Similar to Dewey who was saying that an individual experience is never "some person's; it [is] nature's, localized in a body as that body happened to exist by nature" (Dewey, 1925/1958, p. 231), Deleuze too is firm on the question of the impersonality of event, that is, on its greater collective, socio-cultural or natural notwithstanding, dimension. Event is a multiplicity and as such is profoundly social and collective therefore "irreducible to individual states of affairs, particular images, [or] personal beliefs" (Deleuze, 1990, p. 19). One – in whose body an event is temporarily and historically localized – is to be worthy of this event. For this purpose, one has to attain an ethical responsibility or, as Deleuze says, "this will that the event creates in us" functioning as a quasi-cause of "what is produced within us" (p. 148). It is an event that produces subjective will, the meaning of this Deleuzian statement leaning towards Dewey's addressing the central factor in responsibility as being "the possibility of a . . . modification of character and the selection of the course of action which would make this possibility a reality" (Dewey, 1932/1998, p. 351). A specific event "in the world forces us to think. This something is an object not of recognition but a fundamental 'encounter' . . . It may be grasped in a range of affective tones: wonder, love, hatred, suffering" (Deleuze, 1994, p. 139) leading

to our learning from a singular experience embedded in this particular event when it starts making sense for us.

The relevance for education is paramount: as Deleuze and Guattari (1994) were saying, "If the three ages of the concept are the encyclopedia, pedagogy, and commercial professional training, only the second can safeguard us from falling from the heights of the first into the disaster of the third" (p. 12). It is the pedagogy of the concept – in art, science, or philosophy alike – that must educate us, respectively, in becoming able to feel, to know, and to conceive, that is, to create concepts. For Deleuze, a concept is always full of critical, creative, and political power that brings forth values and meanings. Concepts and meanings are created in practice "as a function of problems which are thought to be badly understood or badly posed (pedagogy of the concept)" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p. 16). Deleuze and Guattari are not interested in concepts in order to determine what something is, that is, its static essence, or being. Rather they are interested in the concept as a vehicle for expressing a dynamic event, or becoming: a novel concept embedded in an event functioning in a mode of Dewey's problematic situation "secures . . . linkages with ever increasing connections" (p. 37) within practical life.

The unpredictable connections presuppose not the transmission of the same but the creation of the different: the process that has important implications for education as an evolving and developing practice of the generation of new knowledge, new meanings. For Deleuze, education would begin not when the student arrives at a grasp of the material already known by the teacher, but when the teacher and student together begin to experiment in practice with what they might make of themselves and the world. *Transcoding* is one of Deleuzean neologisms employed to underline an element of creativity, of invention, and of crossing – traversing – borders between self and other. Pedagogy of the concept would defy the habitual transmission of given facts from a teacher to a student; instead education becomes "a transcoded passage from one milieu to another . . . whenever there is transcoding . . . there is . . . a constitution of a new plane, as of a surplus value. A melodic or rhythmic plane, surplus value of passage or bridging. . . . [T]he components as melodies in counterpoint, each of which serves as a motif for another. . ." (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 313–314). Thus, education grounded in philosophy specified as the process of concepts-creation becomes possible only providing a teacher and a student serve as a motif for each other and both are embedded within an experimental creative practice of becoming-other.

In order to engage in experimentation, we would abandon the idea that common sense ought to be our guide. Deleuze uses the term *common sense* in a technical fashion, to refer to the identity that arises when the faculties (in the Kantian sense) agree with one another. We must disrupt our common sense with problems that do not yet yield answers as our univocal solutions but invite a free flow of thought in a critical and self-reflective manner within a mutual and reciprocal relation. New concepts, values, and meanings will have to be created as the multiple outcomes and products of an experiential living process. Pedagogy of the concept presents the multiplicity of concepts, meanings, and values as the a posteriori products of understanding and evaluating our experience. Experience is rendered meaningful

not by grounding empirical particulars in abstract universals but by experimentation on our very being. Deleuze suggested treating each new concept "as object of an encounter, as a here-and-now ... from which emerge inexhaustibly ever new, differently distributed 'heres' and 'nows'. ... I make, remake and unmake my concepts along a moving horizon, from an always decentered center, from an always displaced periphery which repeats and differenciate them" (Deleuze, 1994, pp. xx–xxi).

Making and remaking of concepts constitute a creative process, which is not reducible to a static recognition but demands a dynamic, experiential, and experimental encounter that would have forced us to think and learn, that is, to construct meaning for a particular experience, which is as yet presently un-thought of and lacking sense. Still the creative, constructive element in Deleuze's philosophy is always complemented by expressionism, by "a becoming of thought [that] cries out" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 148) in affects that both disrupt and enrich concepts compared by Deleuze with songs. Deleuze was fond of invoking musical tropes and metaphors to enable him to articulate the dynamics of the process consisting in *what the body can do!* The Deleuzian level of analysis is not solely "a question of intellectual understanding ... but of intensity, resonance, musical harmony" (p. 86). It is guided by the "logic of affects" (Guattari, 1995, p. 9) and as such is different from a merely rational consensus based on cognitive reasoning.

Yet, in the present state of society in our information age, its principal technology of confinement may restrict *what the body can do*, both explicitly and implicitly. Deleuze contrasts Foucault's disciplinary societies with new open spatial systems which are interconnected, flexible and networked architectures that are supplanting the older enclosures. In practice, however, these new open institutional forms of punishment, education, and health are often being introduced without a reflective and critical understanding of what is taking place. Deleuze provides the following poignant vision anticipating the spread of the institutions of perpetual training and lifelong learning: "One can envisage education becoming less and less a closed site differentiated from the workplace as another closed site, but both disappearing and giving way to frightful continual training, to continual monitoring of worker-schoolkids or bureaucrat-students. They try to present it as a reform of the school system, but it's really its dismantling" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 175). In the same way that corporations have replaced factories, schools are being replaced by the abstract concept of continuing education. By turning exams into continuous assessment, education itself is "turning ... into a business" (p. 179). In this manner, a form of schooling becomes itself the means to provide a continuous stream of human capital for the knowledge economy.

If and when human capital replaces *humans*, then, as Deleuze argues, individuals become *dividuals*, a market statistic, part of a sample, an item in a data bank. The movements along the transversal *line of flight* (another of Deleuze's neologisms) can, however, disrupt the prevailing order of things by producing effects in terms of the Deleuzian present-becoming which is always already collective and social. The philosophical/educational function is both critical and clinical: the present-becoming, by definition, has a re-valuative and untimely flavour. Such is the role

of the educator as a philosopher who puts her ethics in practice as a clinician or the physician of culture; such educator can be described as "an inventor of new immanent modes of existence" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p. 113). The future form of thinking and reflection encompasses both a resistance to the present and a diagnosis of our actual becomings in terms of what Deleuze called becoming-woman or becoming-minor, but also in terms of potentially becoming-revolutionary, becoming-democratic, becoming-pedagogical, and always already becoming-other.

Reflecting on a narrow approach to education, Deleuze described it as students' looking for the answers to the problems posited by teachers which means that pupils lack power and freedom for the construction and evaluation of problems themselves. Only a free thought is capable of realizing its creative potential. The newly created concepts, or concepts the meanings of which have been altered within experience, impose new sets of evaluation on the modes of existence, and – sure enough – for Deleuze, no thinking, no speaking, and no acting, are value-free. New values are to be created because life is not a straightforward affair but presents problems whose multiple solutions constitute an open field of inquiry: it is how we might further problematize a particular situation by asking self-reflective questions rather than jumping upon a pre-reflective linear solution to "a" problem that would give a specific value to a singular experience. For Deleuze, "once one ventures outside what's familiar and reassuring, once one has to invent new concepts for unknown lands, then methods and moral systems break down" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 103). A given moral standard simply does not enter Deleuze's discourse because pedagogy of the concept presupposes "the event, not the essence" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p. 21). Event is always an element of becoming, and the becoming is unlimited.

Teacher Preparation and the New Ethics

The problem of teacher preparation becomes crucial. How can school teachers be prepared to conduct lessons based on real-life events, that is, lessons functioning in both critical and clinical modes? Lessons on current events rarely appear in the standard curriculum, but assuming that they did – to what extent of being critical, clinical, and self-reflective such imaginary lesson would have been? Noddings is adamant that teaching should become a specific profession employing the Renaissance people who will have had a broad knowledge not only of disciplines and "subject matters" but also of perennial philosophical questions. Teacher preparation courses would have indeed emphasized connections, and not only to other disciplines but also, and more importantly, to the common problems of humanity so as to create meaning for those problems, to make sense out of them! However, even if classical ethical theories are included in the teacher preparation courses (and more often than not they are not included at all), the adequacy of those theories becomes doubtful in the contemporary context of multiculturalism and globalization.

The new ethics of integration that I propose not only strongly relates to Deleuze's conceptualization of becoming-other but is inspired by the work of Jungian psychologist Erich Neumann who has already been advocating the creation of new ethic in

the troubled time of the aftermath of the Second World War (Neumann, 1969). Akin to Dewey or Deleuze, Neumann was adamant that the diversity and complexity of experiential situations would have made it impossible to lay down strict theoretical rules as standards for ethical behaviour. The goal of traditional ethics often is, as Neumann reminds us, illusionary perfection and an adherence to the absolute Good that necessarily leads to the appearance of some Evil antagonist, a real or symbolic scapegoat. By contrast, a new anti-dualist ethics should aim towards personal and collective wholeness and integrity; ultimately tending towards self-becoming-other in experience. The integration of the other side contrasts with some ideal betterment and perfection by means of repressing what represents the negative side especially when such an imperfection is projected onto the other in terms of an individual or collective *shadow*. The "shadowy" qualities may very well become attributed to others precisely because of the temptation to deny their fearful presence in oneself, either at the individual or collective levels.

At the collective level, the symbolic shadow often encompasses those outside the moral norm of the established order and the prevailing social system. While the ego-consciousness focuses on indubitable and unequivocal moral principles, these very principles crumble under the "*compensatory significance of the shadow* in the light of ethical responsibility" (Jung, 1969, p. 12; *italics in original*). Noddings (1989), pointing out that the "integration is essential" (p. 75), refers to the shadow as a set of qualities observable in human experiences even as an individual, or "a group, institution, nation, or culture" (p. 75), remain unaware of its functioning. While the old ethics is "partial" (Neumann, 1969, p. 74) as belonging solely to the Ego; the new ethics is holistic because it is devoted to recognizing our own dark and inferior side even under the conditions of the superficial superiority. The shadow rules one-sidedly unless integrated into the whole of personality. In the absence of integration it may create a sealed aggressive world denying freedom and hope to its own other, suppressed, side until – in the process of becoming-other – the shadow will start acting out spontaneously, in the form of the *dark precursor* as Deleuze would have said, and will continue to propagate tending towards reaching the destructive climax.

Jean Baudrillard (2002), French social theorist and critic, writes in his analysis of the spirit of terrorism about the shift into the symbolic sphere where an initial event becomes subjected to unforeseeable consequences. Such a singular event – like the destruction of Twin Towers on September 11 – propagates unpredictably, causing the chain of effects "not just in the direct economic, political, financial slump in the whole of the system – and the resulting moral and psychological downturn – but the slump in the value-system" (Baudrillard, 2002, pp. 31–32) as well. Baudrillard points out that not only terrorism itself is blind but so were the real towers: "no longer opening to the outside world, but subject to artificial conditioning" (p. 43): air conditioning, or mental conditioning alike. Yet, any problematic situation in real life that requires our learning as meaning-making is of the nature of experience that necessarily forms "an intrinsic genesis, not an extrinsic conditioning" (Deleuze, 1994, p. 154).

The ruthless destruction of the towers, for Baudrillard, represents the fact that "the whole system has reached a critical mass which makes it vulnerable to any

aggression" (Baudrillard, 2002, p. 33) and which propagates and amplifies itself in the sequence of subsequent events such as Iraq War. Importantly, in the context of education and as recently as 2006, at the very start of Nel Noddings' book entitled *Critical Lessons: What Our Schools Should Teach*, she says that when the United States invaded Iraq in 2003, many public school teachers were forbidden to discuss the war in their classrooms thus missing on an opportunity of exercising critical thinking in regard to this and related controversial events even as such a restriction on free discussion appears to be simply outrageous in a liberal democracy.

Learning from Events

At this point, I would like to bring into the conversation another French philosopher, psychoanalyst, and cultural theorist, Julia Kristeva, who would have described the event of war as the experience of *abjection*. She presented and analysed the concepts of abject and abjection in her book *Power of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982). The dictionary definitions of abjection include the condition of being servile, wretched, or contemptible. As an adjective, abject represents something utterly hopeless, miserable, humiliating, or wretched; contemptible; shamelessly servile; slavish and cast aside. Abjection is described by Kristeva (1982) as "one of those violent, dark revolts of being, directed against a threat that seems to emanate from an exorbitant outside or inside, ejected beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable" (p. 1). According to Kristeva, the dynamic of abjection has been slowly spreading from paganism through the whole of Western culture marked by aggression and destruction. I contend that this dynamics has reached its climax at the very start of the twenty-first century with the events of a scope of abjection on September 11.

Kristeva is famous for her method of semanalysis employing Hegelian dialectics with its laws of the unity of opposites and the logic of the negation of negation. The image of destruction is presented dialectically, that is, in the double function of overcoming the binary opposites and playing a constructive versus destructive role in the understanding and transformation of both ourselves and social reality. The event of the destruction of the Towers conveys an image of the ejection from an abject structure that appears to be both "the logical mode of this permanent aggressively, and the possibility of its being positioned and thus renewed" (Kristeva, 1998, p. 144). Hence, "though destructive, a 'death drive', expulsion is also the mechanism of relaunching, of tension, of life" (p. 144). Even if many real events in human culture happen to be destructive, Kristeva's semanalysis presents these events as also fulfilling their creative function of meaning-making. An event's potential function is "a modality of significance" (Kristeva, 1997, p. 192) for affects, moods, and thoughts which "become the communicable imprints of affective reality, perceptible to the reader" (p. 193) who perceives, reads, and interprets a particular cultural text representing a real experiential lesson from which we can learn. Even if under

the conditions of a social dissonance "never is the ambivalence of drive more fearsome than in this beginning of otherness" (p. 188), this point marks a start of the lengthy dynamics of Deleuzian becoming-other.

The integration of the shadow is thus embedded in semanalysis because of the collective subjectivity becoming able to recognize its own shifting identity as abject. The subject of experience, when functioning in the capacity of the abjective self, becomes animated by expulsion, by (so to speak) abjecting the abject in accord with the Hegelian dialectics. As Kristeva points out, "such an identification facilitates control, on the part of the subject, a certain knowledge of the process, a certain relative arrest of its movement, all of which are the conditions for its renewal and are factors which prevent it from deteriorating into a pure void" (Kristeva, 1998, p. 149). The interpretation of the cultural text, as a real-life event, in the form of creating a novel meaning for experience seems by itself to be a violent act, in the sense of its shattering one's set of privileged beliefs. Still, such a violence of expulsion when the "revelation bursts forth" (1982, p. 9) in the moment of the creation of meaning, "rejects the effects of delay" (1998, p. 153) and hence, rather than destroying the subject, contributes to making the subject anew, to remaking it in a sense of it becoming-other, realizing novel meanings and creating new values.

Following catharsis embedded in the abject event, there exists a possibility "of rebirth with and against abjection" (Kristeva, 1982, p. 31). The significance of a meaningful experience is justified by the collective subjectivity functioning in a dynamic mode of what Kristeva called subject-in-process who, "instead of sounding himself as to his 'being' does so concerning his place: 'Where am I?' instead of 'Who am I?' For the space that engrosses the deject, the excluded, is never one, nor homogeneous, nor totalizable, but essentially divisible, foldable and catastrophic" (p. 8). This ambiguous space is called "a strange place . . . a chora, a receptacle" (p. 14). Borrowed from Plato, the original meaning of the term chora is a connective link between realms of the intelligible and the sensible, implying a quality of transition or passage as a symbolic bridge between the two. Chora is a site saturated by dynamic forces. Kristeva, acknowledging the dynamic and organizing character of chora, as a "totality formed by the drives and their states in a motility that is as full of movement as it is regulated" (Kristeva, 1984, p. 25), stresses its provisional and non-expressive quality which implicitly indicates the unity of opposites: a destructive event situated in a catastrophic space represents nonetheless a space of renewal!

A space occupied by the subject-in-process is unstable and ambivalent: the archaic divided self, which – by virtue of its very (dis)placement in the chora – is represented by "a multiplicity of ex-pulsions" (Kristeva, 1998, p. 134), the primary function of which is self-destruction or the death drive. Still, it is an amorphous space, the rhythm of which resonates with the pulsations of labour when giving birth: ultimately, therefore, chora fulfils its generative and creative purpose. It is the interpretation of the real-life experience that makes chora visible in terms of its "semiotic articulation" (p. 142) by means of our own actions. Structure-less, chora

can be designated solely by its function which is explicitly feminine and caring, not unlike Noddings' (1984) theory of care and her emphasizing the importance of the conception of home (Noddings, 2002a). Chora's specific function is to engender, to provide the caring conditions – or rather, in its relational economy, to be the condition, the symbolic home – for regeneration, rebirth, and the genesis of new forms, meanings, and values.

For Noddings, it is an attitude of attentive love in the home that induces a corresponding responsiveness that can serve as a foundation for social policy. Respectively, any corrective practice that does more harm than the behaviour it is aimed at correcting should be abandoned; at home or at the level of larger society, culture wars notwithstanding. Thus, abjection and violence abound in contemporary culture where beliefs and values are continuously competing and clashing appear to function as the Deleuzian dark precursors to what has been recently designated as new philosophies for change (Zournazi, 2002). Within a double process of negation and identification, the destructive moment becomes in fact embedded within a generative, creative, and constructive process, which represents at once symbolic and real construction of collective subjectivity. Therefore, the very same moment becomes a marker of not solely abjection but of hope, this metaphysical concept elucidated recently by a number of critical theorists, including Kristeva (2002), who called such a transformative change a joyful revolt (p. 64). Any revolt – due to its own dialectics – can potentially produce hope and wholeness as a positive resolution of a catastrophic, negative, event.

In her recent interview with Australian journalist Mary Zournazi, Kristeva (2002) presents hope as a transformative, humanistic, and even religious idea. Pointing to the destruction of psychic space in the current ideological climate when abject experiences go beyond the "borders, positions [and] rules" (1982, p. 4), she says that our hope for a positive and joyful revolt, that is, a transformation in our critical thinking up to the point of inventing new ways of living, is embedded in the economy of care. Care, as a type of psychoanalytic cure, is "a concern for others, and a consideration for their 'ill-being'" (2002, p. 66), thus bringing *wellbeing* in a productive dialogue with *ill-being* for the purpose of the integration of the other. Sure enough, the ethics of care is a must for educators, as Noddings prophetically told us back in 1984 in her book *Caring* devoted to an alternative, feminine, approach to ethics and to character education.

It is the loss of hope that is feeding terror, and it was precisely on September 11, 2001 that Kristeva remarkably redefined her idea of revolt as an event enabling one to move into a space of hope. The very "logic of symbolic change" (Kristeva, 2002, p. 75) presupposes the "necessity of the symbolic deconstruction, the symbolic renewal, which comes from creation – psychic creation, aesthetic creation, rebirth of the individual" (p. 76). She calls it a process of re-evaluation of the psyche that constitutes the renewal of the self, which embodies events represented by "symbolic mutations" (p. 76). Among the latter abject experiences are the fall of the Berlin Wall, the drama of the Russian *Kursk*, and the planes hitting the World Trade Center. Those real-life events may provide experiential conditions for change and transformation therefore functioning in the mode of Noddings' (2006) critical

lessons even if being outside the walls of a formal classroom but especially when brought in so as to constitute an educational subject matter. It is a singular real-life experience that creates it own text, the critical and ethical evaluation of which provides those “other means, symbolic or imaginary” (Kristeva, 1997, p. 391) that serve as an example of the unorthodox pedagogy of care and hope in the aftermath of destruction.

The New Values Education: The Value of Relations

The coalescence of critical and clinical (or ethical) dimensions also appears in the current discourse in Australia on values education and quality teaching (cf. Lovat, 2006). In the context of the teaching profession, it is only under the conditions of critical and self-reflective ways of knowing that the transformation to new beliefs and behaviours becomes possible. The road to self-knowledge is paved with values; it requires us to establish “an environment of respect, trust and care” (p. 3), that is, being able to develop an ethical attitude and a positive teacher–student relationship and rapport. It is precisely self-reflectivity that enables one “to step out of the shadow of one’s upbringing and . . . to challenge . . . one’s own deep seated comfort zone” (p. 4) where our old habits still reside! The transformative aspect as the creative dimension of experience should not, however, involve any imposition of our own new set of values onto others. Just the opposite, we achieve integrity and become our own authentic selves only by stepping into and sharing “the life-worlds of others” (p. 4): that is, when capable of – in a Deleuzian spirit – becoming-other. Conceived as such, values education and quality teaching do complement each other nature.

Recent UNESCO report of the Commission internationale sur l’éducation pour le vingt et unième siècle, chaired by Jacques Delors, strongly emphasized four pillars of a new kind of education: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together with, and learning to be. The call for such a comprehensive art of learning is crucial, and in the UNESCO report we witness a specific approach founded on a dynamic learning process that moves away from static knowledge to the dynamic process of the learning to know and becoming capable of making multiple connections within experiences. This type of education invites the development of the relational attitude in practice. In this way not only the boundaries between disciplines become moot but so do the boundaries between facts and values. Values education based on those four pillars cannot be reduced to simply inculcating a set of given values such as those, for example, that are listed in the current Australian National Framework for values education with its focus on tolerance, among others. To live together with others does not mean simply tolerating the generic other’s differences but to learn to transcend these differences towards creating a common ground and a set of shared meanings, beliefs, and values. Learning to be is a reciprocal process functioning of the basis of teachers informing the students as much as students informing their teachers each serving, as we said earlier citing Deleuze, as a motif for each other.

How often do we, adults, assume the position that John Dewey (1925/1958) ironically dubbed the supreme dignity of adulthood, therefore jeopardizing the possibility of our own developmental and growth process while at the same time trying to foster growth in our students? But for them to learn, should not we too? Nel Noddings (2002b) keeps reminding us that the aim of moral education (and following Dewey, we consider *all* education as moral) is to contribute to the continuous education of *both* students *and* teachers. Dewey asserted that what is needed in education is a genuine faith into existence of moral principles that importantly do not remain ghosts in a Cartesian machine but are capable of being effectively applied in practice establishing a relation between what appear to be irreconcilable opposites between universals and particulars, between knowledge and action, between self and other. Dewey persistently struggled for the development of active value-judgements based on the meaning of experience in practice versus passive acceptance of given facts and indicated that the practical development of value-judgements is "in spite of, [and] not because of" (Dewey, 1909/1959, p. 55) traditional methods of instruction which emphasize simple learning,

For Dewey, the task that we should accomplish in experience – what we have to learn, to extract from this very experience as its meaning – is the ability to sort out different and often inconsistent facts upon their "scale of worth" (Dewey, 1909/1959, p. 55) thus ourselves becoming able to grade them in our very experience assigning to them certain values. Knowledge thereby is integrated with an ethical dimension derived from real-life experiences and our actions in the world crossing over the divide between facts and values. Transcending the dualistic split gives the actual body to what would otherwise remained a disembodied ghost lurking somewhere (or rather nowhere) in the private Cartesian Cogito forever split from the public social world.

Dewey summarized his major concern in the question: "Does the school, as a system, afford at present sufficient opportunity for this sort of experimentation?" (1909/1959, p. 56). Does this abound in the social world outside the confines of a traditional classroom? Real-life events, when critically evaluated, interpreted, and reflected upon, acquire extra-textual productivity, which is extremely important as a means of/for unorthodox education and pedagogy of hope in terms of learning from experience and educating in/by events. The abject experiences such as the destruction of the Twin Towers on September 11, Iraq War, and the like, should become an unorthodox subject matter to be critically examined and to learn from. Noddings (in press) uses her earlier care theory to construct an extended global approach to ethics and moral education. Noticing that the reference point for moral education is traditionally located within the norms of local or religious communities, Noddings acknowledges the rapidly changing world and the inadequacy of the traditional approach. In this age of globalization, care theory becomes a powerful resource that allows us to approach the world via *relations* and *caring* because in the framework of care theory it is a relation (and not an individual agent) that is ontologically and ethically basic.

Positing an important and timely question of how an ethic of care can be applied globally, Noddings argues that even nations and other large institutions can work

under a care-driven conception of justice where it is *caring-about* that serves the function of being the motivational foundation for justice. Noddings' attention to the unifying global level, however, is never at the expense of local differences: her recommendation is to look at the entire web of care and see how various problems impinge on and affect the lives of individual people. The main aim of moral education in this context is to strive to bring up people who would be successfully engaging in caring relations both inside and outside formal educational settings. Noddings presents modelling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation as the pillars necessary for supporting this model of education in the context of personal, political, and cultural domains. Ethics is never given a-priori in terms of some moral code of behaviour or how well our own values might fit some higher moral ideal. Instead values and meanings are created in experience in accordance with Deleuze's pedagogy of concepts.

Learning presupposes an encounter with something as yet unknown, and one always "has to invent new concepts for unknown lands" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 103), for new experiences. For Deleuze, life itself is educative: it is a long experiential process requiring wisdom in a Spinozian sense, that is, wisdom as practical and ethical, and overcoming in this process the limitations of narrow subject-centred knowledge. Within global real-life experiences, reading and interpreting diverse cultural "texts" as a critical and self-reflective way to understand real-life events is equivalent to constructing and learning symbolic lessons embedded in a continuous process of our experiential, both intellectual and ethical, growth. Because experience is not confined to an individual Cogito of the Cartesian subject but is socio-cultural and always involves the other, the integration of such a generic "other" is paramount for understanding and re-valuation of such experience. That is what I call the ethics of integration.

Conclusion: The Ethics of Integration as Becoming-other

The ethics of integration overcomes the dualistic split inherent in simple "moral algebra" with its traditional binary division into "good" versus "evil" or "right" versus "wrong". It enables us to move beyond good and evil and towards the integration of those habitual dualistic opposites that are still deeply ingrained in the individual and cultural consciousness. In this respect, an apparently evil event such as the destruction of the Twin Towers on September 11, when re-valuated critically and reflectively for the purpose of learning from this abject experience, might serve a positive *learning* function in the educational and pedagogic terms. Learning that takes place in experience is founded on discovering, as both Dewey and Deleuze were saying, some previously unknown connections that, sure enough, can transform our old habits of the mind and "challenge deeply held beliefs or ways of life" (Noddings, 2006, p. 1). In the framework of the pedagogy of the concept, such abject event may provide a creative opportunity for our understanding of its significance and meaning thus confirming the potential best in the other within the overall integrative dynamics of becoming-other.

Indeed, *becoming-other* is by all means a condition of possibility despite (or perhaps due to) the fact that it often represents "the harshest exercise in depersonalization" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 6) embedded in Kristeva's abject experiences. Contrasting "the" philosophical method with Creek *paideia*, Deleuze (1983) comments that culture usually experiences violence that serves as a force for the formation of our thinking and refers to Plato's famous metaphor of the Cave: a prisoner is forced to start thinking. Genuine philosophy – and, by implication, genuine education – must always act critically and ahead of time, transcending the present and capturing at once what was before and what would have been after. Yet, the *present-becoming* is extremely significant precisely because it makes philosophy untimely: for Deleuze, it is our present "experimentation on ourselves [that] is our only identity, our single chance for all the combinations which inhabit us" (Deleuze, 1987, p. 11). For experience to become genuinely educational, lessons should focus on topics connected to real life and should acknowledge abject experiences as important learning experiences. It was yet Spinoza who exposed sorrow and Nietzsche who exposed the paradoxical power of the negative defining the point of conversion of the negative as transmutation akin to Kristeva's joyful revolt. Under the "subtle . . . reinterpretation" (Deleuze, 1983, p. 157) of the Hegelian contradiction and its resolution as the negation of the negation, it is sorrow that can produce joy within the creative dynamics of becoming-other. A transformative educational experience cannot be but devoted to discovering in practice novel concepts and meanings for experience; this transmutation of values is what makes the cultural pedagogy of hope and the ethics of integration both possible and necessary.

Teachers should be exposed to the fundamentals of this model of pedagogy and ethics both at pre-service level and in the form of professional development so as to incorporate it in their classrooms. It is clear that classical ethical theories based on rigid dual oppositions that, supposedly, can never be reconciled because of their unit of analysis reduced to an individual agency became quite inadequate in the twenty-first century global culture. The ethics of integration, as a follow up to the ethics of care, emphasizes moral interdependence and "rejects the notion of a truly autonomous moral agent . . . As teachers, we are as dependent on our students as they are on us" (Noddings, 1998, p. 196). The focus of such an integrative educational process consists not only in the knowledge of facts but in the self-reflective evaluation and re-valuation of experience thus blending the creation of meanings into conceptual understanding. Very much in a Deleuzian spirit, Noddings comments that well-educated teachers should help students in understanding that knowledge cannot be adequately described as a set of easily retrievable answers to unambiguously stated questions. Instead, much real knowledge consists of being able to develop capacities to figure things out, to be unafraid to inquire, to experiment in practice and connect with others confirming the best in our actual and potential relationships. Becoming-other would have involved self-becoming-autonomous as its own ideal limit in a continuous experiential and experimental process of our learning in/by events and developing in practice the ethics of integration.

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Part II
Values Education: Wellbeing and Personal Integrity

Introduction

As suggested at the outset, research findings have pointed increasingly to the holistic effects of a well-hewn values education on all educational measures, including academic improvement. While it is a slightly artificial exercise to attempt to separate one measure from another, nonetheless, much research work has specialized in concentrating on one or other of the many effects of such an approach to values education. In this section, we focus on the importance to student wellbeing of personal integrity and character development.

Again, in reference to the Carnegie Report (1996), the importance of personal development and the emotional self was highlighted by notions of learning being associated with development of communicative capacity, self-reflection, and self-management. Furthermore, as also seen above, the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* (2005) emphasized that good practice education is as much about the development of character as it is about the inculcation of skills. Both sources rely in turn on the ground-breaking findings of the neurosciences that cognition and emotion are bedfellows in terms of human development and therefore of learning. As before, we emphasize now that the new values education is not a marginal or optional exercise in good practice education. The research findings in this section illustrate that it is central to all aspects of the most effective forms of education.

Chapter 21
New Research Directions in Character and Values Education in the UK

James Arthur and Kenneth Wilson

Introduction

This major research project, funded by the Templeton Foundation, is an ambitious and groundbreaking initiative with few parallels in the UK. Indeed, there has not previously been a coherent exploration of character education across all educational phases of education and into employment. The purpose of our research is to conduct qualitative and quantitative research with that form of moral education in which good character is central. It builds on the traditions of research into character education by James Leming (2008) in the USA. We discuss why character education is considered valuable, discuss what character education is taken to mean and identify and test hypothesis about various influences on the development of character through rigorous empirical research methodologies.

Initially, five separate projects have been started or completed: (a) a character perspective in the early years; (b) consistency in values: the transition from primary to secondary school; (c) character formation in schools 14–16-year olds; (d) the formation of virtues and dispositions in the 16–19 age range; and (e) values in higher education and employment. Thus we cover the age range 3–25 in this research which makes the approach unique. The overall sample consists of tracking more than 4,000 school pupils, 300 parents and 100 teachers over a 2-year period in Birmingham, Bristol, Canterbury and London. In addition, the sample contains in-depth interviews with over 100 undergraduates and 75 graduate employees together with a whole series of focus groups and case study observations. The research is *in via*, hence results are tentative and subject to revision as the analysis and interpretation of evidence proceeds. Each project has a full-time research fellow attached to it and lasts between 2 and 3 years. Reports on each phase will be published towards the end of 2009 and early 2010: the final report covering all projects will be available in late 2010.

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Understanding character education involves a large number of assorted concepts: values, morality, virtues, duties and principles (see Nucci & Narvaez, 2008, for an extensive literature on the issues in character education). There is no consensus either on how these should be fitted into a single system of thought or on the practical matter of what should be included within each. Moreover, there is no agreement on how education does or should impact on these things. As far as possible the research strategy we have adopted is first to explore the structure and content of the thinking of the children and young people. It is difficult to analyse and report on their thinking without introducing ideas and perspectives that originate from the research team rather than the data, but the intention is to be honest with ourselves about this, to make clear when we think this has happened and make known our findings in terms that will make sense.

Schools and the wider educational systems they operate within are subject to an understandable pressure to provide the economy with functionally competent persons equipped to meet the increasingly competitive demands of employment. In so doing, they may ignore or, more likely, take for granted the equally important dimensions of personal education that encourage a student to become aware of himself or herself as a responsible person. One might say that while schools have become better focused on the task of making students more response-*able*, they have given scant attention to the business of helping them to become more respons*ible* and self-aware. The focus is empirical: we enquire into its success in producing well-qualified employees and good citizens, equipped not only with a love of knowledge, a commitment to lifelong learning and the appropriate skills to apply it, but also with the personal qualities, dispositions, attitudes, values and virtues which enable them to take responsibility for themselves and contribute to the common good. Both dimensions of education are essential if a student is to be capable of taking his or her full personal role in society with a sense of purpose.

We define character education in the following way. First, we assume that there is such a thing as character, an interlocked set of personal values and virtues which normally guide conduct. Character is about who we are and who we become and includes, amongst others, the virtues of responsibility, honesty, self-reliance, reliability, generosity, self-discipline and a sense of identity and purpose. Second, that this is not a fixed set, easily measured or incapable of modification. Third, choices about conduct are choices about 'right' or 'wrong' actions and thoughts. Character is not achieved within a vacuum, for in order to become a person an individual needs to grow up in a culture, and the more diverse the culture the more of a person he or she has a chance of becoming. Our argument is that active character development is not simply about the acquisition of academic and social skills, for it is ultimately about the kind of person a student becomes and wants to become and this includes the moral, spiritual and religious dimensions of life (Arthur, 2003, p. 3).

We recognize that there is a lack of meaningful language to describe virtues and character development in English schools. The British tradition of virtue language in education has been eroded and as a result there is an impoverished discourse on character, which has created an absence of coherence in the rationale for our educational system. The lack of clarity in the moral objectives schools set themselves, especially

in the area of personal responsibility, and practice in this area is rarely evaluated. Government initiatives to enhance character education remain patchy, specialist and marginal rather than brought into the mainstream. There is little support or training for teachers and socially excluded groups of young people are least likely to be involved in character development initiatives, such as volunteering. Moreover, while employers repeatedly call attention to lack of skills and relevant knowledge in their new employees, they also point to the missing dimension of 'character'.

The following reports on the progress of each separate research project begin chronologically with early years.

A Character Perspective in the Early Years

The research on this phase began in September 2008: the currently available evidence is limited to the work so far done with parents, their attitudes to their children's development of character and the ways in which they try to go about it. The study of (a) young children and their parents/carers and (b) their professional carers' and teachers' understandings of character formation in the early years (3–6 years) and their beliefs about factors that influence its development will take place over a period of 2 years. During this period early years settings begin to work with the *Early Years Foundation Stage* (EYFS). The Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) states that the EYFS is underpinned by four core principles, which are:

- That children are competent (learners) from birth;
- That loving, secure relationships with key people are the foundation for young children's learning and development;
- That environments are pivotal in supporting and extending children's learning and development;
- That children learn and develop in different ways and at different rates; the intellectual, social. Emotional and moral aspects of learning and development are connected and of equal importance.

This study of character development comes at a time when there are concerns that early childhood programmes are overly focused on cognitive gains, despite the EYFS principle that relationships are fundamental to young children's development. The six early childhood education settings chosen reflect the variety in management arrangements. Two are maintained by the local (education) authority, one is integral to an independent school, two are owned and managed by private companies, one being a voluntary sector not-for-profit organization run by a committee. Only one setting follows a specific early years tradition or philosophy: Holly Park employs a pedagogy developed by Maria Montessori. Three are rural; the others are London-based and urban.

A multi-site case study approach to the development of grounded theory was designed. That is, theory is or theories are generated from the study's data gathered using a multi-method approach. The study includes as informants Early Years professionals, nursery managers, reception class teachers and primary school heads as well as children in their care and their families, with a sub-sample of focus children. The reason for this is to ascertain the views of professionals of diverse qualifications and experience.

The overarching research questions are:

- What are the young children's understandings of character, values and morality?
- What examples of morality and values are exhibited through the play, narratives and interactions of the young children?
- What are the early years professionals', teachers' and parents' understandings about the development of character, morality and values in the early years (3–6)?
- What do these professionals and parents believe to be the significant influences on young children's character development?
- What are the implications for professionals and teachers of the findings from all of the above research questions and for the introduction of character education programmes?

Two major criteria guided the sampling of early years settings: socio-demographic factors and provision judged by Ofsted to be 'outstanding' in the year preceding the study's commencement. In the very early stage cohort 1 included seven children as project participants, which helped the researcher to obtain a preliminary idea of children's viewpoints of values. In stage 1 (cohort 2), four focus children including two boys and two girls in each setting were selected, apart from one where only one girl and three boys were chosen. There are 24 children in total. Their ages were between 3 years 5 months and 4 years when stage 1 began in September 2008. All the children are reasonably articulate but English is not necessarily their first language. In September 2009, the third cohort comprising 24 children will be recruited.

The Parents' Narratives of Values, Virtues and Qualities

Parents identified a range of values, virtues and qualities that they regarded as essential to a child's education. These included confidence, respect, listening, good manners, honesty, openness, affection, hard work, care and thoughtfulness for others, kindness and a sense of humour. Parents wanted their children to be happy and successful, well-motivated, independent, moral and well-educated. These represent natural ambitions for every parent: what exactly they mean or imply for the school is less clear. Hence the potential significance of looking into the ways parents say they behave in respect of their children's character development.

Parents in the sample set believed there were a number of ways in which they could support their own children's character development. Since, children learn by example, setting and pointing to good role models was essential. It was important to do things *with* children, including reading to them, watching children's TV and engaging in outdoor activities. Special family time together included meal times, story time and bedtime. It was right to correct bad behaviour provided one was consistent and just, and provided one apologized for one's own mistakes. One should encourage curiosity, support their interests and reward them for good behaviour. A few parents had rules. For example that meals were eaten at the table with the family and that there was a regular bedtime. The atmosphere of the home was considered to be vital; parents wanted to provide a loving and supportive family. Many parents believed that they were influenced in their own child-rearing by their own childhood experience; some thought that their jobs and experience of work were also significant.

It is worth noting that the parents involved in the study did not identify specific problems at this stage of their child's development. Their attitude was one of optimism for their child's future and a determination to do what they could to support their child and the school.

The concern of schools and parents with values and their ambitions for their children, both suggest that in this phase of education one might be knocking on an open door when one draws attention to character education. Certainly, this would be important to know, because in this dimension of education as in all others, early intervention is of the essence if one is to encourage good habits of mind and heart.

Consistency in Values: Transition from Primary to Secondary School

This research project is being carried out over a 2-year period during 2007–2009. A case study of one community was the preferred approach. In order to give full consideration to the field of values development and to explore the consistency of provision made by schools for character education during the transition, it was necessary to include in the sample the secondary schools to which children go from the primary schools. Five primary and six secondary schools participated in the study, including schools of religious foundation, both Catholic and Anglican, Foundation schools, and a specialist Secondary school. This provided a sample of 164 year 6 pupils and 966 year 7 pupils. While Canterbury is in principle a prosperous locality, there are areas of deprivation: the take-up of free meals is 12.5%. The study explores the nature of and changes in children's understanding of values in the transitional phase of schooling from primary to secondary education as well as the consistency in provision made by schools for children's character development. From this relatively broad base the following objectives have been formulated to guide the research process:

- How do the 10–12-year olds participating in this study understand values (in the context of human qualities/characteristics)?
- How do their teachers understand values?
- What values do 10–12-year olds hold as important?
- How do primary and secondary schools make provision for character education?

There will be two phases of data collection and analysis, where findings from the first phase of analysis will inform the second phase. In phase 1 a focus group of six children lasting between 22 and 35 min was carried out in year 6 and year 7 in each of the participating primary and secondary schools.

The focus groups were designed as an exploratory tool to find out the children's perceptions of values, what they consider to be important in their lives, how they come to identify values, how they develop the desire to want to be good and behave well, and the major influences, both in and outside school, on the values they regard as important. In order to give voice to the children, questions were constructed in a manner which would not impose limits or lead to predetermined outcomes in their responses. The only assumption made related to the language used by children to describe or speak of values and character. Although the word 'values' is used in contemporary parlance, it has multiple meanings and can be difficult for children to define within the context of 'personal values'. 'Virtue' on the other hand, rarely being used in common parlance or in the more formal setting of the school, was considered to be a word with which the children would have little or no familiarity.

Emergent Themes

First, identification of values associated with a 'good' person:

Children were asked to consider the qualities of one/two people they identified as 'good'. Differences emerged between year 6 (10–11-year olds in the final year of primary schools) and year 7 (11–12-year olds in the first year of secondary schools) in the qualities they highlighted as those belonging to a 'good' person. For both years 6 and 7, the most frequently cited quality was helpfulness. Other than kindness which ranked more highly with year 6 than year 7, the qualities cited as those belonging to a 'good' person varied between the year groups. Year 6 cited a sense of humour, supportiveness, fairness, being loving and determination as qualities they associated with a 'good' person: year 7, on the other hand cited being caring, trustworthy, considerate, friendly and being understanding towards others. Interestingly, year 6 and year 7 cited different words to describe the same quality. Year 6 tended to use funny to describe sense of humour and cheerful or smiley to describe happy, whereas year 7 employed sense of humour and happy respectively to describe these qualities.

Second, recognition of corresponding actions/thoughts:

In exploring the extent to which children share the thoughts and associated action/behaviour with the person of 'good' qualities which they have so described

their reaction to what might be termed a familiar 'dilemma' was considered. Children were presented with the scenario of going to the shop to buy milk for a retired neighbour who had asked them or playing with their friends. Children were generally sympathetic, but the reasoning behind the action was noteworthy. For the majority of children it reflected genuine feelings of compassion and empathy for the neighbour. Others would do it to 'be guilt free', as a calculated action with the expectation of reciprocal treatment in later life, or because they were committed to it, for others it was a response to the friendship and trust the neighbour had in them. There was no perceptible difference between the views of children in year 6 or year 7.

Third, acknowledgement of virtuous behaviour as a matter of choice, recognizing that human weakness (emotions/circumstances) can make the practice of virtue difficult:

Children were asked to consider if they thought that people with the quality of kindness were kind all the time. The majority of children recognized the difficulties here. 'Everyone gets annoyed at some time' (year 7), 'nobody is kind all the time, because it is inhuman not to be angry at all, because you have emotions' (year 7) and 'part of being kind is if you do something not very nice/something wrong, you go and apologise' (year 6). In year 6, they tended to consider this question from a personal point of view and wonder what caused them to be unkind. For many it was their mood/feelings. In year 7 however, some of the children seemed to consider the issue at a deeper level, in that outward behaviour may be caused by a particular situation.

Fourth, association of 'good' with conforming to rules (usually stipulated by an adult) and of 'doing' good rather than 'being' good:

Children's understanding of good was different from what might have been expected. Although the children like doing good and generally want to be good many said that they did not want to be good all the time. Closer examination of the reasons for this suggests it is related to their understanding of good. For example, the comments the children made suggested that they perceived being good all the time as the opposite of fun, that it would be annoying for friends and that you would run the risk of being excluded from friendship groups.

Fifth, acknowledgement of perceived influences on their character:

For both year groups the biggest influence seemed to be that of family/parents. Friends and teachers were also mentioned, and in one case, involvement with a church. Contrary to popular view, TV personalities and other celebrities were not alluded to.

It seems that children can identify good characteristics and recognize corresponding behaviour, actions and thoughts. This included such qualities as being helpful, kind, loyal, friendly, etc., where the children were able to see that these people would be approachable, put others before themselves, encourage others, not expect anything in return for kindness/help and be good natured/happy, etc. In addition, many recognize that a person can choose to be 'good', i.e., to develop a particular quality but that moods and feelings can hinder personal development of the virtues. Although children acknowledge that a person can choose to be 'good', it would

seem that they do not understand the extent to which self-control and the development of self-control has a strong part to play within this area. However, in relation to character development the children acknowledged the influence of their parents and families, which had a strong affective dimension.

Data from the first phase of data collection were examined in order to theorize elements of character that could inform the second phase of the research. In addition, elements which were present, but did not emerge strongly were also considered (e.g., the extent to which children thought it was important to care for the environment). Concepts which appeared throughout the data were grouped together in themes. These themes related to children's understanding of the extent to which values and character are an integral part of the human person. Although they had a strong sense of values associated with a person of character and the corresponding actions or thoughts, their understanding of what it meant to be a person of character was variable. Children seemed to have a sense that character is relational and can be influenced by mood changes and context, so that how a person thought, felt and acted could be influenced by their own situation and other people. The idea of a gap between the practice of values and those held as valuable was a common theme, where self-control of emotions was generally not seen as an issue. Across year groups, children confirmed the strong influence of family/parents (some children made no distinction) and friends. An emergent theme, which was confirmed by interviews with the teachers, was the extent to which children knew and could deploy the language of values and virtue or character.

The questionnaire, of 49 items, explores the theoretical framework with a larger sample of children and considers similarities and differences between children in year 6 and year 7. The aim was to identify any underlying patterns or themes relating to the acquisition of values and character development. The questionnaire was designed to identify the way in which a pupil recognized a good person, understood what they believed to be corresponding good behaviour, the extent to which moods influence behaviour, how they understand 'good', what relationship, if any, they saw between being good and having a religious faith, how they interpreted 'values' and 'virtue' in their sense of what it is to be good. In addition, they were asked about their opinion of their own behaviour, the influence of moods on it, whether they considered themselves to be good, and what influences they believed most influenced them to behave well.

A tentative summary of the findings suggests that across the year groups the majority of children acknowledge that a person with values is kind, caring, loving, friendly, helpful, welcoming to others, trustworthy, loyal and responsible. The majority of children in both year 6 and year 7 recognize behaviour associated with good values. The proportion of children in both year groups who viewed a person with values within a religious context was relatively small. 'Values' and 'virtue' are words of which the children have little understanding of what they mean. Nevertheless, the majority of children across year 6 and year 7 believe they are kind, caring, loving, friendly, helpful, welcoming to others, trustworthy, loyal, responsible, cheerful and people who always look on the bright side. Oddly, the proportion of children who espouse these values is lower than the proportion who identify them

as values which define a good person. Although the majority of children in both year groups recognize that they tried not to be unkind to friends, did not give up when things were hard, cared for the environment and considered it important that their friends thought well of them, a relatively high proportion were undecided as to their views on their own character. The majority of children know that thinking good thoughts and doing good acts is important – indeed, the majority want to be good in all situations.

Ninety per cent of children cite their mother/female carer/guardian as the person who helps them to both know how to be a good person and act like a good person. Fathers/male carers/guardians are also strong influences: 82% of children cite them. The findings further suggest the key role of grandparents. Interestingly, friends were stronger influences than siblings, with 64% of children citing friends as the people who helped them act like a good person, in comparison to 57% in relation to siblings. The populist view is that children are more strongly influenced by TV celebrities than teachers, schools and institutionalized religion, the results suggest otherwise.

Given that 44% point to no influence for religious tradition, it is surprising that a third of all children cite 'going to my place a worship' as an influence in helping them to know how to be good (33%) and act like a good person (34%). There is a hint that the positive views of pupils are influenced by the extent to which they like or dislike school. Moreover, the evidence gives rise to the suspicion that children bring a deeper personal perspective to their judgements and that they lack at this stage *any* awareness of the possible objectivity of moral values – perhaps because they lack a language in which to talk about it.

Character Formation of 14–16-Year Old Youth

This study was carried out during 2008 and 2009 in six secondary schools in the city of Birmingham in the West Midlands. The overall aim of the study, which developed sequentially in four phases, was to explore the ways in which young people understand their values, character and its formation, and the role schools play in the building of that character and in character education generally. This phase of education concerns student progress from Key Stage 3 (national test of pupil performance at 14 years) into Key Stage 4 when pupils' academic performance is tested in The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE), the national assessment of pupil performance at 16 years). The significance of this phase is emphasized when one considers that a third of all pupils leave school when compulsory education ends which in the UK is at 16 years of age. There are many reasons for the decision to leave school then: parents want their children to work in the family businesses; children see little point in gaining further education when they are surrounded by unemployed friends; and in Muslim families it is customary that daughters remain in the home. The situation will change when Government extends compulsory education to 18 years which it plans to do with effect from 2013.

The research has three main aims:

- To document the key values and attitudes of pupils in schools in an inner city constituency in Birmingham.
- To investigate who/what shapes the development of young people's character, with specific interest in the role of schools.

To identify the factors that inhibit positive character development.

The six schools are the secondary schools in the constituency of Hodge Hill which lies to the east of Birmingham city centre. There is an even mix of modern housing and light industrial business so the neighbourhood does not have a very residential feel. There is no strong sense of community and population mobility is high. However, pockets of strong communities do exist and the area is recognized locally as being part of a well-established Asian district within the City. The ethnically diverse population is unevenly distributed. The Washwood Heath ward is 57% of black and minority ethnic (BME) origin (with 41.5% describing themselves as of Pakistani origin). In Birmingham as a whole there is a 29.6% BME population. Conversely, 92.1% of the population in Shard End is white; the remaining 7.9% is of BME origin, which is closer to the national figure for BME populations. The area is one of the 3% most deprived in the country. Neighbouring areas are similarly deprived places, with high rates of worklessness only a bus ride away from a vibrant city centre. English is not the first language of 70% of students.

The Schools

Particular features of Hodge Hill's schools should be noted. All schools have high proportions of pupils using English as a second language. According to OFSTED reports, all schools in the Hodge Hill area have very high proportions of pupils who are eligible for free school meals.

The number of pupils moving into the selective system from Hodge Hill is lower than the general Birmingham population (8% of pupils attend selective schools in Birmingham, against 3% from Hodge Hill). Those that do attend selective schools are mainly of Pakistani origin (68%). However, at least 30% of pupils are moving across boundaries and going to schools outside of the constituency. This will have an impact in terms of 'removing' some children of educationally 'aspirant' families from Hodge Hill schools. Primary schools in the area record high levels of mobility.

Pupil achievement at Key Stage 2 (national test at age 11) is slightly lower than national averages but not hugely so; at Key Stage 3 the gap becomes more marked which may be due to lack of proficiency in English. In 2002 secondary schools in Hodge Hill performed poorly at Key Stage 4. The proportion of pupils achieving passes in five subjects at grades A*–C in the GCSE (including Maths and English) is 17% lower than the national average but results are improving. School attendance is very good but alongside this it should be noted that Secondary schools show high

levels of authorized absence: these arise from the respect which schools have for the racial and religious background of students and their families, and the commitments which students have for their parents. There are good links with industry and the local university. The six schools are roughly similar in character. All are maintained inner city schools within the Birmingham LEA. Only two have post-16 provision: a third established in September 2006 has no published results. Teachers believe this scarcity of sixth form provision is a significant barrier. A number of the school teaching staff will also be invited to participate in semi-structured interviews.

Methodology and Emergent Themes

The first phase entailed data collection and analyses. Focus groups were established across the six schools to discover pupils' understanding of the concepts of moral virtues, values and good character. The second phase involved the design and construction of a questionnaire to facilitate a statistical analysis of the research issues.

A factor analytic study will be carried out using the statistical software package SPSS. Fieldwork will continue in phase three by means of two focus groups carried out in separate schools. Thirty in-depth interviews will also be carried out (five in each school) following up on the responses given in the questionnaire. The data collected inform the design of the second questionnaire that forms the final phase of the project. A second factor analytic study will then be carried out to further establish underlying themes or factors. The final phase of data collection by means of the second questionnaire is designed to add further and deeper statistical significance to the rich data collected in the ethnographic methods. Many themes emerged from an analysis of the Focus Groups. Students identified parents as the major influence on their values. Hard work and an ability to get on with people were keys to becoming a successful person while to be a good person meant being sociable, empathetic, friendly, loyal, respectful – and doing the right thing, i.e., returning a wallet to the rightful owner if one found one in the street. However, the reasons given for behaving well were a mixture of empathy, hope for reward, pleasing God, instinct and the recognition that one would feel a sense of pride. Fairness was important, especially in the behaviour of a teacher who should be consistent and evince a positive attitude to pupils both as learners and persons. Knowledge of and concern for neighbours was rarely apparent. Interestingly, suiting behaviour to the circumstances was regarded as right and inevitable since one had to look after oneself; peer pressure, fear of rejection and of interference by others were cited as influences.

Other themes emerged in connection with their experience of school. Academic achievement offered the most positive aspect of school; others figured, including sporting success and school trips. Success in school was important and involved hard work, being co-operative and respecting others. Responses to teachers were on the whole positive; they taught respect for knowledge, and were creative in

their relationships, though some pupils thought that teachers were uninterested in addressing character. Stress – the term was frequently used – was caused by peer pressure and examinations. The local neighbourhood was said to be uncomfortable: most responses referred to threats, distrust of others and the vulnerability of females. Only two said they were happy and liked school. The fact so few stated that they were happy suggests that they believed they were underachieving and could – even should – do better. This is especially likely since those who said they were happy linked it with liking school. The particular stress of living in a threatening environment noted by most students must also be significant. Eight pupils said good character would contribute to their educational achievement and progress in life; most were uninterested in the question.

The findings from the first questionnaire demonstrated that students have a positive self-perception and contrary to the negative image of youth today see themselves as caring and considerate. The responses also revealed a lack of community action and engagement. In terms of ethnic and religious difference the survey found that those with a practicing religion are much more embedded in their community and are much more likely to be engaged in community action. The white community and those with no faith said they are less likely to be involved in their own community or seek to be practically involved. The Muslim students expressed higher aspirations and expectations both academically and for the jobs they want to do. There is some evidence that the white community say they are less established in their family units and are less influenced by those family units.

Factor analysis of the data has begun but must be considered extremely tentative at this stage: much more work has to be done, both in data collection and in the analysis of the material. However, four contrasts may turn out to be significant: between Muslims and others; between those who are more self-focused over against those who are more community-focused; between those positive about school and family rather than success and 'getting on'; and between those who are influenced by role models as opposed to those who look to themselves and their own values/ideas.

The Formation of Virtues and Dispositions in the 16–19 Age Range

This study, the pilot for the whole programme of research, was undertaken during 2005 and 2006 in Bristol, a city in the south west of England. The report was launched in the House of Lords in November 2006. The overall aims of the study were first to understand how 16–19-year-old students understood the concepts of virtues and values and what they perceived to be the main influences on the formation of their own characters and second to understand how schools can inhibit or facilitate the formation of virtues and values in this age group.

The research project comprised in-depth case studies of three Sixth Form centres. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected from students with teachers providing qualitative data as well as school documentation. The three Sixth Form centres

selected for the study represented different forms of provision; the A Level centre of a General College of Further Education (FE College), a Church School Sixth Form and a Community School Sixth Form. The total number of students in the sampling frame was 551. This represented the whole population of year 12 students in the two schools and an opportunity sample of students in the College.

The research was undertaken in four phases with each phase building cumulatively on the previous one. First, preliminary theory building based on nine student focus groups provided data about how students understood values and virtues, followed by in-depth personal construct interviews with nine individuals, and semi-structured interviews with ten teachers responsible for pastoral and academic development. Second, these data informed the construction of an 81-item questionnaire, which was subject to exploratory factor analysis to identify key themes which could be understood as dimensions of character. Third, a cross sectional exploration of relationships was conducted relating the character dimensions to achievement and learning dispositions and, finally, nine students, who were identified as having 'high levels' of character, were interviewed for more detailed narrative explanation.

Nine personal dimensions of character emerged from the data. The nine dimensions are interrelated and should be seen as aspects of a complex whole. They are composite qualities, embodied in thoughts–feelings–actions in the world, which are characteristic of this cohort of students:

- 'Spiritual and religious engagement'
- 'Living my virtues and values'
- 'Political engagement'
- 'Identity in relationship'
- 'Ambition, meaning and purpose'
- 'Critical social justice'
- 'Challenge and responsibility'
- 'Critical learning and becoming'
- 'Community engagement'

In addition to these personal qualities, there was a composite factor which described how students see schools as places where their values could be developed, and further evidence of influences on their character – drawn from the widening layers of social relationships which constitute the students' social worlds and their growing knowledge and experience.

The findings emerging from the studies suggest a relational, dynamic, integral and critical vision for character education. It is relational because it is informed and shaped by the network of relationships, worldviews and traditions in which a student is located, with the most important being the most proximate and personal. It is dynamic, emerging over time and storied in the trajectory of a student's life, including their hopes and aspirations for the future. It is integral because it is embodied in an ongoing process of reflection on their own values, feelings and actions and those of others. Fourth, it is critical because there is a tension between 'good' relating to human wellbeing and 'bad' relating to oppression and violence and it

is not always straightforward to distinguish between these, and this is reflected in the 'gaps' between espoused and practiced values on a personal, societal and global level.

Interestingly, while the values affirmed were in the student's own opinion, the opinion of their peers and generally of staff, they understood that they failed to live always up to their best aspirations for themselves. They, therefore, knew they could do better and wanted to do so: they aspired to greater maturity. However, a certain limitation in their approach was notable as evidenced in their failure at this stage to take their values into service in the community.

To summarize, this enquiry offers findings in three crucial areas of character formation:

(a) How young people today understand their moral identity:
Students understand character as 'who you are' and have a set of core values that shape their moral identity, the most important of which are trust, fairness, caring and honesty. They have a sense of the spiritual and the religious, despite their general disengagement from organized religion. Human beings embody a mixture of 'good' and 'bad' character. Being a good student involves being hardworking; responsible; keeping deadlines; punctual; an independent learner; organized; able to achieve a balance between work and having a social life; respectful; willing to learn; honest; polite; quiet; friendly; tolerant; broad-minded; able to show initiative and set a good example. Students expect to vote, but are unengaged from politics. They have a strong sense of social justice but many are not engaged with their local communities:

Students have a strong sense of learning and changing over time and evince a desire to become 'a better person': they report a gap between having values and putting them into practice. There is a marked absence of a formal, public language through which students can articulate the cognitive concepts of values and virtues.

(b) How education contributes towards the formation of character:
Students say school helps them develop socially, but the majority thinks that the most important reason for school is to pass exams. Students see schools as places that help to shape their values, but not through assemblies, tutor time or in non-examinable subjects.

It is clear that student's attitude to the curriculum is determined by the demands of the examination system. They wished to succeed, to get the grades necessary for the course and the university which they aspired to; their focus is therefore on their chosen Advanced ('A') level subjects. ('A' level is usually taken in three or four subjects at age 18 at the end of their school career). The wider curriculum was generally regarded as irrelevant: interest was only rarely expressed.

Above all, the quality of relationships between teachers and students is an essential aspect of character formation in schools. There is a positive relationship between character dimensions, achievement and learning dispositions.

(c) What are the key influences on young people's character formation?
Mothers are the most influential people on students' moral identity. Friends are the second most influential, with fathers third followed by siblings, grandparents, extended family and teachers. Local communities, religious traditions are not major influences: there is contradictory evidence concerning the media. Character, virtues and values are best formed through a responsive whole school approach. Students say that assemblies and tutor times do not help them develop their values or spirituality. They do not take non-qualification subjects seriously. One feature which springs out of the research is particularly worth noting. Students identify values that in many cases are admirable but they seem unable to articulate them into a responsible conceptual framework. A public language of spiritual, religious and moral enquiry is a necessity for the future; otherwise we run the danger of indifference or contentious relativism.

The data suggest that character is expressed in a number of ways. First, it is relational because it is informed and shaped by the network of relationships, worldviews and traditions in which a student is located, with the most important being the most proximate and personal. Second, it is dynamic, emerging over time and storied in the trajectory of a student's life, including their hopes and aspirations for the future. Third, it is integral because it is embodied in an ongoing process of reflection on their own values, feelings and actions and those of others. Fourth, it is critical because there is a tension between 'good' relating to human wellbeing and 'bad' relating to the oppression and violence and it is not always straightforward to distinguish between these, and this is reflected in the 'gaps' between espoused and practiced values on a personal, societal and global level.

Higher Education into Employment

The vital importance of this dimension of education is apparent the moment one talks with employers about their criticisms of the 'products' of the education system. Their recruits can not write a report in decent succinct English; they are unused to keeping deadlines; they can not add up; their general knowledge is poor and unreliable, they have little understanding of what it means to work in a team – or so it is said. But that is not all, and perhaps not the most significant criticism. Employers refer to a lack of moral competence, 'stickability', sense of responsibility and general awareness of the qualities, virtues, attitudes, dispositions and values which constitute what it is to be 'a good person'. Even to raise such questions can, of course, be considered 'intrusive'. 'It's none of your business; my moral perspective and personal life are my own affair'.

The consequence of this is that employers take great care when recruiting staff: for the employers involved in this research gave especial attention to getting the process right and learning from their experience. Most particularly, they are keen to ensure that employees are teachable and willing to commit themselves to

lifelong learning. The interesting disparity between the general opinion of employers regarding the performance of the education system and the often good attitudes of their employees reported here underlines the importance of company employment criteria the processes they adopt to facilitate good selection and the subsequent staff development programmes. Our interviewees were volunteers who responded to a general invitation to those in the group within the company who might be said already to have an interest in the area of enquiry and to have given it some thought.

The research has two main aims:

- To document and compare the values of some students and early career employees at University and in graduate employment, and to look at the ways in which these values are shaped, encouraged – or perhaps even discouraged – by teachers, mentors, colleagues, management or directorial staff and peers.
- To explore the development of character, in particular what participants understand as ‘good character’, in these organizations.

One important goal of the project is to identify and discuss the personal characteristics that students and employees say they wish to acquire, develop, grow and change into – the type of person that they might wish to become. Part of this is to do with students and employees having a set of personal core values and actualizing or repressing these values in their interactions with other people at University or at work. Do universities and graduate employers allow the articulation of values, virtues and ethics in developing the character of students and graduate employees? Do they recognize their responsibilities in this area and its crucial relevance for performance?

The research was conducted with the willing participation of four universities and four employers, for the spread of experience they offer. The four universities were chosen to reflect an established and high-profile university (Cambridge), a ‘new’ university (Essex), one that is in the heart of the city of London and business-oriented (City) and a faith-based university (Canterbury Christ Church). The different academic and cultural profiles and ‘value-systems’ of these Universities will allow not only comparison between the four taking part but should allow space in the findings for a diversity of students’ values to emerge. The employers allow the exploration of different sectors, commercial property (DTZ), service (BT), retail (Tesco) and management consultancy (PWC). They exhibit different staff and industrial relations, supervisory practices and employee status.

The research, which lasted 24 months, was multi-method. A broad spectrum of qualitative methods was used to provide an in-depth, diverse and comprehensive view of the experiences of students and graduate employees. The pivotal aim of the semi-structured interviews, lasting 40–50 min, was to allow participants to tell their stories, their experiences and draw attention to their core values, as well as to reflect upon the significance of their narratives for Higher Education, graduate employment and more generally to their wellbeing. The data for analysis were taken from transcribed tape-recordings and notes. Themes were identified by reading and re-reading the transcripts and in the course of researcher debriefing sessions involving

the whole project team. Using N6, a qualitative data analysis package, a content analysis of the responses to the key research questions put to students, employees and stakeholder groups was undertaken. In particular, latent content analysis (see Field & Morse, 1985, p. 103) was employed as the preferred approach since it permits themes to be developed and refined by reference to 'the major thrust or intent' and 'significant meanings' of the data. Quotations cited were chosen for their frequency, as well as their saliency, regarding core experiences and values. Discourse analysis was also a methodology of choice since it permits the study of variation and diversity in people's accounts of core values and enables a map of values to be sketched (Potter, 1988; Wetherell & Potter, 1988, 1992).

Some Very Tentative Emerging 'Results'

The majority of the 160 students and early career graduate employees interviewed so far agree that the central purpose of Higher Education is to secure a good degree, inspire academic excellence in order to make possible a good career. University education is mainly construed as utilitarian.

Most students and graduate employees say they have a passion for the subject that they studied and a commitment to lifelong learning in developing themselves and their transferable and technical skills.

However, many students suggested that character and values education should be given greater prominence at university. Meetings with a personal tutor would be the best context but they were infrequent and tended to focus on academic progress rather than personal support.

Both students and graduate employees mention a long list of values, virtues and aptitudes that develop character and also increase their employability. The values identified include the capacity to empathize, to listen attentively, to have a 'heart' and be willing to care for others. A commitment to inclusivity and fairness was commonly evinced. The virtues of integrity, honesty, humility, friendliness and courtesy were prominent in responses. And with regard to aptitudes there were listed, hard work, punctuality, ability to work in a team and good presentation skills.

Employees commended their mentors and the attention which they received. However, here too there seemed a focus on company performance as if that could be separated from personal growth and ways in which that might be encouraged.

It is noteworthy how many of the people interviewed, both students and employees, have been involved in some sort of voluntary or charity work. Corporate Social Responsibility activities were also highlighted as being of great value to local or disadvantaged communities, to the personal growth and character development of graduate employees and the kudos of the companies in which people worked.

Both students and recent employees testify to the value of voluntary work, community and civic involvement. Universities and Employers recognize the value of this in judging a person, yet where and how do universities and employers formerly record this and encourage it? It is also important to recognize the many motives which may lie behind volunteering.

Are values seen to be integral to the study of a discipline? Perhaps in professional programmes of law, accountancy, medicine, but their role should be attended to more broadly, for example, in courses on economics, the sciences and social sciences.

Most importantly and interestingly, students and employees affirmed the importance of attention to values, etc., because it gave them greater self-esteem, personal skills, emotional security and in principle would enhance the experience of university and the performance of the company.

Conclusion

In contemporary British education the social efficiency and scientific management paradigm is still a powerful influence on the practice of education in schools, and is deeply embedded in teachers' enduring and hidden beliefs and values. However, attention to the matter of personal responsibility for oneself, for society and for the environment involves more than can be defined within such limited perspectives. Education needs to be seen as a lifelong process involving families, schools, communities and employers in an ethical, political and social framework concerned with personal wellbeing, moral sensitivity, good citizenship and the flourishing of human society. In a word, we need to discover or perhaps recover a language in which we can publicly discuss and personally appreciate human character.

The development of an individual's character is not a matter of mere compliance. A person of character is one who makes moral choices about right and wrong actions, intentions and thoughts. These choices are real and relate to the person into which the individual is developing not to a predetermined target personality set down by some curricular authority or spiritual leader. Academic and social skills can be useful adjuncts to character, enabling such choices to be followed through. But character itself is more than a matter of skills and far more than a series of prescribed responses to routine situations.

We hope that the final outcomes of this research project will provide insights into how best to structure our thinking about character development, which virtues if any are important for emphasis at each age and how they might best be construed or operationalized. The result may not be a single neat package, but we hope it will be an effective and new direction in thinking about moral education.

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Chapter 22
Nurturing Teacher Wellbeing Through Values Education

Nazreen Dasoo

Introduction

> I have come to the frightening conclusion that I am the decisive element in the classroom. It's my personal approach that creates the climate. It's my daily mood that makes the weather. As a teacher, I possess a tremendous power to make a child's life miserable or joyous. I can be a tool of torture or an instrument of inspiration. I can humiliate or humour, hurt or heal. In all situations, it is my response that decides whether a crisis will be escalated or de-escalated and a child humanised or dehumanized. (Ginott, 1995, p. 7)

Despite the technological strides we have made in this new millennium we still live in a turbulent and worried world. Unfortunately, our advances in the sciences, technology, and economics have not been matched by our advances in the human sphere of character and values. Instead, we are constantly bombarded with news reports of moral decay in both the private and public arenas. So, it would seem that socio-economic and political circumstances prevalent in our world today necessitate the inculcation of values for the sustainability of a worthy society. It is my argument in this chapter that the infusion of such values is best facilitated through values education. Values education offers moral guidelines in a deliberate way to societies that are void of religion and yet proud of their individualism. It does not insist on one 'right' point of view of the world, but rather encourages individuals to ponder, engage with, examine, and explore contentious issues. Hence, individuals are able to see life from a different, typically postmodern world and thereby develop both an innate sense of empathy and an intellectual curiosity of the world around them. If we agree that education is fundamentally an identity, character-forming, and developmental activity, then the inculcation of values is an obvious, inevitable part of schooling. Any historical study of education systems throughout the world will indicate that far from being neutral such systems play a key role in values-formation and nation-building.

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It is for this reason that any discussion about the kind of values that ought to be nurtured within our schools is bound by the type of society we wish to build. Although values education is to a large extent intangible, its effect on a school is far-reaching. The aim of this chapter is to describe how a values education program in South African schools can influence the wellbeing of the teacher. This exposition of values education and teacher wellbeing is set within a context of rapid political, social, economic, and educational change in South Africa.

In this chapter, I will present evidence of how a values education initiative has the potential to refocus and nurture the teacher's understanding of the important role he or she plays not only in imparting subject knowledge to a learner but also in creating relationships with them that are indicative of commitment to and care for the development of their character and the eventual role they will play in society.

Since education is said to reflect the values of society and the kind of society in which we want to live, it is important to recognize a broad set of shared values and purposes which underpin the school curriculum and the kind of work schools do. Education is considered a route to equality of opportunity for all, and the basis of a healthy and just democracy and a productive economy with sustainable development. So it would seem that education should reflect the enduring values that contribute to these ends values that include valuing ourselves, our families, our relationships, the wider groups to which we belong, the diversity in our society, and the environment in which we live. Education should also reaffirm our commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust, and a sense of duty. At the same time, education must enable us to respond positively to the opportunities and challenges of the rapidly changing world in which we live and work. For Stengel and Tom (2006) too, schooling plays a significant role in helping children take their rightful place in the community, not only as knowledgeable citizens but also as thoughtful, caring people.

Thus, if we value this type of education, it is also right to value the teachers that will hopefully embody values and who will, through their actions, mirror the morals that education esteems.

The Role of the Teacher in Values Education

Media reports often remind us that when family and social structures breakdown it is often the teacher who acts as a safety net and the guiding hand for a child that otherwise may be destined for destitution. Such a teacher has the ability to steer a child away from the world of drugs and crime and often stands between social chaos and order. Unfortunately, many teachers are dissatisfied with the profession, with one of the major contributory factors for this being poor discipline among the learners. As a result, many teachers feel unsupported, isolated, and not respected, in contradiction to what they perceive as the valuable contribution they make to society. This results in an exodus of very capable teachers from the profession. In a recent study by Gonzalez, Stallone Brown, and Slate (2008) for instance, teachers in

Texas, USA, attributed the reasons for leaving the teaching profession as being lack of administrative support, difficulties with student discipline, and low salary levels. South African researchers too have found similar reasons for teachers leaving the profession (Arends & Phurutse, 2009).

A substantial body of literature has focused on the influence of a teacher's beliefs and values and how these are embedded into their practice (Cairns, Lawton, & Gardner, 2001; Haydon, 1997). Unfortunately, however, a discussion about values exploration sometimes becomes confused with values transmission or values clarification, and disputes about values in education become complex at a time when societal values are themselves in rapid flux (Ling, Burman, & Cooper, 1998). Despite these different directions in discussions, I suggest that few will disclaim the notion that teachers impart values directly and indirectly, sometimes intentionally and sometimes serendipitously. Teachers' practices embody values in the everyday life of a school, so it would be prudent to pursue the issue of teachers educating the young purposefully and explicitly in the values of the school and society.

A concern regarding the inadequate preparation of teachers for values education and values teaching is an issue raised frequently in the literature (Halstead & Taylor, 2000; Stephenson, Ling, Burman, & Cooper, 1998; Titus, 1994). According to Hooper (2003), for teachers to be able to reflect critically on their role as values teachers they need to be clear about their own values. Yet, in a cross-cultural survey conducted by Stephenson et al. (1998), it was found that there was much variation and ambiguity when it came to teachers' identification of values. This ambiguity included their philosophical underpinnings regarding values and the procedures used to instill values.

Nevertheless, whether they identify their values or not, teachers undoubtedly hold a unique and powerful (value embedded) position in the classroom. In Brooks and Kahn's (1992) opinion:

> Teachers not only have values, they smuggle them into the classroom everyday. The way teachers make sense of values is far removed from those as defined in policy or other bureaucratic texts. In every action, every decision, every interaction with students, teachers are teaching values. Values therefore become part of the learned and the implicit curriculum. (p. 24)

Veugelers (2000, p. 40) argues that the ways in which teachers deploy values could best be identified inductively from classroom practice, "the values teachers find important for their students are expressed in the content of their instruction and in the way they guide the learning process." His analysis shows that teachers need to develop skills to analyze values and communicate them so as to show students those values are constructs and that choices can be made for certain values. He further argues (2000, p. 39) "being clear about the values the teacher finds important is necessary in order to avoid a value-neutral position. This value-neutral position can be stated but will never be achieved because all teachers will always express values in their teaching."

The values that teachers find important to teach are often expressed in the content they teach and in the way they guide the learning process. As Gudmundsdottir

(1990) claims, the values a teacher wishes to develop in a student is expressed in the pedagogic content knowledge of that teacher and his/her interpretation of the curriculum.

If we then accept that the teacher is the pedagogic authority in the classroom, with a great influence on the curriculum, and if teachers' values are ingrained in educational matters and cannot remain neutral with regard to expressing certain values in their teaching, it would be wise for teachers to be aware of the values they wish to develop in their students. As Veugelers (2000, p. 44) so aptly suggests, "teachers have to make more explicit which values to include in the pedagogic content knowledge and should reflect not only on their interaction with students, but also upon the values that govern their teaching."

Another aspect of teachers as values educators has to do with relationships in the classroom. The overwhelming influence a teacher has on learner achievement is well documented. According to Hattie (2004), for example, "high respect for students" was one in five attributes identified in an expert teacher. Brady (2005) compares the importance of approachability and providing a warm and empathetic environment as being on the same level as the teacher being a proficient implementer of pedagogic strategies. For Deakin-Crick and Wilson (2005), the quality of classroom relationships is critical in supporting and nurturing the values, attitudes, and dispositions needed to encourage lifelong learning. This concurs with Wentzel's (1997) findings that when student's feel valued and supported they are more likely to be motivated to learn. These studies reflect Noddings' (2002) assertion that caring relationships usually precede student's engagement with experience and subject matter.

Codes of conduct for teachers as required by the South African Council for Educators (SACE) as well as international bodies require evidence that teachers "set a good example to the learners they teach, through their presentation and their personal and professional conduct." There are at least two assumptions here: teaching is in some way a moral vocation (Carr, 1993, p. 206) and children's values will be influenced, consciously or otherwise, by the example set by their teachers in their relationships, attitudes, and teaching styles (Jackson, 1992, p. 404). The role of the teacher certainly implies the power to influence students, and since values are inherent in teaching, it seems unlikely that students will be able to avoid the influence of teachers' values completely, even if teachers do not see it as a part of their role to set a moral example (Carr, 1993).

A number of scholars have argued that teachers, by necessity, should live up to the standards that they expect to promote. For example, Gore (1998) writes that the old adage that "teachers should be themselves what they want their learners to be" as true today then as ever before. Modeling of behavior therefore remains a powerful strategy for teaching values and for moral education. From a behavioral science perspective such statements become even more important, and as Piaget (1977) has shown, most behavior is habitual and the person in authority leads the process.

For Al-Ghazali (1951) too, teachers must genuinely care about their learners and model not only academic learning but also personality and moral judgment. He also recommends a kind of code of ethics for teachers to follow (Al-Ghazali, 1951, p. 134), and emphasizes the importance of various parties in the moral education

of children, especially parents, peers, and teachers (Alavi, 2007, p. 315). However, the influence of the teacher is paramount, as he or she is considered both moral exemplar and moral guide and instructor to the students (Al-Ghazali 1951, p. 134).

Lickona (1992) also places importance on the teacher's role in effecting the values and character of the young. According to him, teachers can play the role of mentor through providing moral instruction, encouragement, and opportunities for discussion. They can also serve as caregivers by respecting and loving their students, and they can serve as models by demonstrating high levels of respect and responsibility (Lickona, 1992). Lickona also brings attention to the importance of deliberate teaching of values to help raise awareness of the importance of moral behavior. He emphasizes the importance of having teachers go through the process of choosing their own list of values that they want to teach, as it brings together the students, parents, administrators, and school staff.

However, the responsibility of teaching values does not lie solely on a teacher's shoulders. The family, school, and broader community must work in concert with agreement over important values. As the experience at West Kidlington Primary School demonstrates (Farrer, 2000; Hawkes, 2009), any effective values education program demands a reciprocal relationship which extends from the classroom to the whole school and to the parents and general community. The compelling effects of an encouraging, trusting, and respectful relationship and interaction between school, family, and wider community has also been recorded in other studies, Lovat and Clement (2008), for instance, suggest a "congruence between the implicit values of the general curriculum, the structure of the learning environment and the wider school community and the explicit teaching of values" (p. 7).

Teaching is itself part of the moral message transmitted by a teacher to a learner. That message may be strong and clear if the teacher is dedicated to the task of teaching, or distorted if the teacher has largely given up on the task (Berkowitz, 1998). The message contained in the act of teaching is only part of the values teachers and schools transmit. Values also need to be clarified, discussed, redefined, and reinvented in schools through a process of dialogue of values. I am therefore of the opinion, based on the findings in the literature reviewed and from empirical studies conducted, that a well-planned values education program has the potential to focus teachers' attention on the aspects of their professional practice that matter the most and provide a sense of renewed purpose for the profession.

The Lack of Professional Teacher Development in Values Education

Despite the attention to values education and the broad discussion about teachers' role at the heart of any educational activity, very little has been achieved in terms of caring for teachers themselves by way of values education programs. Philosophers in ancient times, such as Plato and Confucius, already bore testimony to the moral significance of teaching. Many studies have indicated that unfortunately teachers

receive poor training in values education in their professional development trajectory (Romanowski, 2005.) In the early 1990s, Goodlad (1990) made an appeal to researchers to focus more on the moral dimensions of teacher education programs. In the same vein, Wakefield (1997) strongly recommended that teacher education should pay explicit attention to character education stating, "If tomorrow's teachers are to be responsible and effective conduits of moral education, teacher education programs must take up the challenge of moral education instruction" (p. 5). Similarly, a review study by Vedder and Veugelers (1999) led to a comparable conclusion that there is a striking lack of research on the question of how student teachers could be prepared for the moral aspects of teaching.

In his review, Hansen (2001) referred to a large number of studies on this subject which together showed the complicated nature of teaching as a moral activity. These studies raised a variety of questions, including: To what extent and how should teachers communicate with learners about values? How should teachers promote the development of values in their pupils? How should they foster the ability of pupils to put these values into practice? In his literature review however, Hansen (2001) did not mention a single research project that focused on the consequences for teacher education of the findings from research on teaching as a moral activity. There is a dearth of such findings.

Although there is agreement on the importance of research focused on the moral dimensions of teacher education programs, and the importance of preparing student teachers with regard to the moral aspects of education, there are two major problems in this regard: (1) the absence of a clear theoretical framework and (2) the lack of empirical research upon which to build.

Teacher Change as a Result of Professional Teacher Development and Values Education

Teachers do not exist in a void; they are individuals with different backgrounds and ambitions who work in varied school and system contexts. In the same way that student achievement is affected by factors other than the instruction they receive (including socio-economic status, race, and class size), teacher change is also affected by individual and school factors that influence how they provide instruction. Although the teacher is always the link between professional development and student achievement, teacher practice is only one of many factors affecting student learning.

In an intervention research project, conducted by Sockett and Le Page (2002), they reported how at the beginning of the intervention teachers lacked a moral language to describe their work: they did not have the discourse tools with which to communicate and perhaps even to conceptualize their positions. They further argued that without a moral vocabulary, it is difficult to see how teachers can (a) address the complexity of moral judgments they must make with either confidence or competence, (b) develop an adequate professional foundation of moral understanding, and

(c) teach children to think about and reflect on moral issues. Sockett and Le Page (2002) report how teachers actually later did develop a moral language through the implementation of an educational program with an explicit moral base, such a program introduced teachers to ethics of principles, ethics of virtues, ethics of care, and pragmatic views of negotiating moral understanding as a social engagement in which the need of democratic citizenship education is emphasized. Thornberg (2008), in response to this finding, comments, "Without professional language containing a scientific knowledge base about the content and practice of professional values education (including knowledge of ethical theories and concepts), teachers' efforts and outcomes in this pedagogic matter seems to be rather arbitrary and haphazardly" (p. 1796). Ling (1998) draws a similar conclusion from her colleagues' and her own research project on values education by commenting that:

> It appears that teachers lack a discourse to express their ideas about values and to conceptualize the area of values in education. This stems, largely, from the lack of theoretical knowledge and experience teachers possess in this area. While there is much in the literature of education, especially in the area of philosophy and moral education, it is not an integral and explicit part of the training which most teachers undergo. (p. 210)

According to Lovat and Clement (2008), "teachers cannot come to the task of values education without adequate preparation" (p. 10). Studies conducted in Australia showed how the professional development of teachers and personal growth were interlinked in teachers' experiences while planning and implementing values education. Teachers came to see the value of consulting with students and fellow teachers in order to implement effective pedagogies. Students and teachers alike became reflective and respectful of each others roles.

I conclude that the moral dimension of education and that of teacher education in particular, is a complex and difficult issue. On the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that it is fundamental to teacher education. If teachers are not sufficiently made aware, preferably by intensive teacher training, of the values that underlie their practice and the ways in which they put across these values, they may overlook any important potential for supporting the learning process of learners with regard to moral education. Thornberg (2008) also argues: "To what extent values education can promote and empowers students to develop democratic skills and more complex moral reasoning and understanding depends on the students' abilities to participate in rule-making as well as the extent to which values education considers other things than rules and characters guided by virtues of obedience. This, in turn, requires confident teachers with a professional competence in values education, including a well-developed moral language as well as knowledge in moral psychological, social psychological, and values educational theories and research" (p. 1796)

The moral dimension of teacher education deserves more attention from both practitioners and researchers. It is my view that teachers' skepticism toward values education is due to a lack of professional teacher development in the area of values education.

Nurturing Teacher Wellbeing Through Values Education in South Africa

When South Africa witnessed its first national democratic elections in 1994, values and human rights issues became firmly embedded in the national agenda. Centuries of struggle against colonial rule and decades of apartheid culminated in a relatively peaceful transition to democracy. The lines of people waiting to cast their votes in 1994 came to represent a moment when fear was replaced by hope, repression by democratic change, and exclusiveness and division by the possibility of inclusiveness and unity (DoE, Values, Education and Democracy, School Based Research, November 2001, p. 2). In post-apartheid South Africa we have two milestones in our history that have made many South Africans proud. First, our Constitution, which is based on the concepts of equity, tolerance, and human dignity, and which includes a Bill of Rights, and, second, a South African innovation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission where thousands gave testimonies of the pain and suffering they endured because of many acts of terror and atrocities. But more importantly, both the victims and perpetrators' depth of forgiveness and human generosity is a *valuable* lesson to be taught to all South African children.

Unfortunately however, in South Africa as elsewhere in the world, we too are experiencing environmental destruction, violent crime, corruption, a breakdown in the social and cultural norms of society, poverty and spiritual deficiencies which were unheard of three decades ago. South African children are deeply affected by growing social problems and a lack of respect for adults and their peers. Recently, South Africa has also seen an alarming increase in gender and child abuse, racism and HIV/AIDS epidemic. These problems are often reflected in our educational system. Parents and teachers in this country, as in many countries, are asking for help to turn around this alarming trend with what they believe is more of an emphasis on teaching values.

Furthermore, in recent years there has been increased concern about both moral degeneration and a lack of cohesion and unity in recent years. This has also led to a more deepened understanding of the necessity and importance of shared values among members of society. Religious leaders, politicians, and community members are advocating a resurgence of the "moral regeneration" movement in order to provide the youth in this country with a sense of pride. Teachers are beginning to talk about the role of values education in restoring hope and stability in the classroom.

So, as our nation is faced with an increasing number of ethical and moral decisions, the call for instilling and reinforcing values in our children is still evident. Teachers are reawakening to what historically has been one of their most essential tasks, namely, assisting in the character and social development of the children entrusted to them. Therefore, we must always remember that the final authority for value infusion in classrooms and curriculums necessarily lies with each teacher, not with administrative edicts or other national decisions. If we are to accept such a bold statement on the teacher's role in values education, it would be important then to facilitate such a crucial role through proper teacher training.

Training South African Teachers in Values Education

Most of the teaching and learning environments in this country, as elsewhere, are riddled with problems. For example, overcrowded classrooms, lack of discipline, incidences of criminal offences, and lawlessness, teachers who do not turn up to teach and learners to learn, teachers and learners who abuse each other verbally, physically, and even sexually with no mutual respect for dignity. Also, teachers are constantly criticized and reviled by the communities in which they work and are often held responsible for the conditions under which they work but over which they have little control. These are the major contributory factors which often cause excellent teachers to resign from the teaching profession. Many government officials and researchers have come to realize that this obvious absence of a clearly articulated value system to which all members of a school and its community subscribes causes fundamental human rights to be violated every day in the classroom. A solution that was deliberated upon to solve the escalating crisis in education was the introduction of a values and human rights education program for teachers.

Education initiatives in instilling values abound in South Africa. These range from anti-bias and antiracist curricula, tolerance, and religion education programs to citizenship education. In 2001, the national Department of Education (DoE) introduced a new Advanced Certificate (ACE) in Integrating Values and Human Rights into the Curriculum as one of the actions for addressing values formation in South Africa. This qualification was to be delivered by universities over a period of 2 years, across the country, in a delivery mode that combined both contact and distance learning. This mixed-mode, multiple-site distance education model was supplemented by on-site support and pastoral care for teachers engaged in the program. Areas in which teachers were to be trained included the implications of values and human rights for educational practice and policy, including management, curriculum, and classroom practice. The main purpose of this qualification was to train and support teachers so that they would eventually integrate values into the curriculum and do so with appropriate teaching methods. In order to ensure that values and human rights were effectively infused into the teaching and learning milieu, teachers, school managers and provincial officials in the various provincial Departments of Education were trained.

The underlying assumption the ACE made was that teachers could be conduits for values change at schools. For teachers, the task of infusing values into their teaching is a challenge, mainly because there has been no formal pre-service training in this arena. As part of this values education initiative, research was undertaken to understand how teachers go about making meaning of values and values education and how this meaning translates into practice in their teaching and learning environments. Adjunct to this, the purpose was the intent to raise issues of how a values education may contribute to teacher wellbeing and to urge teachers to discover their inherent value sense in the form of self-reflection. We will return later to the findings of the research conducted and the recommendations which can be made for values education as a means to improving teacher wellbeing.

The Design of the ACE in Values and Human Rights Education

The greatest test for education today is for it to transfer to children not only the ability to learn and acquire skills for an increasingly complex world, but also to assist in the building of character. The underlying assumption the ACE makes is that teachers can be conduits for values change at schools. For teachers, the task of infusing values into their teaching is a challenge, mainly because there has been no formal pre-service training in this arena. Veugelers (2000, p. 39) claims that more attention should be placed on the values teachers themselves find important for their learners and on the ways these socio-cultural values are expressed in their work. This is particularly important when the task of mediating values is complicated by a context that is not morally homogeneous, as is certainly the case in South Africa.

Also, the biggest challenge facing values education across the world is to relate its philosophy and guiding principles to the daily reality facing the lives of ordinary people. Although concerns about the moral domain of teaching have been expressed for more than 30 years, empirical studies investigating moral reasoning of in-service and pre-service teachers are sparse. Even fewer studies have investigated the effectiveness of educational interventions to advance moral reasoning in these populations. Thus, the research undertaken during the course of the ACE on teachers' experiences of values education makes an important contribution to the current dearth in research of this kind.

The foremost questions that were posed at national level in developing initiatives in introducing values and human rights education into the curriculum focused on the following issues:

- First, what kind of pre-service and in-service teacher education programs can be designed to prepare teachers in the field of values education? How can such programs help teachers to be more effective in teaching values?
- Next, in the South African context, what values and whose values should be taught? Who decides on these issues? How are values taught? Whose responsibility is it to teach about values and how would we evaluate the effectiveness of the values teaching?
- Finally, teacher education issues revolve around who would be best suited to conduct the training of these teachers, who would design the curriculum for the training programs? What funding opportunities exist? How would teachers be recruited for the training program? How would the program be monitored and evaluated?

Next, seven universities were invited to design and develop an ACE in values and human rights in education. This program was designed as a form of continuing professional education, to enable teachers to develop their competencies, provide an opportunity to change their career path and re-orientate them to roles in line with the transformation needs of the "new South Africa."

Toward a Theoretical Framework for the ACE in Values and Human Rights in Education

Having answered preliminary questions posed at national level as described in the previous section, the task of designing the ACE in values and human rights education was at hand. The first step was to identify a theoretical framework, for this we relied on Kirschenbaum's (1992) comprehensive model for values and moral education. This model suggests synthesizing the traditional approaches to values education, such as inculcating and modeling values, and the newer approaches such as values clarification, into a "comprehensive values education approach."

It is comprehensive in four respects: First, in its content, as it includes all value-related issues, from choice of personal values to ethical questions to moral issues. Second, it is comprehensive in its methodology. It includes inculcating and modeling values, as well as preparing young people for independence by stressing responsible decision-making and other life-skills. Third, comprehensive values education is comprehensive insofar as it takes place throughout the school. Finally, it takes place throughout the community.

Having accepted Kirschenbaum's (1992) theoretical framework as a basis, the ACE in values and human rights in education program was designed and developed by staff at the University of Johannesburg and consisted of the following components:

1. Component 1. *Understanding Values and Human Rights in Education*. In these modules teachers focused on the theories of values and human rights education. They were also trained in international and national policies regarding values and human rights and various legislative frameworks relating to this area.
2. Component 2. *Infusing Values in the Curriculum*. The modules in this component of the program helped teachers understand which approaches best suit the infusion of values and human rights into the curriculum and how to use these approaches effectively. They gained insight into both national and international practices of values and human rights education.
3. Component 3. *Managing Values and Human Rights in the Teaching and Learning Environment*. Modules in this component provided teachers with the opportunity to examine and implement a whole school approach to values human rights education. In retrospect, the module that perhaps contributed largely to the success of the entire program, and without doubt nurturing teacher wellbeing, was an integration of the Living Values Education program into this component.
4. Component 4. *Action Research Project*. Here, teachers on the program were expected to conduct and report on an independent participatory action research project on values or human rights-related issues at school or in the wider community.

Discussion of Findings

In this section, I wish to present findings of the research undertaken which relates exclusively to the teachers' understanding of values and how they perceived the values education program as impacting on their lives as teachers. Through both quantitative and qualitative data capturing, I was able to study the meaning teachers attach to values and values education and how they subsequently infused values into their school curriculum. Also, through interviews with teachers, observations of them in the classroom and reflective journals which teachers kept, I was able to capture data which related primarily to their experience of the ACE in values and human rights education.

Upon embarking on the research project, teachers were asked to list what they considered the most important place was where they had learnt their values. The majority of participants cited the family, school, religious organizations, and the community as sites for values acquisitions in that order. In both the pretest and posttest questionnaire teachers were asked to list the values they considered most important for education. The most frequently cited values, as illustrated in Table 22.1 (below), were respect, responsibility, tolerance, Ubuntu, honesty, and love.

Table 22.1 Percentages in values change (pretest – posttest)

	No Change (%)	Pro-value (%)	Anti-value (%)	Difference (%)
Respect	67.74	27.42	4.84	22.58
Responsibility	62.90	24.19	12.90	11.29
Tolerance	59.68	25.81	14.52	11.29
Ubuntu	64.52	12.90	22.58	−9.68
Honesty	72.58	17.74	9.68	8.06
Love	77.42	17.74	4.84	12.90

However, an interesting pattern with regard to the value of *Ubuntu* emerged. Loosely translated, *Ubuntu* means a respect for human dignity. *Ubuntu* (*botho*, human dignity) is a figure of speech that describes the importance of group solidarity on issues that are pivotal to the survival of all communities, and more so those, who as a consequence of poverty and deprivation, have to survive through group care and not only individual reliance. It is a concept of brotherhood or sisterhood and collective unity for survival among all. The cardinal belief of *Ubuntu* is that a person can only be a person through the help of others.

While all five most-cited values for education experienced an increase in the number of times they were cited as important for education, *Ubuntu* experienced a decrease. An informal investigation into why this phenomenon may have occurred pointed toward sudden wealth-creation, mass media, modernization, individualism, self-promotion, and a dissipation of communities as a result of the end of apartheid. As a teacher in the township of Mamelodi once remarked, "Apartheid had one good thing. It kept us together. We had a common enemy to fight. We helped each other. When the common enemy went we were suddenly left alone and now we can't find

the same powerful thing to hold us together. Each person is for themselves. And this has ruined a sense of community."

Findings Relating to Teachers' Experiences of the ACE in Values and Human Rights in Education

At the start of the values education initiative, we found that many teachers harbored a sense of skepticism toward values education, yet most readily affirmed that education is a moral endeavor, not a neutral one. As program designers and researchers we capitalized on this skepticism and set out to demonstrate to these teachers how their current view of values education would change, as a result of a well-planned values education intervention.

The data from the research undertaken showed that when the teachers became deeply involved in the ACE in values and human rights education, and embarked on the actual infusion of values into their curriculum, it caused them to engage in critical reflection of their own values and belief systems. As the ACE program progressed, teachers began to think more purposefully of their own thoughts, words, and actions at school in their dealing with their learners and colleagues as well as their private lives. A teacher during an interview remarked, "This ACE has made me a 'reborn'" teacher. I was about to resign after twenty years of teaching before I enrolled in this program and as I went through the modules I began reflecting on my own values and how I treat my learners. This program has made me think differently about how I teach and I love teaching again." Through a transformation of their inner self as a result of the critical reflection the values education program prompted the teachers to become role-models to their learners. In this way the learners began to fully appreciate the values the teacher modeled and this in turn had a powerful effect on the learner. The ACE also taught teachers how to deal with the social and emotional intelligence of the learners. Often a feature such as this is neglected in other professional teacher development programs.

Evidence also suggests that the quality of teaching improved when teachers learnt about values education and began infusing values into their teaching and learning environments. The evidence suggesting this finding is captured in the following quote by a teacher in the program: "The values course taught me the skills of becoming a reflective practitioner. I can now improve my teaching because I constantly reflect on who I teach, what I teach, why I teach and when I teach." It would appear therefore that a values education intervention such as the ACE is able to produce a significant change in a positive direction in values positions. Thus, findings based on this research concur with Lovat's (2007) claim, that by making the teaching of values an explicit and a central part of the teaching activity, we can enhance the intellectual depth, communicative competence, and self-management of the learner more easily than in any other circumstance.

Teachers need periodically to be recharged, reassured, and revitalized. They also need to identify values that are desirable and themselves "live" those values by reflecting them in their behavior. Evidence obtained from teachers indicated

by-and-large a positive experience during the course of the ACE in values and human rights education. For example, teachers felt personal empowerment by reporting that they learnt to “manage stress” more effectively and that they had a positive outlook and felt better about themselves. Teachers’ comments in interviews included, “the ACE has made me go on a journey of self-actualization. I have learnt how to use values education to cope with life.” Data also indicated that the ACE in values and human rights education transformed the professional practice of teachers by encouraging a peer support program, enhancing pedagogical awareness, and encouraging positive relationships between various school stakeholders. Furthermore, teachers learnt effective discipline strategies and methods of engaging their learners in rule-setting, decision-making, and problem-solving. Evidence suggesting this finding was found in teachers’ comments such as, “my thinking around controversial issues is now being challenged. I can look more critically and respond more positively to human rights issues I face at school” and “I pay attention more to my teaching strategies as I infuse values into my lessons. For example I practice more cooperative learning strategies in classes.”

Finally, among the data confirmed is the important role of the teacher in values education. This fact is further confirmed by growing literature that increasing teachers’ knowledge of values through teacher training does translate into action. Teachers on the ACE program reported undeniably, that as a result of the professional-development in values education, they did indeed view themselves as change agents. Teachers reflected on both changes they believed they initiated and changes they felt powerless to make. They reported how they changed their instruction and their approach to lessons and how this resulted in changes learner achievement and how this perspective of change went beyond the classroom. Data suggesting this finding can be found in the following comments made by teachers, “the Values ACE made me feel even more excited about changing my teaching methods and my way of thinking” and “this ACE made me keen to think of myself beginning something new and to make things better not just for my learners but also for myself.”

Recommendations for Teacher Training in Values Education

In light of the research conducted, various recommendations can be made of how values education can nurture teacher wellbeing. These recommendations range from a design of a values education program, to implementation and finally evaluation of the effectiveness of such programs.

I present the following model as a means of offering an interpretation of the conditions which could contribute to the design of values education programs. Starting from a socio-political position and a common sense notion of intuition and communication about values, teachers would then enter philosophical, reflective realm regarding values, and then the final position would complement the first two, allowing a teacher to implement a pedagogic approach to values education.

An application of this heuristic model to teacher training in values education could enable a teacher to not only become more aware of values education issues

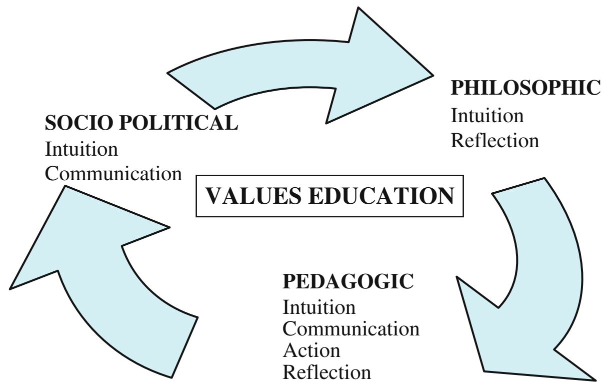

Fig. 22.1 A socio-political, philosophical and pedagogic design for a teacher professional development programme in values education (Dasoo, 2008)

generally but they may also become more familiar with the wider philosophical, sociological, psychological, and educational debates, and discussion around values education as well as examples of best practices of values education.

Based on the research conducted, three recommendations remain pivotal to values education. First, a prescriptive approach to values education often becomes problematic, especially because there is no framing of the interpretation of these values. For example, the interpretation of honor and accountability in a school setting has a different interpretation of honor and accountability as applied to a gang culture in South Africa or elsewhere. Thus, by prescribing a set of values more inclusive debates about values in schools are undermined. Second, the learner-centered approach advocates the development of democratic values not through a simple prescription of values but through providing learners with experiences that cultivate critical thinking, personal expression, local sense of meaning, and expanded ways of thinking and communicating. A further suggestion is that teachers understand and experience the concept of learner-centered teaching and learning as a mechanism to gain respect and discipline in the classroom. If teachers are unable to achieve this, the tension between what learners consider rights are at loggerheads with what the teacher considers a responsibility. Finally, teachers in values education programs should always be encouraged to apply the theoretical framework that they have been exposed to, in order to understand their day-to-day experiences within the schooling system and society at large.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how a values education initiative such as the one experienced by South African teachers contributed positively to teacher wellbeing. Teachers who were guided to think about values and to develop a language of values education are likely to be more aware of their role as caregivers and models of care. I am left to think that such teachers, despite harsh educational conditions, may

remain resilient and motivated and contribute positively to societal regeneration. So, it would seem one way of contributing to teachers' wellbeing is to give them the opportunity to partake of formal values education themselves. It would seem that a values education program for teachers can be a way of caring for the teachers in their role as values educators. Lovat (2007) too confirms that "we are experiencing an era where our understanding of the role of the teacher and the power of values education are coalescing. Values education goes to the heart of the roles of teacher and school in creating a climate for effective student achievement and well-being" (p. 208). It appears then from research conducted in various settings that values education can undoubtedly empower teachers to improve both their learners' lives by shaping and nurturing their moral and intellectual development and their own, by giving them back the dignity of being a teacher.

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Chapter 23
Embracing Philosophy and Raising the Standard of Pre-service Teacher Education Programs

Rebecca Spooner-Lane, Elizabeth Curtis, and Amanda Mergler

Introduction

In order to lead a productive and rewarding life, education needs to equip students with the skills necessary to learn, transfer learning, use information and communication technology, contribute to teams, manage change, and be self-aware. A highly effective education system is integral to developing a strong, prosperous economy (MCEETYA, 2003) and is central to the national interest (Kalantzis & Harvey, 2004). If these propositions are accepted by society then it follows that "teaching is the central profession of the knowledge economy" (p. 2). Since the effectiveness of a teacher is the single most important factor in students' learning and achievement (Darling-Hammond, 2000), it is important that teaching education institutions provide schools with the highest quality teachers.

The success of teacher education institutions are largely dependent on their ability to satisfactorily prepare future teachers to face the increasing and complex demands impacting on the teaching role. Social, political, economic, cultural, technological, and global agendas influence the work of teachers, and teacher educators must predict and adapt to such changes by evaluating and modifying teacher preparation programs to accommodate both current and foreseeable trends. In recent years, the Commonwealth Government's key objective has been to raise the quality of teaching in Australia to achieve effective schooling and improved student outcomes. The government's long-term goal to improve the quality of teaching in Australia has also coincided with (1) the establishment of a set of professional standards as criteria for provisional and full teacher registration and (2) a shift toward values education as means of providing students with a more holistic education that enhances learning across the emotional, social, and cognitive domains.

Briefly, the professional standards for Queensland teachers was developed by the Queensland College of Teachers (QCT) in 2006 and align with the National Framework for Professional Standards for Teaching (MCEETYA, 2003). There are

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10 professional standards which align to three broad facets of teachers' work: (1) teaching and learning; (2) professional relationships; and (3) professional growth (QCT, 2006). Professional standards were introduced as a means to enhance teacher professionalism, boost public confidence in the profession, and promote high-quality teaching in Queensland schools. The professional standards detail what teaching graduates are "expected to know and demonstrate in regards to their professional knowledge and practice upon entry into the profession" (Watson, 2005 p. 9) and provide in-service teachers with a guide for ongoing professional development. In order for graduates to be granted registration as a teacher in Queensland, they must be enrolled in a QCT-accredited pre-service teacher education program.

In 2002, values education in Australian schools became a focus for educational policy, when the then Commonwealth Minister for Education, Science and Technology, Dr Brendan Nelson, commissioned a study to explore the various approaches Australian schools were taking in delivering values-based education. The study demonstrated that while values education took various forms across schools, both the school community and the students perceived positive student outcomes. Values education encourages "reflection on choices, exploration of opportunities and commitment to responsibilities, and for the individual in society to develop values preferences and an orientation to guide activities and behaviour" (Taylor, 1994, p. 3). It has been argued that a values-based approach to schooling educates the whole child, engaging a student's heart, mind, and actions (DEEWR, 2008). One of the National Goals for Schooling in Australia is that schooling should provide a foundation for young Australians' intellectual, physical, social, moral, spiritual, and aesthetic development (MCEETYA, 1999). Aspin (2007) argues that education is about preparing students to live a meaningful life within society and values play an important role within the education process. To do this, students need to actively engage in intellectually rich and real world activities where they practice making judgments, forming conclusions, and taking action. Today, values education is an area of increasing importance in education, with more schools requiring their teachers to explicitly implement values education in some form in classrooms. This expectation means that teachers must be skilled in the ways of implementing a values-based education upon entering the profession. Teaching education institutions must therefore equip teaching graduates with the appropriate knowledge and pedagogical practices to teach values.

One education faculty in Queensland, Australia is quickly responding to the Australian Government's national goals for education by modifying its pre-service teacher education curriculum. Queensland University of Technology's (QUT) renewal process has involved realigning curriculum units to fit with the Queensland College of Teaching (QCT) professional standards as well as considering new and different approaches to equipping graduates with the knowledge and pedagogical skills for teaching from a values-based perspective. One approach to training future teachers to provide values education in a "planned and systematic way" (DEST, 2005, p. 3) has been the introduction of a compulsory unit of Philosophy in the Classroom in the third year of the 4-year Bachelor of Education program. There is growing recognition that philosophy in schools supports students' personal and

academic development and QUT is believed to be the first Australian education institute to include a unit on teaching philosophy in the classroom in their Bachelor of Education program.

Philosophy in the classroom is a program designed to promote critical thinking and reasoning skills and provides a context for developing young peoples' understanding of a broad range of personal, moral, and social issues (Fisher, 1998). Briefly, philosophy in the classroom involves "an exploration of an idea or set of ideas that leads to questioning, exploring concepts and values, and posing problems" (Lovat, Toomey, Clement, Crotty, & Nielsen, 2009, p. 50). In the community of inquiry, philosophical discussions stem from students' questions, usually in response to a particular stimulus, such as a story, picture, or poem (Haynes, 2008). The group of students are encouraged to "think logically, critically and creatively, to reason and reflect, and to deliberate with an open-minded disposition" (p. 12). Through collaboration, students seek to find answers to questions that "have no immediate or obvious answers" (p. 12). It is the students' responsibility to evaluate the range of possible responses to a question and determine which responses are more defensible than others.

In this chapter, a rationale for incorporating philosophy into teacher training programs as a means of (1) preparing quality teachers for the 21st century and (2) meeting the expectations detailed in QCT's (2006) professional standards will be presented. Furthermore, in-service teachers from Buranda State School, a primary school that has been successfully teaching philosophy to its students for over 10 years will share their experiences of teaching philosophy and how it has enhanced student learning and their quality of teaching and professionalism as a teacher. Finally, the implications of embedding philosophy into teacher training programs are explored.

Linking Quality Teaching and Values Education

Focusing on values and the implementation of values education in an explicit way in pre-service teacher education programs is one way of enhancing quality teaching. Quality teaching has been defined broadly as teaching that makes a positive difference in students' learning and their lives (Lovat, 2007). Research has demonstrated that there is an inherent link between values and quality teaching (Lovat, 2009; Lovat & Clement, 2008; Lovat & Toomey, 2007; Rowe, 2004). Values education is taught most effectively in "a high quality teaching and learning environment characterized by best practice pedagogy" (Lovat et al., 2009, p. 21). Research suggests that "values education and high quality teaching coalesce for effective learning" (p. 21).

A brief history of quality teaching sees, up until the 1950s, a strong association with classroom discipline, control, and competition. Up until this point the teacher was seen as both the expert and the manager, and in this traditional model the focus was very much on the teacher. Thus, the notion of "teaching equals

learning" was developed. During the second part of the 20th century these notions began to be challenged, so much so that by 1976 the generally accepted assertion was that learning was an individual matter (Crebbin, 2004). Progressive teaching methods began to emphasize a student-centered approach, discovery learning, and cooperative learning (Arthur, 2003). Within this framework, ideas of multiple intelligences and individual learning styles strongly emerged. Education became more student-centered, and schools, such as Montessori, were specifically established based on this guiding philosophy. During this humanistic stage of education the expectation that a teacher cared for his/her students became so firmly ingrained, "that it is now accepted as a fundamental principle" of teaching (Crebbin, 2004, p. 59). Today, teachers are expected to focus on individuals and their learning and are required to have a diverse repertoire of pedagogical approaches that are appropriate for each individual student.

The defining moment for quality teaching occurred in 1994 with the Carnegie Corporation's Task Force on Learning. This research was conducted in the primary grades, primarily with students ranging in age from 3 to 10 years. The research team made site visits to 60 programs in 30 different communities across the United States of America and engaged in both formal and informal discussions with parents, teachers, administrators, and community leaders. This report noted that underachievement was a general problem across the United States and was not just a crisis of particular socio-economic and/or cultural groups. This research challenged the previously held belief that differences in schools' performances was a result of differences in students' learning abilities, which were believed to be inherent. What the Carnegie research demonstrated was that it was schools (and therefore teachers) that were failing and not the students' ability, or lack thereof (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1996).

Quality teaching can have a huge impact on student learning and have the potential to counteract the effects of disadvantage from, among others, socio-economic status and family background (Hattie, 2004; Rowe, 2004). In his research Hattie (2004) categorized and ranked possible influences on student achievement and found that influences that lie within teachers' hands such as feedback; instructional quality; class environment; challenge of goals; questioning; and teacher style were the most significant factors in students' engagement in learning. Not surprisingly, the quality of teaching is a central focus of education.

The Australian Council of Deans of Education (ACDE, 2005) proposed that "the role of teachers goes well beyond its official remit, and a teacher for the 21st century must be equipped with a sophisticated range of skills" (p. 59). While it is recognized that a teacher must possess knowledge, understanding, and skills in content and pedagogy, there is much more to being an effective teacher. An effective teacher is supportive of his/her students; will develop strong relationships; will come to know his/her students as individuals; will have an understanding of the social and cultural contexts of the students; and will model good behavior, critical thinking, and self-awareness. Lovat and Toomey (2007) provided a simplified list of quality teaching dimensions such as intellectual depth, communicative capacity, empathic character, reflective powers, self-management, and self-knowing. Kalantzis, Cope, and Harvey

(2001) added that a quality teacher is sensitive to diversity, will be able to work in teams, "will be intelligent in more than one way, able to learn and think in more than one way, and learn from and with people whose way of thinking, being and learning are different from their own" (p. 8).

While broad definitions of quality teaching are evident in the literature, Queensland's School Reform Longitudinal Study model of productive pedagogy (QGDET, 2004) provides a more specific description of quality teaching practices. This model uses four dimensions to explain quality teaching: (1) intellectual quality; (2) connectedness; (3) supportive classroom environment; and (4) recognition of difference and all four dimensions are essential for improved student outcomes. *Intellectual quality* focuses on producing deep understanding of important, substantive concepts, skills, and ideas. It requires higher order thinking; deep knowledge; deep understanding; substantive conversation; and knowledge as problematic. Through the manipulation of information and ideas and the discovery of new meanings and understandings, students come to realize that knowledge is not a fixed body of information. The second dimension is *connectedness* where the aim is to ensure the engagement and connection of students beyond the classroom walls. Connectedness incorporates knowledge integration: background knowledge, connectedness to the world, and a problem-based curriculum to ensure that connections are made to students' prior knowledge as well as to the "outside" world. Creating and maintaining a *supportive classroom environment* is another key factor in teacher quality and includes such things as ensuring students are clearly directed in their work; providing social support for all students in the class; ensuring that the students are academically engaged with work that has an explicit quality performance criteria as well as developing students who are self-regulated learners. The last dimension is *recognition of difference* which involves exposing students to a range of cultures, to different groups of people, and to individuals different from themselves. Central to developing a high quality teaching and learning environment are values such as respect, caring, creating a sense of community, understanding the importance of strong teacher–student relationships, and responsibility in a democratic society.

Quality teaching is inextricably linked to values education and while there are a large variety of ways that values education can be implemented, including whole school approaches; philosophy in the classroom; a focus on relational learning; service learning; citizenship capacity building; and social skills education (DEST, 2006), it is the example of philosophy in the classroom which we will now examine.

Philosophy in the Classroom

The use of philosophy in the classroom to enhance the thinking skills of children was first developed more than 20 years ago by US philosopher Matthew Lipman with his "Philosophy for Children" program. Over time in Australia, local philosophers and educators modified Lipman's program by creating appropriate resources and materials for an Australian context. Philosophy in the classroom has been described as "a

methodology for exploring ideas that involves questioning, investigating concepts and values, and posing ethical dilemmas" (DEEWR, 2008, p. 28). It is intrinsically linked to the four dimensions of quality teaching and values education.

It is evident that philosophical inquiry promotes intellectual engagement and connectedness. Philosophy in the classroom commences with students responding to stimulus material (e.g., a short story or poem). The stimulus material engages students' curiosity by focusing on "big" issues relevant to their lives, including current issues in the local or global community. Values dilemmas are intrinsic to philosophy in the classroom pedagogy. Fisher (1998) argues that philosophy is important as "it deals with the fundamental questions of life, such as 'What makes me who I am? How can I know anything for certain? and How should I live?'" (p. 20). It addresses questions that deal with problems of mind, thought, knowing, imagination, dreaming, consciousness, and interaction between minds (Haynes, 2008).

Encouraging students to ponder and discuss philosophical questions encourages them to actively interrogate their own, and society's values and beliefs (Burgh & O'Brien, 2002). By examining scenarios with philosophical underpinnings, students analyze "values conflicts and disagreements and go beyond their known values sets to explore other values systems, beliefs and understandings" (DEEWR 2008, p. 28). Philosophy promotes thinking at a conscious level and encourages the search for creative options, diverse viewpoints, and approaches to thinking. The practice of philosophy teaches ways of approaching problems and also generates new questions to solve. Participants learn to be able to identify a problem through detailed definition, through clarifying concepts, and by comparing and distinguishing particular cases and contextual features of the problem (Haynes, 2008).

At the heart of philosophy programs is the "community of inquiry." The community of inquiry requires students to work toward deliberate judgments and democratic decision-making. Students work together in groups to discuss, debate, and decide together on issues that are important to them (Splitter & Sharp, 1995). The teacher is engaged in the community of inquiry as a facilitator and encourages students to focus on the content of the discussion and the processes in which they are engaged. The teacher also models the language of philosophical discourse and introduces the students to conceptual tools to extend their thinking (Haynes, 2008).

This requirement of philosophical thought to pay attention to both content and process reveals the highly meta-cognitive nature of the community of inquiry (Cam, 1995) and thus the beneficial use of philosophy in schools. Students are required to think critically not only about the content under discussion, but also about their own (and the community's) thinking and reasoning (Splitter, 2006). An important step in the development of critical thinking skills is to understand how to reason well, and why making decisions based on reasoned arguments and judgments is important. Philosophy in the classroom does this by encouraging students to reflect on the quality of the arguments offered, and the meaning underlying the argument being made (Lipman, 1991). Philosophical thinking tools such as exploring conceptual boundaries, discovering criteria, uncovering conceptual connections, defining terms,

classifying objects, identifying logical relations, drawing deductive inferences, analyzing conditional statements, and constructing analogies (Cam, 1995) assist in the development of students' critical thinking and reflection skills. The focus of philosophy for the classroom is therefore not on *what* to think, but on *how* to think (Beyer, 1990; Hinton, 2003).

Equally important in philosophy are the two quality teaching dimensions of creating a supportive classroom environment and recognition of difference. The community of inquiry occurs in a caring and supportive environment where each individual student is encouraged to voice their ideas and opinions. Students sit together in a circle enabling each person to hear and see each other. Ground rules for working together (e.g., listen carefully, avoid interrupting and dominating, respect one another) are explicitly expressed and agreed to at the outset. Over time these rules become internalized by the participants. The community of inquiry promotes critical thinking of the issue at hand and by working collaboratively with others, students gain a greater understanding of how other people think, and develop respect for contrasting opinions. It is also expected and accepted that students may alter or change their views as part of the dialogue process (DEEWR, 2008). Philosophy attempts to produce better thinkers and more caring members of society, who accept differences, empathize, and at the same time, scrutinize problems and dilemmas in a reasoned manner.

The teacher plays an important role in facilitating the philosophical dialogues. The teacher works to guide the discussion along meaningful and related lines, encouraging students to build on others' ideas, as well as to provide examples and counter-examples of what other students have suggested. Teachers, if necessary, also gently remind students of the rules that ground the philosophy lesson, rules including only one person speaking at a time, treating others with respect, disagreeing with the idea and not the person and listening attentively. For students to feel safe in the community of inquiry, and willing to adopt these rules, teachers must model similar behaviours. Cotton (2002) identified the following teacher behaviors as imperative within the community of inquiry; early establishment of ground rules, showing respect for all students, accepting individual differences, modeling thinking skills, and allowing students to participate actively in the community. These behaviors meet QCT's (2006) expectation that teachers must possess certain capabilities that will allow them to provide high quality instruction in a safe, supportive, and stimulating learning environment and design and manage individual and group learning experiences that are intellectually stimulating.

It is apparent that the quality teaching dimensions of intellectual quality, connectedness, creating, and maintaining a supportive learning environment and recognition of difference are fostered through structured philosophical dialogues among students. These dialogues are values-explicit, student-centered, and open-ended (DEEWR, 2008). In discussing philosophical questions, one is involved in values education. If values education prepares students to live a meaningful life within society, then philosophy in the classroom is an important component of curriculum. Values education is seen as a key feature of life-long learning and as such is seen as having an important role in helping students to do the following:

> . . . to make sense of their world, make rational and informed choices about their own lives, accept responsibility for their own actions and understand, and develop their personal and social responsibilities as a basis for a life in which they can exercise judgment and responsibility in matters such as those of personal and social relationships, morality, and ethics. (Aspin & Chapman, 2007, pp. 2–3)

Research suggests that students are more motivated and engaged in learning if classes are intellectually stimulating and personally rewarding (Fisher, 1998). This is apparent at Buranda State School where philosophy is a core component of the curriculum. In the next section, background information about Buranda State School will be briefly outlined before examining how teaching philosophy has enhanced the quality of teaching and ultimately, student learning.

Philosophy at Buranda State School

Background. Buranda State School in Queensland, Australia was one of the 69 Australian schools explored in the Australian Government's Values Education Good Practice Schools Project (VEGPSP). Buranda State School has, since 1996, been teaching philosophy as a means of enhancing students' critical thinking and reasoning skills and deepening their understanding of self and others and has been widely documented as an outstanding school that has experienced remarkable changes over the last decade. At this school, philosophy is run as a core timetabled subject of at least 1 hour per week and is taught by all classroom teachers, who have all received training in how to teach philosophy to children. Despite being in a low socio-economic, high migrant area, students at Buranda State School have consistently achieved academic results above or well above the state average on national literacy and numeracy tests. There is little or no bullying at the school, the school environment is supportive and caring, and there has been a significant increase in enrolments (Hinton, 2008).

Focus Group. The authors of this paper took the opportunity to conduct a focus group with three teachers (one male teacher and two female teachers with teaching experience ranging from 3 to 12 years) from Buranda State School. The authors pre-prepared semi-structured interview questions in an attempt to elicit the teachers' experiences of teaching philosophy and how it had influenced the quality of their teaching and students' learning. Before commencing the focus group, the authors detailed the purpose of the study, actions taken to preserve anonymity and confidentiality, what to expect in the focus group, how the information was going to be used and stored. Participants were made aware that their involvement in the focus group was voluntary, that their responses would not in any way impact on their relationship with the university, and that they could remove themselves from the focus group interview if at any time they felt uncomfortable. Upon gaining informed consent from participants, the focus group was audio-taped. The focus group interview was transcribed verbatim and, since the present study was exploratory in nature, data was analyzed using thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1988; Roulston, 2001). Thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of experiences. Using direct quotes,

each researcher recorded all the issues that were discussed in relation to the research areas of interest before identifying common patterns of experience (Aronson, 1994). These themes were then cross-checked by an independent researcher. The feedback provided by the teachers suggest that teachers see the facilitation of philosophical inquiry as having a significant positive influence on their students' learning and their professional growth as a teacher. Their experiences are shared below before considering the implications of embedding philosophy in pre-service teacher education programs.

The Importance of Philosophy for Students

Connectedness

The success of the philosophy program at Buranda State School appears to lie in its connectedness to the student's lives. The interviewee's noted that the concepts covered in philosophy are inconsequential unless they are meaningful and relevant to the students:

> They have to live it [the value]. You can talk to the students about it. You can talk to anyone about respect, but it's in the actual doing of the respect that you learn how to be respectful, not in a discussion about being respectful. (P1)
>
> You have to give them [the students] the opportunity to actually live and breathe what they are learning, and to make mistakes doing it, and to reflect on it. (P3)
>
> It has a far greater affect on a student, I think, when you personalize it [learning] and make it authentic to them. (P3)

Intellectual Capacity Building and Life-Long Learning

Teachers at Buranda State School are not required to explore any particular concept at any particular time with students. A broad spectrum of philosophical concepts from ethics, metaphysics, epistemology, aesthetics, and logic are covered. Teachers take into consideration students' level of development and try to extend their level of understanding of issues and concepts. Students are viewed as life-long learners and as a result, philosophical concepts are sometimes revisited:

> You never have kids saying we've already done this. They [the students] understand that there is a maturity and a complexity that comes with exploring these concepts over time, and the concept of a basic one like friendship, for example, is something that students can explore from prep right through to adulthood. (P3)

> You can start off with one idea of a concept and by the end of it, and after listening to what everybody else has said, it is accepted that it is okay to change because you have taken things on board. It teaches kids that they can change as they go through life, as they take more on board. (P2)

Reflection

Reflection is an essential component of philosophy lessons and children right from Year 1 are taught how to reflect:

> I find year one, like I thought reflection in year one, I was like 'yeah right'. But we reflect three times a week, and I will give them a question and they will literally not just go right, whatever, or whatever I have written on the board. They will actually think about it. (P1)
>
> Reflection is very difficult for them [for the students]. But they get used to it and they will start to do it. It gets them thinking at the end of the day, if you do a reflection they usually end up, even if something has gone wrong during the day, they will reflect on something that was positive. Or they will think about how to improve tomorrow. (P2)
>
> At the end of year seven, in the last term, I get them to do a lot of reflection over their time at the school. Also thinking about the future. But I ask them to think about what they've really enjoyed about being at this school. What are some of the things they've enjoyed doing in their time at this school? Almost always, they say philosophy and they'll have a wonderful way of making that explicit. They'll have nice examples and you think it's just fantastic. (P3)

Self-Regulated Learners

Ultimately philosophy changes the way that the classroom works. The focus is shifted from the teacher to the students, where the students become responsible for their own learning:

> I think it [philosophy] is very enlightening for kids and it's very liberating for teachers as well because once you pass that baton of responsibility over to the student it changes the way the classroom works. (P3)
>
> It [philosophy] is so different to the rest of the curriculum, and it gets them [the students] thinking and realizing that okay, I can do this myself and I'm not depending on anybody else telling me what to do. It's my formation of my ideas, having listened to everybody else and taken things in. (P2)

Learning in a Supportive Classroom Environment

Concepts covered in philosophy may be sensitive in nature and students may share personal experiences, feelings, and emotions with their peers. Due to the nature of the subject, a supportive environment, where everyone respects others' opinions, is crucial. The students learn how to listen to one another and how to speak to one another:

> This term, we actually looked at qualities that we expected the kids to represent in class. We looked at things like consideration, encouragement, respect. (P2)
>
> They [the students] learn to disagree with one another and accept that somebody doesn't agree with them. (P2)
>
> I think the reason this is a nice school to teach in and it's a nice school to learn in, is that in terms of responsibility, the students very early on have a very strong sense that they need to be responsible for themselves. So that's their behaviour. They learn in their thinking. If I'm going to say something, then I have a responsibility to make sure that it's not going to be something that's hurtful to someone or not truthful and so on. (P3)

The teachers also attributed high participation levels in the classroom to a supportive learning environment. One teacher noted that quieter students and students with learning difficulties, who may not usually participate in classroom discussions and activities due to fear of being ridiculed, share their views and ideas in philosophy, and their confidence in their abilities to think critically tends to grow:

> You will come across kids at various stages who have problems with writing and problems with reading, but they are really good thinkers, and when you put then into a philosophy session, they have suddenly found their niche and their place, and it is amazing, their standing within the classroom. They change completely because then other people in the classroom can really see that these people really can think and develop a concept. Maybe they are not good at reading or writing but they have got something. (P2)

The Importance of Philosophy for Teacher Professional Development

The Focus Is on Students Learning Not Behavior Management

Both female interviewees indicated that they would not be teaching anymore if it were not for teaching philosophy at Buranda State School. They attributed their longevity in teaching to the supportive classroom environment that is created in philosophy sessions, where the students happily participate in class activities and work

collaboratively together. They suggested that rather than focusing on managing students with behaviour problems, they are able to focus on students' learning:

> Because I actually teach you, rather than just control some student's behaviour. I actually see success in learning. My reflection each day might be, "Goodness they learnt this, but they still haven't got that." (P1)
>
> You often find that it's the kids that pull other kids into line. They do not dob. The kids do not dob, but they'll talk to the kid next to them and say "Excuse me, we have got a job to do, let's go and do it." (P2)

Teachers as Life-Long Learners

Philosophy is a subject where the teacher is never an "expert." Each individual perceives and understands philosophical concepts differently due to their own personal experiences, attitudes, values, and beliefs. Teachers at Buranda State School perceive themselves as life-long learners, enhancing their own knowledge and understanding as they embark on the learning journey *with* their students:

> You [the teacher] are never an expert with it [philosophy], and I think that is a really valuable lesson to have as a teacher and a learner. When are you ever an expert at something? When do you ever know as much as there is to know? (P3)
>
> Because in some instances, the things that you will discuss, the concepts you explore, you may really be exploring them for the first time yourself. I've had that happen to me often. Kids will say things and you think, in 30 odd years, I've never thought about it like that before. (P2)
>
> I think a preparedness to see learning as open-ended for students and for new teachers, this is really important – to see themselves as part of the learning process. (P3)

Building Professional Capacity Through Collaboration with Other Teachers

The way that the philosophy teachers at Buranda State School expect their students to operate is how they operate themselves. They work collaboratively together and share their own units of work with each other as well as their personal reflections after they have taught the unit:

> We [the teachers] are fairly transparent here. We are fairly honest with one another. (P3)
>
> If you have a unit of work you have worked on, you pass it on to somebody. They come back and say "I changed this because I came across this. What do you think?" And you go 'oh yes, I really like that.' (P2)

Reflective Practitioners

It was evident that Buranda State School teachers are reflective practitioners. The teachers reflect on aspects of the lesson that worked and aspects that could be improved:

> It [reflection] might be part of my anecdotes or I'll go back to my planning and then look at my anecdotes, like that sort of reflection. Or think "that was ridiculous, I'll never do that again" sort of reflection. It may even be as you're going home. Sometimes you will reflect on the day and what you've had and things you would change. (P1)
>
> The good thing about reflection is it just makes you think and think, particularly when things go wrong. (P2)

The participants suggested that being a reflective practitioner is the key to becoming an effective teacher. One teacher noted this was an area that needed to be strengthened in teacher training programs. "With a lot of prac students you really have to go – where is your reflection?" This teacher indicated that pre-service teachers usually have good planning skills, however, they usually plan too far in advance and too stringently. "Pre-service teachers need to reflect continuously, after each lesson and at the end of every week and this reflection should guide their planning for the following week." QCT's (2006) professional standards also outline that teachers must commit to professional reflection in order to develop their capabilities as effective teachers.

Walking the Talk

One interviewee noted that effective teachers, model and articulate the same knowledge and skills they seek to develop in their students. A teacher needs to be able to demonstrate what they want their students to do, and the students have to be able to see it before they can do it themselves:

> You have to show that you're reflective yourself, and if you [the teacher] are not terribly reflective, you will become more reflective if you do this properly. (P3)
>
> To be able to show what you [the teacher] want. Your expectations of a student, they have to be able to see it. (P1)

The teachers' feedback reinforces the important role philosophy can play in equipping pre-service teachers' with the knowledge, skills, and understandings to be a quality teacher. Philosophy in the classroom closely aligns with QCT's professional standards, allowing pre-service teachers to develop their own professional skills and pedagogies through developing their own critical thinking, reasoning,

and self-awareness. The implications of embedding philosophy in teaching training programs will now be considered.

Embedding Philosophy in Pre-service Teacher Education

Regardless of how schools deliver values education, whether it is through the philosophy approach taken by Buranda State School, a whole-school approach, a citizenship approach, or a myriad of other approaches, the fact remains that it does require specific content knowledge and pedagogical skills on the part of the teacher (DEST, 2006; Thornberg, 2008). Despite this, a values-based approach such as philosophy, is not explicitly taught in the majority of pre-service teacher education programs, both nationally and internationally (Thornberg, 2008; Willemse, Lunenberg, & Korthagen, 2005). Certainly there would be many benefits in training pre-service teachers in the content and processes of philosophy. In order to teach philosophy in the classroom, pre-service teachers need to have a knowledge and understanding of philosophy and its theoretical background as well as develop expertise in implementing philosophical teaching techniques. Millet (2006, p. 52) states, however, that introducing philosophy into the curriculum of pre-service teachers in Australia "has proven difficult." This has important ramifications on two levels.

First, pre-service teachers will only go on to successfully implement philosophy, or a form of values education, into their classrooms if they believe that developing open-minded critical thinkers, who are reflective, caring, and responsible, is central and an important part of aspect of their role. Quite sensibly, pre-service teachers develop their ideas about what is considered important in education due to what is focused on most heavily within their education degrees. Thus, until teaching philosophy takes a more central role within the pre-service teacher curriculum, it is unlikely that beginning teachers will embrace, or even be aware of, the potential benefits of teaching from a values-based approach such as philosophy in the classroom.

Second, if teachers are expected to develop critical thinking skills, self-regulated learning approaches, knowledge of self and others, and life-long learning in their students, it is imperative that they have had the opportunity to develop these qualities within themselves. Philosophical inquiry followed by purposeful reflection (see Loughran, 1996) provides a meaningful context for this to occur. Using the community of inquiry approach with pre-service teachers allows them to be a part of a process that they might later implement in their own classrooms. Before teachers can effectively teach anything to their students, they must have engaged in the processes themselves, and be able to provide effective modeling of desired dispositions (Knight, 2006). As such, the philosophy in schools movement would be sufficiently boosted by the integration of its focus into pre-service teacher education degrees.

Teachers must constantly make important decisions that will affect themselves and the learning experiences of their students. The key to effective decision-making is quality reasoning and self-reflection skills (Millet, 2006) and teacher training degrees must specifically target the development of these areas. Integrating philosophy into pre-service teacher degrees may be an effective way of developing the essential skills and pedagogies that modern teachers need. Through the embedding of philosophy into its pre-service teacher education programs, QUT is acknowledging the importance of instilling in pre-service teachers the skills to reason effectively, engage in self-reflection, and to develop self-knowledge. This in turn will help them develop quality teaching skills.

Through the teaching of philosophy in the classroom to pre-service teachers it is also possible to develop the key teaching practices associated with quality teaching. By learning to teach philosophy in the classroom, pre-service teachers will also learn how to guide their students to use higher order thinking operations (e.g., inductive and deductive reasoning, analogical reasoning,) within a critical framework. In turn deep knowledge, deep understanding, knowledge integration, and connectedness will occur as pre-service teachers engage in philosophical inquiry and through reflection make complex connections as well as demonstrate new knowledge by "discovering relationships, solving problems, constructing explanations and drawing conclusions" (QGDET, 2002). Through the community of inquiry process participants learn to discuss, reason, and negotiate an understanding of a particular problem. Many of the thinking tools used in philosophy lessons to justify reasoning, help students reach an understanding that knowledge is problematic and that it is not a fixed body.

A community of inquiry can only effectively exist within a supportive classroom environment, so therefore a pre-service teacher who is trained in philosophy will understand the importance of ensuring that students are given clear direction, support, and are actively engaged at all times, as well as ensuring that students have an understanding and respect for others' differences, whether that be in terms of opinions, in terms of cultural differences, or intellectual or physical differences. The community of inquiry involves building strong and trusting relationships, which is a key component of quality teaching. Furthermore, the process of reflection, metacognition, and self-regulation are all important features of both philosophy in the classroom as well as quality teaching.

It is our belief that the implementation of philosophy in teacher preparation programs will play an important role in developing the "agreed foundational elements and dimensions of effective teaching" (MCEETYA, 2003, p. 5) as detailed in QCT's professional standards. Philosophy encourages pre-service teachers to reflect on and share their individual learning experiences and to integrate their practical insights with theoretical knowledge about teaching and learning. The development of these valuable skills in teaching and learning acquired through philosophy will not only help boost pre-service teachers' level of preparedness to engage students in learning, but will also help raise the standard, and perhaps status of teachers entering the profession.

Conclusion

The present chapter provides a rationale for embedding philosophy into 4-year bachelor of education programs. It has been argued that educating pre-service teachers in effective implementation of philosophy in the classroom aligns with the Queensland College of Teachers (QCT, 2006) professional standards for teachers, and supports the recent focus of values education in Australian schools. The experiences and attitudes outlined by teachers at Buranda State School highlight that quality teaching and positive learning outcomes can be achieved if teachers are trained in philosophy and its philosophical tools and techniques. As such, it is imperative that pre-service teacher education degrees take a more systematic approach to learning about philosophy and its associated teaching techniques and incorporating these into their own courses.

As teachers are required to demonstrate a high level of content knowledge and model a complex range of skills to their students, it is imperative that teacher training adapts to allow for these outcomes. Teachers must be explicitly trained to develop their own critical thinking, reasoning, and self-awareness skills. The processes and practices inherent in philosophy for the classroom would allow pre-service teachers to experiment and develop in these areas. The implementation of philosophy into pre-service teacher programs at QUT offers pre-service teachers a unique opportunity to focus on their own teaching and learning from a values-based perspective, while considering optimal ways to enhance the learning of their future students. In doing so, the university seeks to respond to the changing needs of teachers and learners in current times, and to refocus the main agenda of education to help learners to lead thoughtful, reflective, productive, and rewarding lives.

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Chapter 24
Re-visiting the 'Quiet Revolution'

Frances Farrer

Introduction

Values education finds different expression in different kinds of school; it is its adaptability within different contexts that validates the central theories. That this adaptability exists while retaining the integrity of the method is of course an essential aspect.

The structure as practised in the schools that have taken up the work as exemplified at West Kidlington Primary School, just north of Oxford in southern England, is in three parts. First comes the exploration of positive concepts, next the daily and frequent practice of silent reflection and last, the building of the habit of dispassionate observation and discussion. Some schools replicate the West Kidlington model and many use the West Kidlington list of 22 values concepts, but most change at least some of the words. Some schools, with different circumstances, retain traditional disciplinary measures while slowly phasing in the values method in its full complexity. Wonderful imaginations create different materials and methods around the words.

My book, *A Quiet Revolution* (Farrer, 2000), told the story of the development of values education methodology at West Kidlington School in Oxfordshire, one of the values' pioneers in England. I went there initially to write an article for the Times Educational Supplement about the phenomenon of silent reflection for 5–11-year olds. Could it be true? It could, and children and staff were responding calmly and harmoniously to the daily practice in their school assemblies and sometimes also after break time or before beginning a lesson. A few moments' class reflection might be used to create the right atmosphere in which to talk through a disagreement or simply to slow down and clear the mind for academic effort. It was simply part of the school day. The children would sometimes ask for it themselves.

The reflection article was published in a Religious Education supplement, not always the most enthusiastically read pages in the TES, and what was more, it was

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in a December issue, the end of the winter term with Christmas coming up. But the piece uncovered a real interest, and for the remainder of that term the school got more than 20 calls a day from people wanting to know more. The reflection article led to another about the values conversations that take place in dedicated lesson time (similar to a system now codified as Philosophy for Children). That piece dealt more closely with the values concepts.

Next came the book. Since *A Quiet Revolution* was published, many schools in the south of England and in other parts of the world have taken up values work. This interest is probably attributable at least in part to the perceived need for some moral element within increasing secularized schooling. In addition, with the growing interest in EQ (Emotional Quotient), methods that pertain to emotional literacy, such as those contained within values education, are gaining ground. The education of the reasonable side of the brain has long been prevalent; now the emotional side is getting back into the frame. Neuroscientist Jonah Lehrer (2009) says that our best decisions are a blend of feeling and reason, the precise mix depending on the situation. Lehrer maintains that if it were not for our emotions, reason would not exist, 'the process of thinking requires feeling'. A brain that cannot feel, cannot make up its mind. These ideas are harmonious with the thinking behind values education.

In this chapter I would like to look at how by paying considered attention to the emotional condition of the children, social awareness and relationships are transformed in schools, and cohesion, comprehension, sensitivity and a greater sense of community are created. With regard to the direct effect on teaching and learning, it is clear that with the practice of the values education methodology, the quality of communication is so improved as to facilitate all understanding and increase motivation. Many researchers now see emotional stability as an essential component of quality teaching and learning, and emotional stability is a consistent result of this work.

At the age of 13, a former West Kidlington Primary School pupil summed up her approach to the school day at secondary school. 'I expect to learn something – I start by thinking, what will be fun in lessons, what will I find interesting? . . . At West Kidlington we came in ready to enjoy the lessons. I don't think any lessons are boring, it's just what you make of them. At primary school the atmosphere made you concentrate. We were bright – I think because everyone's happy and calm they're learning more. It's a shame I couldn't have been there longer! . . . At my new school, I say if I don't understand. I'm at ease with the teachers, really you can almost speak to them like friends' (Farrer, 2000, pp. 104–105). A clear account of how her early education shaped her attitude to learning.

Case studies

Emotional Stability

Many children live in discordant families, and school communities may provide a lifeline in the form of a secure alternative emotional environment. Values education

proposes in addition that academic achievement is enhanced by emotional stability. In *A Quiet Revolution* (Farrer, 2000), Year 5 (9- and 10-year olds) teacher Karyn Errington observed, 'An unhappy child is not going to learn' (p. 59).

School and class assemblies are the fulcrum of the values effort, children are often invited to speak in them and Karyn Errington remarked on the extraordinary empathy often shown. She described one incident when Understanding was the value concept under scrutiny. 'We did an assembly on understanding, on the need to understand. The children were asked about understanding and they said we all needed to understand – why some of them can't read, or swim, things like that – then it moved into bigger things, why some of the children's parents couldn't get on. A boy whose parents' marriage was breaking up said he wanted the subject talked about, but that he himself couldn't talk about it because it would make him cry. I can't imagine anywhere else where that would have been possible, this is the most extraordinarily supportive place. It's the whole child we're concerned with here – literacy, numeracy, heart and soul' (Farrer, 2000, p. 88).

The assembled children who talked about the marriage breakdown acknowledged that the situation must be terrible for the boy, but suggested that if his parents would be happier living separately, and he could see them being happier, it might in time turn out not to be so bad after all. Then, they offered him their sympathy. These are very grown-up responses indeed. Teachers say the values work gives clarity of thought, and on this showing it appears that it gives children the clarity to think through even domestic catastrophe. It also enables them to put themselves in the position of their schoolmates, to share their troubles and to offer kindness and group support. Social awareness, and comprehension of the part each person in the school community plays in the life of the whole, is a characteristic result of the values work, and invaluable for the sense of community that the children will take into adult life (Farrer, 2000, pp. 88–89).

Community

The next story contains an unusual incident: one in which West Kidlington children misbehaved within the local neighbourhood. Neil Hawkes was head teacher at the time and he was taking an assembly for the youngest children. Here it is, in another extract from *A Quiet Revolution*:

> There has been an unusual hiatus in the form of a minor stone-throwing incident and Mr Hawkes has decided after a moment's hesitation that he must mention it, although in general the positive medium of the assembly is not used for disciplinary matters. The incident is explained.

> 'When stones are thrown they always hurt something. So what would I want you to do with stones?'
>
> 'Not pick them up,' says a boy.
>
> 'Yes!' says the head. 'Put your hands up if you understand.' (Farrer, 2000, p. 90)

> Since any event will always be dealt with in the larger as well as the smaller sphere, the other part of this equation was properly dealt with too, The following term there was a sequel at Harvest Festival, when the elderly neighbours whose glass had suffered were invited to the school, 'to see another side of us'. It was a beautiful occasion. The entire school population was packed into the hall, with the visitors seated at the back. A huge table in the corner was laden with fruit and vegetables and tins of food. Gentle music was played on the piano. The children filed in as usual, but because the whole school came it took 10 minutes and a bit of engineering to seat them.
>
> After several stories came the social message: 'We need to remember that in some countries people, the grown-ups and the children, grow the food, and that some of them have nothing at all to eat when the crops fail. We need especially to remember the Sudan,' said Mr Hawkes. (Sudan was experiencing drought at the time.) (Farrer, 2000, p. 91)
>
> Next, while Ave Maria was played on the piano, each class sent an emissary with a small basket of fruit. The gifts were received with thanks and added to the store. The infants sang, 'See the farmer sow the seed, Up the fields and down,' and the juniors led the whole school in, 'Lord of the Harvest,' a hymn-style song lustily sung. 'Let us give thanks now to God, in nature revealed,' said Mr Hawkes, 'and for this fine display. Keep your wonderful patience going while you're going out!' And they did, through a near-10 minute disembarkation from the hall, having sat in a crowded room and concentrated and sung for just over half an hour, the five year-olds right up to the top juniors. (Farrer, 2000, pp. 91–92)
>
> The elderly visitors said they found it 'touching' and 'moving'. They said they were amazed at the total concentration, they applauded the explanation of the different people, said they loved living near the school and enjoyed the children's proximity so much that they missed them during the school holidays. I asked about the contretemps with stones during the previous term.
>
> 'Oh it was nothing really,' said one of the elders. 'A storm in a teacup. We've all got grandchildren, we understand these things can happen. The mistake was in laying a gravel path in the first place, children are bound to pick up bits of it. Boys will, anyhow.' The others agreed that the incident had been well handled and that the harm done had been little and understandable. You could almost have thought the stones had been put down to test the children, and that it wasn't quite a fair test. (Farrer, 2000, p. 92)

Thus, the harmony of the neighbourhood is kept in view by the school community. In fact, there is very little bad behaviour from the children of these schools. I heard a story from a school in the West Country. The children had been visited by the local policeman for a talk on road safety and sensible conduct when out in the town. Afterwards, the policeman spoke more generally. 'What do you do about bullying in this school?' he asked. 'We don't know,' they replied, 'we don't really have any.' To which the policeman sportingly replied, 'Well, you'd better come and talk to us then!'

Social Awareness

There is a fine line between social awareness and community, with the same delicate balances of sympathy and understanding at work. The children are constantly (and gently) shown the consequences of their actions, and they develop the ability to ask themselves, 'If I do this, what might happen next?' They are made aware of the

effects of their actions and attitudes on other people. The next story, also from the West Country, is included in my forthcoming book, *Minds and Hearts*:

> A school in Herefordshire decided to make a stained glass window with a values theme. Money was obtained from a charity and a local artist was found to teach a group of year six children (10 and 11-year-olds) to do the craft work. It happened that the five children who were to make the window were all girls.
>
> A local artist came to the school and worked with the children. She explained the techniques, the whole school was consulted about the design, then the artist and the working group talked about which words they wanted to use and why, about what words such as *Co-operation* meant to them, and about how to express the concepts visually. They began by drawing round some of the children's hands and photocopying the outlines, then they etched the outlines into the glass. The team learned how to cut the glass and work the lead. They chose the colours. Meanwhile the main hall could not be used for gym, lunch or assembly for about two weeks.
>
> Since none of the boys had any part in it some staff members thought they might feel left out, though in fact none of them complained and there were no obviously sulky faces. There had already been dislocation all through that term because of building alterations, pupils had been moved from classroom to classroom and many of them hadn't had a desk or a place of their own. They had behaved well throughout, but it was acknowledged that the loss of the hall was an extra irritant in an unquiet term.
>
> The girls involved in the craft work were excused their usual lessons and from time to time the other children dropped by to look at the progress of the glass work. The craft team noticed some of the boys hanging around and they too half expected some kind of nuisance, but none came.
>
> When the window was finished and put in place, the school assembled so that the local Member of Parliament David Bell, then Permanent Secretary at the Department for Education and Skills, could dedicate it. All had been properly arranged for the formal visit and on the day the school assembled in good order, but when everyone was seated, one of the girls from the stained glass team stood up spontaneously in front of teachers, pupils and visiting grandees and said, 'Before we start, I want to say something on behalf of all the girls who made the window. We want to thank everyone for putting up with us working in the hall, and we specially want to say thank you to the boys. They weren't making the window and they couldn't have gym; we noticed they never complained and we want them to know we appreciate that.'
>
> The sensitivity and confidence of this speech say more about the success of the values programme than stained glass ever could. It demonstrated Humility, Understanding, Kindness and Courage. This is not just good manners, it is a deep comprehension of how emotional and social worlds work.

This story was told to me by the head teacher, who said that it showed her a great deal of what the girls had absorbed. Sensitivity, a social awareness that goes beyond politeness – and the self possession to stand up in front of a visiting dignitary and speak out clearly and succinctly, was at least some of it.

Staying with social awareness, here is another story from *Minds and Hearts*, set once again in West Kidlington. It comes from the chapter on Reflection, which is defined not only as silent sitting, but also as considering, reviewing, contemplating:

> During the summer, there are two or three makeshift tennis courts on the grass behind the outdoor classrooms at West Kidlington Primary School. They are not properly marked out,

> but the demarcations are well understood by the children. At break time children rush out to bag them. When the girls get there first the boys always want to stop the game and they often steal the ball. It can get quite heated, and even the dinner ladies have been involved in the resulting disputes.
>
> Ten-year-old Melissa told her class teacher Linda Heppenstall a story about the tennis court situation. She said, 'I remembered you talking about choosing to be tolerant.' On this occasion the boys had once again taken the ball, but Melissa persuaded the girls not to get angry. The girls decided to sit on the grass instead, and talk about the tennis they had seen on television. When the boys found that they got no reaction from stealing the ball they went over to where the girls were sitting and joined in the conversation. The children talked about Wimbledon, and their favourite players.
>
> Melissa said, 'Because I had decided not to get angry it didn't bother me that they'd got the ball. I thought it was better not to get into, "I'm going to see the Miss". Better to do something different.'
>
> In the end the girls and boys made up a new game and played as a group. They all played together, but took turns. They invented a game in which, after you had a turn hitting the ball, you had to run round the court and allow the next child in line to play.
>
> Linda Heppenstall said, 'So you see by being more tolerant, things changed.'
> 'We like the game that we're playing now,' Melissa said.
>
> The new game that was established turned out to be better than just having four people on two courts. Linda Heppenstall says, 'Arguing just asserts, 'I want this!' But these children had got on with speaking together, and had just started to listen to each other's wishes'. There must have been some questions about shall we do *x* or *y*? – and then they thought of a way round it. They're inventive when it comes to changing the rules.
>
> 'It's heartening that sometimes the brighter, older children can take something and use it. They listen intently when you do values lessons, they pick up something and see its potential. The kids like to see that other kids have worked it out. Those with the greatest ability teach others.'

They also make many fine definitions. Tolerance was defined by an 8-year-old at a school in Kent: 'It's respecting everyone's views and differences, isn't it?'

Counselling

The habit of listening dispassionately to others is useful throughout life. In the values schools there are often lessons programmed into the time table for sessions in which children can explain their moral quandaries, or talk through an incident in which they are not sure of the part they played. This can be somewhat akin to counselling. At secondary school, West Kidlington alumnus Sam Gardner enthusiastically took on the new task of mentoring juniors, using the methods he had learned as a young child. He described his role as 'a lot like a big brother'. He remained keen on the practice of reflection for slowing down thoughts, and said of the values work, 'It influences pretty much everything I do.'

At 17, Sam began to help teach some drama classes in his school, and found them invaluable for exploring emotional and social questions. He brought his early

education into the drama work. 'The values I was taught are the outline for the way I teach and to a large extent for what I teach,' he said. On the effect of his primary schooling he said a very large thing indeed: 'I've learned how to *be*.'

In the mentoring work, 'I made some significant, overt references to the value words. I loved being able to explore them with children. I liked asking questions, searching for meaning. You often hear people say, for example, "I want to be happy!" – and I'll say, "But what does it mean to be happy?" Of course the answer to that is different for everybody, but that's what makes the questioning interesting and worth doing.'

Sam saw that he had first to establish a clear channel of communication with the younger children. 'I'd say, "I want you to think about yourselves in relation to me, I want you to trust me and I'll trust you!". I think that engages on a much better level, one that encourages individual investigation. I would make it clear that I wanted them to explore an idea, and explore it thoroughly.' Sam added with relish: 'I'd tell them I was going to give it to them *again and again*!'

He was ready to adapt his methods to reach different children. Sometimes role play was used, sometimes drawing, often conversation with a positive emphasis. General discussions were set up which led to private conversations. One of the success stories was that of 11-year-old Benjamin, who Sam described as, 'Very, very energetic – exhausting, in fact! The teachers were not always sure how to deal with him. They sent him out of classes for fighting.'

One day in a drama class, Sam noticed something about Benjamin. 'I started to see him look up at the teacher whenever he did anything wrong. It was as if he was looking for a reaction. I went to him and said, "I know we can all get a bit wound up sometimes but I'd like to talk to you, maybe one lunchtime". I also said, "I'll bring sandwiches".' (The clincher, perhaps, and a trick Sam had learned from his mother.) 'Benjamin came, and we talked. He has older brothers who are quite full-on and aggressive, this attitude thing has spread with all of them into the school. I said to Benjamin, "Why do you provoke this teacher?" He said, "I don't!" and I said, "I think you do".'

'He loves motorbikes, so I suggested he could draw one and write on it the qualities he wanted the teacher to have. He did this, and the words were Trust, Happy, Friend, Respect – mostly West Kidlington words, as it happens. I said we needed to put fuel in the bike, and the fuel was Benjamin trying to be who he wanted the teacher to be. We talked about getting from the teacher what he wanted. After that we went and played football.'

'He's a lot better now. I used to make motor bike noises very quietly when I passed him in a corridor to remind him, and it made him smile. He started to engage quite soon after that talk. He's got a lot of dramatic talent, he loves performing. He can see the things he wants to achieve and now he can see how to get them. I think the key to the values thing is giving the approach for people to do what they can, to do what they want to do.'

An understanding of cause and effect, an understanding of the part one plays in one's own success, an invaluable life lesson – and with a sandwich thrown in! So the preliminary work was built upon. Sam Gardner was in no doubt where it came

from. ‘You can’t forget your earlier understanding,’ he said. ‘Primary education is a time when your subconscious develops significantly, and then that’s how you are. Primary school is a very important time for constructing those elements that make you who you are.’ Sam did well at secondary school and set off on the road to become a drama teacher, combining his love of acting with his dedication to the importance of passing on what he felt lucky to have learned himself. His anticipation of life as a teacher was idealistic. ‘It’s a unique profession, you engage with people in a very special way. You challenge your own ideals, your own perceptions, every day.’ Teaching was seen as a vocation. ‘I don’t think just anyone can be a teacher.’

These have been some of the products of the values method as taught at West Kidlington and another school in the south of England. There are many more schools doing this work, including some city schools. Research is beginning to show that the disciplines of values education are invaluable in training young minds, so that aspects of the students’ studies become more focussed and creative. However, the most immediately noticeable and clearly attributable effects are social.

At a school in Bedfordshire, in the south of England, the head teacher spoke of the effect of bringing silent reflection into the daily assemblies. ‘After the atmosphere of assembly had started coming together we noticed a different atmosphere in the school. Somebody said, “I’m not dealing with the playground hassle any more. The children used not to solve their own problems, they used to come to an adult and whinge.” Then we noticed the children didn’t come to the head any more. The staff on playground duty said how much more enjoyable it was, and we told the children that.’ Indeed, teachers using this method often say that they are enjoying their work much more.

These useful techniques for focussing and unifying school communities are now in use around the world. In the two convent schools for girls that I visited in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, the nuns and lay teachers give each of the words a fortnight, using them briefly at the end of morning assembly as a thought for the day. They adopted the value concepts because they teach girls from both Christian and Muslim backgrounds (with a few Buddhists), who naturally go to separate religious classes. The sisters were looking for something to bring all of the staff and pupils together.

I was there immediately after the earthquake in the autumn of 2005, when they had been using the value words for about 2 years. The schools were closed for 3 days, and when they reopened the teachers decided to extend the word Unity for two more weeks because they found it so helpful while they were working together after the disaster. The staff members were collecting blankets and towels, plates, cups and bottled water to send in to the hospitals. Some of the older children helped them. The atmosphere was stoical, but jittery. We all kept thinking the ground was trembling, and almost any rumbling sound could stop a conversation and bring nervous laughter. During daylight hours the noise of ambulance sirens and helicopter blades was constant as the emergency services moved injured people to hospital.

During the political upheavals in Pakistan at the end of 2007 I e-mailed the sisters to ask how they were. There was serious concern about the stability of the country, but head teacher Sister Julie Watson took the time to comment on the values work.

She said, 'We have values well and truly alive and it has really affected the atmosphere of the school for the better. The daily assembly with a stress on a different value every two weeks has brought about a remarkable change in the atmosphere, children are friendlier, teachers work well together, and the overall atmosphere is very good. May it long remain so!' In the context of such religious certainty and discipline this is a wonderful tribute. The nuns often told me of the unifying effect of the focus on the positive concepts. It seems that clarity is one of the chief benefits of the work.

School Communities

Now to a newer phenomenon: groups of schools within localities working together on the values concepts. One of them is developing around the small English midlands town of Daventry. Ashby Primary School is at the heart of it, seven more primary schools are interested in starting the work and two secondary schools are about to begin. Ashby head Neil Balliston says of the values work, 'Children understand the benefits of behaving,' and indeed one often hears quite young children say approvingly, 'It teaches us manners!'. These schools are developing some of their own learning materials. At Falconer's Hill Infant School (for 3–5-year olds), the concepts have been pictured as animals. Thus, Thoughtfulness is an owl, Respect is a tiger, Responsibility is a monkey putting his banana skin into a recycling bin, Co-Operation is a group of ants carrying a piece of rainbow coloured cloth.

Imaginative interpretation of the National Curriculum is often found in primary schools, and Ashby Primary reports a wonderful treatment of the Great Fire of London (1666), part of the history syllabus for Key Stage 2 (7–11-year olds). The children built a cardboard and paper model of medieval London, with streets and houses to scale. Contemporary houses were made of wattle and daub based on wooden frames, which is why the fire took hold so quickly and burnt the city so completely. The model was centred on Pudding Lane, where the fire started, and took the children 6 weeks to build. When it was finished, by prior arrangement, the Ashby Fire Brigade sent a fire engine, the cardboard London was set on fire and the firemen put it out. The involvement in the lives of schoolchildren of local people such as policemen and firemen has benefits all round; the adults enjoy it just as much as the children. There was another, incidental lesson: the model took 6 weeks to build and 6 minutes to burn.

At Walton-on-Thames, 15 miles south west of London, there are nine values schools within a small radius, co-ordinating their value words. This is the Bridge Partnership: six primary schools, two secondary schools and a special school for children with varying degrees of severe learning disability. The group was formed at the end of 2007; teacher representatives from each establishment meet termly to discuss their joint effort. They say that their common language – in all senses – makes consensus quicker. Over time, this arrangement will harmonize the thinking and outlook of siblings of different ages, and could do away with at least some of

the familiar apprehension that can accompany children's moves from primary to secondary school.

Richard Dunne heads Ashley Church of England Primary School in Walton-on-Thames. He believes that the joint effort, 'will enable young people to show the power of partnership and collaboration in the community'. He believes that the result of the work in assemblies, collective worship, through the curriculum, in public celebrations and perhaps above all through the practice of quiet reflection, will be that, 'School will nurture in the children a set of values that we hope will guide them as they grow into the citizens and leaders of the future'. The Bridge Partnership decided on the values methodology as a means of focussing their confederation, and there was swift agreement on it. 'I was amazed that we had nine representatives from nine schools, and we asked them to put up their proposals for values, and we just raced through it,' says Dunne. They agreed on their joint value concepts for a 2-year programme in just under an hour.

Consensus on the shared vocabulary continues into the schools' joint efforts, such as the outdoor concert I saw one cold spring morning in the Walton-upon-Thames shopping precinct. All of the schools willingly offered help organizing it. 'We enjoy working together, there's a trust between us,' says Richard Dunne. 'The competition has gone out of things, probably because people do really value what we're doing.' The five participating schools attracted a good-sized audience for a chilly Monday morning, and not just of parents, either. The local mayor concluded the concert with a promise. 'I will try to be more confident, and aspire to the values,' he said. Within the precinct were huge peace and values banners that the children had made, as well as more traditional art work. The mayor saw it all as exemplary. 'This is the sort of commitment we hope all our young people will make.'

Shared vocabulary, shared understanding, consensus, make a huge difference in all spheres of activity, and teachers say, 'It makes sense to the children.' Teachers are involved in the values work individually, aware of their own effect, and of the depth of it. Mark Jackman, head of Rydens Secondary School, is convinced of the importance of the work. 'The point is in the explicitness,' he says, 'though of course in secondary schools there may need to be a more subtle approach, with individual pupils beginning to know their own minds. We still have the value of the month and the focus in assemblies, but we may have to use more persuasion and argument. We may have to go into what appear to be contradictions and it is important that we must persuade rather than tell.'

'Recently I gave an assembly on hope. I talked of situations where the factor that made the difference was hope, but then I talked about times when hope is not appropriate, for example you don't *hope* you'll get your homework done.' At Rydens School, 'Students reflect on assemblies, discuss the concepts, reflect on the values. We expect to see actions and behaviour that summarize the values. We give house points for community action, for positive values shown in practice.'

Mark Jackman remarks that student behaviour has improved, and he is convinced that the strengthening of the community depends on the values work being done in concert with other schools. 'It's the right thing to do, and it's difficult to do by

yourself. It has the potential to have a significant impact on our communities. People acting together for the common good – the longer you do this, the more impact it will have elsewhere.' Richard Dunne agrees. 'The impact of schools working together on the community of families and parents will be immense.'

Linda Curtis is a class teacher, she says that the linked schools arrangement, 'makes sense to the children'. She also notes that the schools are able to maintain their individuality. 'Within the confederation it's very personalized, we need to ensure that the values work is personalized to school settings. At the same time we all appreciate what each other does.' Linda Curtis emphasises the importance of maintaining clarity. 'We must help our teachers to know which questions to ask – which need not necessarily be very comfortable.'

There are complex conversations to be had. 'Some of the values are not easy. Honesty, for example. We might ask, "why do people steal things?" – and then we might notice that when people are desperate they do things they might not do otherwise. There really aren't many situations that are black and white. Understanding is another complex one. Why do people behave as they do? Why did that person do that?'

Ashley Primary School has a strong environmental emphasis. 'Values are the foundation of all we do,' says Richard Dunne, 'and sustainability is the core.' He sees this as essential effort. 'We are very close to the tipping point with regard to the climate,' he says. The school uses alternative energy sources, monitors its energy use and researches different ways of consuming – and of not consuming. Each year group is growing food, and they also keep three chickens within the school grounds, with chicken monitors taking on the job for at least a term. (Chicken monitors get the eggs as wages.) All this is clearly harmonious with work on principled behaviour; the question of the way we live must include how and what we consume.

The remark, 'The values work should lead to positive behaviour ultimately' is of course a general one, but when made in the context of a special school it must accompany very different approaches and subtleties. It was said at Walton Leigh Special School, also part of the Bridge Partnership. The school caters for 64 pupils between the ages of 11 and 18. Their categories of severe learning disability include Downs syndrome, autism, and Profound and Multiple Learning Difficulties. About 25% of the pupils are wheelchair bound and totally dependent.

Teacher Eva Bartok-Beke says that much learning at the school is sensory, alongside Makaton signing and other special techniques including visual aids. A great many systems are used and tailored to individual needs. In terms of the values work, she says, 'Some of the children get the values messages through teaching sessions,' and 'the reflections at the end of every day are useful.' Reflection is used at other times too. 'Sometimes we might try for one minute's quiet in class, which helps to calm the students.' Walton Leigh uses many pictorial aids for understanding simple words. One of their A4 sheets asks, 'How can we be good friends?' Underneath, the word Kind is illustrated by a hand with the thumb pointing upwards, beside a heart; by an ear with waves going into it; another hand with an exclamation mark beside it accompanying the word Helpful and lastly a brown hand and a white one pictured above a halved apple, with a piece going to each.

In the context of this special school, the values words are still central to the effort. ‘Co-Operation – we define that as working together, and we may point out to the pupils that that’s what they are doing,’ says Eva Bartok-Beke. ‘One of our boys is friends with a profoundly disabled girl, and he helps her, he brushes her hair, for example. He would get an award for understanding. We might have explained the word understanding by talking about how a friend might be upset because the noise was too high.’ This is backed by rewards: students are given awards for citizenship, and there is a nomination box for the staff member of the month.

Ms Bartok-Beke believes that the values work has focused what was already present in the school’s working ethos. ‘We have always talked about respect, for example, but it was implicit. This way of working has brought it to the students, and I think now that staff and youngsters all use the word ‘values’. The students can tell us the value of the month, they have more of an awareness about it. The children get a greater understanding of the values and for some of them it can affect the behaviour. When that happens it is enriching because it’s giving them more independence. Some of the children can use the words themselves.’

Others in the Bridge Partnership have linked with schools around the world. Year 2 children (aged six) at Manby Lodge Infant School are communicating by letter and e-mail with Jumeirah Primary School in Dubai; their Year 1 children are linked with a school in Leicestershire. They define Belonging in a way that moves from self to other; ‘people accept me for who I am. I belong in my family. I belong in my class. I belong in my school’. Another school that is looking at self and community is Bell Farm Junior, where there has been a focus on children around the world. Bell Farm children decided to produce African batik wax printing, and to make prints that illustrate the emotion within the value.

St James, Church of England Primary School children made banners in co-operation with a group of parents and an artist. Their definition of Understanding is ‘by looking and listening carefully we can begin to understand others’. Oatlands Infants family values art project also created banners. There, every month one of the classes invites the parents or carers to come to school for an afternoon and talk about what the current value means within the family. Next, art work illustrating the value is created. Their definition of Care is ‘look after yourself, look after others, look after the environment’.

Two more schools within the group have links with the elderly: St Charles Borromeo Catholic Primary School, and Heathside School, which is for secondary students (11–18 years). Elderly people attend assemblies and help in classes with memories of the Second World War at St Charles Borromeo; Heathside students help to care for elderly people within the community. Heathside students also work at Walton Leigh School, and concern themselves with green issues and healthy eating. Their definition of Confidence predates the US presidential election, and is You can do it!

All of the community efforts could be said to be similar to those undertaken by many if not most schools the length and breadth of the land. As with other products of values work, the concrete evidence may not be exceptional, critics could argue that making banners and singing in public is not out of the way. However,

the usefulness of work done with explicit intention, and done as an expression of virtue – to use the grander word – is arguably infinitely more significant. It is the quality, the inherent communication that is important.

Richard Dunne sums it up. 'What we did through the singing was to really capture a sense of community and demonstrate it – here we are. People's expectations are that schools are separate, but we said very publicly we are a team, we have partnership, we work together and we really enjoy working together. The combination of music and art through our collaborative partnership was very powerful. We said to all the parents, from whatever background, that all these children are working together. What better way to share our values work with our community than through our art and music?'

'Over time, doing this work, you start to see children behaving in a really positive way. You start to notice that they speak to each other nicely, they hold doors for each other, they pick each other up if they fall over in the playground. They have a heightened awareness of how to behave The ongoing exploration of what it is to live a values-based life is what is being demonstrated. They have an understanding of how to behave.'

Conclusion

This chapter amplifies the close relationship between a values approach to learning, the development of character and the overall wellbeing of students, teachers and the communities they live in and serve.

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Chapter 25
Promoting Student Resilience and Wellbeing: Asia-Pacific Resilient Children and Communities Project

Jing Sun and Donald E. Stewart

Introduction

Resilience is related to many areas of a child's life, such as family relationships, academic performance, peer relationships, behaviour and social skills. An understanding of the significance of resilience processes is of great value in determining approaches to preventing negative development outcomes, thereby enhancing wellbeing and learning. Individual characteristics, such as high self-esteem and self-concept, have been repeatedly identified as protective factors that help to promote student learning and minimize the negative effects of risks. Connection to school is also an important protective factor. This can be defined as the experience of caring about school and a positive relationship to the school environment and school staff. Strong connectedness to school exerts a powerful influence in the lives of students. Relationships between students and teachers have been positively associated with students' motivation, achievement, feelings of belonging and affect in school. Students with higher levels of school connectedness report significantly lower levels of psychological problems, suicidal thoughts, suicide attempts, violent behaviour, substance use and undesirable sexual behaviours.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the association between resilience and wellbeing, based on evidence from the 'Asia-Pacific Resilience Project'. The main research findings derived from the study were (1) low resilience scores predispose individuals to mental health risks; and (2) an intervention programme using a holistic school approach to promote resilience factors such as self-esteem, self-efficacy and school connectedness significantly promotes student wellbeing and prevents mental health problems.

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Stating the Problem

There is concern at the increasing global prevalence of mental ill-health in children, estimated at 20–30% (Stephens, Dulberg, & Joubert, 1999). In the Asia-Pacific region, China is no exception to this trend with an estimated 15–20% of children having mental health problems (Sun, 2003). Many children have multiple mental and emotional problems (Chen, Chen, Kaspar, & Noh, 2000; Tseng et al., 1988), which are inadequately treated and may be undetected (Chen et al., 2000; China Internet Information Center, 2003; Falbo & Poston, 1993).

Numerous programmes have been developed to reduce or alleviate problem behaviour or disorders and/or assist positive youth development (Browne, Gafni, Roberts, Byrne, & Majumdar, 2004), with the majority of these intervention programmes focused on behaviour, or treating child mental health disorders and symptoms such as attention-deficit hyperactivity. However, over recent decades, a holistic approach has received increasing emphasis, underpinned by Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1989) ecological theory, and supported by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2003). Despite a growing body of evidence indicating that both individual characteristics and school environment play a critical role in children's development, relatively few programmes have accepted the significance of a comprehensive, universal context-focused approach (Browne et al., 2004), although a growing body of research has confirmed associations between individual resilience factors and children's social-contextual experiences in schools and mental health.

Research demonstrates the impressive potential of programmes that identify and strengthen resilience skills in at-risk youth, before they have developed to the point at which intensive treatment and rehabilitation is required (Grotberg, 1995; 1996; Smith, Lizotte, Thornberry, & Krohn, 1997; Wang, 1998). For this reason, practitioners and scholars are beginning to focus on health promotion approaches to help create the conditions conducive to the development of resilience in youth. In particular, there is growing recognition that we need programmes located directly in the natural ecological and developmental context where children grow up and that bridge the different worlds that children inhabit.

The Asia-Pacific Resilience Project (APRP) is a health promotion project that is both theory- and research-based, addressing academic success, emotional wellbeing and mental health in students in primary schools. APRP is built on a 'resilience approach' to mental and emotional health and for the past 5 years has built a framework and practice for all primary school students, including at-risk students.

Development of the Asia-Pacific Resilience Project

The APRP was initially developed in response to a tender from Health Promotion Queensland (HPQ), now a unit in Queensland Health. Initially a Ministerial Advisory Committee, HPQ, was funded to support projects that addressed significant and emerging health issues in Queensland. Traditionally, researchers interested in prevention or early intervention programmes spotlighted clinical measures of

mental health status as key indicators of poor mental health outcomes. HPQ recognized that such an approach fails to determine 'upstream' risk factors that, if addressed through effective early intervention or preventative strategies, directly and indirectly determine clinical outcomes. Additionally, this approach neglects measures of social indicators that reflect the 'capital' of a community, which also determines clinical outcomes.

This project is based on a model that suggests monitoring upstream indicators, such as the capacity of individuals and communities to withstand the negative consequences of adverse circumstances, is critical. This is because such measures can reasonably predict subsequent demand for intervention services, while also reflecting the wide array of contextual determinants known to have an impact on health outcomes (Mazza & Reynolds, 1999). By fostering the development of personal strengths, or human capital, as well as building social systems that provide healthful environments (social, political and organizational), the longer-term need for interventions may be reduced. The model identified to incorporate this theoretical perspective and to allow the planning, development and management of a resilience-based intervention was the 'health promoting school' model (WHO, 2003). Such a model is predicated upon a socio-ecological or holistic perspective, but it also has its foundations in what Antonovsky (1987) termed a 'salutogenic' or health-building approach.

The APRP was, therefore, constructed upon a socio-ecological paradigm of health and sought to explain the interdependence between the school as a social system, or setting, and population health outcomes. This model reflects a commitment to the concept of 'place' (or habitus) and its significance to health and wellbeing at both individual and population levels. This approach recognizes that intrapersonal characteristics, life experiences and dimensions of settings combine to determine our personal capacities for survival in an increasingly complex and unpredictable world (Berkman, Glass, Brissette, & Seeman, 2000; Grossman et al., 2003; Shahar & Priel, 2002; Svanberg, 1998).

The APRP was developed recognizing that no theory of resilience currently encompasses the multiple systemic influences upon an individual's development of resilience – the family, peer group, school or community – and that interventions typically address risk and protective factors within one setting and ignore the potential interactive effects, whether these be additive or subtractive, from other systems of influence.

The Project commenced in Queensland in 2003 with 10 intervention schools (north Brisbane) and 10 control schools (south Brisbane). It was supported by a Project team including Project officers, researchers, funding support to the intervention schools, together with extensive workshops and in-service support for teachers, students and parents. As part of a strategy to ensure the research community was kept informed of progress, regular papers and posters were presented at national and international conferences.

At one of these conferences, delegates from China expressed interest in addressing some of the perceived mental health issues observed in their home Provinces, using the resilience approach. Colleagues in China were keenly interested in the

issue of resilience, due to an increasing concern with mental ill-health associated with rapid change in China, including urbanization, globalization, high levels of competition, and potential social and behavioural stresses due to high expectations from parents and grandparents. The evidence available regarding the effectiveness of the health promoting school approach in dealing with mental health promotion has led to enthusiastic endorsement of this approach from school principals, staff and students in the cities of Nanjing, Hefei, Shenyang, and Shenzhen.

There is a high rate of mental health problems among children and adolescents in China, with about 1 in 6 children (Lee, 2004) and adolescents experiencing negative emotional feelings. Suicide, in association with depression, is now the primary cause of death for youth, with the age for suicide and attempted suicide continually falling (Parker, Gladstone, & Chee, 2001). A recent study indicates that 30% of 'normal' Chinese adolescents reported having depression and 41% indicated anxiety (Hesketh, Qu, & Tomkins, 2003). Children with these 'invisible' mental health problems often go unrecognized for a prolonged period. However, currently, there is no generally accepted mental health promotion model developed for children in China.

In 2005, training workshops were held for school staff in Nanjing and Hefei that clearly showed the relevance of the project to the needs of children, families and schools in China. The experience in Nanjing and Hefei was broadly publicized and subsequently attracted Shenzhen city (Guangdong Province) and Shenyang city (Liaoning Province) health and education officials to participate in the project, to meet the mental health promotion needs of children, families and schools in their cities. The 2-week-long training workshops with approximately 40 primary school staff and parents as participants were conducted in each city dealing with: (1) the principles of the health promoting school (HPS) approach, and (2) resilience and mental health issues. Six-monthly training workshops were also conducted by our Chinese collaborating institutions in each city. The schools in each city participated in health promoting activities, using intervention material designed for the study.

A prospective intervention study design was used, with intervention schools matched to control schools in terms of school size and socio-economic status. The study plan was designed to compare the intervention effects on intervention schools in terms of resilience, family functioning, school organization and climate, community social support, health promoting school features and social capital. A time series design was used, with pre- and post-intervention comparisons for both intervention and control schools, to examine the intervention effects over time.

The HPS intervention group was comprised of selected primary schools in each city with a cohort of school age children from Year 1 to 6 using the HPS approach. The control group was composed of primary schools with a cohort of school age children from Year 1 to 6 who were matched with the intervention group in grade, school socio-economic status level, education quality level and school size.

The intervention schools consisted of:

- five primary schools in Nanjing,
- two primary schools in Hefei,

- two primary schools in Shenzhen,
- four Primary schools in Shenyang.

These schools were matched with a similar number of control schools. In all, there were 13 intervention schools and 13 control schools in four participating cities.

A multi-level strategy was devised, consisting of three levels:

(1) Level 1: whole school approach to promote student resilience; a supportive school environment; family functioning; community involvement.
(2) Level 2: teacher support and peer support group for children who encounter problems during school days.
(3) Level 3: psychological counselling and individual help for children who have psychological problems using psychological counselling service provision.

Development of Resilience

Research into resilience began around 40–50 years ago when the concept was initially clinically formulated and analysed in a clinical setting. Early investigations by Werner and Smith (1982) reported on a 30-year ethnographic study of high-risk children in Kauai. This study followed a cohort of children, born in 1955 in Kauai, Hawaii, into troubled and impoverished families. Werner and Smith discovered that one-third of the high-risk children were vulnerable, but succeeded both in school and later at work. The other two-thirds developed emotional and behavioural problems including delinquency, teenage pregnancy and mental health problems.

Werner and Smith found that the successful group could be distinguished by certain temperamental characteristics and social skills; strong relationships with parents or other adults; and support within the community. Of those teenagers who developed problems, some matured to become successful adults. This group tended to have pivotal experiences with supportive people in situations that structured their lives. For example, those who joined the military or a church group, went to college or developed a stable and close relationship with another person were more likely to succeed. These characteristics were labelled ‘protective factors’ and provided a buffer as well as a reservoir of resources to deal effectively with stress (Resnick, 1997). More recently, Conger and Elder (1994) found similar results in a 10-year prospective study of a cohort of 558 young people and their families. Resilience to economic hardship was promoted by support from parents, siblings, and adults outside the family.

Resilience has been used to characterize individuals who overcome difficult and challenging life circumstances and risk factors (Garmezy, Masten, & Tellegen, 1984; Rutter, 1984; Werner, 1992). This perspective has conceptualized resilience as successful adaptation despite risk. Risk factors have been defined as hazards relating to the individual, or to the individual’s environment that increase the likelihood of a problem occurring (Rutter, 1987).

Resilience has been described as the interaction between risk and protective factors, specifically a process that results from individual reaction to risk factors, or vulnerabilities, that are present in the environment (Luthar, 2003; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000). Studies on resilience in terms of adaptation despite risk often cite protective factors to explain why only the minority of children living in adverse conditions manifest problem behaviours and symptoms of psychopathology (Rutter, 1987). Protective factors have been referred to as those factors in the individual, or the environment, which enhance an individual's ability to resist problems and deal with life's stresses. Thus, protective factors exert their effect only when a risk is present (Rutter, 1987). Protective factors have been considered to either compensate the risk, or buffer the effect of risk on child development.

Antonovsky's (1987, 1996) salutogenic model focuses on factors that help identify coping resources of children which may contribute to resilience and effective adjustment, notwithstanding adversity and risk. The concepts implicit in the salutogenic model have relevance in health promotion and practice. A salutogenic model, as opposed to a pathogenic model, emphasizes competence and healthy children functioning in multiple domains (e.g., social, emotional and academic) and emphasizes enhancing protective factors in the lives of all children, irrespective of the risk present. Implicit in this approach is the idea that resilience in children can be fostered and promoted by establishing protective factors in the environment (Benard, 2004).

The emphasis on resilience within an ecological approach takes into account the influences of social context, both proximal and distal, to children (McLoyd, 1998). This advance is formalized in Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1989) ecological model. It specifies that wellbeing is affected substantially by the social contexts in which children are embedded and is a function of the quality of relationships among individual, family and institutional systems. The factors that reside within the individual include a variety of coping skills; for example self-efficacy, self-esteem, problem solving, communication and cooperation. Factors external to the individual considered as protective factors include parental support, teacher mentoring or school support that promotes positive youth development. The term 'external' emphasizes the social environmental influences on child health and development and helps to place resilience in a more ecological context, moving away from conceptualization of resilience as a static, individual trait.

Although there is no overall consensus regarding the definition of the resilience paradigm, there is a general agreement regarding its construct and components. These include individual characteristics of the child, family structures and the external environment (Werner, 1989). Werner argues that resilient children have the following characteristics: a high level of autonomy, empathy, better problem solving skills and supportive peer relationships. He also found that variables relating to resilience are protective factors embedded in the family, the school and the community (Werner, 1992). Protective factors modify, ameliorate or alter a person's response to the negative effects of risk (Smith & Carlson, 1997). Family protective factors are those that shape the family's ability to endure in the face of adversity and risk. Key characteristics of family protective factors include warmth,

affection, cohesion, commitment and emotional support for one another (McCubbin, McCubbin, & Thompson, 1987). These factors have also been found to be associated with resilience in children (Smith, 1999; Werner, 1995). School experiences that include a safe and supportive environment, positive peer relationships, positive teacher influences and opportunities for success, have also been found to be positively related to children's resilience (Rutter, 1987; Werner, 1995). Such variables may have a decisive impact on a child's ability to cope with stress or challenge and may be crucial in determining the extent to which a stressful situation will escalate into harm or resolve itself into adjustment and resilience. Community support includes participation in the activities of pro-social organizations, such as clubs, or scouts. It also includes neighbourhoods possessing high collective efficacy (high levels of social cohesion and informal social control); a high level of public safety; effective emergency social services; and good public health and health services. Thus, the presence of protective factors may determine a child's ability to adjust and cope with adversity in the family, school or community.

Researchers have commonly assigned resilience related factors into two broad categories: (1) those falling within the domains of individual personality attributes or dispositions (Rutter, 1990; Werner, 1992) such as social competence, problem solving, autonomy, and sense of future and purpose; and (2) those relating to environmental influences such as peers, family, school and local community (Rutter, 1987; Werner, 1995).

Resilience and Student Wellbeing

Numerous studies indicate that most threats to the development of children are those derived from adversities that undermine the basic human protective systems for development. The APRP attempted to promote resilience by focusing on preventing damage to these basic protective systems. Effective schools were believed to be those where there are strategies that are likely to help children to overcome challenges and achieve resilient outcomes and trajectories. Interventions that promote effective teaching and learning and engagement of committed parents, teachers and community members in the lives of children are also critical.

Primary school education is directly concerned with resilience because of its twofold focus on risk and positive adaptation. First, its focus is on the development of competence among young people, including those who have encountered adversity. It is estimated that more than 20% of children in China, Australia and the USA, especially those in urban environments, are at risk for school failure and significant social, emotional and behavioural problems, such as depression, anxiety, aggression, suicide and unhealthy risk taking (Ellickson, McGuigan, Adams, & Bell, 1996; Lau, Chan, & Lau, 1999; Sawyer et al., 2000; Zhang, Ji, & Yan, 1997). As research demonstrates, many children face multiple and interacting risks in their families, communities, peer groups and school environments (Cicchetti & Toth, 1996; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000). Without intervention, young people confronting multiple

adversities have a greater risk of developing substantial problems and dysfunctions along their developmental pathways.

Second, in organizational terms, schools are confronting problems and needs of immense scope, for which they are largely unprepared. School resources are limited, making it a challenge for them to address many students' problems, behavioural management and learning needs. Yet, without intervention coordinated by schools or community agencies, young people are unlikely to receive the required help. Schools are important settings for prevention, health promotion and intervention and are the setting where most developmental intellectual, social, emotional and physical tasks engage and transform children.

Development of Resilience Measures

The criteria used to define resilience relating to students included, first, successful individual adaptation (e.g., self-esteem), and second, a sufficiency of provision of external support from family, school and community at context level.

The APRP, which was mainly exploratory in nature, had two main purposes, one methodological, the other practical. First, from within the general conceptual framework of the resilience approach, we wished to devise a new and feasible method for identifying resilient outcomes among primary school children in primary schools. Second, we wanted to explore the effectiveness of a resilience approach to promote student wellbeing, based on a number of outcome measures chosen from among some of the main resilience dimensions. The main instruments through which APRP attempted to define and measure resilience was via three questionnaires: a Student Resilience, a Parent or Caregiver Resilience and a Staff Resilience instrument.

At the student level, resilience measurements in relation to the personal characteristics examined in this study were drawn from the relevant literature. They included self-esteem, self-efficacy, capacity to solve problems, willingness to cooperate and communicate, sense of purpose in life, autonomy, and perceptions of family, peers, school and community (Rutter, 1990; Werner, 1992). Family-level variables examined focussed on family functioning, family coherence and how the family as a unit copes with the stresses of life. Family coherence pertains mainly to the elements of coping, problem solving, support, communication and understanding (Rutter, 1990; Werner, 1992). Resilient families generally have the resources to access support from the community, friends, and kinship network. At the school level, variables examined included parental perceptions of the school organizational environment, its capacity to provide good structure, clear rules and regulation, and the extent to which a supportive psychosocial environment was present in the school. Numerous studies have indicated that social support has the ability to moderate the effects of family stress (DuBois, Felner, Meares, & Krier, 1994; Murata, 1994; Spilman, 2006); hence, community level variables in the study examine social support as perceived by parents/caregivers. The family stress and coping literature is replete with emphasis on the importance of social support both as a protective factor and as a recovery factor. Such community, friend and kinship networks can help

to give meaning to a situation, help to develop coping strategies, and, more importantly, foster the family's ability to face challenge and change situations (McCubbin, Paterson, & Glynn, 1987).

A number of school factors have been identified as being able to influence children's mental health. Specifically noted is the school ethos, climate or environment; the curriculum, the rules and discipline regarding management of student behaviour, expectations of the staff and parents, and opportunity for positive relationships with adult models in the school (Baker, Dilly, Aupperlee, & Patil, 2003). The school-level variables examined also included staff perceptions of the school's health promoting nature and social capital. Other researchers have identified similar health promoting school factors including school policy, school physical environment and school social environment, but have also identified personal skill building, access to health service and school-community relations (Booth & Samdal, 1997; Deschesnes, Martin, & Hill, 2003; Rogers, Moon, Mullee, Speller, & Roderick, 1998; Scriven & Stiddard, 2003) to be important aspects of the health promoting school environment.

The intervention strategies using socio-ecological, health promoting school principles in intervention schools emphasized related themes, as summarized in Table 25.1 below.

Table 25.1 Intervention activities

Themes	Activities
Professional development for staff and parents	Run workshop and training for staff and parents in • Resilience • Parenting skills in relation to parent–student relationship development, communications between school and families, parental engagement in school activities
Student resilience building	Through various activities and curriculum to develop students' • Problem solving skills • Social skills • Communication skills • Peer relations • Assertiveness skills
School environment	Decoration of school to develop physical and social environment to address issues of • Safety • Anti-bullying • Friendship • Respect • Good student–teacher relationship • Good student relationship • Assembly to celebrate success and give awards to students with good behaviours and social-emotional competence.

Table 25.1 (continued)

Themes	Activities
Community partnerships	Intervention schools build partnerships with • Local communities • Psychological associations • Police office • Parent association • Youth club
Curriculum development	Resilience issue is addressed in key learning areas • Maths • Literacy • English • Health and social study • Drama • Sports
Extra-curricula development	The resilience skills were addressed through extra-curriculum activities • Excursion • Family activities such as BBQs, picnics • Parent–student activities
Psychological counselling	• Develop psychological counselling centre: provide psychological support when students need help • Referral service: liaise with local psychological counselling service when students have behavioural and emotional problems.

Integration of Mental Health and Educational Practice

The APRP strived to overcome the traditional distinctions between mental health and educational practice in work with students. The project shows that academic success acts as a protective factor for at-risk youth, providing them with a sense of self-efficacy and tools for life success. Thus, in a virtuous cycle, as academic success increases, the risk for delinquent student behaviours decreases, and as risky behaviours decrease, academic progress begins to improve. Prevention and intervention then comes not only from outside schools, but also from within and is focused on eradicating the barriers that obstruct students' learning. The fact that the Project fully incorporated educational goals in schools supports its success. Teachers, parents and principals viewed the project as supporting the learning goals of the schools rather than as a distraction from their primary goals.

The APRP was designed with the concept of partnership at its core, to work with schools to maximize health and thereby contribute to the achievement of learning outcomes. In terms of planning, management, implementation and evaluation, the Project illustrated the vital significance of collaborative structures, partnerships, comprehensive and integrated approaches, as well as consistent, integrated,

multi-disciplinary, coordinated approaches when dealing with health issues for children and young people. The Project provided evidence of the need for inter-sectoral awareness of the developmental, social and health needs of children and young people, together with an example of effective, evidence-based and collaborative action to address the mental health and developmental issues of this group. It also illustrated a model that can strengthen existing formal and informal links and partnerships with other sectors as well as support a family-centred and setting/place-based approach. Also, as an important educational objective, it allowed opportunities for young people to participate in the planning, implementation and evaluation of developmental, social and health interventions.

One of the research questions addressed by the Project was the relationship between resilience and depression, as depression may affect many areas of a child's life in the school, such as diminished academic performance (Kovacs & Goldston, 1991), poor peer relationships (Connolly, Geller, Marton, & Kutcher 1992), conduct problems and socialized delinquency (Norvell & Towle, 1986), suicide (Phillips et al., 2002), and disturbed family relationships (Hamilton, Asarnow, & Tompson, 1997). Sub-clinical depression must also be taken seriously, as adolescents with sub-clinical depression have been found to be significantly more likely to develop clinical disorders over a subsequent period of 2 years (Horwath, 1992). Adolescents with high self-report depression scale scores have been found to be three times more likely to develop depression compared to those without elevated scores.

The results indicated that a low level of resilience is significantly related to depression symptoms. Important findings from our study extend the work of various intervention programmes (Barrett, Sonderegger, & Xenos, 2003; Cutuli, Chaplin, Gillham, Reivich, & Seligman 2006; Shochet et al., 2001). First, constructs relating to resilience were extended to other aspects such as social support from peers, families, school and communities, in addition to individual resilience characteristics such as self-esteem. Second, depression is related to low level of family support; to low level of school support and to low level of community support. To date, virtually all of the research that has examined predictors of depression in children and adolescence has focused on individual characteristics, such as self-esteem or self-competence. However, it is apparent that much more research needs to be conducted examining potential predictors of depression, such as social support from family, school and community, since depression and anxiety are common during adolescence (Compas, Orosan, & Grant, 1993; Lesionsohn, Clarke, Seekey, & Rhode, 1994; Sun & Stewart, 2007). Also, gender differences in relation to anxiety problems become apparent during this time, with boys at more risk of experiencing problems than girls in primary schools.

An intervention programme to reduce the depression rate in primary school children was then incorporated into the curriculum, extra-curricula activities, school policy, school ethos and environment. With regard to the prevention effect, it was expected that the intervention group would be associated with fewer depressive symptoms at the post-intervention phase compared to the non-intervention group and that children's resilience levels in the intervention group would also be increased. In testing these hypotheses, results show that there were significant

differences between the pre- and post-intervention phase in the proportion of students who had sub-clinical depression symptoms in the intervention schools, and differences between intervention and controls schools in the post-intervention phase. Only 21.6% of students in the intervention schools compared to 29.4% of students in the control schools in the post-intervention phase were sub-clinically depressed. From a health promotion perspective, 2.8% of sub-clinical children in the intervention schools fell into the normal category; in contrast, 8.1% of healthy children moved to the sub-clinical category in the control schools at post-intervention.

These results confirm that children in the intervention schools showed a significantly greater decrease in depressive symptoms as measured by the Kovaks Child Depression Inventory (Kovacs, 1992) at the post-intervention phase. For both sub-clinical and clinical depression groups in the intervention schools all resilience scores significantly increased, compared with scores in the pre-intervention phase. One aspect of the findings that is difficult to interpret is that there was a significant difference between the pre- and post-intervention phase for the non-depressed group in terms of resilience scores in the intervention group, such that all resilience scores except goals and aspirations decreased for the non-depressed group students. Further investigation is needed to examine if their decreasing scores in resilience factors may lead to later depressive symptoms.

Major beneficiaries of the programme were those sub-clinical students who began with moderately elevated depressive symptoms. Those in the intervention programme were more likely to shift into the healthy range and less likely to fall into the clinical range. There were 2.8% of students with sub-clinical depressive symptoms who moved into the normal range. These results are consistent with recent studies which have indicated that a mental health promotion intervention programme is likely to be most beneficial to sub-clinical groups (Shochet et al., 2001).

The universal nature of the intervention programme also appeared to be of benefit to adolescents who were initially considered healthy. That is, there was a significant difference between the pre- and post-intervention phase in the proportion of students who were in the healthy categories in the intervention group. At post-intervention, none of the healthy students moved into the sub-clinical category, however, in the control schools, 8.1% of healthy children moved into the sub-clinical category. This result is similar to Shochet et al's (2001) study where 10.1% of the healthy adolescents moved into the sub-clinical category if they were not recruited into a universal intervention programme. The intervention programme was, therefore, clearly beneficial to both sub-clinical and healthy groups. This evidence adds weight to the importance of any action taken to maximize mental health and wellbeing among populations and individuals. It also emphasizes the importance of enabling people to maximize their health potential through influencing environmental conditions.

These results, therefore, support and renew the current emphasis on prevention and early intervention. The model used in this Project, the healthy school community (or health promoting school) model, provides a mechanism to achieve these goals. The prevention of mental health problems and mental disorders relies on reducing the risk factors for mental disorder as well as enhancing the protective factors that promote mental health. Developing social, emotional and behavioural

skills using the concept of resilience to promote mental health and wellbeing, can be seen as both a broad preventative initiative at a population or whole school level, but also as an opportunity to identify at-risk students and help to prevent them moving to further levels of depression. The results of this study are encouraging in terms of the value of investing resources in a comprehensive intervention programme, due to the prevention impact on children with sub-clinical depressive symptoms as well as healthy children in primary schools in China.

Resilience Enhancing Environment and Student Mental Health

Numerous programmes have been developed to reduce or alleviate problem behaviour or disorders and/or assist positive youth development (Browne et al., 2004), with the majority of these intervention programmes focused on behaviour, or treating child mental health disorders and symptoms such as attention-deficit hyperactivity. The effects of an adverse social environment are likely to be cumulative. The Kauai Pregnancy Study (Werner, 1992), for example, examined the impact of perinatal stress and the quality of the environment on children's physical, intellectual and social development. At 10 years of age, social class was found to be significantly associated with achievement, intelligence and emotional problems. Early environmental deprivation had an even greater impact at 10 years of age than at 2 years of age, indicating that the effect increases with age. The significance of the school at this age has also been recognized in a range of studies, effects have been found of school structural variables, characteristics of school principals/teachers and aspects of the school policy relating to student achievement and wellbeing. A growing body of evidence indicates that school environment plays a critical role in children's development. The APRP accepted the significance of a comprehensive, universal context-focused approach (Browne et al., 2004) through statistical analysis that has confirmed associations between children's social-contextual experiences in schools and mental health.

The resilience approach requires a substantial change in the way schools, their staff and students interact with each other and promote health and wellbeing. This involves moving from practices that rely mainly on classroom-based health education models to a more comprehensive, integrated construct of health promotion that focuses both on children's attitudes and behaviours, and on their environment (Stewart, Sun, Patterson, Lemerle, & Hardie, 2004; Sun & Stewart, 2007).

To achieve maximum benefit, the APRP considered these school contextual and environmental characteristics, namely: (1) the formal health curriculum that gives school aged children the essential knowledge and social skills that will allow them to make enlightened choices affecting their physical and psychosocial health; (2) the school environment, which refers to the quality of the physical environment and the social environment, the health services and policies of the school and (3) school/community relationships.

In terms of partnership with community health services, APRP provided evidence of a productive partnership in mental health promotion, seeking to develop

protective factors by increasing the supportive environment. Most of the studies published on the effect of school health promotion policies deal with only one behaviour (such as smoking, or alcohol and drug use) with few aspects of community and inter-sectoral partnerships and school support system (Browne et al., 2004). Wells, Barlow, & Stewart-Brown's (2003) review suggested that long-term interventions that promote the positive mental health of all students and involve changes to the school climate are likely to be more successful than brief, class-based mental illness prevention programmes.

The intervention programme using resilience approach in APRP project is to investigate the significance of the school ecology, its social and environmental characteristics, on mental health promotion, characterized as the promotion of 'resilience'. School staff indicate that they consider that there have been significant improvements in the areas of physical and social environment in relation to curriculum development focused on resilience; on mental health service provision and partnership with the community and health service providers; on mental health policy development in their schools; on school organizational structure and in terms of promoting positive life experiences for students.

The study also gives strong support to the resilience approach, that links schools with relevant agencies and groups, embeds protective factors into the curriculum and encourages school members' participation. It also indicates the opportunities available for mental health promotion through school members' involvement in the intervention. The project indicates that a resilience approach to get the whole school's participation is effective in creating a healthy mental health promotion environment within primary schools in China.

School environment indicators, such as the school social environment, school-community relations and curriculum development, were all aligned with resilience. Intervention schools, in a relatively short time scale, showed immediate effects compared with schools that were not using a holistic approach. This improvement was shown across all mental health promotion areas.

Numerous factors have the potential to influence the extent to which the physical and social environment of the school setting can influence health, broadly defined (Greenberg et al., 2003). Evidence from this study supports the contention that we should focus attention on changing organizational, physical conditions and social environment rather than solely focussing on the individual. The evidence relating to the significant improvement in school organization in the current study supports strategies that encompass the school environment, structural issues and organizational practice. Such areas should become key components of mental health promotion programmes.

Conclusion

Over the last three decades, a holistic approach has received increasing emphasis, underpinned by Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1989) ecological theory. The APRP explored the significance of the school ecology, its social and environmental

characteristics, on mental health promotion, characterized as the promotion of 'resilience'. It specifically focussed on staff reports on an intervention project that used the resilience approach to promote resilience across the whole school community in a number of cities in China. School staff indicate that they consider that there have been significant improvements in the areas of physical and social environment; in relation to curriculum development focused on resilience; on mental health service provision and partnership with the community and health service providers; on mental health policy development in their schools; on school organizational structure; and in terms of promoting positive life experiences for students.

Results from the APRP indicate that:

- Resilience and contextual factors are significantly related to depression, even after demographic characteristics are controlled in the analysis.
- School organization and climate are significantly related to student mental health.
- Family functioning related to family environment is significantly related to student mental health.
- Social support related to community–family relationships and community social support for family is significantly related to student mental health.
- Health promoting school features are significantly related to student mental health status.

These broad environmental improvements, derived from a large population based study, are strongly supported by statistical evidence.

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Chapter 26
The Power of Character: Needed for, and Developed from, Teaching and Learning

Matthew Davidson, Vladimir Khmelkov, and Thomas Lickona

Introduction

All schools face challenges in two critical areas: academic performance and ethical behavior. Performance challenges include helping all students learn; improving students' performance on standardized tests; motivating them to care about the quality of their work and work to potential, not just attain better grades or higher test scores; reducing dropouts; and preparing students for college and/or the workplace. Ethical challenges include teaching students to respect legitimate authority, rules, laws, and the rights of others; preventing peer cruelty and promoting kindness; fostering honesty, including academic integrity; reducing risky behaviors; and helping students become responsible citizens. These moral and performance challenges can be reduced to two: How can we get students to do their best work? How can we teach them to respect and care about themselves and others?

Where can schools find the "power" to meet these challenges? Booker T. Washington said, "Character is power" (Booker T. Washington Quotes, 2009). What is the power of character, and how can schools—and other key groups such as families, businesses, religious institutions, and the wider community—maximize the power of character to meet the performance and ethical challenges facing schools and society?

We believe that the power of character comes from the integration of excellence and ethics. To become a person of character means to become the best person we can be. That involves doing our best work (the pursuit of excellence) and doing the right thing in our relationships (the pursuit of ethical behavior). Educating for both excellence and ethics is not a new idea. Throughout history and in cultures

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around the world, education rightly conceived has had two great goals: to help students become smart and to help them become good. They need character for both. They need "performance character"—qualities such as self-discipline, confidence, diligence, and determination—in order to develop their talents, strive for excellence, and succeed in school and beyond. They need "moral character"—qualities such as integrity, respect, justice, and compassion—in order to behave ethically, live, and work in community, and assume the responsibilities of active citizenship.

Although teaching students to be both smart and good is the school's oldest mission and highest calling, most observers would agree that much contemporary education falls well short of that ideal. Indeed, we would submit that integrating excellence and ethics as a central power source for school success and human flourishing would require a paradigm shift for the field of character education and school reform in general (see Davidson, Lickona & Khmelkov, 2008). At least in the United States, character education in recent decades (see Battistich, Schaps, Watson, Solomon, & Lewis, 2000; Beland, 2003; Lickona, 1991) has tended to focus mainly on moral character (doing the right thing) to the neglect of performance character (doing our best work). By contrast, general school reform efforts (see National Research Council, 2004) typically have a different deficiency: they tend to focus largely on increasing academic achievement, often narrowly defined as higher test scores, while neglecting the development of moral character.

In this chapter, we describe what we call the Smart & Good Schools model of character education, which focuses on performance character and moral character in an integrated way. The Smart & Good Schools approach seeks to maximize the power of moral and performance character by viewing character as *needed for*, and potentially *developed from*, every act of teaching and learning. Character education thus conceived stands at the very center of schooling; it is not done parallel to academic instruction, but rather *in and through* the teaching and learning process.

In explaining the Smart & Good Schools model, this chapter will present two classroom case studies; use them to illustrate both the "character-needed-for-and-developed-from-learning" concept and four interlocking pedagogical strategies we use to help teachers maximize the power of character; introduce a middle and high school character development curriculum based on these ideas (*Power2Learn*, Davidson et al., 2009) and a corresponding professional development process (*Power2Teach*, Davidson et al., 2009); and, finally, describe an assessment instrument, CREE (Collective Responsibility for Excellence & Ethics) (Khmelkov, Davidson, & Lickona, 2009), designed to help schools benchmark character and culture, monitor growth in those areas, and continually improve their character development efforts.

Before presenting the Smart & Good Schools model, however, we look briefly at the current state of the field and what we might call "the character education dilemma."

The Character Education Dilemma

Many schools express their "character education dilemma" in this way: "We think character education is important. We'd like to do more, but we have to meet the state learning standards, get kids ready for the tests, reduce drop outs, prepare a 21st century workforce, and so on. Where do we fit it in?" Academics and character education are experienced as competing priorities. In response to this "Where do we fit it in?" dilemma, at least four kinds of solutions have been offered, each having some value but none, in our judgment, being fully adequate.

Adopt Add-On Programs

One approach has been to add a character education curriculum to the school's existing educational programs. In their monograph *What Works in Character Education*, Berkowitz and Bier (2006) review a wide range of published character education programs that have been shown to make a measurable difference in some aspect of student character or school performance. But, such programs have at least three drawbacks: they must be added to a school's already crowded curriculum; they require faculty training and another "class prep"; and they leave the school's regular curriculum—the academic instruction that goes on for most of the school day—unchanged and untapped as a vehicle for character development.

Integrate Ethics Discussions into Academic Classes

This approach seeks to integrate character education into the academic curriculum by looking for opportunities to bring out the ethical dimension of a teacher's subject matter (Beland, 2003; Lickona, 1991, 2004). For example, a social studies teacher might discuss the moral decisions faced by public figures in history or look for current events that raise an ethical issue. However, the ability of most teachers to have these ethical discussions is limited by their lack of training in ethics and the pressure they experience to "cover the curriculum." As the head of one high school science department commented, "I teach chemistry, not character. Occasionally, I might touch on an ethical issue, but I have only so much time for that."

Integrate Process Strategies

A third solution to the "where do we fit it in?" dilemma is to integrate character-building "process strategies" such as cooperative learning (Kagan & Kagan, 2009; Slavin, 1995) and service learning (Billig, 2000; Lickona & Davidson, 2005).

Berkowitz and Bier (2006) document the positive effects of these methods, but such strategies may not be a standard part of everyday instruction. Even cooperative learning, which has potential for regular use, requires training and planning time that keep many teachers from using it frequently.

Implement a Whole-School Approach

The "comprehensive approach to character education" has the merit of being holistic, seeking to create a total school environment that fosters character development. Three examples are the Child Development Project (Schaps, Watson, & Lewis, 1996), the 12-point *Educating for Character* model (Lickona, 1991), and the *Eleven Principles of Effective Character Education* (Beland, 2003; Lickona, Schaps, & Lewis, 1995) promulgated by the Character Education Partnership (www.character.org). These models advanced character education by widening its conceptual lens to recognize that everything in the life of the school is a form of character education: the example of adults, the school's sense of community, the content of the curriculum, the ethos created by rituals and routines, the approach to co-curricular activities, and the involvement of parents. These whole-school models also provided a great many practical examples, typically drawn from exemplary classrooms and schools (see Beland, 2003; Lickona, 1991, 2004; and the Character Education Partnership's *National Schools of Character*, 1998–2009), showing how to use the above-named aspects of school life as opportunities for character development.

However, even these more comprehensive approaches still tended to neglect character education's *direct* contribution to academic learning (how does it build better students?) and to focus instead on its *indirect* contribution—that of creating a supportive social-moral environment for teaching and learning. ("Build a caring community and reduce discipline problems," the argument went, "and you'll increase academic achievement.") These models, which guided our own work for a decade, also remained largely focused on developing *moral* character, those qualities needed for interpersonal success and ethical behavior. Still left on the margins was *performance* character—those qualities that enable us to pursue an ethic of excellence and do our best in any performance context (the classroom, co-curricular activity, workplace, etc.). This neglect of performance character and its direct contribution to academic learning is likely one reason why character education has had difficulty gaining traction in secondary schools (Leming, 2006). Finally, even though these models provided a plethora of examples of how to implement the individual components of the comprehensive approach, schools often still found themselves without a clear overall implementation plan that gave them guidance on questions such as, Where do we begin? How do we get faculty on board, and equip them with the skills to do this well? How does this fit with our curriculum? And where will we find the time to do all this, given all of our academic mandates?

The Smart and Good Schools

The evolution in our own thinking about character and character education has emerged from our ongoing Smart & Good Schools work.[1] In the first phase of this work, we conducted research on diverse, award-winning high schools in order to (1) develop a theoretical model of a high school that integrates the pursuit of excellence and the pursuit of ethical behavior in all phases of school life, and (2) identify promising practices that would render character education relevant to the academic and behavioral challenges faced by high schools. *Smart & Good High Schools: Integrating Excellence and Ethics for Success in School, Work, and Beyond* (Lickona & Davidson, 2005) set forth our theoretical model and described more than a hundred high school character development practices, drawn from our research, showing how to implement the Smart & Good vision. (The full report may be downloaded from our website, www.cortland.edu/character.)

Smart & Good High Schools called for a paradigm shift in character education—from focusing only on developing moral character (being one's best ethical self in relationships) to focusing equally on developing performance character (doing one's best in all areas of endeavor). We argued that these two parts of character are interdependent (see Fig. 26.1), both necessary for a life of character. Without moral character, we can easily fall into using unethical means to achieve our performance goals. Without performance character, we will have difficulty developing our human potential and enacting our moral values effectively.

Fig. 26.1 Performance character and moral character

[1] Major support for the Smart & Good Schools research and development is provided by the John Templeton Foundation and the Sanford N. McDonnell Foundation.

Various studies show the contributions of performance character and moral character to human development and achievement. In their handbook *Character Strengths and Virtues*, Peterson and Seligman (2004) identify the cross-cultural importance of performance character attributes such as creativity, curiosity, love of learning, and persistence. Longitudinal studies such as *Talented Teenagers* (Csikszentmihalyi, Ratunde & Whalen, 1993) find that gifted adolescents who develop their talent to high levels, compared to those who do not, tend to show high levels of performance character qualities such as goal-setting and wise time management. Colby's and Damon's study, *Some Do Care: Contemporary Lives of Moral Commitment* (1998), reveals how strong performance character and strong moral character work synergistically to account for exemplars' achievements in fields as varied as civil rights, education, business, philanthropy, the environment, and religion. Such exemplars do good, and do good *well*. In a flourishing life, ethics and excellence go hand in hand.

The *Smart & Good High Schools* report also introduced eight Strengths of Character, developmental outcomes that "unpack" the constructs of moral and performance character, offer schools more specific goals to work toward, and serve as a heuristic guiding further research, theory-building, and practical application. These eight Strengths are (1) lifelong learner and critical thinker, (2) diligent and capable performer, (3) socially and emotionally skilled person, (4) ethical thinker, (5) respectful and responsible moral agent, (6) self-disciplined person who pursues a healthy lifestyle, (7) contributing community member and democratic citizen, and (8) spiritual person engaged in crafting a life of noble purpose. We drew these eight Strengths of Character from our own grounded theory research; cross-cultural research on character (Peterson & Seligman, 2004); theory and research on intellectual character (Ritchhart, 2002; Sternberg, 1997); classical conceptions of a meaningful life (e.g., Frankel, 1959); positive psychology (Seligman, 2002); moral psychology (Blasi, 2004; Kohlberg, 1976; Lapsley, 1996); research on social-emotional learning (CASEL, 2003; Elias et al., 1997; Goleman, 1995); educational research (Marzano, Pickering, & Pollock, 2001; Pallas, 2000); research on service learning (Billig, 2000); and work on the development of purpose (Damon, Memon, & Bronk, 2003) and the role of spirituality in education (Kessler, 2000; Palmer, 1999). Much of the *Smart & Good High Schools* report was devoted to describing practices for developing these eight Strengths of Character.

In addition, *Smart & Good High Schools* reported many practices for developing what we called an Ethical Learning Community (ELC), a partnership of staff, students, parents, and the community whose members hold each other accountable for doing their best work and being their best ethical selves. In the Smart & Good vision, the Ethical Learning Community provides the "culture of character" needed to support and challenge adults and students in developing moral and performance character. The Professional Ethical Learning Community (PELC) provides the adult role models, collegial staff community, and school leadership needed to create and continuously improve the Ethical Learning Community. Together, the ELC and PELC fulfill Kohlberg's exhortation to "change the life of the school as well as the development of the individual" (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1991).

Toward a Smart and Good Schools Pedagogy

A Research-Based Teaching Strategy: The Four KEYS

Our work with schools since the *Smart & Good High Schools* report has helped us refine our thinking about the essential pedagogical strategies needed to develop performance character and moral character. We now believe that four key practices function as an "operating system," or master strategy, driving the most effective practices:

1. *Support and Challenge.* The combination of support and challenge is designed to build the Ethical Learning Community, a community/group of any size (partners, a small group, a classroom, a club, a team, the whole-school, or the wider community). The reciprocal relationships, shared values, and mutual expectations of an ELC hold its members accountable for doing their best work and being their best ethical selves. The power of this kind of intentional community is demonstrated by *Good to Great* research (Collins, 2001) on high-performing companies that used a "touchstone" and related practices to develop a shared sense of purpose and identify around core values. Similarly, in *Building an Intentional School Culture*, Elbot and Fulton (2007) show how schools have brought about academic and ethical improvements by creating a values-based community that both supports and challenges its members. Support and challenge practices go beyond a focus on the individual's psychological assets to include a focus on the assets of the culture within which individual development occurs.
2. *Self-Study.* This practice engages students in assessing their strengths and areas for growth (in performance character, moral character, or any other area of competence), setting goals for improvement, and then monitoring their progress. Self-Study as a pedagogical strategy seeks to increase student engagement and personalization, moving the locus of control from outside the individual to inside. Self-Study promotes a self-referenced task orientation (e.g., "How can I do better at this than I did yesterday?"), which in turn fosters self-reflection, intrinsic motivation, and positive efforts in response to failure (Duda & Nicholls, 1992).
3. *Other-Study*. This practice helps students understand, internalize, and master the requisite skills for reproducing high levels of excellence and ethics in their own lives. Other-Study means analyzing the positive and negative examples of other people and the products of their work (What led them to develop good or bad moral or performance character? What led to success or failure in any given pursuit?), and then applying lessons learned to one's own work and behavior. Other-Study builds on Bandura's (1977) social-cognitive learning theory and the various ways—including imitation and social reinforcement—that individuals learn from others (Lapsley, 1996).
4. *Public Performance/Presentation.* Public Performance/Presentation serves as both experiential learning (Kolb, 1984) and authentic assessment (Darling-Hammond, 1993; Wiggins & McTighe, 1998). Public Performance involves authentic public performances that put into action one's moral and performance

character and other competencies. For example, service learning provides a public performance activity that enables students to demonstrate their moral and performance character "in the real world" as they serve others. Public Presentation means sharing one's goals, progress toward achieving them, and the products of one's work with others (a partner, group members, class, schoolmates, faculty, parents, outside experts, or the wider community). Berger (2003) makes a strong case for creating a classroom culture of excellence by having students regularly present their work to their classmates, thereby creating positive peer pressure to do one's best work.

We think that these four KEYS can be applied to school challenges as varied as increasing student achievement in core academic subject areas, reducing cheating, curbing bullying, strengthening advisories, improving discipline, getting students to take homework seriously, upgrading a service learning program, and maximizing the character-building value of co-curricular activities. Used well and especially in strategic combination, the four KEYS can help us get more power from any educational practice. Consider goal-setting, a widely used educational practice, but one that varies greatly in the power it generates for educators and students alike. We would argue that to get the maximum power from goal-setting requires the judicious use of the four KEYS: for example, beginning with an Other-Study of a model, followed by a Self-Study (including self-assessment, setting personal goals, and making a plan for monitoring progress), followed by a Public Performance/Presentation of our personal goal to a partner or larger group, followed by Support & Challenge from others who hold us accountable. Indeed, we would argue that when any educational practice—whether goal-setting, a classroom teaching strategy, or a practice such as an honor code aimed at improving school culture—is having only limited success, it is likely because the four KEYS are not being effectively employed and, as a result, "character power" is being lost. (For additional theory and research on the importance of the four KEYS in learning and development, see Davidson, Lickona, & Khmelkov, 2008.)

Character Needed for, and Developed from, Teaching and Learning

The next step forward in our thinking, after the four KEYS, was recognizing that character is needed for, and potentially developed from, every act of teaching and learning. This understanding helped us solve the "character education dilemma" ("Where do we fit in character education?"). If we view character as being at the very center of teaching and learning, we do not have to "integrate" it into academics; it is already there. Our task is rather to understand and maximize its contribution. In our Smart & Good work, we now identify four ways that performance character and moral character are needed for, and potentially developed from, every academic activity:

1. Students *need performance character* (for example, work ethic, self-discipline, organization, perseverance, and teamwork) in order to do their best academic work.
2. Students *develop their performance character* (the ability to plan, work hard, overcome obstacles, find satisfaction in a job well done, and so on) as they rise to the challenges of their schoolwork.
3. Students *need moral character* (for example, the ability to follow rules and directions, respect the teacher's authority, exercise self-control, practice kindness toward classmates, and do one's own work) in order to function in a classroom, resist the temptation to cheat, and build the caring relationships that make for a positive learning environment.
4. Students *develop their moral character* from their schoolwork—for example, by growing in their ability to follow directions, work with others, give and receive feedback, do their work responsibly and honestly, and bring out the best work and behavior from all class members.

Two Case Studies

Let us look now at two case studies that show the Smart & Good pedagogy in action—the four KEYS and the insight that character is needed for and developed from teaching and learning.

Project-Based Learning: The Biography of a Senior Citizen

Our first case study comes from the work of educator Ron Berger (2003, 2006, 2009). Berger taught elementary school for 28 years and is currently director of instruction for Expeditionary Learning Schools (www.elschools.org/), a school reform organization that specializes in helping high-need, underperforming high schools use project-based learning to raise academic performance and foster character development. Berger (2009) cites evidence that students' learning and test scores significantly improve when they are regularly involved in doing "good work." As defined by Howard Gardner's "Good Work Project" at Harvard University, good work has three characteristics: (1) It is engaging and fulfilling; (2) It is done well, with quality and excellence; and (3) It does some good, making a contribution beyond oneself (see also *Good Work: Where Excellence and Ethics Meet,* Gardner, Csikszentmihalyi, & Damon, 2002).

In his book, *An Ethic of Excellence: Building a Culture of Craftsmanship with Students*, Berger (2003) gives many examples of good work, projects we would view as both requiring performance character and moral character and developing such character to higher levels. In the senior biography project, for example, Berger had each of his 6th-graders conduct a series of interviews with a senior citizen, write that person's biography, and present it in the form of a small book. Berger

(2006) comments on how the nature of this project fostered a high level of intrinsic motivation for students to do their best work:

> No one needed to tell them the reason for doing a quality job. These books were to be gifts to the seniors, gifts that might become precious heirlooms. Because their work would have this public audience, students were motivated to seek critique from everyone. They read the drafts of their biographies to the whole class for suggestions. They labored, draft after draft, on their cover designs. They wanted their books to be perfect. This was work that mattered. (p. 3)

Berger does not use the language of the four KEYS, but they are very much evident in the projects he and his students do. They always begin with Other-Study, analyzing excellent examples of previous students' work on the assigned project. This Other-Study has the purpose of leading to Self-Study, "What can we learn from these models of excellence that will help us as we undertake our own projects?" Berger's carefully structured class critiques ("Be specific," "Be kind," "Be helpful"), in which students take turns presenting their work for thoughtful peer and teacher feedback, play a major part in creating a culture of Support & Challenge. Finally, the biography project culminates with Public Presentation: giving the book as a gift to the senior, with the likelihood that this lovingly crafted record of that person's life will be shared with family and friends and become a treasured possession.

What character qualities were *needed for* the biography project, both to begin it and bring it to completion? Among performance character qualities we can see *planning* (the series of interviews), *organization* (of all the information gathered on the senior's life story), *creativity* (in designing the book's cover and other visual elements), *courage* (to interview an adult and present drafts of one's biography for class critique), and *commitment to excellence* (willingness to do multiple revisions). Among the moral character qualities that students needed for this project we could list *respect* (taking care to exercise courtesy in one's interactions with the senior citizens), *perspective-taking* (preparing appropriate interview questions that would draw out important thoughts and experiences), *personal and collective responsibility* (for their own work and for improving the work of their peers), *humility* (to listen receptively to classmates' suggestions for improving their drafts), and *caring* (to make their book, in every respect, as fine a presentation of their senior's life as it could be).

What character qualities were *developed from* this project? Potentially, all of the above. The very same character dispositions needed to undertake any learning challenge can be developed to a higher level by engaging that challenge. The degree of student development, of course, depends on the degree of engagement; character development does not *automatically* happen simply because a learner is confronted with a task. The greater a student's effort on the senior citizen biography project, for example, the greater the student's growth in those character strengths exercised in the course of that project.

In addition to strengthening those character qualities that are needed to initiate and complete any given learning task, students also have the opportunity to develop new character qualities they may not have possessed at the start. For example, students who did a first-rate job on the biography project but had never before produced

a school product of genuine quality would be likely to acquire a new-found pride in work—what Greene (1999) calls "conscience of craft"—and confidence in their ability to attain excellence on other projects. A student who had never presented work for class critique and initially found that prospect intimidating may, as a result of the critique sessions, have a new-found courage to speak before a group and be open to critical feedback. Finally, all such character outcomes—character qualities strengthened and new ones acquired—can, with the teacher's help, then be carried forward and applied to future learning challenges.

The educational implications of having a "character needed-for-and-developed-from" mind-set are, we think, far-reaching. The teacher who understands the central role that character plays in learning will not focus only on traditional pedagogical concerns such as, "What's the best way to explain this concept?", "What learning materials will my students need?", and "How can I keep them engaged?" Viewing teaching and learning through a character-needed-for-and-developed-from lens will affect all phases of instruction:

- how the teacher *selects and plans* a lesson or project ("How can I design learning activities that have high potential for both academic learning and moral and performance character development? For any given learning activity, what particular character strengths will my students need to succeed, and what steps should I take to develop those strengths?")
- what the teacher does to *support* student learning along the way ("How can I continue to highlight and develop the needed character strengths at strategic points in the learning process?")
- how the teacher *evaluates* not just the academic skills and content learned, but also the transferrable character qualities developed ("What evidence do I see that my students grew in the relevant character strengths, and how can I help them deliberately apply those enhanced character strengths to future learning challenges?").

Character Power for Teaching Math

For our second case study, we turn to a curricular area where most educators might not readily see character connections, namely, mathematics. From the character-needed-for-and-developed-from perspective, however, the character connections are clear. A thoughtful mathematics teacher would ask, "What is the character needed to succeed in my math class? If success requires character qualities such as a positive attitude, not giving up, attention to process and detail, diligence in doing homework, and ability to seek help where needed, what teaching strategies should I devise to maximize my students' growth in these requisite character dispositions?"

These were the kinds of questions asked by teacher Mark Schumacher (2009), chairman of the math department in his middle school. He tells the story of the transformation of his teaching in *excellence & ethics*, our Smart & Good Schools

education letter, where he begins by describing what led him to change his approach to teaching 7th-grade math: "My classes were developing a stronger sense of moral character, but something was missing. I still bought into the idea that there will always be certain students who can't be reached, and that I would always have a certain number who fail math. And those students continued to live down to my expectations." Here, in an abridged version, are the steps he took to maximize the power of character to help all of his students succeed:

1. *Teaching the Concept Of Performance Character.* He began the new school year by talking to his students about performance character and why it matters. "Performance character," he said, "means setting high expectations for yourself and doing everything in your power to meet them." He told his students that he would expect quality work from them and would provide the opportunities for them to do their very best. Together, they then examined examples of past student work, asking, What is average? What is superb?
2. *Encouraging Revision.* He explained to his students that "because we rarely do our best work the first time around, revisions will be necessary." Students in his class would now be able to revise completed assignments and re-take tests, earning the better of the two grades.
3. *Setting Classroom Expectations.* At the start of the year, students were asked to write down behaviors they would like to see in their classroom—behaviors that would help them develop their performance character and do their best work. The teacher then consolidated the recommended behaviors into a single poster, which students signed.
4. *Partnering with Parents.* At the September "open house," Schumacher met with parents of his students and asked them to raise their expectations for their children's performance in math, talk with them every day about their progress in math (and ask to see evidence to support their claims), and stay in close contact with him.
5. *Teaching Goal-Setting.* He helped all of his students set year-long goals, quarterly goals that would support their yearly goals, and bi-weekly goals that would help them achieve their quarterly and yearly goals. He comments, "Some of my students are now trying to go the whole year without having a single incomplete assignment, some to earn an 'A' average for the entire year, and some to revise every assignment until it is 'A' quality work."

   Students now record their bi-weekly goals on a Goals and Accomplishments Sheet. The class takes sample goals and brainstorms strategies needed to reach them. Students display their goals, grades, revisions from the most recent 2-week period, and answers to a Self-Study Survey where they rate themselves on items such as, "I have worked to the fullest of my abilities over the past two weeks" and "I have been an asset to the class in my behavior and attitude during the past 2 weeks."
6. *Goal Partners.* At the start of the year, all students now choose a goal partner who holds them accountable to their goals, offers suggestions on how to reach

them, and praises them for progress. Goal partners meet every other week to review and sign off on their Goals and Accomplishments Sheets, which then go home to parents for their review and signature.

7. *Public Presentation.* Explains Schumacher, "I foster students' intrinsic motivation through Success Posters that display their yearly goals, revisions they are especially proud of, and 'A' work."
8. *Individual Student Contracts.* With the minority of students who were still having difficulty completing and revising their work, he implemented individual contracts that required them to fill out their planner on a daily basis, have the teacher sign it, and then take it home to be reviewed and signed by their parents. As the new quarter progressed, most of the students under the new contract system began to improve. With those still having problems, he called the parents to elicit their support and soon saw improvement in this group as well.

Schumacher (2009) concludes his account: "Many parents have shared stories like that of a mother who wrote: 'Because my daughter has never liked math, I strongly disagreed with your high expectations when you first explained them. However, she has completely changed her attitude about math. She now tells me that she knows what 'A' work looks like, and anything less is no longer acceptable to her.' Moreover, my students' test results are better than at any previous point in my career" (p. 3).

How did Mark Schumacher use the four KEYS? First, he created a community of Support & Challenge by teaching his class about performance character and making that a new expectation in his classroom. He helped to establish that new expectation as an operative norm through policies encouraging revision of assignments and test re-takes and through student-generated rules for classroom behavior that would help them do their best work. He further strengthened the culture of excellence by recruiting parents as partners to support and challenge their children.

His revision/re-take policies fostered Self-Study, since students had to analyze where they needed to improve in order to do better on the second try. Self-Study was furthered by having students complete periodic surveys in which they rated their own academic effort and class behavior and by teaching students to set goals for the year, quarter, and 2-week periods. Working together to brainstorm strategies for achieving one's goals provided further Support and Challenge. Goals and Accomplishments Sheets permitted students to learn from each other (Other-Study). Having a goal partner also used Public Presentation to strengthen accountability by having partners sign off on each other's sheets when goals were achieved. The public display of students' goals, revisions, and grades on the classroom Success Posters made further use of Public Presentation. Finally, the individual contracts with students who needed that additional accountability structure made use of Self-Study (since students had to use their daily planner more conscientiously) and Support & Challenge (re-engaging parents as partners).

What was the character needed for and developed from learning math in Mr Schumacher's classroom? In listing the many character qualities called into play,

we note that even though this teacher set out to emphasize performance character (needed for quality work), he pursued that goal through classroom strategies that simultaneously developed many aspects of moral character (needed for quality relationships):

- To function as a member of this new learning community, they had to respect the rules that they themselves had generated.
- To meet Mr Schumacher's new expectation that they show performance character, students had to make a sincere, consistent effort to do their best work.
- To rise to the challenge of doing revisions and retaking tests, they had to muster hard work, humility, and perseverance.
- To engage in year-long, quarterly, and bi-weekly goal-setting, they had to develop long-range thinking and the ability to make and implement short-range action plans that would take them toward their goals.
- To do the self-assessments required by the bi-weekly surveys of effort and classroom behavior, they had to be honest with themselves and their teacher.
- To function effectively as goal partners, they had to be responsible to and for someone else and develop their communication and collaboration skills.
- To submit entries for the classroom Success Posters, they needed the courage that is always involved in going public with one's work.

Moreover, just as with Berger's biography project, we can expect that the same character qualities needed to undertake learning in Schumacher's classroom were also being developed to a higher level by the repeated application of those qualities day in and day out (the cumulative impact of this kind of repetition illustrates the principle, "We shape the culture; the culture shapes the character"). Once again, we can expect that many students also acquired new character strengths such as the ability to set goals and monitor their progress; the social and emotional skills involved in working closely with a partner; confidence that they could learn and even excel at math and perhaps other challenging subjects and tasks; and the capacity to take pleasure in helping others do their best work and being part of a true learning community. Finally, all these character assets are ones that teacher Schumacher could then help his students reflect on and intentionally bring to bear on subsequent challenges they would meet inside and outside school. Conceived and executed in this way, the classroom becomes an experiential opportunity for authentic character development, providing all the challenges and engagement of a ropes course.

Power2Learn

To review: The four KEYS provide a research-based teaching methodology that can be used in any curricular or co-curricular context. The understanding that character is needed for, and developed from, teaching and learning provides a theoretical insight that helps us plan, carry out, and evaluate instruction with an eye to its

character prerequisites and desired character outcomes. What else is needed to help schools maximize the power of character?

Our experience convinces us that character-centered teaching materials—prescriptive, sequenced curricula with learning objectives and lesson plans—are also essential to advancing maximally effective character education. On the basis of our work with schools, we have little evidence that providing them with theoretical constructs (such as performance character, moral character, and the Ethical Learning Community), many illustrative practices (as in the Smart & Good report), and even a parsimonious methodology (such as the four KEYS) significantly changes what most teachers do. These are necessary, but not sufficient conditions for helping schools maximize the power of character.

Therefore, we are now working to translate the theory and science into specific programming. Our rationale is two-fold. First, our goal is to develop programming that has ripple effects, helping students to succeed in the academic curriculum. We hope to achieve this through lessons that develop character competencies—such as the ability to take initiative, set goals, and "work smarter"—that are the very character strengths students need to do well in their academic classes. Second, we believe that such programming for students, coupled with related professional development for faculty, has the potential to help subject-area teachers change what they do—so that they build on and extend the character competencies their students have developed through the character lessons. Once subject-area teachers see what students have learned about goal-setting, for example, they can help them apply those goal-setting strategies in math, science, history, and so on.

Our long-range goal in designing Smart & Good programming is to develop a series of "Power 2" programs, each aimed at a particular part of the Ethical Learning Community: *Power2Learn*, for students (middle school and high school); *Power2Teach*, for faculty; *Power2Lead*, for principals and other school leaders; *Power2Coach*, for those working to capitalize on the character-building potential of sports; *Power2Parent*, for families and schools wanting to enhance parenting skills and strengthen the school–home partnership; and so on. Each application of the Power2 framework is intended to provide replicable, research-based programming that develops the character and culture needed for success.

Power2Learn is the first of these programming efforts. It consists of 7-month-long units and 28 lessons (4 per unit), 50–60 minutes per week of total instruction that can be adapted to a variety of middle and high school structures including homerooms, advisories, leadership courses, and, if the school makes time, even regular academic classes. The character competencies *Power2Learn* seeks to develop are organized around eight broad expectations presented in the accompanying table: *identify and manage your priorities; be self-directed and take initiative, commit to high standards and continuous improvement, think outside the box; use critical thinking and effective problem-solving, establish positive and productive relationships, think ethically and act responsibly, develop self-awareness, lead and serve others and a cause greater than yourself,* and *seek healthy life balance.* (These eight expectations are informed by the eight Strengths of Character heuristic from the Smart & Good report, but rendered in simpler, more accessible language.) The

specific character competencies within each of these eight expectations are cross-referenced to other school improvement frameworks and initiatives in the US such as 21st Century Workforce Skills, No Child Left Behind, Social and Emotional Learning Standards, and PBiS (Positive Behavior Intervention System). Our belief is that unless and until we can show schools that a focus on character literally provides the power to enhance their other programs and outcomes, schools will not see developing character as a high priority.

Power2Teach

Power2Learn targets students, but what is the general faculty's role in character development? How can they be engaged in building a strong Professional Ethical Learning Community (Lickona & Davidson, 2005, Chapter 4) that helps create a total school culture that maximizes the power of character? Research on schools has shown that strong collegial relationships among faculty improve teaching and learning (Bidwell & Yasumoto, 1999). A strong professional community exists when faculty share professional values, collectively focus on student learning, de-privatize practice, engage in collaborative professional learning and reflective dialogue, and exercise collective control over curricular and other decisions (DuFour & Eaker, 1998; Louis, Marks & Kruse 1996; Secada & Adajian, 1997; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994). Professional learning communities have been shown to enhance a variety of student outcomes (Fullan, 1999; Langer, 2000; Newmann & Associates, 1996). Our Smart & Good framework expands the concept of professional learning communities to include an explicit and integrated focus on both excellence and ethics, a focus shared by the members of what we call the Professional Ethical Learning Community (PELC). A key distinguishing feature of a PELC is the sense of *collective responsibility* for excellence and ethics that permeates all collegial interactions.

We are now developing and pilot-testing a year-long professional development program, *Power2Teach*, designed to foster the PELC processes that contribute to a strong sense of collective responsibility. While there are many important ways to develop that sense of collective responsibility (see Lickona & Davidson, 2005), *Power2Teach* will be testing the efficacy of a strategy that uses learning modules called "Essential Conversations." These are 90-minute monthly conversations (or, if a school finds it more feasible, two 45-minute conversations) focused on issues that we believe significantly affect—positively or negatively—the character and culture influencing teaching and learning. These Essential Conversations are aligned with the *Power2Learn* program for students in that they address the big ideas underlying the student experiences without mirroring the content of the student lessons.

In choosing topics for Essential Conversations, we have sought to identify ones that most school faculty will see as important in their work, that relate to character issues strongly impacting teaching and learning, and that represent aspects of school culture and the PELC where there will always be room for improvement—which is why such issues must continually be revisited. We expect that our selection

of Essential Conversation topics will continue to evolve as we test them out with teachers, but based on our work thus far, we think the following topics are strong candidates:

- As a professional community, do we have congeniality, collegiality, neither, or both?
- Are we doing our best or just enough?
- Do we have the character catalyst needed for teaching and learning?
- Is this a safe and supportive learning community?
- Is this a community dedicated to continuous improvement?
- What are we assigning: work or work that matters?
- "A/B/You ain't done yet"—what's our approach to grading and revision?
- What are we shaping, a cheating culture or a culture of integrity?
- How do we teach those we cannot reach?

Our next challenge is to craft the conversation. As anyone who has been part of a faculty meeting (at any level) knows, the quality of conversation can range from good to awful. A few people may dominate the discussion. The spatial configuration may be such that people cannot see each other. There may be no deliberate use of discussion strategies (pair-share, small groups, round-robin, and so on) that vary the format and maximize participation. And at the end of the discussion, there may be little sense of closure or next steps.

In *Power2Teach*, we are striving to maximize the likelihood of quality conversation—conversation that is focused, respectful, participatory, and productive. Our hope is to do that through a eight-step process: (1) an opening community-builder, (2) review of guidelines for quality conversation, (3) overview of the current *Power to Learn* student focus, (4) posing the core question for the current Essential Conversation, (5) sharing pertinent school data from assessment surveys (if the topic were student effort, for example, what do student survey responses reveal about the current state of that?), (6) guided faculty discussion using a facilitation script, (7) having faculty take away a practical application of the discussion by considering a research-based practice to adopt or adapt (if the topic were student effort, for example, what does the research show about effort rubrics?), and (8) concluding by formulating individual and collaborative action plans (*I plan to use the materials discussed today in the following ways ... Our department plans to continue this conversation by ...*).

The Smart & Good Schools Approach to Assessing Excellence and Ethics

Why should character educators make assessment a high priority? There are at least five good reasons to do so. First, assessment enables a school to benchmark its current state (what do the data show regarding student effort? frequency of cheating? prevalence of peer cruelty?) and then plan an intervention that addresses

needs revealed by the data. Second, staff motivation and accountability will be greater if there is a plan to assess results; what gets measured, matters. Third, formative assessment of faculty practices will enable the school to determine the extent to which its faculty is actually implementing the desired character education practices—crucial to know, since desired outcomes depend on strong implementation. Fourth, summative assessment of outcomes will reveal the extent to which the character education effort is impacting student character and school culture. Finally, both formative and summative data can be used to identify where and how a school needs to improve its ongoing character education efforts.

One of our major goals in the Smart & Good Schools Initiative is to put tools in the hands of researchers and practitioners that can be used to assess the critical inputs and outcomes of a Smart & Good School. Our first step in this effort has been to develop and field-test an instrument called the CREE (Collective Responsibility for Excellence & Ethics). Our most recent version of the CREE (4.0) has been modified to align with the competencies being taught by *Power2Learn*. There are student, faculty, and parent versions of the CREE, since all three of these stakeholder groups are important contributors to the Ethical Learning Community. The complete CREE instrument, including student, faculty, and parent surveys, can be downloaded from our website, along with an explanation of the underlying constructs and relevant research (www.cortland.edu/character/instruments.asp).

Here, for purposes of illustration, we have chosen to present sample items from just the student CREE survey and to show only two of the seven *Power to Learn* competency areas we are assessing (see Table 26.1 for all eight). Since performance character and moral character are the two major desired outcomes of a Smart & Good Schools intervention, Table 26.2 shows student items designed to assess a character competency (“Identify and manage priorities; be self-directed and take initiative”) that is representative of the performance character domain, and Table 26.3 shows student items for a competency (“think ethically and act responsibly”) representative of the moral character domain.

Our assessment strategy for all of the *Power2Learn* competency areas is to use three kinds of agree–disagree items. The first type assesses student self-efficacy regarding a given competency. The other two types of items assess aspects of the Ethical Learning Community that we would expect to affect student character.

In Tables 26.2 and 26.3, the first column consists of self-efficacy items. Students are asked, on a 5-point scale, to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with various completions of the stem, *I am able to* ... (e.g., from Table 26.2 on managing priorities: “plan specific steps and monitor progress toward achieving a goal”; from Table 26.3 on ethical thinking and behavior: “weigh the consequences of my actions for myself and others”).

Our rationale for using self-efficacy to assess *Power2Learn* competencies is that changes in self-efficacy (“I am able to do this”) can be expected to precede and predict changes in motivation and behavior (“I do this”). This approach is based on two decades of research showing that the relation of past performance to subsequent performance is heavily mediated by efficacy beliefs and other sociocognitive

Table 26.1 Power2 Learn Sample Competencies: (21st Century Skills indicated by[21])

EXPECTATIONS	Identify and manage your priorities; be self-directed and take initiative	Commit to high standards and continuous improvement	Think outside the box; use critical thinking and effective problem-solving	Establish positive and productive relationships	Think ethically and act responsibly	Develop self-awareness	Lead and serve others and a cause greater than yourself	Seek healthy life balance
	Benchmark current state or baseline starting point	Set internal standards of excellence	Think creatively[21]	Consider the perspective of others and listen effectively	Discern what is right and wrong	Know your character strengths and weaknesses	Work hard for causes that inspire you	Pursue broad life goals
	Establish a clear desired state or end-goal	Commit to hard work	Work creatively with others[21]	Respect cultural differences and respond open-mindedly to different ideas and values[21]	Recognize moral obligations	Monitor and control your emotions	Have a positive influence on the way others think and act	Exercise regularly

Table 26.1 (continued)

EXPECTATIONS	Identify and manage your priorities; be self-directed and take initiative	Commit to high standards and continuous improvement	Think outside the box; use critical thinking and effective problem-solving	Establish positive and productive relationships	Think ethically and act responsibly	Develop self-awareness	Lead and serve others and a cause greater than yourself	Seek healthy life balance
	Identify essential "drivers" and "preventers"	Go beyond basic mastery of skills and/or curriculum to expand your learning[21]	Be open and responsive to new and diverse perspectives[21]	Identify and ask significant questions that clarify various points of view and lead to better solutions[21]	Develop an active conscience	Identify and develop your talents	Use interpersonal and problem-solving skills to influence and guide others toward a goal[21]	Eat healthy
	Be self-directed learners[21]	Motivate yourself when things are not easy	Exercise critical thinking[21]	Communicate clearly and effectively[21]	Possess moral competence or "know-how"	Recognize and overcome your limitations	Inspire others to reach their very best, by example and selflessness[21]	Engage in rejuvenating leisure activities

Table 26.1 (continued)

EXPECTATIONS	Identify and manage your priorities; be self-directed and take initiative	Commit to high standards and continuous improvement	Think outside the box; use critical thinking and effective problem-solving	Establish positive and productive relationships	Think ethically and act responsibly	Develop self-awareness	Lead and serve others and a cause greater than yourself	Seek healthy life balance
	Monitor, define, prioritize, and complete tasks without direct oversight[21]	Demonstrate initiative to advance skill levels[21]	Effectively analyze and evaluate evidence, arguments, and points of view[21]	Respect and appreciate team diversity[21]	Demonstrate moral courage	Understand and carry out your role on a group or team	Use your talents and skills to serve the good of the group/team	Take time to rest and reflect
	Utilize time and manage workload effectively[21]	View failure as an opportunity to learn[21]	Solve problems efficiently and effectively[21]	Collaborate with others[21]	Participate actively, be reliable and punctual[21]	Know how and when to ask for help	Leverage strengths of others to accomplish a common goal[21]	Develop appreciation of art, music, and culture

Table 26.1 (continued)

EXPECTATIONS	Identify and manage your priorities; be self-directed and take initiative	Commit to high standards and continuous improvement	Think outside the box; use critical thinking and effective problem-solving	Establish positive and productive relationships	Think ethically and act responsibly	Develop self-awareness	Lead and serve others and a cause greater than yourself	Seek healthy life balance
	Balance tactical (short-term) and strategic (long-term) goals[21]	Revise and continuously improve	Evaluate the feasibility of various solutions to a problem[21]	Understand, negotiate, and balance diverse views and beliefs to reach workable solutions[21]	Take responsibility for your mistakes	Visualize the impact of your actions on others	Demonstrate integrity and ethical behavior in using influence and power[21]	Use productive strategies for reducing stress
Set and meet goals, even in the face of obstacles and competing pressures[21]	Reflect critically on past experiences in order to inform future progress[21]	Adapt to change[21]	Exercise flexibility and willingness to make necessary compromises to accomplish a common goal[21]	Stand up to peer pressure		Commit to global awareness and social action[21]	Seek inner peace	

Table 26.2 Sample student survey items, CREE (Collective Responsibility for Excellence & Ethics), V. 4.0

Character Competency: Identify and manage priorities; be self-directed & take initiative					
Please think about yourself. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?		*Please think about students in this school. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?*		*Please think about teachers in this school. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?*	
I am able to *...*		***Most students in this school*** *...*		***Most teachers I've had in this school*** *...*	
1.1.1	**Character Competencies (Reported by Students)**	**2.1.1**	**ELC: Peer Group Behaviors (Reported by Students)**	**3.1.1**	**ELC: Faculty Practices Impacting Character (Reported by Students)**
1)	... organize my time and materials to get my assignments done	54)	... often spend their time doing what they want to do, instead of what they should be doing		
2)	... complete tasks or assignments on time	55)	... put off doing things they do not like to do	98)	... teach students how to manage their time
3)	... plan specific steps and monitor progress towards achieving a goal	56)	... set goals for doing better in school and keep track of whether they are improving	99)	... teach students how to set goals and keep track of their progress
4)	... do what I am supposed to do without being reminded	57)	... need constant reminding to do what they are supposed to do		
5)	... focus on a goal without losing track of my other responsibilities	58)	... take initiative to get things done without being asked or reminded		
6)	... stay focused on a project for as long as needed to complete it	59)	... fail to complete their homework		

factors (Bandura, 1997; Bandura & Locke, 2003). For example, a recent study (Yeo & Neal, 2006) indicated that interventions designed to enhance self-efficacy can be expected to help individuals set higher goals, persist in the face of difficulty, use more effective strategies, and, as a result, demonstrate accelerated rates of learning.

Table 26.3 Sample student survey items, CREE (Collective Responsibility for Excellence & Ethics), V. 4.0

Please think about yourself. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?		*Please think about students in this school. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?*		*Please think about teachers in this school. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?*	
I am able to . . .		***Most students in this school*** . . .		***Most teachers I′ve had in this school*** . . .	
Character Competency: Think ethically and act responsibly					
1.1.5	**Character Competencies (Reported by Students)**	**2.1.5**	**ELC: Peer Group Behaviors (Reported by Students)**	**3.1.5**	**ELC: Faculty Practices Impacting Character (Reported by Students)**
27)	. . . discern what is right and wrong			117)	. . . take time to discuss important ethical issues in our school, community, or world
28)	. . . weigh the consequences of my actions for myself and others	78)	. . . try to stop their friends from spreading rumors or gossip about others	118)	. . . teach students how to apply ethical thinking to real-life challenges
29)	. . . take a stand on issues involving right and wrong	79)	. . . would support you if you tried to do something good	119)	. . . help students understand and do what is right
30)	. . . stand up to bullying or hazing	80)	. . . when seeing someone being picked on, try to stop it		
31)	. . . resist peer pressure to do something I am not supposed to	81)	. . . encourage each other to follow the rules	120)	. . . challenge students to hold each other accountable for doing the right thing
32)	. . . resist the temptation to cheat	82)	. . . cheat on tests and assignments		
33)	. . . always do my part when working with a partner or a group	83)	. . . help others on schoolwork, without letting them copy or cheat		
34)	. . . admit when I do something wrong and find ways to make up for it				

In both Tables 26.2 and 26.3, the second column on “peer-group behaviors” uses agree–disagree items to assess an important aspect of the Ethical Learning Community (ELC), namely, how students see their peers performing on items that are either the *same as* or *psychologically related to* the ones they have just answered for themselves. Now the item stem is, *Most students in this school* … (e.g., from Table 26.2 on managing priorities: “set goals for doing better in school and keep track of whether they are improving”; from Table 26.3 on ethical thinking and behavior: “try to stop their friends from spreading rumors or gossip about others”).

Finally, the student survey’s third column, the one on “faculty practices,” uses agree–disagree items to assess another important aspect of the Ethical Learning Community, namely, the extent to which students perceive faculty as using teaching practices that we would expect to impact the competency behaviors being considered. In the “faculty practices” column, the item stem is, *Most teachers I’ve had in this school* … (e.g., from Table 26.2 on managing priorities: “teach students how to set goals and keep t rack of their progress”; from Table 26.3 on ethical thinking and behavior: “teach students how to apply ethical thinking to real-life challenges”).

The faculty CREE survey for *Power2Learn/Power2Teach* serves to assess both programs simultaneously. It consists of three kinds of items. The first are agree–disagree items assessing faculty perception of student behaviors parallel to those assessed in the student survey: *Most students in this school…* (e.g., “set goals for doing better in school and keep track of whether they are improving”). A second set of agree–disagree items ask faculty to report their own practices: (e.g., “teach students how to set goals and keep track of progress …”). The third set of items is designed to explore faculty perceptions of the strength of the Professional Ethical Learning Community (e.g., “There is a great deal of cooperative effort among the staff members,” “Staff members regularly evaluate each other’s work and provide constructive criticism”). These items will help in assessing the direct impact of *Power to Teach* on a school’s PELC, as well as the PELC’s indirect contribution to student learning and development.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have suggested that most schools can do much more to maximize the power of character. Our Smart & Good Schools work has helped us identify a number of steps we believe have the potential to help schools unlock the power of moral and performance character: (1) understand that character is needed for, and potentially developed from, all teaching and learning and must, therefore, be at the center of instructional planning; (2) lay a foundation for the faculty’s character development work through a well-designed student curriculum that helps students develop the performance character and moral character competencies that will help them succeed in school and beyond; (3) build a Professional Ethical Community distinguished by a faculty’s commitment to building character and culture, a strong sense of collective responsibility for excellence and ethics, continuing conversation

about essential issues affecting teaching and learning, and teachers' ability to use research-based pedagogical strategies such as the four KEYS (Support & Challenge, Self-Study, Other-Study, and Public Performance/presentation) to help students apply their character competencies inside and outside the classroom; and (4) monitor the effectiveness of all these efforts, using the data gathered to guide improvements.

A formidable undertaking, to be sure, and one that we are only in the very early stages of trying to carry out with schools. In the end, we think it will make the work of schools more effective and more rewarding for all concerned. However, challenging such an effort is in the short-term, we see no short-cut to the goal of developing young people—and societies—committed to excellence and ethics. And given the moral and performance challenges looming before our world in the 21st century, we can surely afford to do no less.

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Chapter 27
Facilitating Values Education Leadership Through Discovery of Personal Beliefs and Values

Shahida Abdul-Samad

Introduction

In Jerome S. Arcaro's book *Quality in Education: An Implementation Handbook* (Arcaro, 1995), he states five criteria which are labeled as the 'pillars of quality' for a 'Total Quality School.' The pillars of quality are universal. They can be applied to every organization in education.

He goes on to state that although the five pillars of quality are of equal importance and all five must be present in education system, the MOST important component of quality is the foundation upon which the quality program is built. The school or district must develop a strong quality foundation based on the personal beliefs and values of people working in the system:

> It is one thing to believe something; it is another to make a commitment to make the belief or value a reality. (Arcaro, 1995, p. 9)

This may seem like a long and tedious process, but the values and beliefs must be shared. More importantly, agreement on values and beliefs is the bond or glue that motivates people to work together, and it forms the foundation upon which to build the continuous improvement process teams.

If the issue of quality depends on identifying personal values and beliefs of people in the system, how does one get individuals in an organization to share their personal beliefs and values? How does one get them to identify what their values and beliefs are? How is this process facilitated?

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The Learning Process: Facilitating Self-Discovery to Identify Our Values

Whether one is implementing a quality initiative or a character building program in an organization, the change has to begin with every individual in the system. For change to be sustainable in an organization, it has to be based on a meaningful set of values and beliefs, values that are shared and owned by the individuals within the organization. What I would like to share in this handbook are some tools and techniques that trainers can use to help individuals connect with values and to introduce ways in which they can internalize and deepen those values in their day-to-day lives.

There is overwhelming evidence both from the corporate and education sector that values programs bring about a positive impact on the individual and the workplace environment, resulting in higher productivity for the organization (cf. Goleman, 1998; Lovat & Toomey, 2009). Learning from my involvement in Exxon's *Vision & Values* program, BP's Diversity & Inclusion program (BP, 2002) and the Living Values Educational Program (Tillman & Colomina, 2001), I realize that all these programs have one thing in common, namely, they want to bring about change in the relevant organization based on personal values and beliefs.

Having had the experience of conducting values-based training programs for more than 20 years, I realize that the design of the training program and the facilitation of the self-discovery process are critical. To enable the process of self-discovery, the feelings, emotions, and experiences of individuals need to be facilitated in an environment where people are made to feel loved, understood, valued, respected, and safe. An acronym for this is referred to as L U V R S (pronounced Love are us).

In order for values-based programs to be successful, we must ensure that time and effort are invested upfront to train leaders and teachers by equipping them with the knowledge, skills, and tools to become positive role models. Positive role modeling requires the leader/teacher to behave in accordance with his/her innate values. They also need to demonstrate consistently values-based behaviors (in their words, thoughts, and actions) so that conducive environments are created where learning and creativity can grow and thrive.

Leaders: Role Models of Values

Whether one is a team leader or a teacher in a school, as a leader, that person becomes the role model others look up to for direction, setting of boundaries as well as providing support and space, be it at the workplace or at school. As a leader, what one says and does creates the environment in which the others work to achieve the goals and objectives that are set.

In a values-based setting, 'leadership by example' becomes more visible. When the leaders model positive behaviors and attitudes, they become 'living examples' of the values to be inculcated by others. Their presence makes the environment conducive to learning as people feel loved, understood, valued, respected, and safe (LUVRS). As such, teachers, staff, and students all need to be provided with

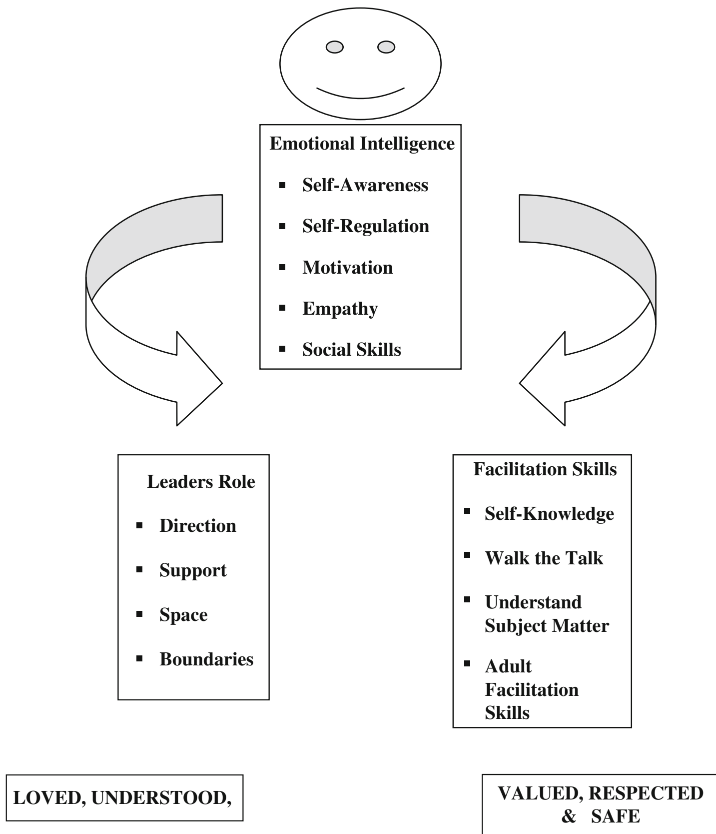


Fig. 27.1 A values education facilitative leader (VEFL) + EI

the skills, knowledge, and tools to create values-based atmospheres so that people around them can bloom, thrive, and improve. In Fig. 27.1, this leadership is described and represented as 'Values Education Facilitative Leadership' (VEFL) and said to be characterized by 'emotional intelligence' (EI).

Facilitative Leadership with Emotional Intelligence

Especially through the advent of Information Technology, the role of the teacher has changed from being the most knowledgeable to the one who facilitates and leads the learning process. It is therefore relevant and appropriate for teachers to adopt a facilitative leadership style in the classroom.

Facilitative Leadership is quickly becoming a common style of leadership in many organizations where changes occur rapidly. Facilitative Leadership takes on an added dimension when quality/values education is the objective. When values

education is the focus, the leader's conduct and behavior become magnified and the subject of much scrutiny.

The leader needs to genuinely role model positive values. That is why Facilitative Leadership in a values context requires Emotional Intelligence (as characterized above) as a necessary dimension. The teacher/leader needs to be aware of her/his words, thoughts and actions and their impact on the students. She/he also has to be consistent in what is said and how one behaves. This person truly must practice what is preached. It takes a 'special person' and a 'special way' to be a leader/role model in values-based environments. It requires a combination of emotional intelligence and skilled facilitative values education leadership.

Goleman (1998) says of such leadership:

> I have found that the most effective leaders are alike in one crucial way; they all have a high degree of what has come to be known as emotional intelligence. My research clearly shows that emotional intelligence is the sine qua non of leadership. Without it, a person can have the best training in the world, an incisive, analytical mind and an endless supply of smart ideas, but he still won't make a great leader. (p. 94)
>
> Emotional intelligence can be learned. The process is not easy. It takes time and commitment. But the benefits that come from having a well developed emotional intelligence, both for the individual and for the organization, make it worth the effort. (p. 102)

Goleman goes on to list five traits of Emotional Intelligence. These traits need to be developed and honed by the individual who wishes to play an effective role as a leader/teacher in a values-based environment. They are as follows:

A. *Self-Management Skills*

Self-Awareness – the ability to recognize and understand your moods, emotions, and drives, as well as your effect on others

Self-Regulation – the ability to control or redirect disruptive impulses and moods and the propensity to suspend judgment – to think before acting

Motivation – a passion to work for reasons that go beyond money or status and a propensity to pursue goals with energy and persistence.

B. *The Ability to Relate to Others*

Empathy – the ability to understand the emotional makeup of other people and the skill in treating people according to their emotional reactions.

Social Skills – proficiency in managing relationships and building networks and an ability to find common ground and build rapport.

In order to bring about a change in the environment from a negative to the positive one, teachers/leaders need to be trained in how to become self-aware and how to practice self-regulation. They need to be made aware of how their behaviors and attitudes impact on the environment in the classroom.

Most of us live and work in environments where we need to be 'action oriented' and quick in our responses. We seldom give ourselves the time and space to reflect on our feelings/thoughts before we respond. We tend to react. If we want to create calm and peaceful environments, we need to unlearn the habit of 'reacting' and learn the skill of 'responding.'

One of the main objectives of a values education program is to get leaders/teachers to get in touch with their feelings and their thoughts. By doing so, individuals will be able to create the time and space to think before reacting. This 'time and space' allows them to check if their thoughts and intended actions are consistent with their values and beliefs.

The Theoretical Model

The purpose of values education and character-building programs is to bring about positive behaviors in children. Besides positive role models and environments that are values-based, positive behavior-building techniques, such as praise, can be utilized effectively to bring about positive change.

The approach I use in training teachers to bring about this change is based on the Living Values Education Program's Theoretical Model (Tillman & Colomina, 2001). This model illustrates how the LUVRS environment and the influence of the role model can create a negative or a positive climate in a school (see Fig. 27.2). The training encourages leaders/teachers to use positive behavior-building techniques to help those who are spiraling down toward negative experiences/environment to move up so that they can experience positive experiences/environment (see Fig. 27.2).

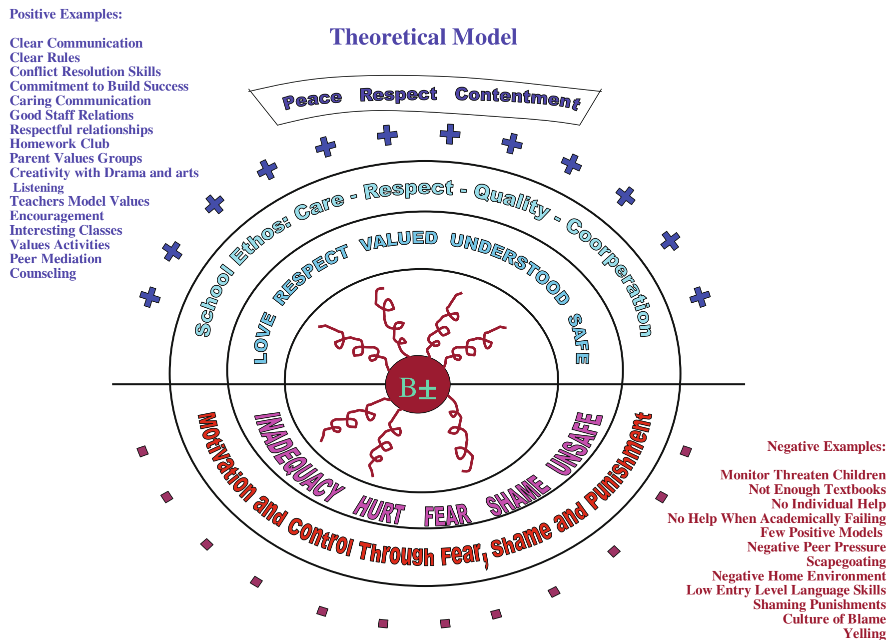


Fig. 27.2 Living values education program: theoretical model (Tillman & Colomia, 2001)

For example, if the School Ethos is one where care, respect, cooperation, and quality are its hallmarks, the behaviors of the children can be positively reinforced by praising the child using acknowledgement and encouragement. Even negative behaviors can be reversed if certain rules are followed and applied consistently.

Similarly, if a child's desired behavior is brought about in the school by motivation and control where fear, shame, and punishment are the standard orders of the day, then the environment that prevails is one that is inadequate, hurtful, fearful, shameful, and unsafe. In such an environment, the students do not connect with their positive qualities and will not therefore achieve to their full potential. Again, the modeling power of the leader/teacher is the critical success factor – the key to the success of values education.

Facilitation Skills: Providing the Knowledge, Skills, and Tools

Values education programs cannot be conducted in the same way that a trainer conducts a technical program. Many people attempt and fail to get the outcomes desired from values education program because they use tend to use the "traditional training" approach. In order to get the desired outcomes from values education programs, trainers need to carefully plan, design, and customize the process to meet the client's needs. Otherwise it may result in people becoming disillusioned with the whole "values education" approach and resistant to any attempt to reconsider values education efforts in the future. So be prepared to invest the time and energy upfront to get it right the first time.

The tiered learning process (Fig. 27.3) suggests the order in which leaders and teachers should be equipped with the knowledge, skills, and tools. This will help to bring about change at all levels in the organization.

Now I briefly describe some key points in the facilitation process to achieve the desired outcome of values education training programs.

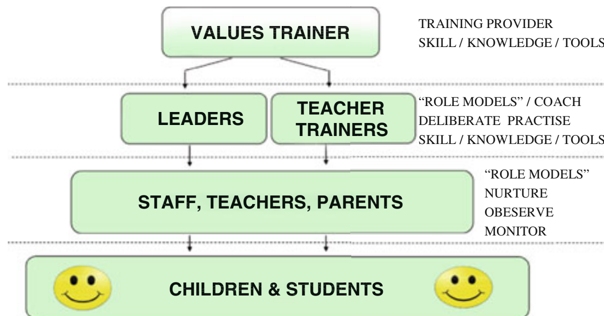


Fig. 27.3 Tiered learning process

The Facilitation Process: A Road Map for the Trainer

The way in which the trainer takes the participants through the process of self-realization and getting them motivated to bring about the change, needs to be facilitated using the Outer-Inner-Outer (OIO) approach. This requires the facilitator to begin the process by sharing and discussing the purpose/logic of values education in terms of world best practices (OUTER) and how this can relate/impact the school/teacher and then to values at a personal/family level (INNER). Once this is accomplished, the facilitator then gets the group to move outward by applying the learning about self (INNER) to the family/school (OUTER) and to the community/world (OUTER) (see Fig. 27.4).

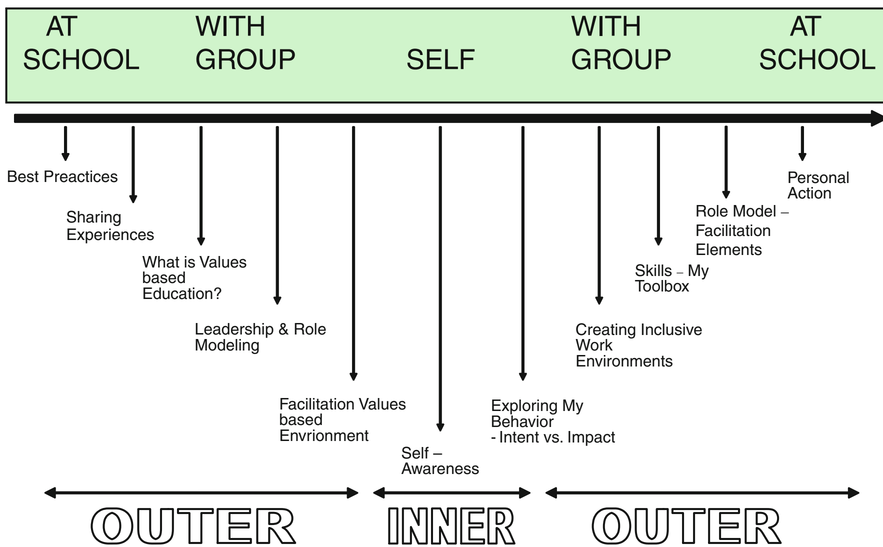


Fig. 27.4 The OIO approach

Setting the Stage

Extra effort and upfront planning is required for values education training programs. Setting the stage before the training is one of the key factors in creating a successful values education training program. Before each training program begins the facilitator needs to manage the group's expectations. Since the values education program is not a typical training program, the trainer needs to take extra effort upfront to prepare the participants mentally for what they are about to experience. Being adult learners, participants come with their own expectations and assumptions based on past experiences.

Getting the Message Across

The organization's leader or the champion of the values education program should send a letter to all the participants selected for the training, explaining the purpose of the program and its importance to the organization. A month before the workshop, the trainer should write a letter congratulating participants on being selected and share some of the key objectives of the program. This will prepare them mentally for what is to be expected during the training. These initial efforts will help to minimize any resistance at the beginning of the training and creates the space for the trainer to introduce the subject with greater ease and calmness.

Selecting the Venue and Classroom Environment

The trainer also needs to pay attention and select a venue which has a calm and retreat-style atmosphere. This helps to create an environment where participants feel relaxed even before the training begins. It is recommended that the training program be conducted at a location away from the workplace. This is to avoid any disruptions to the learning process as the flow of the program has been carefully planned and designed to take individuals through a process self-discovery.

The selection of the training room is also an important factor that needs to be considered during the planning stage. The trainer should personally check out the training room to ensure that it has a lot of natural light, plants in the classroom and that it is located in a quiet place. The seating arrangement has to be such that it encourages sharing and conversation to take place.

The Kick Off

A leader of the organization who "Walks the Talk" and is a role model should be selected to begin the training by sharing a personal experience/story of why he believes in the importance of values education. This helps participants to relate immediately to the importance of the training and also creates an environment of trust and openness.

Facilitating Values-based Leadership: Building your Toolbox

We live in a society where most people are motivated and driven to self-improvement by public recognition and material rewards. Though effective, these types of motivation techniques tend to be short-lived. To enable and encourage long-lasting continuous improvement which is typically intrinsically driven, we need to provide people with "tools" to dig deeper within themselves and discover what will make them strive to improve on their own.

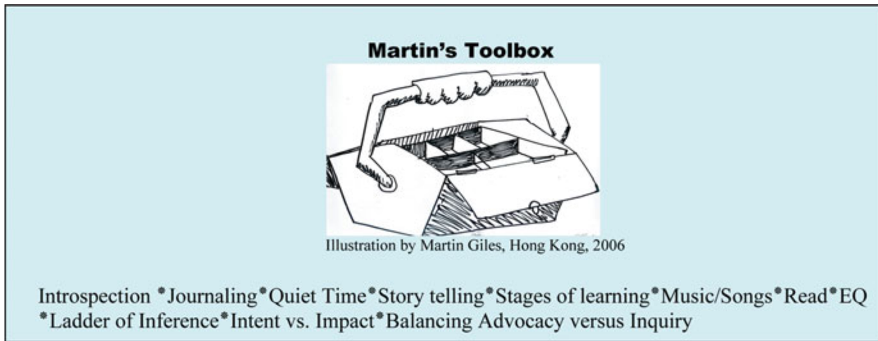
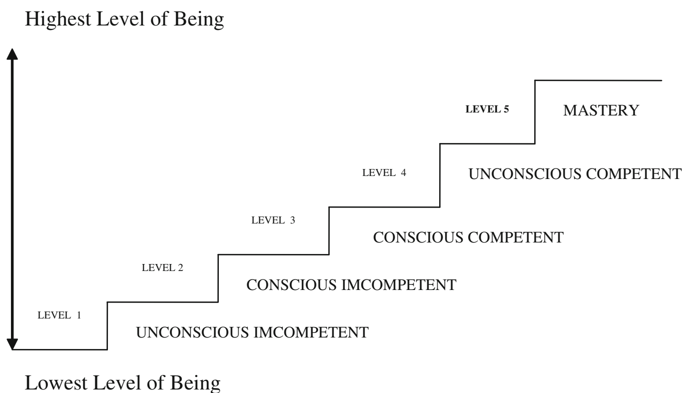


Fig. 27.5 Facilitating values-based leadership: Building your toolbox

Martin's Toolbox is an example of some tools that were introduced at one of the workshops I conducted for Senior Managers in Hong Kong. Martin, a participant, drew the toolbox as a way of capturing the tools we had introduced during the workshop. Participants were given the choice to choose the tools they wanted to use and to take back with them. Listed in the diagram are some of the tools.

Listed below are 11 tools that I have used at my training programs to enable participants to continue their journey of acquiring self-knowledge and improvement after the workshop.

Tool 1 Awareness of self and competency

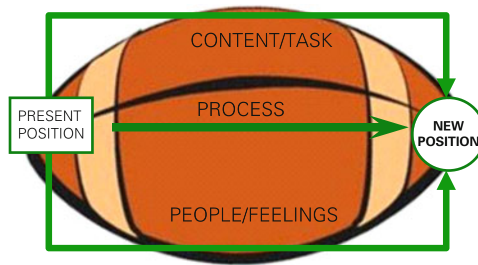


The first step in the journey of self-discovery is becoming self-aware. The individual begins to practice new behaviors that he/she wants to form (consciously) until that behavior becomes second nature (unconsciously). This process, if deliberately

practiced, can help the individual attain the highest level of being, namely, that of Personal Mastery (Ismail & Minda, 2003).

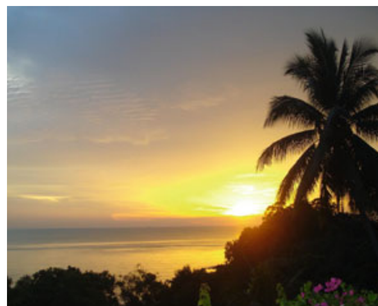
This tool also helps individuals to realize that there are many things in their lives that they are not even aware of until they start discovering themselves. They use this tool to help them identify which stage that they are at and how they might progress to achieve the behavior/personality that reflects their true self.

Tool 2 Process of facilitation (BP, 2002)



The picture of the football helps to remind leaders that when we want to bring about change, we need to take responsibility for delivering the content through a process where people and their feelings are all taken through the process, so that they understand the purpose and their respective roles in bringing about the change. In most cases, facilitators forget to take people and their feelings into consideration.

Tool 3 Reflection



It is important to acknowledge upfront that reflection might be a new experience for some people and that they could find the process uncomfortable initially.

Reflection helps individuals to explore their personal values and beliefs. It also helps them to understand how their own values were formed. This can be facilitated using reflection points or guided imagery as it helps those unfamiliar with the process to experience it. Reflection is an effective tool to build own intra-personal skills.

The facilitator needs to explain why we have included this 'tool,' and that it is one of the ways to take the space to connect with one's inner self, one's inner thoughts, feelings and innate values. These remarks said upfront will help to alleviate the fear and anxiety that most people face when asked to do something new and different from what they are used to.

It is also equally important, after taking them through the reflection activity, that the facilitators ask how the experience of reflection felt. It is of utmost importance that the facilitator acknowledges and accepts both negative and positive responses. This allows people to share their feelings without worrying if their answer is right or wrong. This will create an environment during the training where people feel accepted, safe, and valued. It will encourage openness and a deeper sharing of emotions and feelings.

Tool 4 Visualization

The visualization tool takes individuals through a process where they are guided to imagine "a school of their dreams." They need to be given time to draw and color what they imagined and to share their drawings with the rest of the class. By sharing and listening to others, they become motivated and take ownership to bring about the change in their own schools/workplace. The guided visualization process also allows them to think about new behaviors and attitudes that they would like to change in their day-to-day lives. They need to be given time to think and reflect and to write down their thoughts.

Tool 5 Songs

Songs and music help to create a deeper meaning to individuals as they go through the process of self-discovery. By connecting their emotions/feelings and relating it to the values they have discovered within themselves or in others,

songs/music enables us to connect with ourselves, and others, in a way not otherwise possible. The songs chosen by the facilitator needs to be carefully selected and appropriate to the outcomes of each module.

Tool 6 Active listening

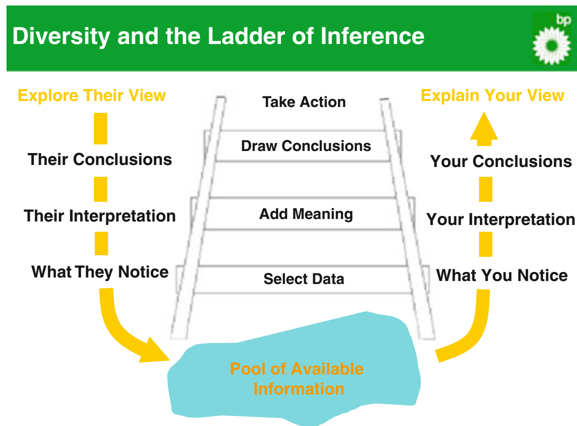
This old Chinese character describing the qualities of a king/leader emphasizes that a good king/leader was someone who used his head, heart, ears, and eyes – qualities of a good listener. However in today's modern Chinese character writing, a leader is depicted by the mouth – a talker, not a listener.

Tool 7 Ladder of inference (BP, 2002)

The ladder of inference is a tool that helps individuals to challenge their perceptions and question what they see/hear to arrive at the truth. By being aware of their biases, prejudices, and beliefs, they can avoid jumping to conclusions and discover the truth.

Tool 8 Circle time

Circle time is a ritual performed at the end of everyday of the training. The objective is for everyone to share one positive thought, word or experience they felt or experienced during the day. The rule is that everyone in the training room must be included in the circle and must contribute. Besides ending the day on a positive note,



it also helps individuals to unlearn "bad habits" of always looking at the negative and to learn a new way of trying to focus on positive things that happen in our daily lives.

Tool 9 Moment of silence

A moment of silence performed a few times during the course of the training to clear the mind and to settle down before beginning something new is an effective way of keeping the group in the right frame of mind.

Tool 10 Journaling

A blank book is provided to individuals and they are encouraged to capture their thoughts, feelings by writing or drawing. These notes are for their own personal consumption and not to be shared.

Tool 11 Sharing experiences and story-telling

Opportunities need to be created where individuals are encouraged to engage in conversations at the emotional level where feelings and experiences are shared. This helps them to realize the possibilities of developing relationships with other human beings through positive interactions.

Feedback from Participants

Below are some previously unpublished results of evaluation exercise undertaken with participants in Facilitative Leadership training sessions. The feedback is not

exhaustive but rather illustrative, and it comes from teachers, teacher educators, and team leaders.

Feedback from Teachers

> When I implemented Circle Time in my kindergarten, it was amazing! All my kids sat quietly and they each shared what they learnt.
>
> The naughty kids will get the love and attention if this program is continued. And they will be able to give their attention in an environment filled with happiness.
> All the sessions of this program can be adapted to my life and my teaching career.
>
> I am totally excited and having FUN!! I have learnt so many things that have brought benefit to my personality. I feel confident and am able to communicate with other people.
>
> I am able to go inside myself and understand and get closer to my soul as well as the needs of my kids.
>
> I have got to know my real self. This will enable me to improve the weaknesses that I have. I really enjoyed all the activities of this program.
>
> I have learned to be a good listener and how to resolve conflicts –step by step.
>
> Through the imagining and visualization exercises, I am able to express what I need and want in my life through drawing. I benefited from all the sessions. All were enjoyable and satisfying.
>
> Every session has its own qualities. Each session contributes to our every day life – be it in the family, friends, community or school.
>
> I was able to overcome the problems I am facing by identifying the problems I have.

Feedback from Teacher Educators

> Every teacher and assistant teacher should attend this program so that they understand why values are important in us.
>
> Spread this knowledge of values to all teachers and assistant teachers who haven't attended this program.
>
> In order to achieve the objective, the consultant needs to go to every state in Malaysia and implement this program.
>
> This values program should be attended by all teachers and assistant teachers including the officers of the department, so that we can instill positive values in everyone.

I hope the officers and administrative staff of the department attend this program, so that the values get imbedded more effectively throughout the organization.

All teachers in Malaysia should attend this program.

Keep doing more of this program as it helps us to demonstrate the values that are in us.

This program should be continued.

Please take this program to the highest level so that every teacher and assistant teacher gets to attend it.

Feedback from Team Leaders

This was like a wake-up call. We are not aware that so often we make judgments without sitting back and trying to understand more about the facts and where others are coming from.

The information gained from the workshop gave me much confidence and new direction to improve.

I benefited from the self-awareness session as it allowed me the time and space to be able to reflect on how my actions and words affect others.

Originally I never realized that "EQ" is so important and critical to leadership.

I realize I have a "gap" to become a good inclusive supervisor.

The course is great but if the company wants to make D&I (Diversity and Inclusion) the DNA of the company, then I would highly recommend this course to all senior level leaders.

Good job in making the abstract 'teachable.'

Upper management should take the course otherwise the circle is not complete.

All the sessions were really helpful for self-management and leadership development.

I have been involved in Diversity & Inclusion and am aware of the importance of it to the organization. But I haven't got the chance to learn and practice how to be inclusive to others and myself until now.

Congratulations on a job well done. It shows your dedication and commitment to develop inclusive behavior in all of us.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the vital role of leadership for effective values education and outlined an approach to leadership training emanating from Malaysia and used widely throughout the South Pacific in schools and other organizations.

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Chapter 28
The Positive Action Program: Improving Academics, Behavior, and Character by Teaching Comprehensive Skills for Successful Learning and Living

Brian R. Flay and Carol G. Allred

> *When I do good, I feel good; when I do bad, I feel bad; and that's my religion. Abraham Lincoln*
> (Fehrenbacher & Fehrenbacher, 1996, p. 245)

Introduction

It seems like a 'no-brainer'. There is more to student learning and wellbeing than the ABCs. But *which* ABCs? It is not just the alphabet any more. Today it is *A*cademics plus *B*ehavior and *C*haracter – the *new basics* that can make students' school years relevant for their entire lives. One method of doing this successfully is to teach comprehensive *S*kills for *S*uccessful *L*earning and *L*iving (SSLL) – and one proven program that does that is the *Positive Action* program. In this chapter we will review the prevalence and impact of behavioral, emotional, and academic problems, discuss the need for SSLL programs and their potential impact, describe the *Positive Action* program, summarize the results of multiple evaluations of the program, and discuss future research needs on SSLL programs.

Prevalence and Impact of Behavioral, Emotional, and Academic Problems Among Students

Education has an urgent need to learn more about the role of behavior, emotion, values, character, and social skills in improving student academic performance, wellbeing, and life success (Eccles, 2004; Meece, Anderman, & Anderman, 2005).

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Since the passing of the No Child Left Behind Act in the United States, education has increasingly focused on teaching to core content standards to improve academic achievement scores, particularly in reading and math, almost to the total exclusion of the values, character, emotional, social, and behavioral domains (Hamilton et al., 2007). Consequently, education has seen problem behaviors increase (Eisenbraun, 2007) and school safety decrease (Eaton, Kann, et al., 2008) with no real gain in academics (CEBP, 2002; CEP, June 2007; ED, 2000; Heaviside, Rowland, Williams, & Farris, 1999; Perie, Grigg, & Dion, 2005; Perie, Grigg, & Donahue, 2005).

Schools also are expected to prevent violence, substance use, and other disruptive behaviors – all of which are clearly linked to student values, character, and school performance (Fleming et al., 2005; Malecki & Elliott, 2002; Wentzel, 1993). Approximately 30% of high school students engage in multiple high-risk behaviors (e.g., violence, substance use, sex, violence, delinquency) that interfere with their school performance and jeopardize their potential for success in life (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2008; Dryfoos, 1997). The prevalence of discipline problems correlates positively with the prevalence of violent crimes within a school (Heaviside et al., 1999) which, in turn, affects school attendance and achievement (Eaton, Brener, & Kann, 2008; Walberg, Yeh, & Mooney-Paton, 1974). Mental health concerns also become more prevalent as students move into adolescence (Costello, Mustillo, Erkanli, Keeler, & Angold, 2003) and can contribute to behavioral problems that detract from achievement. Similar trends and dynamics are evident for behaviors related to physical health, such as exercise and nutrition (Breinbauer & Maddaleno, 2005), with associated conditions, such as obesity, linked to lower levels of academic achievement (Crosnoe & Muller, 2004). Furthermore, many students believe their teachers do not care about them, disrupt the educational experiences of classmates, and lack social-emotional competence (Benson, Scales, Leffert, & Roehlkepartain, 1999). There is a great need to improve how schools address student outcomes in a range of interrelated areas, including academics, behavior, and character (Allensworth, Lawson, Nicholson, & Wyche, 1997); we call that combination of skills the Skills for Successful Learning and Living (SSLL), the skills for learning and living in the physical, intellectual, social, and emotional domains.

The Need for Comprehensive "Skills for Successful Learning and Living" (SSLL) Programs

A number of different kinds of school-based programs have been developed to address problems of academic achievement (Slavin & Fashola, 1998) and many others have offered the promise of doing so indirectly through a focus on specific disruptive health-related behaviors (Battistich, Schaps, Watson, Solomon, & Lewis, 2000; Biglan et al., 2004; DuPaul & Stoner, 2004; Elias, Gara, Schuyler, Branden-Muller, & Sayette, 1991; Flannery et al., 2003; Flay, 1985; Flay, 2007; Horowitz & Garber, 2006; Leff, Power, Manz, Costigan, & Nabors, 2001; Peters & McMahon,

1996; Smith, Daunic, Miller, & Robinson, 2002; Sussman, Dent, Burton, Stacy, & Flay, 1995; Tolan & Guerra, 1994). Although many of these programs are promising, as a group they have limitations for promoting healthy development and academic achievement. First, most are problem-specific, and tend to address the proximal, micro-level predictors of one problem behavior, not the multifaceted, distal,[1] macro-level factors that influence all important outcomes (Flay, 2002; Flay & Petraitis, 1994; Flay, Snyder, & Petraitis, 2009; Petraitis, Flay, & Miller, 1995; Power, 2003); so they have few sustained effects (Flay, 2002). Second, there has been little effort to structure curricula and other components so that gains in the targeted non-academic domains systematically translate into gains in achievement. This may help to explain the limited and inconsistent pattern of effects of such programs on academic outcomes (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004; Flay, 2002). To address the preceding limitations, there is a need for comprehensive, coherent, school-wide programs that recognize that students' academic performance, their learning and life skills, multiple behaviors, and character are all interrelated. Otherwise, we run the risk of failing to reduce rates of critical negative behavioral outcomes or to increase rates of positive behavioral and academic outcomes in ways that are truly synergistic, effective, and enduring.

The preceding trends notwithstanding, there has been a movement in recent years to more comprehensive, multi-modal, and multi-level programs that address multiple behaviors and that involve families; and these generally appear to be more effective (Battistich et al., 2000; Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2004; Derzon, Wilson, & Cunningham, 1999; Elias et al., 1991; Flay, 2000; Flay, Graumlich, Segawa, Burns, & Holliday, 2004; Hawkins, Catalano, Kosterman, Abbott, & Hill, 1999; Hawkins, Catalano, & Miller, 1992; Kellam & Anthony, 1998; Lerner, 2002). The best SSLL programs use direct instruction and interactive approaches that are holistic, developmentally appropriate, and culturally sensitive to teach students the values and skills, and to be intrinsically motivated, to have good physical health, learn effectively in school and life, make responsible decisions, solve problems effectively, recognize and manage their emotions and other personal resources, appreciate the perspectives of others (e.g., empathy, tolerance), handle interpersonal situations effectively, be honest with themselves and others, establish positive goals, and engage in self improvement.

Most behavioral management (DuBois, 1996; DuPaul & Stoner, 2004; Kazdin, 2001; Kellam, Rebok, Ialongo, & Mayer, 1994; Sprague & Golly, 2005; Sprague, Golly, Bernstein, Munkres, & March, 1999; Sugai, Sprague, Horner, & Walker, 2000), social and character development (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Berkowitz & Battistich, 2008; Berkowitz & Bier, 2004; Lickona, 1993), social and emotional learning (Brown, Roderick, Lantieri, & Aber, 2004; CASEL, 2003; Lemerise &

[1]Proximal and distal are terms used in various disciplines to suggest the distance between factors in a causal chain. For example, intention to do a behavior is a proximal predictor/cause, while parenting style or is a more distal influence/cause of behavior. These terms are also used when referring to the outcomes of a program, where attitudes might be a proximal outcome and actual behavior a more distal outcome.

Arsenio, 2000; Payton et al., 2000), and positive youth development programs (Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2004; Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005; Lerner, Dowling, & Anderson, 2003) are manifestations of SSLL. Others have recently written about the links of Positive Youth Development (PYD) to Character Education (CE) (Catalano, Hawkins, & Toumbourou, 2008) and the complimentary nature of Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) and CE (Elias, Parker, Kash, Weissberg, & O'Brien, 2008). The *Positive Action* (PA) program (Flay, 2002; Flay & Allred, 2003; Flay, Allred, & Ordway, 2001) has been recognized by the U.S. Department of Education's What Works Clearinghouse as the only "character education" program to meet the evidentiary requirements for improving both academics and behavior. We believe that the *Positive Action* program incorporates all the best aspects of all three of these major approaches to social and character development (SACD) and is, therefore, one of the most complete manifestations of SSLL that we know.

Evaluations of SSLL-like programs suggest that they have considerable promise for promoting positive student outcomes. They also show potential to enhance students' connection to school through caring and engaging classroom and school practices (McNeely, Nonnemaker, & Blum, 2002; Osterman, 2000) and they appear to be cost-effective (Aos, Lieb, Mayfield, Miller, & Pennucci, 2004). Theoretically, it is expected that (a) learning SSLL is similar to learning other academic skills (i.e., initial learning can be enhanced over time if children are reinforced in applying the skills to increasingly complex situations regarding health, social relationships, and academics), and (b) learning and skill acquisition are best accomplished through a combination of direct instruction, interactive approaches, and engagement in positive activities (Henderson, Karen, & Averett, 2002; Pittman, Irby, Tolman, Yohalem, & Ferber, 2001; Skinner, Kindermann, & Furrer, under review; Tobler et al., 2000), also characterized as sequenced, active, focused, and explicit (SAFE) (Durlak & Weissberg, 2007).

Potential Impact

Policy-makers, school administrators, and communities are trying to identify and support programs with proven efficacy for improving academic achievement and related outcomes. There is particular interest in programs that can positively impact racial/ethnic and poverty gaps in student learning and wellbeing, and also demonstrate effectiveness when delivered to students making the transition to adolescence and secondary-level schooling. However, most existing programs already identified as "proven" have yielded small effect sizes (Derzon & Wilson, 1999; Tobler et al., 2000; Tobler & Stratton, 1997; Wilson, Gottfredson, & Najaka, 2001) and these effects frequently have not been sustained (Flay, 2002; Greenberg, Domitrovich, & Bumbarger, 2001). Most of these programs are domain specific and few have been structured so that gains in personal, behavioral, and social domains translate into improvements in academic achievement. Given the relationships between student

values and character, social skills, emotional wellbeing, behavior, and academic performance, and because of the pressures of time on the school day, it would be beneficial to make available to schools coherent, school-wide SSLL programs that are easily and inexpensively implemented and that intentionally cultivate positive linkages of SSLL skills, concepts, and activities with achievement (Catalano, Oesterle, Fleming, & Hawkins, 2004; Flay, 2002).

The *Positive Action* Program

The Positive Action (PA) program was developed and revised by Carol Gerber Allred from 1977 to the present using continuous process monitoring and evaluation. It consists of training and materials for schools, families, and communities, and its content is based on three core elements – a philosophy, the thoughts–actions–feelings circle, and six content units. The PA program consists of a PreK-12 classroom curriculum, kits for school preparation and teacher training, school-wide climate development, a counselors kit, and parent and community involvement manuals. PA uses research-supported strategies and methods of education and behavior change, such as active learning, positive classroom management, social–emotional–behavioral and learning skills development, role-play, a detailed curriculum with almost daily lessons, school-wide reinforcement of positive behaviors, intrinsic motivation, and family and community involvement.

The first core element of the program is the *Positive Action* philosophy, which is grounded in a broad theory of self-concept (Combs, 1962; Purkey, 1970; Purkey & Novak, 1970). This theory posits that people determine their self-concepts by what they do; that actions, more than thoughts or feelings, determine self-concept; and that making positive and healthy behavioral choices results in feelings of self-worth/esteem. In accordance with recent theory and supporting research in "Positive Psychology" (Fredrickson, 2000; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), the program also assumes that when people feel positive about themselves, they will, in a reflexive manner, have more positive thoughts and engage in more positive behavior. This can be compared to the ABCD (affective–behavioral–cognitive–dynamic) model of Greenberg and Kusché's PATHS program (Kam, Greenberg, & Kusche, 2004). Positive emotions about self also may prove a superior method for regulating and mitigating negative emotions and their ill effects on self-control (Fredrickson, 2000, 2001; Izard, 1977; Lazarus, 1991).

The second core component of the program is the Thoughts–Actions–Feelings about self circle (Fig. 28.1). The content of the classroom curriculum, and all other components of the program, is based on the intuitive idea that "You feel good about yourself when you do positive actions and there is always a positive way to do everything." The Thoughts–Actions–Feelings about self circle illustrates this self-reinforcing process that is taught to students; showing them that thoughts lead to actions, actions lead to feelings about self, and feelings about self lead to more thoughts. The circle can be positive or negative.

Fig. 28.1 The Thoughts-Action-Feelings about Self Circle

Values are the key to everything we want to achieve. If we can get students to value being good, achieving, and contributing, then that is what they will be and do. *Positive Action* helps them do this by understanding that when they do good things they feel good about themselves. An important aspect of the TAF circle is whether there is a plus or a minus sign in the center that exemplifies good/right vs. bad/wrong. The way to achieve our educational goals is to help students come to value positive actions and to motivate them to engage in positive behaviors by understanding that they feel good about themselves when they do so. Cycles of positive or negative actions become habits, habits then become character, and character becomes destiny. As USA theologian, Tryon Edwards (1959) suggests, thoughts lead on to purposes, purposes go forth in action, actions form habits, habits decide character, and character ultimately fixes our destiny.

The aim of PA is to get everyone into the positive cycle by making positive choices consciously; this is intrinsically motivated change, where people choose to do positive actions to feel good about his or her self. Research strongly suggests that intrinsically motivated learning and behavior change are more likely to be sustained than extrinsically motivated learning or behavior change (Deci, 2009; Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999, 2001; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Gottfried, Marcoulides, Gottfried, & Oliver, 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2006). Indeed, this process of change, involving teachers, students, other school staff, parents, and community members, allows participants to feel good about the change and about their involvement in it, an approach also recently found to be effective in large-scale school reform (Deci, 2009).

The third core component of the program is the actual content. The program teaches specific positive actions for the whole self: the physical, intellectual, social, and emotional areas. The content of all program components is taught through six units:

- Unit 1. Self-Concept: What it is, how it is formed, and why it is important (the PA philosophy and circle).
- Unit 2. Positive actions for body (physical) and mind (intellectual). For example, nutrition (including not using harmful substances), exercise, sleep, hygiene,

motivation to learn, thinking skills, problem solving, decision-making, creativity, curiosity, and study skills.

- Unit 3. Social and emotional positive actions for managing yourself responsibly. For example, self-management, self-control, managing personal resources like time, talent, energy, thoughts, actions, feelings, money, and possessions.
- Unit 4. Social and emotional positive actions for getting along with others by treating them the way you like to be treated. For example, with respect, empathy, kindness, fairness, cooperation.
- Unit 5. Social and emotional positive actions for being honest with yourself and others. For example, taking responsibility for telling self and others the truth, admitting mistakes, not blaming others or rationalizing, doing what you say you will do, knowing your strengths and weaknesses.
- Unit 6. Social and emotional positive actions for improving yourself continually. For example, setting and achieving goals, believing in potential, having the courage to try, turning problems into opportunities, persisting, and broadening horizons.

Together, these make up the comprehensive set of skills for successful learning and living (SSLL). The program trains teachers and parents to identify, teach, and reinforce positive thoughts, actions, and feelings about themselves by students and others in the school, leading to continual reinforcement of positive actions and enhanced student bonding with parents and school, consistent with multiple social learning theories (Akers, 1977, 1998; Bandura, 1977, 1986) and other current theories about and approaches to social development, health promotion, and prevention of unhealthy behaviors (Flay & Petraitis, 1994; Flay et al., 2009; Hawkins & Weis, 1985; Peters & McMahon, 1996). Research supports the program's focus on positive emotions and actions, showing, for example, that children who display empathy and sympathy and are sensitive to the wellbeing of others, also act pro-socially in other respects, even altruistically (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Izard et al., 2000). Self-consistency becomes moral when our understanding and reasoning about social issues/problems becomes related to our feelings about ourselves and motivations to act responsibly; when we intend to do right (Blasi, 2004; Higgins-D'Alessandro & Power, 2005).

All components of PA are based on the same content that is taught through the six unit concepts, the SSLL. Students coming from less effective homes (disadvantaged, high-risk, low parenting skills) have fewer of these skills and need to have them taught. Standard education does little to compensate for lack of skills – they mostly teach the same way to all students regardless of student readiness to learn. Even students from homes where these skills are taught need to have them reinforced in school. Teaching these skills provides an opportunity for disadvantaged students to catch up and for students with the skills to practice and improve them (Freire, 1976; Noguera, 1995). In Unit 4 of the program, participants are asked how they like to be treated. Regardless of age, socioeconomic status, gender, or culture, students and adults all over the world suggest the same top values of respect, fairness, kindness, honesty, understanding/empathy, and love, consistent with others' findings (Nucci,

2001). These values, or ways people like to be treated, are then adopted as the code of conduct for the classroom and school.

This broad-based approach engages students because the topic is about their self-empowerment – who they are, who they can become, and how they can be someone admirable. By building in relevance, *Positive Action* provides a foundation of strong, proactive behavior, character development, and academic achievement (see boxed text below). Students gain social and emotional maturity and sound decision-making skills – aspects of a positive character that easily translate into active citizenship.

The New Essential ABC's: Academics, Behavior, and Character

How Positive Action Works for ***A***cademics: *Positive Action* creates an intellectually stimulating learning environment and helps students retain academic lessons by applying them to real-life situations. The lessons also inspire students to value learning and education, and to engage in setting personal goals for a happy and successful life. Thus, disciplinary referrals and drop-out rates decline and graduation rates improve. A counselor at a California middle school reported that *Positive Action* lessons and academic subjects are a powerful combination. "The student-teacher connection deepens," she said. "*Positive Action* gives a platform to address behavior and give positive feedback, and allows teachers to tie academic content into the lessons."

How Positive Action Works for ***B***ehavior: *Positive Action* is an effective tool for teachers to use for behavior management. By teaching the Thoughts–Actions–Feelings Circle, students become empowered to take control of their behavior in an intentional and deliberate way. Traditionally, educators focus on the *act* itself without considering the *thought* that precedes the *action* and the relationship of the *act* to the *feeling you get about yourself* that follows. Once students understand the role and importance of all three parts of the circle – thoughts, actions, and feelings about self – they become skilled and motivated managers of themselves, freeing the teacher to focus on academics.

How Positive Action Works for ***C***haracter: The Thoughts–Actions–Feelings Circle also helps students develop a positive character by teaching how important their values are to all aspects of their lives – including education. When you add positive (right or good) or negative (wrong or bad) to the circle, you are adding values to the behavior process. If you value positive actions, you do them; if you do not value positive actions, you do negative actions. The goal is to help students value positive actions, like learning to achieve academically and becoming a good person, so that they can achieve success and happiness – or feel good about who they are, how they treat others, and what they are doing with their lives.

As discussed earlier, broad and long-term effectiveness in improving both school performance and other desired student outcomes requires addressing more distal influences on behavior in a holistic way. The PA program attempts this with a holistic approach to school reorganization, teacher–student relations, parent and community involvement, instructional practices, and development of the self-concept of all parties (students, teachers, parents, and community members). The goal is for students and adults to gain not only the knowledge, attitudes, norms, and skills that they might gain from other programs, but also improved values, self-concept, family bonding, peer selection, communication, and appreciation of school. PA is designed to affect more distal (and more fundamentally influential) influences on school climate and student behavior and performance. The expected result is improvement in a broad range of behaviors (both negative and positive), emotional wellbeing, and school performance.

Figure 28.2 presents a logic/theoretic model for the PA program when delivered in schools. The most direct and immediate impact of the implementation of the program's different components is to increase the amount and quality of social/emotional and character development activities used by the school (see School & Classroom SSLL Practices). The school climate component leads to changes in school-wide activities such as reinforcement and recognition of positive

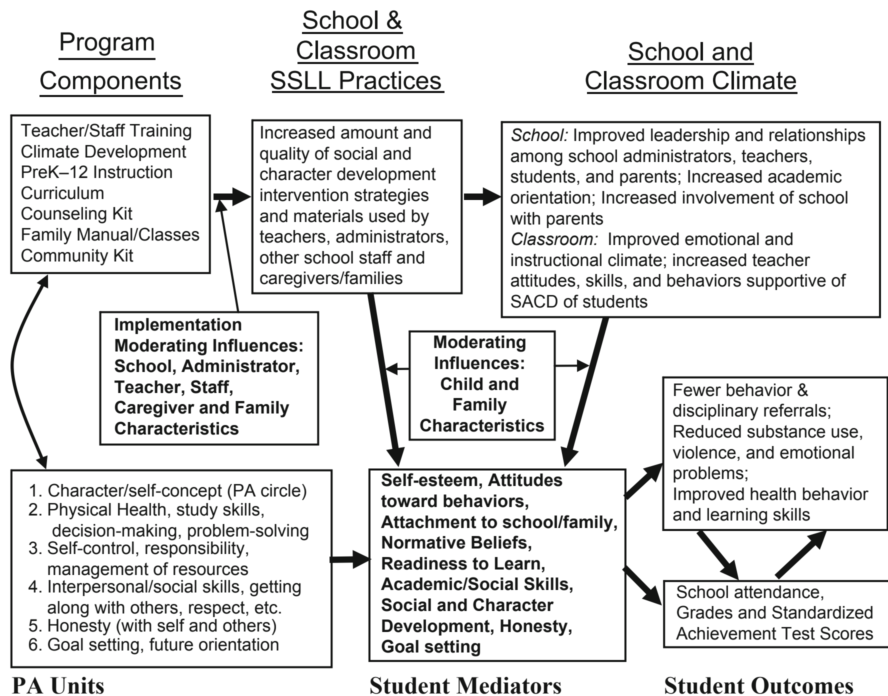

Fig. 28.2 Logic/Theoretic model of the effects of the *Positive Action* program

behavior and character attributes demonstrated by students, as well as assemblies and other events that focus on SSLL. The family involvement component leads to changes in opportunities for family involvement with the school focused on SSLL, as well as positive increases in the discussion and utilization of SSLL principles in school–parent and parent–child relations. The teacher/staff training promotes more effective implementation of classroom curriculum and also contributes to greater integration of SSLL activities, materials, and concepts into classroom management and instructional strategies as well as parent–teacher relations. The classroom curriculum contributes to greater amounts and quality of dedicated classroom instruction in SSLL knowledge and skills in areas that are the focus of the six Units of PA. Implementation of the program components and, thus, effects on SSLL activities in the school, is moderated by school/administrator, teacher/staff, and family characteristics. Enhanced SSLL, in turn, impact student social and character development and supportive attitudes and skills (see Student Effects) both directly and through improvements in relevant facets of the school and classroom environment (see School Climate and Classroom Climate; for ease of exposition and presentation we include effects involving families under school climate). Child and family characteristics moderate the strength and pattern of these impacts of SSLL activities. Improvements in student social and character development and supportive areas then yield both reductions in student behavioral and emotional problems and gains in school attendance, grades, and test scores, with impacts in these two domains mutually facilitating one another.

Prior Evaluations of Positive Action Programs

Many schools and districts around the world have experienced success with the "Positive Action Program." See boxed text below for one anecdote. Proof of effectiveness requires more than anecdotes and, fortunately, PA has been researched and evaluated in many different kinds of schools by the program's developer, school districts, and third-party evaluators.

A California Success Story

Some schools are striking a balance without compromising academic achievement goals. In fact, schools using *Positive Action* are finding that their students are not only learning for life, but exceeding their academic benchmarks as well.

Allan Petersdorf faced this curriculum dilemma when he became the principal of Discovery Bay Elementary School in 2005. The school's Academic Performance Index (API) was at 753; he knew that he was expected to at least reach his state's goal of 800. He also knew that students need more

than just reading and math skills for a successful, engaged life. He found the happy medium when his teachers attributed recent improvements in behavior and academics to *Positive Action*, which they had been using since 2003. Mr. Petersdorf embraced the program, concluding that it was the missing link between academics and learning for life. "I've used other character education programs in the past and they have all been beneficial," said Mr. Petersdorf, "but *Positive Action* goes beyond character education and that's what we were looking for."

Since then, Discovery Bay API scores have been steadily rising: to 772 in 2006, 816 in 2007, and 839 in 2008. Equally intriguing to Mr. Petersdorf, however, were the changes in student behavior. They are participating in class, demonstrating good character, and engaging in civic activities.

One particularly impressive activity began when a 4th grade student, Tyler Page, took what he learned in class from *Positive Action* and applied it to a real-world cause. While watching an Oprah Winfrey television episode, Tyler learned that children in Ghana were sold into slavery, where they suffered from backbreaking work, violent beatings, and malnutrition. He challenged his classmates: "Let's team up and show others how *Positive Action* in your community can change lives. Wouldn't you like to BE the difference and be a hero? Together as a team we can do it." He spearheaded a carwash fundraiser with friends and parents in order to buy a child's freedom for 1 year for $240. The fundraiser was a success, raising over $50,000 in 17 months, and altering the lives of over 200 children. This success inspired his family and friends to start their own non-profit organization, Kids Helping Kids Leadership Academy, Inc. (http://www.kidzhelpingkids.org).

Discovery Bay Elementary School is one of many success stories from schools that have experienced the beneficial effects of *Positive Action* for over 26 years in more than 13,000 schools and districts around the world. However, educators need to see the science behind the stories, and *Positive Action* has that, too.

During the late 1990s, the authors collaborated to conduct matched-control group studies on archival data from three school districts that used the PA program during the 1990s (Flay & Allred, 2003; Flay et al., 2001). For two school districts in Hawai`i and Nevada that had used PA in a significant number of elementary schools for several years, we used School Report Card (SRC) data on poverty (a major predictor of achievement) and mobility (a strong predictor of disciplinary problems) to match each PA school with the best-matched schools with similar ethnic distribution (Flay et al., 2001). We then analyzed the difference between PA schools and matched controls using ANCOVA, controlling for the matching variables, and testing for interactions between covariates and PA. Analyses of school-level data from the 1995–1996 and 1996–1997 school years in Nevada found that PA schools scored 16% better than non-PA schools (53.9 vs. 46.4) in their percentile ranking

of 4th grade achievement scores; reported 85% fewer incidences of violence; and reported 4.5% lower rates of absenteeism. All of these differences were statistically significant and equal in schools with high vs. low minority populations and mobility. We found similar results using 1995–1998 data from Hawai`i (Flay et al., 2001).

In subsequent research with a large Southeastern school district, we expanded the variables on which PA and non-PA schools were matched to include outcome variables (achievement) assessed before the introduction of PA (Table 2 in Flay & Allred, 2003). Findings were very similar to those reported from Nevada & Hawai`i – for example, 45% improvement in Florida Reading Test scores and 68% reduction in violence-related disciplinary referrals (Table 3 in Flay & Allred, 2003).

*Hawai`i RCT*: With support from the National Institute on Drug Abuse of NIH, the first author and his colleagues conducted a school-based randomized trial of the PA program in 20 K-5 schools in Hawai`i. Using SRC data, we stratified the eligible schools into strata ranked on a "risk score" comprised from multiple demographic variables, characteristics of the school and indicators of student behavioral and performance outcomes. We randomly selected schools from within strata and randomly assigned them to program or control conditions before recruitment. The study sample consisted of two cohorts of students (Grades 1 and 2 at pretest in 2000–2001 through to Grades 5 and 6 by the wave 5 follow-up in 2004–2005), their parents, their teachers each year of the study, and all other teachers and staff in project schools. In the spring of each year we surveyed the two cohorts of students and their teachers and parents, and all other teachers in all study schools. We also asked teachers of cohort students in both PA and control schools to rate the behavior of their students on approximately 70 behavioral items. We did not follow students who left project schools and we added students who entered project schools during the study.

The program developer (C.G. Allred) and the local PA Implementation Coordinator provided annual teacher and staff training to each school in the program condition — 1 day in the first year and a half day in subsequent years. In addition, we provided support for teachers and staff during the entire study period through individual consultation with the PA Implementation Coordinator. This person also provided regular consultation with Principals to ensure that the PA curriculum and other program components were implemented in adherence to the guidelines established by the program developer. Finally, to enhance implementation fidelity, we brought school leaders and selected teachers from all PA schools together for a workshop each year to share experiences and learn from the developer and each other.

There was variability between schools on a range of implementation indices, especially in Year 1, with improvements over time. By Years 3 and 4, two schools were still implementing at a low level, three at a moderate-to-high level, and five at a high level. Through interviews of school leaders and systematic observation of classrooms and schools we found that control schools reported implementing an average of 10.2 SSLL programs compared with 4.2 – in addition to PA – in the program schools. Teachers in control schools spent an average of 108 min/week on SSLL-related activities. PA school teachers spent the expected amount of time

on PA (55.1 min/week), yet, overall they still spent only 35 min/week more on SSLL-related activities than teachers in control schools. Control schools reported that teachers were involved in SSLL-related activities for an average of 24 weeks per school year. In contrast, teachers in PA schools reported delivering PA almost every week of the school year as well as being involved in other SSLL-related activities for 25 weeks/year. Both PA and control school teachers reported receiving training to implement approximately half of the SSLL-related programs (52.3 and 53.3%, respectively) that they reported implementing other than PA (100% trained).

For his dissertation, Michael Beets conducted some analyses of the predictors of program implementation and the links between implementation, dosage, and outcomes (Beets & Flay, 2007; Beets et al., 2008; Beets, Vuchinich, Acock, Allred, & Flay, 2007). He found that level of implementation was influenced by school principal attitudes and support, and teacher attitudes about SACD activities in general and PA in particular. In turn, level of implementation predicted student reports of exposure to the program elements. Student attitudes influenced student involvement in the program. Student exposure and involvement were related to student outcomes.

At 5th grade, we asked students from whom we obtained active parental consent (76.7%) about substance use (SU), violence, and sexual behaviors. We used multilevel logistic regression to compare never and ever engaging in SU or violence. Students in PA schools were 43% less likely than students in control schools to have engaged in SU behaviors (22.7 vs. 40.7%), 51.9% less likely to have engaged in serious violence behaviors (16.9 vs. 35.1%), and 63% less likely to have engaged in sexual intercourse by Grade 5 (2.4 vs. 6.5%) (Beets et al., 2009). Each of these effects was statistically significant; indeed, differences for each of the individual behaviors (e.g., smoking, drinking, using drugs) were also statistically significant. Teacher reports of substance use and violence were also statistically significant.

School-level data also showed substantial positive effects of PA (Snyder et al., 2010). For school-level data regarding average daily absences and percent proficiency in Grade 5 reading and math, we conducted growth curve analyses to examine rates of change. In all cases, there were no significant differences between PA and control conditions in intercept (baseline), but significant differences in slope, all indicating reduced absenteeism or better performance (e.g., academic test scores) for PA schools compared with control schools. Average daily absences in PA schools decreased compared to remaining stable in control schools, with 9.8 days absent on average in PA schools by 2005 vs. 11 for control schools. Over the three academic years PA schools experienced greater gains in both math and reading percent proficiency, in comparison to control schools. PA schools achieved 26% proficiency in math, for example, compared to 21% in control schools during 2005, up from 15 to 14% in PA and control schools, respectively, in 2002. State means also improved over this period as a result of NCLB and other efforts, and the gap between state means and control schools increased over time, while the gap for PA schools narrowed. These data demonstrate yet another reason for smaller than expected effect sizes in current prevention and SSLL studies – we are trying to row faster than the prevailing current (Hulleman & Cordray, 2009)!

The school district conducts School Quality Surveys (SQS) of students, teachers, and parents every 2 years and makes the data available at the school level. Parent ratings of parent involvement were significantly higher in PA schools (70.4% positive response) than control schools (67%) in 2005 compared with 68.8 and 68.4% in 2002. Parents also thought that PA schools had improved "sustained and focused action," "professionalism and system capacity," "student safety and wellbeing," and "satisfaction" significantly more than did parents of students in control schools (ESs 0.32–0.9). Student ratings of PA schools improved significantly more than student ratings of control schools for "Quality of student support" and "coordinated team work" (ESs 0.89–1.08). Teacher ratings significantly improved more for PA than control schools for "coordinated team work," "responsiveness of the system," "involvement," and "satisfaction" (ESs 0.23–0.75) (Flay, Acock, Vuchinich, & Beets, 2006).

Chicago RCT: The Institute of Education Sciences of the U.S. Department of Education sponsored the Social and Character Development (SACD) cooperative agreement, and Chicago was selected as one of seven sites nationwide evaluating the effects of seven different school-based interventions designed to promote children's social and character development using a matched-pair, school-based, randomized controlled trial. Similar procedures to those used in Hawai`i were used to select, match, and randomly assign schools to conditions (Ji, DuBois, Flay, & Brechling, 2008). University of Illinois (UIC) and Oregon State University (OSU) investigators/staff collected data in 14 K-8 Chicago Public Schools (7 PA schools and 7 control schools) beginning in September, 2004, and continuing through June, 2007. The data collection instruments used to assess program impact included a battery of multi-site surveys (administered by the multi-site contractor, Mathematic Policy Research [MPR]) given to children, parents, teachers, and school administrators at all sites, along with site-specific (administered by local staff) surveys of students more aligned with proximal outcomes of PA. We followed one cohort of students (N ~ 600) – those in Grade 3 in the 2004–2005 school year – surveyed at baseline (fall 2004) and in subsequent waves over a 3-year-period (spring 2005, fall 2005, spring 2006, and spring 2007). Response rates for the Teacher Reports were high in all four waves of data collection, with 85–100% of teachers returning surveys.

Training and technical support were similar to those provided in Hawai`i. In addition, to enhance implementation fidelity, we held a workshop with cohort student teachers each year. As with the Hawai`i study, we assessed program implementation with multiple instruments. By the use of extensive reminders and incentives, we obtained Weekly Implementation Reports from 59% of teachers, and 75% submitted reports at the end of each unit. Similar to the Hawai`i study, there was variability between schools in all of the above implementation indices, especially in Year 1, with improvements over time. By the end of Year 3, one school was still implementing at a fairly low level, four at a moderate level, and two at high levels. From these two trials, we have learned that it takes much more time for many low-performing schools to fully adopt and implement a comprehensive program than it did in prior years. Along with other comprehensive program developers and

researchers (e.g., Schaps, Slavin), we believe that many under-performing schools need 3–7 years to fully adopt and implement a comprehensive program.

At each wave, students were surveyed using both the multi-site and site-specific surveys. Active parental consent was required for all aspects of the Chicago study and we have published one paper on our methods for obtaining a high return rate (Ji et al., 2006). We also asked teachers of cohort students to complete behavior checklists on each student in the cohort, asked parents/guardians of the cohort students to complete a survey on their children's behavior, and surveyed the 3rd–5th grade teachers and Principals in all 14 schools regarding issues such as school climate, instructional practices, and implementation of SSLL-related programs. We also conducted extensive assessments of program implementation, as discussed in the previous section. Along with student, parent, and teacher surveys, we collected data from school records on attendance, disciplinary incidents, and achievement at the school level.

MPR conducted analyses on the impact of programs on teachers' reports of using materials and strategies in their classrooms to promote social and character development goals. Importantly, these analyses showed that teachers in PA schools were significantly more likely than control teachers to report using programs and materials to promote social and character development; although control teachers also reported substantial use. For example, PA teachers were substantially more likely than control teachers to report that they engaged in activities for at least 1 hour/week to promote violence prevention/peace promotion (43.6% in treatment schools vs. 17.1 % in control schools, ES = 0.40), social and emotional development (51.3 and 14.7%, respectively, ES = 0.59), and character education (66.9 and 26.3%, respectively, ES = 0.53).

For substance use, violence, bullying, and disruptive behaviors, we analyzed counts of the number of behaviors in each category in which students reported having engaged, using three-level (i.e., students nested within schools within school pairs), overdispersed Poisson models (Li et al., under review). Findings indicated that students in the intervention endorsed 31% fewer substance use behaviors (incidence rate ratio [IRR]=0.69) and 37% fewer violence-related behaviors (IRR=0.63), 41% fewer bullying behaviors (IRR=0.59), respectively, compared to students in the control schools. A 27% reduction in reported disruptive behaviors (IRR = 0.73) was not statistically significant. These results replicate findings from the Hawai`i trial using the same type of study design and, importantly, extend evidence of its effectiveness to youth attending large urban school systems. The effects were a little smaller than those reported from the Hawai`i trial, probably reflecting the difference between 3 and 4 years of the program.

For other outcomes, preliminary latent growth curve analyses, with all standard errors adjusted for clustering of students within schools and baseline covariates included in the model, indicated evidence of emerging positive effects of PA on a substantial number of both local- and multi-site measures (Flay, DuBois, & Ji, 2007). All emerging effects were in a direction indicating favorable impact of the PA program, thus arguing strongly against the pattern of findings being due to chance. The majority of emerging effects were for measures that correspond to Student

Effects in our logic/theoretic model (Fig. 28.2) – social and character development and related skills and attitudes, which are expected to be precursors to more distal effects on academic, behavioral, and emotional outcomes ("Expected Impacts"). These findings indicated, for example, relative improvements in character and social development as well as reduced endorsement of negative values, normative beliefs favoring aggression, affiliation with friends engaged in bad behaviors, improved social competence/problem-solving, and greater reliance on positive vs. negative processes for self-esteem formation. We also found emerging effects on variables from this area of the model with direct ties to academics, including student engagement (vs. disengagement) with learning and school self-esteem (feelings of pride regarding school work). We also found evidence of some effects involving school and classroom climate, a pathway through which the PA program may impact student outcomes such as those just described. These include, for example, reduced negative orientation to school among students as well as increased parent–teacher involvement and positive parenting, as reported by parents. Although less prevalent, there were trends toward positive effects of PA on several measures of more distal student academic, behavioral, and emotional outcomes, including improvements in self-reported grades and improved life satisfaction. Teacher reports of improved student academic motivation/competence and decreased problem behavior were marginally significant by wave 5.

Discussion

Summary of Evaluation Results

Multiple quasi-experimental and experimental studies have demonstrated consistently positive effects of the *Positive Action* program on a wide range of outcomes, including student-level values, character, positive and negative behaviors, and school-level indicators of all of these plus attendance, disciplinary referrals, and academic achievement. The fact that these results have been obtained from multiple studies of different designs, using different measures, and conducted in different geographical areas with different populations of students and families, supports their robustness, reliability, and validity. Nevertheless, evaluations by researchers independent of the program developer are still needed to provide further evidence of the effectiveness of the program in real-world settings (Eisner, 2009; Flay et al., 2005; Gorman & Huber Jr, 2009; Valentine et al., under review).

The comprehensive results of the *Positive Action* program suggest that a single, well-designed SSLL program that is implemented with moderate to high fidelity can have positive effects on multiple behavioral, character, and academic (ABC) outcomes. The multiple positive outcomes observed reinforce each other and so are likely to increase over time rather than decay as the effects of most programs do. Theoretically, changes in multiple domains are more likely to be maintained as

students develop; and programs that produce multiple outcomes are more likely to be sustained in schools, families, and communities.

Further Research Needs

Despite much previous research, we still do not have enough SSLL (or prevention or social and character development) programs that produce the kinds of effects we would like or that do all that theory suggests is possible. The PA program is one that comes close, in our estimation, to incorporating most of the factors that current theory and empirical data suggest for comprehensive SSLL. However, despite these characteristics and the positive results reported previously, we still know very little about how it actually works. Research on coherent, integrated SSLL programs is in an early stage. In addition to clarifying fundamental issues of program efficacy and effectiveness, it is crucial to establish more clearly how and why effective SSLL programs actually work. Theory and available research highlight several promising directions to pursue that could help to clarify (a) the most salient mechanisms of influence in SSLL interventions (i.e., mediators), (b) influences on integrity of program implementation, (c) the implications of differences in student exposure, and (d) which subgroups of students are most likely to be impacted by them (i.e., moderators). Such research could identify specific improvements to school-based SSLL preventive interventions that could improve their effectiveness in simultaneously decreasing adolescent health problems (substance use, violence, unsafe sex) and improving positive behaviors, academic achievement, and success in life.

Advancing the development, efficacy, effectiveness, and readiness for dissemination (Flay et al., 2005) of comprehensive SSLL programs requires a sound understanding of the intervening processes that mediate, or account for, the effects of these types of programs on academic achievement and other targeted outcomes. The first requirement is that such programs actually result in an increase in the amount and quality of SSLL intervention strategies and materials used by teachers, administrators, and other school staff. This is not necessarily a given because of the implementation difficulties that can threaten the integrity of program delivery. School-based SSLL programs appear to be most beneficial when they simultaneously improve the quality of the environments in which students are educated, as well as enhance students' personal and social assets (Catalano, Oesterle, et al., 2004; Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Flay, 2002; Weissberg, Greenberg, Sigel, & Renninger, 1997). A positive school environment should improve student character and self-esteem (Cauce, Comer, & Schwartz, 1987; Felner et al., 1993), reduce problem behavior (Battistich & Hom, 1997), and improve achievement (Bulach, Malone, & Castleman, 1995; Cauce et al., 1987). Evidence indicates that PA meets these objectives.

Delivering a SSLL program with integrity (i.e., high dosage and fidelity) is obviously of critical importance (Basch, 1984; Dane & Schneider, 1998; Durlak,

1998; Emshoff et al., 1987; Weissberg, 1990), since higher quality implementation creates the potential for stronger program outcomes (Domitrovich & Greenberg, 2000; Dusenbury, Brannigan, Falco, & Hansen, 2003; Harachi, Abbott, Catalano, Haggerty, & Fleming, 1999; Kam et al., 2004). A number of factors appear to influence teacher adherence: attitudes toward expected program outcomes, motivation to change child behavior, attributions of behavior change to the program, self-efficacy to deliver the program, level and quality of training, and leadership/principal support for the program (Beets et al., 2008; Fagan, Hanson, Hawkins, & Arthur, 2008; Han & Weiss, 2005; Kam, Greenberg, & Walls, 2003; Kealey, Peterson, Gaul, & Dinh, 2000; Rohrbach, Graham, & Hansen, 1993; Smith, McCormick, Steckler, & McLeroy, 1993). We used a combination of qualitative and quantitative data on teacher implementation of the PA program to inform and further develop a working model of influences on the amount and quality of teacher implementation of the curriculum and other classroom-based program components. Preliminary analyses have identified several factors that are influential in shaping integrity of teacher implementation. These include the extent to which teachers receive support from their principal, collaborate with and receive support from other teachers when implementing the program, teacher's own attitudes and beliefs regarding the need for schools to do SSLL, and the perceived likely effectiveness of the program (Beets et al., 2008).

Program fidelity is one obvious mediator of program effects. Prior research has also found factors that are important determinants of program fidelity. These include quality of school leadership (Alig-Mielcarek & Hoy, 2008; Kam et al., 2003), quality of relationships among school administrators, teachers, students, parents, and community (Catalano, Oesterle, et al., 2004; Comer, 1988; Juvonen, 2007; Wentzel, 1998), quality of teacher–student and student–student relationships (Pianta, Hamre, & Stuhlman, 2003; Wentzel, Barry, & Caldwell, 2004), time on task for academic learning and support for higher-order thinking (Anderman & Midgley, 1998; Lumsden, 1994), teacher's endorsement of and capacity to model positive social-emotional skills and behaviors (Davis, 2003), norms supportive of academic achievement (Brand, Felner, Shim, Seitsinger, & Dumas, 2003), and parental involvement (Griffith, 1998; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Shaver & Walls, 1998; Walberg & Lai, 1999; Zellman, 1998).

At the school level, the most promising prevention programs positively impact school climate and these effects appear to promote better student outcomes (Adelman & Taylor, 2000; Greenberg et al., 2001; Griffith, 2000; Kuperminc, Leadbeater, Emmons, & Blatt, 1997; Roeser, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2000). Because the school climate effects of SSLL programs such as PA are most likely to accrue through school-wide program components (e.g., coordinating committee, assemblies, use of common terminology, reinforcement of positive behaviors, involvement of parents), it is critically important to assess the integrity with which these activities are implemented and the factors that affect integrity. High levels of implementation integrity are necessary for individual students and classrooms of students within schools to receive high levels of exposure to program activities (i.e., dosage). Program effects typically appear greater when focusing on students with greater

levels of program exposure and participation. Selection effects (e.g., those teachers who are already prone to elicit positive student outcomes also tend to deliver the program at higher levels) may bias such analyses, although data analytic procedures such as propensity score analysis attempt to control for these types of confounds (Foster, 2003; Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1983).

Program fidelity and dosage received are not the only mediators of program effects on student outcomes. Other kinds of mediators of effects on student behavioral and academic outcomes are related to immediate program effects. For example, measures of self-concept/esteem (how people think and feel about themselves) have been correlated with both fewer problem behaviors and better academic performance (Beane & Lipka, 1980; Coleman et al., 1966; Filozof et al., 1998; Paulson, Coombs, & Richardson, 1990; Purkey & Novak, 1970; Symons, Cinelli, James, & Groff, 1997), though the causal ordering of these associations remains in question (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Carpara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Filozof et al., 1998; Hamachek, 1995; Hansford & Hattie, 1982; Hay, Ashman, & Van Kraayenord, 1998; Hoge, Smit, & Crist, 1995; McCarthy & Hoge, 1984; Purkey, 1970; Rigby & Cox, 1996; Scheff, Retzinger, & Ryan, 1989). Emerging research underscores a need for interventions reflecting a better understanding of the potential relationships of self-esteem to achievement and related outcomes (DuBois, 2003; DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Cooper, 2002; DuBois & Tevendale, 1999; Hughes, Cavell, & Grossman, 1997). The PA program is highly aligned with recent theory and research on self-concept (DuBoise, Flay, & Fagen, 2009; Sebastian, Burnett, & Blakemore, 2008). Other mediating variables include the expected immediate or proximal effects of the units of PA, namely, attitudes toward physical health behaviors, learning and decision-making skills, self-regulation/management and responsibility, attachment to school and family, sociability and social skills, honesty, and goal setting.

Available findings from the prevention literature highlight the potential differential (moderated) effectiveness of programs for girls and boys as one important concern. In the areas of substance use and violence prevention, evaluations that have reported gender differences more often favor boys (Botvin, Baker, Filazzola, & Botvin, 1990; CEBP, 2002; DeJong, 1987; Farrell & Meyer, 1997; Flay et al., 2004; Flynn, Worden, Secker-Walker, Badger, & Geller, 1995; Graham, Johnson, Hansen, Flay, & Gee, 1990; Guthrie & Flinchbaugh, 2001; Kellam, Ling, Merisca, Brown, & Ialongo, 1998; O'Donnell, Hawkins, Catalano, Abbott, & Day, 1995; Perry et al., 2003). A second relatively robust pattern has been to find greater impact of prevention programs for youth exhibiting greater levels of risk (Muthen et al., 2002; Segawa, Ngwe, Li, & Flay, 2005; Stoolmiller, Eddy, & Reid, 2000; Wilson et al., 2001). To enhance the effectiveness of interventions for girls, programs may need to focus more on internal manifestations of risks (e.g., low self-esteem, confidence) and on fostering connectedness to school and family (CSAP, 2002; Guthrie & Flinchbaugh, 2001). In accordance with these recommendations, PA includes a focus on socio-emotional concerns relating to self-concept and efficacy beliefs as well as on promoting positive bonding to teachers/school staff, positive peers, and parents/family.

It is likely that the most salient and powerful sources of influence on the effectiveness of SSLL programs are combinations of factors such as gender and risk factors rather than any one moderator in isolation. A conventional approach to exploring higher-order interactions is impractical. An alternative is to first identify subgroups of youth who exhibit different trajectories of change or stability over time on selected outcome measures using growth mixture modeling (Muthen et al., 2002; Segawa et al., 2005). Differences between subgroups suggest moderation of program impact. Understanding moderators might provide insights on how some adjustment to SSLL can enhance the beneficial effects.

SSLL programs in general, and the *Positive Action* program in particular, include a strong emphasis on the development of moral values and character. Moral competence may be defined is a youth's ability to assess and respond to the ethical, affective, or social justice dimensions of a situation (Catalano et al., 2008). Moral maturity is considered as the combination of respect for rules and a sense of social justice (Piaget, 1965). Moral development has been discussed as a multistage process through which children acquire society's standards of right and wrong, focusing on choices made in facing moral dilemmas (Kohlberg, 1969, 1981). Others have said that the roots of morality are in empathy, or empathic arousal, which has a neurological basis and can be either fostered or suppressed by environmental influences (Hoffman, 1981). Fairness and welfare have been considered as central concerns for moral judgments (Nucci, 1997). Components of the *Positive Action* program address all of the foregoing definitions of moral and character development.

Comprehensive SSLL programs like the *Positive Action* program also provide instruction in and support of the multiple dimensions of Positive Youth Development (Catalano, Berglund, et al., 2004; Catalano, Hawkins, Berglund, Pollard, & Arthur, 2002; Flay, 2002; Lerner et al., 2005; Lerner et al., 2003). Catalano and colleagues (Catalano et al., 2008) also derived a list of 18 constructs addressed by Positive Youth Development programs. These included the fostering positive resilience, self-determination, self-efficacy, spirituality, positive identity, social competence; the development of social, emotional, cognitive, behavioral and moral competence; the promotion of social bonding, life satisfaction, and strength of character; and the provision of opportunities for pro-social involvement (and civic engagement) and recognition/reinforcement for positive behavior. *Positive Action* provides direct instruction in, opportunities for practice of, and support for all of these factors.

Conclusion

Values are key to comprehensive social and character development and positive youth development. Students, indeed all people, will do what they value or what is consistent with their values. A central aim of the *Positive Action* program is to get students to the point where they value being a good, productive, successful, and contributing member of society. The *Positive Action* program helps people understand that they feel good about themselves when they do good or right – and that provides

the intrinsic motivation to continue doing good and right. Abraham Lincoln, when asked about his religion, remarked that it was very much like that of an old man named Glenn in Indiana whom he had heard speak at a church meeting and who said, "When I do good I feel good; when I do bad I feel bad; and that's my religion" (Fehrenbacher & Fehrenbacher, 1996, p. 245). In some ways, this is a self-evident truth; however, in other ways, it is far from self-evident, especially in this modern world of political and economic scandals. Children and youth need to be taught what is good and right vs. bad and wrong. The *Positive Action* program does this in a way that is effective for both the students and their instructors and parents (and the rest of the community).

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The findings and conclusions in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of the Institute of Education Sciences, CDC, MPR, or every Consortium member, nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the U.S. Government.

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Chapter 29
A Teacher's Duty: An Examination of the Short-Term Impact of Values Education on Australian Primary School Teachers and Students

Kerry Dally

Introduction

> Our duty is to encourage every one in his struggle to live up to his own highest ideal. . . .
> Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902)

The duty of the older generation to develop social responsibility and moral character in the younger generation has typically been considered the province of the family. However, the role of schools as socializing agencies and the role of teachers in shaping children's moral or 'character' development has come under renewed interest in the past decade through government-funded initiatives and educational movements known as Character Education in the USA (e.g., Damon, 2002) and values education in the UK and Australia. In Australia, The Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008) identified that school curricula should equip children for life by providing an education encompassing social, moral, and spiritual growth alongside intellectual development:

> As well as knowledge and skills, a school's legacy to young people should include national values of democracy, equity and justice, and personal values and attributes such as honesty, resilience and respect for others. (p. 5)

Because children are at school for such a large proportion of time during their formative years (approximately 15,000 hours), schools have an enormous impact not only on students' academic achievements but also on the skills and dispositions that students develop and which ultimately influence their actions and interactions as adult members of society (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1991). There appears to be growing recognition across the world that schools are in a prime position to assist children in developing both intrapersonal and interpersonal skills and understandings and that the ultimate legacy of this broader educational agenda is the maintenance of tolerant, harmonious and socially cohesive communities. However, while there appears to be general agreement about the rationale for values or character education, it has been difficult to assess the outcomes from these initiatives

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because of the diverse ways in which the programs have been implemented and because of the dual demand to produce improvements in both student conduct and academic achievement (Skaggs & Bodenhorn, 2006).

Research on the various Character Education programs in the USA has revealed consistent findings about what constitutes effective implementation practices but less consistent findings about the effects of these various programs on student outcomes. Benninga, Berkowitz, Kuehn, and Smith (2003, p. 23) identified the following components as critical indicators of effective character education programs: the school promotes core ethical values as the basis of good character; parents and other community members are active participants; character education is infused in all aspects of school life; the school staff are involved and model good character; the school fosters a sense of caring; and opportunities are provided for students to practise moral action.

While programs including these essential components appear to be effective in changing student behaviour, the impact on academic achievement is less substantiated. In their 4-year review of Character Education programs across five districts in one US state, Skaggs and Bodenhorn (2006) found that Character Education programs had a demonstrable impact on perceptions of student behaviour, but there was no commensurate impact on students' school achievement as measured by state assessments in mathematics and reading. The authors assert that a weak relationship between character education and academic outcomes should not be surprising, since academic improvement was not a stated outcome of the programs. Similarly, results from the Child Development Project (CDP), one of the most extensively studied character education programs in the USA, showed a significant increase in elementary children's spontaneous prosocial behaviour, such as helpfulness, cooperation, giving of affection and support, but little evidence of academic gains (Solomon, Battistich, Watson, Schaps, & Lewis, 2000). However, subsequent follow-up of students who had been involved in the CDP program indicated that by middle school, these students had higher academic achievement scores than comparison students (Battistich & Hong, 2003, as cited in Benninga et al., 2003). Benninga et al. surveyed the effects of numerous elementary character education programs and report that there is a common pattern of immediately observable improvements in student behaviour, with academic gains not becoming evident until students are in their secondary years of schooling.

The question of whether and why values or character education engenders short- or longer-term improvements in academic performance is nested in the belief that such programs result in a more caring and supportive school community. Schools which aim to promote positive relationships among students and which actively teach students how to resolve conflict and understand the perspective of others are more likely to create an environment which satisfies the basic human psychological needs of relatedness, autonomy and competence (Deci et al., 1991). According to Deci et al., 'The highest quality of conceptual learning seems to occur under the same motivational conditions that promote personal growth and adjustment' (p. 326). The Child Development Project was based on this premise as it strove to create caring classroom communities through its focus on promoting positive interactions among students. The development of students' interpersonal skills was

supported by changes in pedagogy such as the provision of cooperative learning activities where students had opportunities to make decisions and 'practise' values such as caring for and helping others, taking responsibility for classroom chores and determining what was fair and inclusive. While the CDP program resulted in students feeling a greater sense of 'belonging' and 'connectedness' with school, the program's authors noted several limitations in the way the program had been designed and implemented. These included the focus on establishing a sense of community at the classroom level rather than school-wide, and the gradual introduction of the program, one grade at a time, over 7 years (Battistich, Solomon, Watson, & Schaps, 1997). The classroom focus and the staggered implementation meant that there was not a 'school-wide' approach until the last year of the program and this led to inconsistencies in the way that teachers conducted their classrooms, related to students and managed student conflict. The year-by-year introduction created division among school staff as some were implementing the program while others were not. Battistich et al. reconceptualized their notions of 'caring communities' and recognized that the classroom was not the optimal 'unit' of community, but rather that a supportive community needed to be established at the school-level, in order to ensure continuity for students and greater collegiality among teachers. Creating a supportive environment for teachers has 'flow-on' ramifications for students since research indicates that teachers who work collaboratively towards common and coherent school goals are more motivated, satisfied and effective in their work (Newmann, Smith, Allensworth, & Bryk, 2001).

The important role that teachers, teacher–student relationships and interpersonal classroom cultures play in influencing student motivation and achievement has also received increasing attention from another field of research, that is, the socio-constructivist approach to education (Davis, 2006). Social-constructivist theories posit that student learning is dependent on student–student and student–teacher relationships and that these dyads cannot be separated from their classroom and school contexts (Brown & Campione, 1998). Schools and classrooms that focus on developing positive student interactions, and where teachers develop supportive relationships with students, help to shape students' self-perceptions and behaviour (Leroy, Bressous, Sarrazin, & Trouilloud, 2007). According to the social-constructivist perspective, deeper learning occurs when an individual engages in social discourse with peers or more knowledgeable others, and thus, classroom contexts which optimize student learning are characterized by an emphasis on social skills, such as cooperation, assertion, responsibility, empathy and self-control (Brock, Nishida, Chiong, Grimm, & Rimm-Kaufman, 2008). These skills are the same outcomes that are evident in values and character education programs and suggest an underlying requirement for students to move from external regulation of behaviour (heteronomy) towards self-regulation (autonomy) (Ryan, 1995, p. 405). This 'integrative process' is dependent on the interpersonal and environmental conditions surrounding an individual and is particularly facilitated by supportive relationships with teachers (Reeve, 2006).

The remainder of this chapter explores the findings that emerged from a mixed-methods investigation of the impact of values education in eight Australian primary schools after 12 months of implementation. The effective classroom pedagogy and

school-wide practices that supported the explicit teaching of values is described first, followed by the results obtained from a pre-post analysis of survey data collected from students, staff and parents regarding the outcomes of the project. Finally, the implications for student motivation, learning and development are discussed in light of the social context emanating from a whole school approach to the explicit teaching of values.

Context of the Study

In the Australian context, values education came to prominence in 2003 after the Federal Government initiated the Values Education Study (DEST, 2003) and the subsequent development of the National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools (DEST, 2005). The framework provided a guide for schools from all sectors in their attempts to foster students' social and moral development as well as academic achievement. In 2004 the Federal Government implemented the first stage of the Values Education Good Practice Schools Project (VEGPSP-1). The aim of VEGPSP-1 (DEST, 2006) was to identify good practices characterizing effective implementation of values education across a range of diverse contexts. In 2006 the project was extended to encompass a second stage (VEGPSP-2) with an emphasis on the explicit teaching of values, whole-school approaches and parent/family involvement (DEEWR, 2008). The current investigation was conducted in one cluster of schools involved in VEGPSP-2.

Program Implementation

The cluster reported on here comprised eight primary schools in a regional area of the state of New South Wales (NSW). Although there was variation among the schools in the implementation of the program, the purposes of VEGPSP-2 and the key implementation factors were consistent across the eight sites. Common across the cluster was the selection and explicit teaching of six core values. These included Respect, Responsibility, Acceptance, Care, Integrity and Fairness. The schools also aimed to integrate these values into school rules, student welfare policies and behaviour management practices.

There was a range of cluster-level and school-level initiatives that characterized the implementation of values education in the schools. Cluster-level initiatives refer to the combined networking activities among the schools. The schools were all located in close geographical proximity, so there were opportunities for cluster meetings and inter-school visits throughout the project. This collaborative and supportive infrastructure appeared to play an important role in maintaining commitment and enthusiasm for the project by providing a forum for solving problems, sharing ideas and resources as well as celebrating success. Values education teams were created within each school to lead the coordination of the project and the liaison with the other schools. Staff development opportunities were provided through regular

meetings among the school teams as well as inter-school visits. Student networks were also developed through a student forum day.

The school-level initiatives refer to the practices employed within each school to implement the program. The effective practices in terms of creating a values-focused school environment varied across the cluster but were all based on the explicit teaching of values. Strategies included a common belief in the importance of staff modelling the values, the promotion of respectful relationships with and among students, a commitment to involving families and ensuring that the values were clearly explained and understood across all grades, a focus on strengthening students' capabilities and confidence, the creation of authentic learning experiences where students could put the values into practice, songs, school displays and Values awards at assembly, and the utilization of reflective practices by students to gain greater insight into their own actions and the actions of others.

Methodology

A mixed methods approach was adopted in this study. As noted by many researchers in the field of educational psychology, in order to understand the multiple perspectives operating in classrooms and the complex effects of social contexts on student learning and educational outcomes, it is necessary to employ multidimensional methods (Gläser-Zikuda & Järvela, 2007; Summers & Davis, 2006). The mixed methods approach employed was a sequential explanatory design (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). In this design, quantitative data are collected over two time-periods and analysed. Qualitative data are collected during the second phase and are analysed separately to help explain or elaborate on the quantitative results. The analysis of the qualitative data helps to refine and explain the statistical results by incorporating more detailed information from the perspectives of the research participants (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Hammersley (2008) describes this kind of integration of qualitative and quantitative data as a process of 'indefinite triangulation' which serves to both illuminate different aspects of a phenomenon and also validate the interpretation of the research findings.

A critical issue in evaluating the impact of values education is the lack of validated instruments to measure many of the psychological constructs associated with the implementation and outcomes of values education. In the current investigation, surveys were administered at the commencement of the project and 12 months after commencement. The survey data from students, teachers and parents were employed to provide measures of a range of student behaviours, classroom ambience, school climate, teacher beliefs and practices, parent perceptions and participation, and relationships between and among students, staff and parents. Because these constructs and the underlying items previously had not been validated, it was important to establish the reliability and validity of the measures that were developed. Exploratory factor analyses with principal components extraction and varimax rotation were used to ascertain the reliability and validity of the survey instruments. The resultant student, teacher and parent scales were then employed in either paired

or independent samples *t*-tests to investigate whether there were any significant changes in the outcomes being measured. The quantitative data were supplemented by qualitative data gained from unstructured questions on the post-implementation surveys. The open-ended questions asked teachers to describe the ways that they had been teaching values and their impressions of the effectiveness of the project and how it had or had not influenced their own behaviour, teaching practices and the climate of the school. Students were asked to describe how they had been learning about values and to name a specific value and provide an example of when they had observed or demonstrated that value. Parents were asked to describe their impressions of any changes in their child, in their relationships with the school staff and in the school climate. Thus, the voices of the students, staff and parents provided a range of perspectives and produced triangulated evidence about the impact of the project.

The surveys were distributed to all students, staff and parents at each of the eight schools at the commencement of the VEGPSP-2 project, and after 12 months of implementation. After pairwise deletion of cases containing missing data, complete data for the analyses were available for 910 students, 111 teachers and 640 parents. A full description of the scale development, scale reliabilities, and the details of the pre-post comparisons are provided in the complete report of the project (Lovat, Toomey, Dally, & Clement, 2009). This chapter reports on the findings from the study in relation to the impact of values education on student, school and teacher effects.

Results

Impact on Students and Class/School Ambience – Teacher Perceptions

Independent samples *t*-tests were conducted on the pre- and post-intervention teacher surveys. The pre-post comparisons of teacher perceptions of student behaviour showed statistically significant improvements across the three aspects measured, that is, *Student engagement* ($t = -3.89, p = 0.00$), *Responsible behaviour* ($t = -2.15, p = 0.03$) and *Inclusive behaviour* ($t = -2.313, p = 0.02$).

Student Engagement

In the current investigation, student engagement encompassed elements of academic interest (*more attentive in class*), personal endeavour (*more likely to try their best and take responsibility for their own learning)* as well as interactions between students (*more likely to listen to each other and cooperate with each other*) and adherence to class routines (*more likely to carry out instructions and keep the class rules*).

Teachers' responses to the open-ended survey questions indicated that discussion of values helped the students to understand the teacher's expectations for appropriate classroom behaviour and the reasons underlying these expectations:

> Students apply themselves well as we discuss if it is 'fair' and 'showing respect' to other students if we distract them from their learning. (T1008)

Teachers' comments also suggested that improved relationships between students contributed to a more cooperative and productive learning environment:

> More co-operative and caring approach within the classroom between students. (T1135)

The responses by the Year 3–6 students to the open-ended survey questions also confirmed that a heightened awareness of values such as respect, responsibility and cooperation resulted in a more harmonious and enjoyable learning environment for all students:

> Everyone knows that Mr M. wants everyone to have lots of respect so we can get along with each other. (S040044)
>
> We have seen co-operation within other people by seeing them co-operate with each other and by being able to learn quietly whilst working in small or large groups and have lots and lots of fun. (S030039)

Responsible Behaviour

The items on this scale referred mainly to utilitarian tasks such as keeping the classroom tidy and putting rubbish in the bin. Student comments also indicated that there had been an increase in student responsibility which meant that teachers could 'hand over' some aspects of classroom control and that students could assume greater 'ownership' over their learning activities:

> In our class we show responsibility by handing out and collecting class work and activities. (S020010)

The teachers' comments indicated that giving students more control over routine tasks added to their sense of competence and this appeared to lead to more independent learning and increased intrinsic motivation. The teachers reported that students were putting greater effort into their work and 'striving for quality', 'striving to achieve their best' and even 'striving for perfection'. The aspect of student's taking greater pride in their work and producing quality outcomes for their own pleasure was also mentioned by a number of teachers, 'students understand what feeling "proud" is' (T1112). Students intuitively recognized the link between effort and success and the resultant feelings of competence and increased self-esteem:

> Responsibility – everyone takes more care with their work and they get better marks so they feel better. (S115825)

Inclusive Behaviour

The items on this scale referred to the students' willingness to act kindly towards other students who were not their friends and to include children with special needs or who were from different cultures. Synchronous with the teacher's perceptions that students were demonstrating more inclusive behaviour, the student comments also contained frequent reference to very deliberate actions to make peers who were not necessarily a student's 'best friend' feel accepted and included. The terms 'kindness', 'care', 'acceptance', 'fairness' and even 'empathy' were often used by students to describe their actions towards children who previously might have been treated as 'outsiders':

> Care. My friends and I have been trying included [sic] and be nice to Ethan because he is so annoying. (S06043)
>
> Acceptance. A new kid came to my school and he is from France, at first I didn't like him but after a day or two we became friends. (S01009)
>
> Fairness, let people you don't like join in your game and even though you don't like them still treat them the way you treat your friends. (S600701)

Impact on Students and School/Classroom – Student Perceptions

Paired samples *t*-tests were conducted on the pre- and post-survey responses for students in the Year 1–2 and Year 3–6 cohorts. The paired samples pre-post analysis of the Year 1–2 survey responses revealed that there was no significant change on the scale measuring *Classroom ambience* ($t = 1.65$, $p = 0.10$). However, there was a statistically significant and moderate decrease in scores on the scale measuring *My behaviour* ($t = 8.98$, $p = 0.00$, $\text{eta}^2 = 0.22$) and a statistically significant though small increase in scores on the scale measuring *Peer behaviour* ($t = -5.49$, $p = 0.00$, $\text{eta}^2 = 0.10$). Since this analysis was conducted using a paired-samples *t*-test, it is reflecting individual changes within a student. Thus, a Year 2 student's response was being compared to the same student's response from the previous year. The results show that students were reporting that, compared to the previous year, their classroom had not changed, and that their own behaviour had deteriorated but their peers' behaviour had improved.

Year 3–6. The pre-post analysis of the Year 3–6 student surveys revealed that there was no statistically significant change on the two scales measuring *Peer behaviour* (*Peer impact on me* and *Peer impact on school*), though there was a trend for scores to increase. However, there was a statistically significant decrease in scores on the scale measuring *Classroom ambience* ($t = 5.35$, $p = 0.00$) and the two scales measuring *My behaviour*, that is, *How I treat others* ($t = 6.06$, $p = 0.00$) and *Personal Responsibility* ($t = 3.13$, $p = 0.00$).

These findings seem to suggest that the behaviour of Year 3–6 students declined over the 12 months along with their satisfaction with school. However, the findings need to be understood in the context of the other significant changes in the students reporting of their own and their peers' behaviour. For both the Year 1–2 and the Year 3–6 cohorts, there was a statistically significant decrease in the students' ratings of their own behaviour (*My behaviour*) but no commensurate decline in students'

ratings of their peers' behaviour. While, on the surface, the decrease in students' ratings of their own behaviour could be interpreted as an actual decline, the fact that there was no significant change in the students' ratings of their peers' behaviour, and that in Years 1–2, the perceptions of *Peer behaviour* actually improved, suggests that students were not behaving 'worse' but had become more self-critical in the post-implementation survey. If there had been an actual deterioration in student behaviour, it should have been reflected in the ratings of *Peer behaviour*, since each student who rated their own behaviour more negatively was also being evaluated by their peers. In addition, contradictory evidence to student's self-reported behaviour was also provided by the teacher perceptions of student behaviour which improved on scales measuring similar aspects of behaviour. The teacher rated *Inclusive Behaviour* scale contained items similar to the student-rated scale *How I treat others* (Do kind things for others, Make friends with children who are different) while the teacher-rated *Responsible Behaviour* scale also contained some items similar to those in the student-rated *Personal Responsibility* scale (e.g., put rubbish in the bin, take care of belongings).

The Year 3–6 student responses to the open-ended questions, which asked for an example of an occasion when the student had demonstrated or observed one of the values, also indicated that there was considerable evidence that students were in fact demonstrating many of the values they had been learning about, and that the school climate had improved in a number of aspects owing to the changes in social dynamics emanating from the values education program. There were numerous comments to suggest that the classroom and the playground was a calmer, more caring and more cooperative environment than before the values program:

> Care, because if someone is hurt or upset someone would be straight over to the person to see if they are ok. (S05064)
>
> Respect – people do not steal other people's stuff as much and we look after other people better. (S115826)
>
> Fairness. Since we have been learning about fairness people haven't even tried to cheat in a game. Also everyone gives everyone a chance to learn. (S020033)
>
> Just one of them would be cooperation. e.g. if I was playing before we did values if someone got out it would cause a huge argument, after doing values everyone is happy to play. (S116227)

The student comments also indicated evidence of self-regulation 'Respect by not yelling out like I used to' (S060038) and awareness that implementing values was not always easy and required a 'conscious decision' to act differently:

> Honesty – I found a toy, I felt to keep it (sic) but I handed it in (S04011).
>
> Respect – I was going to take someone's pencil to use and I thought I shouldn't, I should ask. (S600811)
>
> We have talked about honesty. I found 10c in the playground and I gave it to the teacher which she put in the slush fund. I could have told a fib but I told the truth. (S030022)
>
> Acceptance!! Acceptance is when you accept people to do what they want to do but you can't do what you want to do. (S107908)

Such comments show that the students are grappling at a deeper level with the 'moral choices' that confront them on a daily basis. It suggests that the students are reflecting on their first impulses, evaluating their behaviour and then attempting

to act in accordance with the values they have learned. Such ‘internal struggles’ may not be visible to others, nor measurable, but represent a growing ‘wisdom’ that ultimately leads to more self-regulated behaviour. Values education appeared to raise students’ awareness that their first impulses may not always be the best course to follow. By learning how to evaluate each situation with reference to a principle rather than just adhering to a rule, children gain a deeper understanding of their ‘moral agency’, that is, their own power to make a choice about how to act.

The role of responsive teachers in supporting students’ progress as they learn to negotiate the daily temptations and impulses that require evaluation and self-regulation was evident in a number of student comments. The following quote shows that this child interprets responsibility as taking charge of his own actions and in fact he exerts control by choosing an appropriate way to manage his restlessness during assembly. The success of this choice depends on the reaction of a teacher who understands that the child’s request is a form of ‘self-management’ rather than ‘evasion’ or ‘avoidance’:

> Responsibility – in the hall when we were sitting there forever and I spoke to Mrs Morris and I did some jobs as I was bored and needed something to do. (S05044)

‘Mrs Morris’ has responded by acknowledging the validity of the student’s self-awareness and has ceded her own control and supported the child’s self-knowledge and autonomy by allowing the child to leave the hall to pursue an acceptable alternative.

The preceding discussion has highlighted a number of positive outcomes for students following a relatively short implementation of values education. The converging results from the analysis of the staff and student surveys suggest that there were measurable and observable changes in student behaviour although the non-significant results from the pre-post comparison of the parent surveys indicated that these changes did not appear to generalize to the home context. The pre-post comparisons of teacher perceptions of student behaviour showed statistically significant improvements across the three aspects measured, that is, *Student engagement*, *Inclusive behaviour* and *Responsible behaviour*. Comments from the students and the majority of teachers supported the view that students were making greater efforts to regulate their own behaviour, to be more considerate of others and to take more care of their belongings and their surrounding environment.

Impact on Teacher Practice

Given that the implementation of values education in the schools was based on explicit teaching of values and promoting quality relationships, it would seem logical to conclude that the changes in student behaviour were associated with changes in teacher practice. However, in contrast to the converging evidence regarding the students’ new awareness and ongoing acquisition of values, the quantitative results concerning changes in teacher beliefs and practices were less conclusive. The pre-post comparisons of the teacher surveys revealed that there were no statistically

significant differences on the two scales measuring *Teacher beliefs about Values Education* (0.65, $p = 0.51$) and *Teacher practice* ($t = 0.02$, $p = 0.99$).

The *Teacher beliefs* scale was comprised primarily of items regarding the teachers' beliefs about the importance and efficacy of teaching values. The mean score of 3.2 in both the pre-survey and post-survey indicates that teachers 'Agreed' (as opposed to Strongly Agreed or Disagreed) with statements such as 'Teaching values makes a difference to how well students achieve' and 'values education improves the climate of the school'. This implies that teachers commenced the program with a sense of confidence and commitment about the benefits of values education and concluded with the same opinion.

The *Teacher practice* scale included items about general pedagogy, such as 'Effective teaching means connecting with children's experiences and background' as well as items specifically regarding the teaching of values, for example, 'Values need to be modelled by teachers and school staff'. The pre- and post-mean score of 3.6 on this scale indicates that teachers 'Strongly Agreed' with such statements and thus there was little room for improvement on this scale.

Another possible explanation for these apparent 'non-significant' findings regarding teacher beliefs and practices is that, prior to the 12-month intervention period, two of the schools in the cluster had already implemented values education or similar initiatives in their schools. It is likely that the teachers at these schools had already endorsed much of the philosophy and many of the practices underlying values education. Alternatively, there was a perception among some of the teachers from schools who were embarking on values education for the first time that values education was not new to them, that 'they were already doing this' and the only difference was that now it was a 'formal program' and 'all staff were on board'.

While the pre-post analyses did not provide evidence of a *measurable* change in teacher practice, the teacher comments suggested that their school's involvement in the values education project *had* instigated some changes in teacher practice, particularly in relation to listening to students, staff modelling the values and the way teachers related to students and addressed instances of inappropriate behaviour.

Teachers indicated that class discussions of values made them reflect on the extent to which they were receptive to students' point of view and commented that they were now more likely to seek students perspectives by being 'more aware of listening to students' and 'allowing time for two-way communication'. Some teachers also noted that they reflected more on their general teaching practices and were more conscious of how students might react to different strategies and of the impact that teachers actions could have on students' feelings:

> Whilst I have always believed that others should be treated as you would like to be, constant teaching of values has reinforced this to me and I am more mindful of leaving students with self-esteem particularly in difficult situations. (T1030)
>
> More aware of allowing time for two-way communication between myself and the student – listening/sharing views and ideas – making decisions based on their feelings & input as well as my own. (T1043)

The requirement to discuss, explain and model values often resulted in teachers examining their own behaviour and attitudes and perhaps engaging in self-evaluation and self-improvement:

> Values helps teachers to live the values more fully themselves, as they have the awareness that they are constantly modelling for the children. I think it has helped to make us better examples! (T1038)

The teacher responses to the open-ended question regarding the way that staff related to students highlighted two common changes in this regard among the schools. First, teachers indicated that they were more conscious of modelling the values, and second, teachers were more likely to adopt a compassionate and positive approach when dealing with students with 'difficult behaviour'. Rather than reprimanding students for poor behaviour, teachers were looking for ways 'to fix the problem':

> ...when students are not choosing desirable behaviours it is easier to reinforce positives using 'values' language. Teaching values gives a constant reminder to teachers to keep reinforcing appropriate behaviour in a positive manner. (T1040)

Values became a tool, for both students and teachers to use as a basis for solving disputes between students and decision-making:

> Values 'statements' assist the children to try and solve minor problems/disputes. Values education gives all students a practical framework to follow, which is also in line with our student welfare policy. The playground is a calmer place to be. (T1041)
>
> Less conflict with children often sorting out their own problems rather than 'telling tales' or 'whingeing' to the teacher on duty. (T1043)

Teaching values explicitly also meant that both students and staff understood what was expected in terms of classroom behaviour and shared a 'common language' to discuss both appropriate and inappropriate behaviour:

> Classroom Y chart is set by children and based on our values program. It has set a standard to be followed and can be referred to. Values education has united the class in how we 'are' as a class and as a school (T1038).
>
> Values education has given staff a common vocabulary to use with all students. Interactions can all begin positively by acknowledging values followed rather than focusing on the negative. (T1041)

Teachers also commented that the 'language of values' provided consistent expectations and a common language for both home and school and also a positive focus when discussing with parents any incidents concerning their child's behaviour:

> Values education provides a strong support when discussing 'issues' with parents. It is developing a common language between teachers, parents and students. Results: stronger home/school partnerships. (T1043)

While the use of a common language and shared understanding was generally acknowledged as a positive step forward, some teachers appeared frustrated that 'awareness' was not enough and felt that little had changed in their schools and that there was 'still a way to go' before students were able to translate the 'language of values' into appropriate actions. A number of teachers' comments implied that

children were still in the process of learning to consistently 'demonstrate' the values, 'Changes are happening slowly in my classroom' and 'Children can tell you all about values but I am not convinced that this is always put into practice' (T1151). In some schools, teachers attributed this slow 'uptake' to differences between values in the home environment and those expected in the school environment:

> [Teaching students to demonstrate values is] difficult at times, as school is for some students, the only place where values are important. So it can be conflicting at times with what they see at home and what we try to teach/model. (T1008)

However, other teachers were less frustrated by intransigent students and recognized that teachers have a role and a 'duty' to nurture and support students in both their intellectual and moral development:

> Reinforced to me how much these children thrive on feeling loved and cared about – it is my responsibility to make sure this happens in my role as a teacher. (T1166)
>
> I am more aware of what some children need – as values are often absent in some households – it's now my job. (T1112)

The main impact of values education on student–teacher relationships appeared to be a greater understanding of each other's perspective or at least to have a greater respect for each others position. Students seemed to feel they had more opportunity to express their opinions and teachers appeared more willing to listen. While, previously teachers may have been able to establish caring and positive relationships with 'well-behaved' students, the explicit teaching of values meant that teachers now regarded instances of 'misbehaviour' as teaching opportunities whereby students could be assisted to reflect on their actions and make plans to practice the value that they had not yet 'learned'.

Discussion

This investigation of a short-term implementation of values education across a range of primary schools has provided limited, though converging, evidence about the impact of values education on student and school effects and teacher practice. The following discussion offers speculation on how the observed effects created school environments which satisfied, to some extent, the three basic psychological needs of relatedness, competence and autonomy that Deci et al. (1991) describe as underlying motivation, performance and development.

According to Deci et al. (1991, p. 327), relatedness involves developing secure and satisfying connections with others in one's social context; competence involves understanding how to attain outcomes and being efficacious in performing the requisite actions; and autonomy refers to self-initiating and self-regulating ones own actions.

In regard to relatedness, there was ample evidence in the surveys which suggested that students and teachers were experiencing a greater sense of 'connection' and 'belonging' owing to changes that had taken place in the school environment. Teacher ratings of student behaviour and both student and teacher comments suggested that classrooms had become more productive and cooperative learning

environments. However, the most dramatic changes attributed to the values education program were evident in the playground where students were observed to be 'more settled', 'talking before fighting', 'playing sensibly together', 'more caring', and 'more considerate of each other' with such improvements resulting in a 'calmer' environment with less conflict and with a reduction in the number of referrals to the planning room. As noted by Battistich et al. (1997), it is important for the whole school to comprise a caring community, and what happens in the playground is of particular importance to students, for it is here that teachers have the least influence and the children for the most part control how the social milieu operates. Both teachers and students indicated that students were making efforts to be inclusive and supportive of each other and that if playground disputes did arise students were using the language of values to redirect the transgressor's behaviour. These results suggest that the values program resulted in a receptive and facilitative school environment in which appropriate actions were generally reciprocated, but also where inappropriate actions could be shaped by peer or teacher scaffolding based on values. Colby (2002) reports that the development of moral reasoning is facilitated when children operate in a 'moral atmosphere'.

Osterman (2000) noted that students who experience a greater sense of acceptance by peers and teachers are more likely to be interested in and enjoy school, however, relatively little attention has been given to developing a sense of community within schools by enhancing peer relationships among students. Osterman also reports that high achievement is correlated with peer acceptance and peer interactions. While the current investigation did not assess student achievement, the results showed that student engagement was significantly correlated with peer interactions and responsible behaviour and that these relationships strengthened slightly over the duration of the project ($r = 0.31$ and 0.34 and $r = 0.42$ and 0.45 for inclusive and responsible behaviour, respectively).

In regard to competence and autonomy, there were a range of teacher behaviours which appeared to satisfy these two needs. As part of the explicit teaching approach, each value was discussed, celebrated by Values Awards and demonstrated through students' plays, poems and songs. In classrooms, the use of 'Y charts' (what does the value look like, sound like, feel like) and 'Reflection Journals' meant that students were encouraged to think of ways of enacting the value and to record or report instances when they had shown or seen the value. In addition teachers looked for opportunities to 'notice' when values were being demonstrated. Thus, students understood the behavioural expectations and often received acknowledgement from their teachers for 'good deeds'. This clear understanding and positive reinforcement not only encouraged appropriate behaviour but also contributed to students feeling capable and appreciated. Supportive teachers who set clear expectations about behaviour create an atmosphere in which students feel in control and confident about their ability to succeed in educational endeavours (Davis, 2006).

A noticeable change was evident in teacher's reactions towards students with difficult behaviour. While some teachers placed blame for this intransigence on the home context, most teachers began to adopt a more constructive and positive approach. Teachers reported that the 'language of values' was used in dialogue with

the students as a reflection point for students to consider how they could act in accordance with the school's values. Hamre and Pianta (2005) suggest that supportive teacher–student relationships are a particularly important asset for children with social or relational challenges and that because of the inherent asymmetry in adult–child relationships (Pianta, 1999), teachers have an important role to play in interrupting negative trajectories of development. The ways in which teachers responded to students in the current study reflected four teacher characteristics that Reeve (2006, p. 233) identified, in an exhaustive review of the literature, as promoting student autonomy. These included: (1) attunement – teachers listen closely to what students say and make a special effort to be aware of what their students want and need; (2) relatedness – teachers provide a sense of warmth, affection and approval for students; (3) supportiveness – teachers provide encouragement, and assist students in their efforts to realize the goals they set for themselves and (4) gentle discipline – teachers guide and explain why one way of thinking or behaving is right and another is wrong.

In the Australian context, the implementation of values education has been primarily a 'bottom-up' approach, that is, the National Framework (DEST, 2005) provided a rationale, a focus and a set of guiding principles and schools were free to interpret and develop their own approaches to how values would be introduced and 'taught'. In the values education program in question, the schools did not set out to teach students pre-determined social skills, nor did the teachers plan to change the way they related to students. However, the requirement to explicitly teach and model values, and incorporate values into the daily fabric of school life, engendered a raft of associated changes in student behaviour, teacher–student relationships and school climate.

Conclusion

The current investigation has indicated that the way in which values education is conducted has important implications for school functioning, teacher practice, interpersonal relationships and students' learning and social outcomes. When values are given equal status with other areas of the curriculum and become an integral part of a school's 'core business', a number of positive consequences coalesce. First, there is a clearly articulated and school-wide understanding of how people should treat each other. An explicit focus means it is incumbent on teachers to discuss, describe and model the values wherein, over time, students become 'armed' with a 'values vocabulary' and an understanding of the impact of their actions on others. Even if this new awareness does not always or immediately translate into the desired behaviours, students are nonetheless provided with a set of standards or principles by which they can evaluate their own behaviour and the conduct of others. Some of the student comments indicated that this new awareness had helped them to regulate impulses, such as overcoming the desire to keep a toy or money they had found, and there was substantial evidence that students were demonstrating a range of 'values inspired' acts of kindness, honesty and responsibility towards both

peers and teachers. The constant visual and verbal reminders, as well as incidental acknowledgement of appropriate actions and 'placing values on the stage' by presenting Values Awards at school assemblies, meant that students were provided with positive guidelines and consistent reinforcement for appropriate behaviour and these practices ultimately created a more caring and harmonious school culture. As well as being the conduits for disseminating values, teachers also benefited from more mutually respectful relationships with students and from more collegial relationships with other staff. Though contexts and personalities varied, the best way of endorsing the importance of this new approach was for the principal to give it his/her imprimatur and to embed values education in school policies. Ongoing commitment to values education was also facilitated by staff collaboration and opportunities for professional development.

When values education is treated as an 'implicit' part of a school's role, there is not always the same unified and consistent approach to student–staff relations and student welfare issues. Explicit teaching exposes the 'hidden curriculum' in regard to expectations about student conduct. Teachers might assume that children come to school knowing how to treat others and understanding how others feel, however, not all children acquire this understanding through either explicit teaching within the context of their family or implicitly through interactions with others. When values education is given priority in the school's agenda, then teachers accept that it is their role to explicitly teach values and to provide opportunities for students to practice and apply what they are learning. Rather than expecting instant acquisition and mastery by all students, teachers are more likely to acknowledge effort and scaffold student's gradual progress. This issue may be more pertinent in the context of primary schools, where the current study was conducted. The results of the current investigation, though limited to primary school settings, provide consistent findings that values education changes teacher–student relationships so that rather than enforcing minimum standards of behaviour or school work, teachers are more likely to support and encourage students to strive for higher ideals. Instead of chastising students for 'doing wrong', teachers are providing models and visions of 'what can be'. The explicit teaching of values makes these positive aspirations tangible to students.

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Chapter 30
Continuity and Discontinuity in Character Education

Jacques S. Benninga and Susan M. Tracz

Introduction

Golden Tree Elementary School had much going for it in fall 1999. Its scores on California's achievement test and its corresponding academic performance index (API) were high, and its programs for student social development were in full swing. Golden Tree emphasized three core values—its walls were painted with the words Respect, Courtesy, and Responsibility—that its principal described as "the keystones which form the foundation of everything that we are and hope to become." The operational slogan to ingrain these values was labeled "The Golden Tree Way," providing an orientation to the school's way of life. Its discipline plan emphasized responsibility, respect, positive learning attitudes, and school pride and was communicated through the parent handbook, monthly principal's letter, and teacher communication. Teachers' opinions were solicited and considered in the decision-making process and parents were considered an integral part of the school program.

However, by fall 2004, many programs at Golden Tree Elementary had changed. Three principals had come and gone since 1999, and Golden Tree's brand new principal was in the middle of her first year. The Respect, Courtesy, and Responsibility emphases, "keystones" only 4 years earlier, had been replaced by a district imposed character education curriculum intended to help students make good choices and to stay away from alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs. The school motto, "The Golden Tree Way," with its reflective student questions "Is it safe? Is it courteous? Would it be okay if everybody did it?" was seen by the current administration to be a carryover from a previous principal. "I haven't heard it" noted the new principal.

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Indeed, many of the programs that formed a foundation for Golden Tree Elementary School's application for California's Distinguished Schools Award in 1999 were no longer in place 5 years later. The school-wide discipline plan, emphasizing responsibility, self-respect, positive learning attitudes, and school pride, was replaced by a district adopted student wellbeing curriculum, Peace Builders. Instead of out-of-school suspensions, the new principal instituted an after-school suspension program.

In our work with schools, we have noticed a similar pattern. Principals at good schools and principals at not-so-good schools are regularly reassigned. While principals at low-performing and failing schools are replaced (e.g., Smith, 2008), principals at high-performing schools who have established good programs and who create and maintain positive school and community relations are also frequently replaced. In many of those good schools, exemplary programs established by those principals are not continued, but rather fade away with time. When we looked for an explanation for these principal reassignments, we could find no consistent justifications. Indeed, when we asked Golden Tree Elementary School's young principal why her school had previously had so many short-term principals in just a few years, she replied she had "no idea," but she speculated that her district put principals there "just before they were ready to retire."

Background

In 2000 the John Templeton Foundation sponsored a project to research the relationship between character education implementation in public elementary schools and the academic achievement of their students (Benninga, Berkowitz, Kuehn, & Smith, 2003, 2006). Applications submitted in December 1999 for the California School Recognition Program (CSRP), California's distinguished school award, were stratified by their Academic Performance Index (API), then randomly selected and thoroughly reviewed for character education content. Of the 681 applications submitted, 120 were selected for our study in this manner. We developed an operational definition for character education and a rubric and scoring scale to evaluate the applications. The resulting character education scores of those 120 schools were correlated to their API and academic achievement test (SAT9) scores.

Our results showed that, in general, elementary schools with higher character education scores also had higher achievement test scores. They not only showed positive relationships between the extent of character education implementation and their academic indicators that same year, but also positive correlations on those measures across the next two academic years. And, over a multi-year period from 1999 to 2002, rankings on the API and scores on SAT9 were significantly and positively correlated with four of the character education indicators we had identified:

- a school's ability to ensure a clean and safe physical environment,
- evidence that a school's parents and teachers modeled and promoted good character,

- quality opportunities at the school for students to contribute in meaningful ways to the school and its community, and
- school programs that promoted a caring community and positive social relationships.

These were promising results, particularly because the total character education score for the year of the school's application (1999–2000) was significantly correlated with SAT9 language achievement scores and mathematics achievement scores for a period of 3 years (1999–2002) as well as for reading achievement scores in two of those years. In other words, quality character education was positively associated with academic achievement, both over time and across academic domains.

Method

The question at the core of this chapter relates to the continuity of positive school character education programs. We know from our previous research (i.e., Benninga et al., 2003, 2006) that in the best of our character education schools high academic achievement scores persisted over a period of several years, but we had no way to determine the stability or continuity of school programs that covary with achievement. Would good character education programs continue to experience continuous improvement? Would they be sustained or would they fade out? And what might account for those changes? With schools primarily focusing on specific curriculum areas because of NCLB, and where assessment results in literacy and mathematics are publicly reported, would school efforts at curriculum sustainability be notably decreased in other curriculum areas for which no such standard assessments were formally conducted or publicly reported—e.g., among them, character education?

Research of this sort is examined on a complex and circular continuum in which qualitative and quantitative methods couple to confirm what we know and to generate theory, namely a generalizable explanation for what accounts for stability or for continuous improvement of good character education programs in good schools (Ridenour & Newman, 2008). Taken together, this study and our earlier work in this area (Benninga et al., 2003, 2006) demonstrate such a qualitative–quantitative research continuum. While the earlier Benninga et al. studies examined the quantitative research question of whether various measures of effective character education and academic achievement would be correlated, this study seeks to close the loop of the interactive continuum where quantitative research leads to qualitative research and visa versa. Our purpose here is to "understand phenomena" and to "add to [the] knowledge base" (Ridenour & Newman, 2008, p. 177) as we explore the results of our "interview study" (p. 31) utilizing good school cases as our sample.

Nine of the 120 schools originally identified in 2000 for this follow-up, because all had received high ratings on our character education scale (Benninga et al., 2003), were contacted in 2004 for personal interview/visitation appointments. A

letter was sent to each school in June 2004, before summer vacation, informing principals of the intention to visit in fall 2004. A second letter was sent to each principal in September 2004 explaining the purpose of the research and our request to visit the school. Finally, individual follow-up e-mails and phone calls were exchanged with each school to respond to their questions and to set up meeting dates. As a result of this correspondence, two principals—a first year and a second year principal—declined in September 2004 to participate in the study. The principals at these two schools explained that at neither school had character education remained a central focus.

The remaining seven schools comprised the cases for this study. This group represented schools in our original study scoring in the top 10% of total character education scores or in the top 10 schools on at least three of four of our character education indicators (see Benninga et al., 2003 for specific methodologies). Six of the seven schools made both lists. Four of the seven schools also received the California School Recognition Award (CSRP) in 2000, the baseline year for this sample. Grade ranges at these schools were K-5, K-6, and K-8. A middle school program (e.g., grades 7–8) existed at two of these schools, but that level was not assessed as part of this study. Only the elementary, K-5 or K-6 student programs were studied at each school. The schools had an average of 527 elementary (K-5 or K-6) students.

Table 30.1 Student population, percent white, achievement index scores, suspensions and principal tenure at each of the sampled schools

School	CSRP school in 2000	Grade range	Total students K-5/6 1999–2000	White (%)	API 2000	API 2004	Number of suspensions 2003–2004	Principal tenure in 2004–2005 (years at school)
Ash Ele School	Yes	K-6	633	7.0	769	864	9 (2002–2003)**	9th
Birch Ele School	Yes	K-6	461	34.5	670	667	18	5th
Cedar Ele School	Yes	K-8	420	67.2	834	863	NA	3rd
Dogwood Ele School	No	K-6	765	71.9	833	864	0	2nd
Elm Ele School	Yes	K-5	461	80.0	836	*	5	1st
Fir Ele School	No	K-5	411	53.8	791	821	4	1st
Golden Tree Ele School	No	K-8	539	81.3	825	790	61	1st

*There was a reporting problem for Elm Elementary in 2004. Its API was 895 in 2003 and 915 in 2005.

**Suspension rates for 2003–2004 for Ash Elementary could not be found.

Ethnic diversity of the sample schools varied, with a range of white students from 7 to 81.3%. API scores for 2000 ranged from 670 to 836, and in 2004 from 667 to 864. The API is a performance index (or scale) for schools that ranges from a low of 200 to a high of 1,000. California set a statewide API performance target for all schools at 800, but schools were not required to reach that goal by 2000, the first year of API implementation. Principals of these schools had a range of experience at their schools from 2 months to 9 years. Specific information on these categories is included in Table 30.1.

Visitation Procedures

At each school the principal worked out a full agenda for the visitation. All visits included a school tour and an extensive principal interview. In addition, most visits included time for interviews with the school counselor, small groups of teachers and parent leadership. But in two schools (Fir and Golden Tree Elementary Schools), the interviewer was allowed only to speak with the principal.

The interview procedures were consistent across schools, although not all the questions were the same for each school. For our original 1999 sample (Benninga et al., 2003), we scrutinized schools along nine dimensions of good character education implementation and determined four of those to be correlated positively with schools' academic achievement. It was the continuity/discontinuity of those four criteria at each school 5 years later that constituted the interviews developed for those schools. Thus, we were specifically interested in what had continuously improved, what had remained stable, what had changed, and what had been eliminated—and why—in programs originally scoring high along the four dimensions. Although school case interview protocols focused on the four indicators, each consisted of specific questions unique to individual school cases. The interviews were semi-structured (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007), allowing ample time for discussion, for deep probing on protocol, and for examination of off-protocol topics. All interviews were conducted by the first author, and were taped and transcribed. In order to establish investigator triangulation, both researchers thoroughly and iteratively examined all data to arrive at the patterns and results of the school case interviews reported here constituting further evidence of validity (Krathwohl, 1993). A final aspect of validity is action validity, to be determined in the future by whether results of this study prove to be used by schools and districts and in future research (Kvale, 1995).

School Leadership

Marzano, Waters and McNulty (2005) summarize a general consensus about school leadership. They write that, "...an effective principal is thought to be a necessary precondition for an effective school" (p. 5). To support this opinion the authors cite

the eloquent wording of a 1977 U.S. Senate Committee Report on Equal Educational Opportunity:

> In many ways the school principal is the most important and influential individual in any school. He or she is the person responsible for all activities that occur in and around the school building. It is the principal's leadership that sets the tone of the school, the climate for teaching, the level of professionalism and morale of teachers, and the degree of concern for what students may or may not become .... If a school is a vibrant, innovative, child-centered place, if it has a reputation for excellence in teaching, if students are performing to the best of their ability, one can almost always point to the principal's leadership as a key to success. (as cited in Marzano et al., 2005, pp. 5–6)

Consequently, issues of leadership and leadership development are one strong focus of the recent literature in educational administration. Much of that professional literature concerns variations on the theme—leadership behaviors (Covey, 1989; Marzano et al., 2005), types of leadership (Leithwood, 1994; Sosik & Dionne, 1997), leadership contexts (Hersey, Blanchard, & Johnson, 2001), leadership characteristics (Bennis, 2003), leadership strengths (Buckingham & Clifton, 2001), leadership levels (Collins, 2001), leadership for change (Fullan, 2001), and leadership sustainability (Fullan, 2005).

Although the above characteristics and configurations associated with school leadership are ways to understand more fully the principal's role, it is reasonable to assume that time-in-location is a requisite for principal success. If principals with excellent potential do not spend sufficient time at one school, opportunity for sustained positive change is reduced at those schools. Even the most visionary principals cannot work their magic if not allowed sufficient time and support to work their craft.

Surprisingly, there is not a great deal of information on school principal stability. Research by Donaldson, Buckingham and Coldarci (2003) studied the principals in one state (Maine) and found that one-third of that state's principals turn over every 2 years and that two-thirds of its principals have been in their current position less than 8 years. At the national level, the principal tenure situation is similar. An Institute of Education Sciences study, The Condition of Education 2007 (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2007), found that, like Maine, 67% of principals nationwide had nine or fewer years as principal, and of that group, more than 50% had three or fewer year's experience (34.2% of the total number of elementary principals in the United States).

Though it is a frequent phenomenon, there is very little information on the effect of principal turnover on program sustainability. Major school administration research centers and professional organizations have not looked at the issue of principal succession or turnover, while at the same time, school districts, at least in California where our research took place, seem to rotate principals regularly. Professor Stephen Gordon of The National Center for School Improvement at Texas State University opined that "principal stability is every bit as important as faculty stability" (S. Gordon, personal communication, July 15, 2008), and experts at other universities felt the issue to be "very important." Fred Brown, Senior Associate Executive Director of Leadership Development and Outreach for the National

Association of Elementary School Principals acknowledged the paucity of research in this area. But, from his extensive background with principal development, Brown offered the following perspective on the turnover issue:

> For many years, superintendents had the arbitrary right to transfer principals to whatever school was open. This has been reduced somewhat with collective bargaining and "Meet and Discuss" changes, but many school systems retain the right to transfer principals at will, or on a predetermined schedule. The initial thinking behind this was three-fold: (1) to keep principals fresh by always having them to relearn new communities of learning, (2) to eliminate entrenchment by school principals in schools and communities that were satisfied with the status quo, and (3) to permit new ideas to be shared district-wide as principals rotated through numerous schools. Of course, there have also been transfers made as punishment and in hopes of "encouraging" the individual to move on .... There is very little anecdotal research to quantify the practice of principal rotation, either positively or negatively. What works well in one setting may be disastrous in another. (F. Brown, personal communication, June 10, 2008)

Regardless of why principals move on or are replaced, it would seem reasonable that the ultimate goal of school districts in replacing principals would be to ensure an improvement in, or continuity of progress. But according to Michael Fullan (2005), "... the current decade represents a massive exodus from the principalship. The consequences of the failure to focus on [principal] succession are amplified under circumstances of high turnover. ... there is not much planned continuity going on at all" (p. 32).

In one of the rare series of publications to investigate leadership succession, Andy Hargreaves of Boston College and his colleagues (Hargreaves, 2005; Hargreaves & Fink, 2003, 2004; Hargreaves, Moore, Fink, Brayman, & White, 2003) studied the effects of leadership succession and sustainable leadership in American and Canadian secondary schools. He notes as follows:

> [A] central issue in leadership succession is whether a transition in leadership establishes continuity or provokes discontinuity—and to what extent this is deliberatively planned .... Most cases of succession ended up being a paradoxical mix of unplanned discontinuity and continuity: discontinuity with the achievements of a leader's immediate predecessor, and continuity with (or regression to) the mediocre state of affairs preceding that predecessor. (Hargreaves, 2005, pp. 1–3)

Hargreaves and Fink (2004) warn that, "[in] general, ... leadership succession is rarely successful. Charismatic leaders are followed by less-dynamic successors who cannot maintain the momentum of improvement. Leaders who turn around underperforming schools are prematurely transferred or promoted before their improvements have had a chance to stick" (p. 9).

Principal Tenure

The first and most obvious indictor differentiating schools in our sample was the matter of principal tenure. Each of these schools had applied in December 1999 for California's highest school recognition award, but in only one of these schools was

the same principal who originally supervised the writing of that application still at the helm in fall 2004. Many of these schools had multiple leadership in the 5 years since applying for exemplary school status. Four of the schools had at least two intervening principals in addition to the current principal, and one school had five different principals over that 5-year period. There is indication that "creating a sense of stability is critical for maintaining an image of effective leadership . . ." (Hoy & Miskel, 1996, p. 207), but principal stability for this sample was notably lacking. During an interview with a group of teachers at one school that had experienced multiple principals, teachers told the interviewer that the program "keeps adjusting" because of the new administrators, but that the school had been stable because there has not been much teacher turnover and "the teachers are strong." This perception may have been more accurate about pedagogy within individual classrooms than about programs that transcended the school and that involved its overall climate. To the contrary, there is evidence that principal succession is more traumatic than those teachers let on. Indeed, evidence suggests that few people are more aware of the impact that a change of principals has on a school than its teachers:

> For most members of the organization, a leadership succession event is often an emotionally charged one surrounded with feelings of expectation, apprehension, abandonment, loss, relief or even fear. There may be grieving for well-loved leaders who have retired or died, feelings of abandonment regarding leaders who are being promoted and moving on, or relief when teachers are finally rid of principals who are self-serving, controlling or incompetent. Incoming principals may be viewed as threats to a comfortable school culture, or as saviors of ones that are toxic. Whatever the response, leadership succession events are rarely treated with indifference . . . . (Hargreaves et al., 2003, p. 4)

School Descriptions

Table 30.2 details the character education programs of schools in our sample in place in 1999 and the status of those school programs and new school initiatives in fall 2004. Comparisons were drawn in Table 30.2 between the school as described in 1999 and its practices as observed in 2004. Schools are listed in order by the length of principal tenure—the continuous service of the most recent principal at that school. Notice the general tendency for schools with the most frequent succession of principal leadership (particularly Fir and Golden Tree Elementary Schools) to have experienced the least continuity of program stability.

Principles for Continuity of Character Education

The schools we studied received high character education scores derived from the CSRP applications submitted to the California Department of Education for California's highest school award in December 1999. But then, several of these schools seemed to have lost that articulated character education emphasis by 2004.

Table 30.2 Character education programs in Place in 1999 and as observed in 2004–2005

Schools, principal tenure and succession since 1999–2000	Programs as described in California's distinguished schools award application (submitted in December 1999)	Programs as observed in school visits (conducted between October 2004 and January 2005)*
Ash Elementary • 9 years as principal at Ash	1. Community of caring 2. Campus cleanliness and beauty programs 3. Teacher modeling and support 4. Cooperation with after-school program 5. Family literacy night 6. Ethnic teas	1. Community of caring 2. Campus cleanliness and beauty programs 3. Teacher modeling and support 4. Cooperation with after-school program 5. Family literacy night 6. Ethnic teas 7. Identification of target children for special attention
Birch Elementary • 4 years as principal at Birch • 2nd principal since 1999–2000	1. Book of virtues/virtue of the month 2. Virtue wall painted on outside wall 3. Dress code and behavior code 4. DARE/Red ribbon week 5. "I'm Peer proof" 6. Weekly "Flag Deck" ceremony 7. Citizen of the month 8. Study buddies 9. Student tutors for special education	1. Expanded virtues of the month woven into developmental assets 2. Virtue wall destroyed during school reconstruction. To be re-painted 3. School behavior expectations and school motto developed and implemented 4. – 5. – 6. Expanded to daily "Flag Deck" ceremony 7. Expanded to student of the month 8. Study buddies 9. Student tutors for special education 10. Teacher modeling and professional behavior

Table 30.2 (continued)

Schools, principal tenure and succession since 1999–2000	Programs as described in California's distinguished schools award application (submitted in December 1999)	Programs as observed in school visits (conducted between October 2004 and January 2005)*
Cedar Elementary • 3 years as principal at Cedar • 5th principal since 1999–2000	1. "Structured School" philosophy 2. Emphasis on respect, responsibility, and rights of others 3. Motto of the Day 4. Character counts! 5. Quest 6. Project alive 7. Conflict resolution 8. Parent–child–school compact 9. Full parental involvement	1. "Structured School" philosophy 2. Emphasis on respect, responsibility, and rights of others 3. – 4. – 5. – 6. – 7. – 8. Parent–child–school compact 9. Full parental involvement 10. Peer mediation program initiated
Dogwood Elementary • 2 years as principal at Dogwood • 2nd principal since 1999–2000	1. Tradition is important 2. Collaborative management approach 3. Character counts! 4. Awards ceremonies: monthly, quarterly, and semi-annually	1. Tradition is important 2. Collaborative management approach 3. Character counts! 4. Awards ceremonies: monthly, quarterly, and semi-annually 5. General rules of student conduct 6. Athletic code of ethics and behavior 7. Spectator code of conduct 8. Cross-aged tutoring

Table 30.2 (continued)

Schools, principal tenure and succession since 1999–2000	Programs as described in California's distinguished schools award application (submitted in December 1999)	Programs as observed in school visits (conducted between October 2004 and January 2005)*
Elm Elementary • Less than one year at Elm • 3rd principal since 1999–2000	1. Emphasis on protecting the environment 2. Partner with Native American school 3. "Kids with character" 4. Monthly award assemblies 5. Peer mediation program 6. Goal setting conferences 7. Garden of Learning	1. Emphasis on protecting the environment 2. Partner school relationship diminished 3. "Kids with character" expanded to include "We can do it Wednesdays" 4. – 5. – 6. Goal setting conferences emphasis diminished and left up to grades 7. – 8. Community service hours required in 5th grade
Fir Elementary • less than one year at Fir • 3rd principal since 1999–2000	1. School uniforms 2. Conflict avoidance program 3. Campus cleanliness 4. Discovery Garden	1. District wide dress policy 2. District wide discipline plan 3. – 4. – 5. Life Skills program
Golden Tree Elementary • less than one year Golden Tree • 4th principal since 1999–2000	1. Emphasis on three core values 2. Card system to reward and punish behavior 3. Campus cleanliness 4. "The Golden Tree Way"	1. – 2. – 3. – 4. – 5. District adopted peace builders program 6. New referral system 7. Reading buddies

*– Indicates discontinued program at schools

While some of these good character education programs (e.g., at Ash, Birch, Cedar, and Dogwood Elementary Schools) remained consistent or developed over this time period, in other schools (e.g., Fir and Golden Tree) programs were altered, replaced, or dropped without apparent sense of continuity. It could be that school leaders new to their positions at some of these schools, and simply because of their recent appointments and lack of familiarity with their schools' histories, were more task-oriented, viewing the various aspects of their schools' programs discretely and not as interconnected. This is a mark of an inexperienced principal (Hargreaves et al., 2003, pp. 12–14). Correspondingly, the principals of Fir and Golden Tree schools were less able to articulate a whole school conceptualization in our interviews with them. But, newness to the principalship or recency to the school site cannot fully explain the sustainability of good programs in some schools or the discontinuity of good programs in others.

The following are six principles and conclusions drawn from our observations and interviews of these previously good schools that illustrate the character education continuity/discontinuity continuum over a 5-year-period (1999–2004). Together these principles and conclusions may provide guidance for districts seeking to maintain sustainable leadership in non-mandated programs (e.g., character education) during a time of high rates of principal succession.

No one program defines character education.

Schools in this sample implemented such national programs as Community of Caring, the Book of Virtues, and Character Counts! But, many schools in our sample also created their own idiosyncratic programs such as the Structured School, Kids with Character, the Block Award, We Can Solve It Wednesday, and the Flag Deck Ceremony. It is not clear that either the national programs or the locally developed programs produce better outcomes.

Indeed, the state of character education research in 2008 (at the time of this writing) is only slightly clearer than it was in either 1999 or even 2004. In 2004, and to a great extent today, many programs of character education are what Berkowitz and Bier (2005) call "grass roots character education," home grown approaches developed by teachers or other educators with good intentions, practical knowledge, and a desire to help students improve their behaviors, values, and attitudes. Many of those programs seem to work well, particularly if implemented by their authors. However, little is known of their effectiveness since few such programs are supported by objective research. The federal government's What Works Clearinghouse (see: http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/reports/topic.aspx?tid=12) has established a character education site to review the research on effective programs as those evaluations are conducted and cleared. In the schools from our 1999 sample, those with strong character education programs took their programs seriously, implemented them deeply, and improved them over time. But none of these schools conducted research to determine the effectiveness of its program.

Good program continuity is most probable in schools where leadership is both visionary and stable.

Of the seven schools studied for excellence of their character education programs in 1999, in only one was the principal still the instructional leader of that school in 2004, 5 years later. This was a surprising result. At a time when great pressure is

placed on schools to perform academically, and while schools remain a major forum for the preparation of students for adulthood, it would seem that consistency of programmatic excellence might be considered an important priority (Chrisman, 2005). Instead, four of the seven schools in this study, each an excellent school in 1999, had at least three intervening principals (including the current principal) within the 5-year-period leading to 2004. Such revolving-door district procedures may actually interfere with the transfer of accumulated knowledge to the new principal (Hoy & Miskel, 1996, p. 400) and may exacerbate programmatic discontinuity. Indeed, as David Hargreaves (as cited in Fullan, 2005) admonishes as follows:

> We may have it wrong in education in assuming that "fresh blood at the top" is the lever of school improvement. While this may apply to schools that are (close) to failing, it may need an insider to take a good school to greatness because it builds on what they inherit rather than striving towards a different vision against the inclinations and preferences of the staff. (p. 31)

Previously good character education programs in schools with stable leadership (e.g., Ash and Birch) were maintained and improved while such programs were often discontinued in other previously good schools with subsequent high leadership turnover (e.g., Fir and Golden Tree).

The trend documented in Table 30.2 is clear. Generally, schools where the leadership, the program, or both, remained stable were more likely to retain their school's high emphases on the character education of their students. This is axiomatic.

The program at Fir Elementary is a good example of one that discontinued its high scoring character education program of 1999 by 2004. Its new principal had little knowledge of the school's recent history and its ways of being. Hargreaves et al. (2003, pp. 12–13) state that new principals like Ms Atwood may be preoccupied with establishing their authority over the parents, teachers, and students at their new school, and may encounter tensions when they do not understand the school's professional culture. Although it was very early in Ms Atwood's tenure as a new principal at Fir Elementary, it was evident that after 10 weeks on the job she was not well-versed with the programs in place only a few years before that had distinguished her school and led it to apply for designation as one of California's best.

Case Study: Fir Elementary School

The principal of Fir Elementary School, Barbara Atwood, was appointed in August 2004, just a few weeks before the beginning of the 2004–2005 school year. She was the third principal at Fir since 1999. The principal who supervised the writing of the 1999 CSRP application left the school; the next principal served for 3 years—from 2001 to 2004. According to Ms Atwood, her predecessor left Fir for a more "prestigious" school. The population served by Fir was decreasing, and the school instituted an open enrollment policy. Any parent in the district could opt to enroll children in Fir.

On its application for the CSRP award in 1999, parents were reported as rating the school as "very safe and very clean." The custodian was given credit and he worked with a School Safety Committee to conduct quarterly inspections of school buildings and grounds. Problems, if found, were corrected. School rules, student conduct and behavior standards were listed in a Student Conduct Handbook. At that time Fir Elementary was in its fourth year of a school uniform policy, explained to parents on a flier titled, *The Fir Elementary School Look*, detailing appropriate top, bottom, and feet attire. A Fir Elementary conflict avoidance program was implemented that focused on three techniques for compromise: apologizing, active listening, and negotiation. Each teacher discussed and modeled those skills for each class.

The school described itself in 1999 as one where "friendship and cooperation exists among teachers." Close cooperation existed as well between the school faculty, parents, and the outside community. A neighboring church provided 85% of the many adult volunteers for an after-school homework club for at-risk students, local hardware/garden stores supported the school's Discovery Garden maintained by Fir's 5th graders, and the local symphony came regularly to campus to provide first hand exposure to classical music. In addition, several classrooms shared peer tutors.

By November, 2004, the date of our visit, Ms Atwood had been in place for approximately 10 weeks. She noted that despite low enrollment at Fir, parents expressed concern that they wanted to maintain the school climate. The uniform policy, in place in 1999, was still in place in 2004 and is "pretty much district wide" according to Ms Atwood, with the school district now charged with creating the uniform and implementing related dress policies.

The school's conflict avoidance program had been replaced with a district wide program called, Say What's Wrong and Make It Right, a program created by two local teachers. The Fir Elementary conflict avoidance program was no longer a school program, but the principal felt that teachers still talked about conflict avoidance and the three techniques for compromise described in its 1999 application. "I don't know if the former principal emphasized it, but teachers continue to use it." The 5th grade Discovery Garden had been fenced off and was neglected. The school's students no longer tended the garden and Ms Atwood did not know why the area was no longer used as a school garden. She said she hoped to bring it back. While not referring to the cooperative spirit among teachers that had been described in 1999, she spoke about attempting faculty cohesion by organizing social activities like a Family Movie Night for teachers and their families.

When asked about Fir School's signature programs, Ms Atwood replied that Fir had a successful rewards program. As an example, she noted the Friday Flag Assembly that went with the Fir Life Skills Program. If teachers

saw exemplary behavior, a "caught being good card" was given to the child. The card was put in a jar and a drawing held. In each class every teacher picked a child to be rewarded with a school pencil. Atwood changed the school's theme to "Fir Bears are Sharp—We act Sharp, We think Sharp and We dress Sharp." She hoped the new theme would integrate the school's uniform policy, its behavior policies, and its academic program.

A good principal can add depth and meaning to a school's program by altering the manner that teachers and parents understand children and the instructional process.

The principal of Ash Elementary had been in her present position for 9 years and is the best example of this principle. Throughout those 9 years she reflected on her role as instructional leader and refined her school's curriculum, constantly aware that she needed and wanted the backing and support of her teachers and the school's parents. As a consequence, her school's Community of Caring program became deeply entrenched throughout the school's varied academic and social and cultural emphases, and every year brought new discussions and new insights on how to make the program stronger so as to better serve the students and the school's community.

Likewise, Birch Elementary School's principal, at her present school for 4 years in 2004, substantially enhanced her school's character education program by integrating new emphases into the existing framework of her school's curriculum. Despite considerable demographic changes at her Title I school in the years immediately before 2004 (i.e., increased student mobility and percentage of minority students), Birch's API scores over this period were generally maintained. This is consistent with attitudes of mature and motivated principals found by Hargreaves et al. (2003) in their review of principal career stages. They report it is during years 4–8 of the principal's tenure that they may begin to express constructive self-questioning and increasing effectiveness as instructional leaders and that enthusiasm and effectiveness become their paramount motivators (pp. 14–15), building on an earlier idealism and enthusiasm. Indeed, a follow-up web search of Birch Elementary in 2008 showed the same principal with a strong commitment to character education still in place, and with API scores improved by over 160 points.

Case Study: Ash Elementary School

Suzanne Romero, principal at Ash Elementary School (K-6), was in her 9th year as principal in fall 2004. In 1999–2000 Ash was in its second year of Community of Caring, a character education program built around five core

values. Ms Romero described that program as one that created a school environment that "respects differences and values each student's culture." This was accomplished through focusing on the five Community of Caring values, on teacher practices that reflected brain research, and on an integration of activities throughout the core curriculum.

By 2004 the Community of Caring program at Ash Elementary School had become fully integrated in the ongoing school program. Ms Romero had a clear notion of character derived from many discussions with her faculty over the 6-year implementation period. She described character as [starting] "with the professionalism of the teachers and who they are as people and the norms they have established among themselves and the learning community . . . . And that's modeled. We bring it up constantly in all the subjects we teach. At first we spoke about the value and taught it directly. But over time we've integrated it well into the ongoing curriculum."

Ms Romero continued, describing the application of the school's character program to student behavior: "Behavior is a big issue—the way in which they treat other children and their teacher. So teachers have a real strong understanding of what it means to be respectful to each other and they take issue with children that show disrespect. They [teachers] demonstrate respect in so many ways throughout the day with kids and they talk about that."

One example was the identification of "target children" in each classroom. All teachers picked four students in each classroom who might be at-risk for not being successful and gave them special attention. "We're keeping an eye on them this year," Romero said, "and we're actually recording what strategies we use and what efforts we're making for parent communication." Academic and social goals were developed for these kids. The first year for this program was 2004–2005 and at each grade level teachers came up with their own criteria and kept a check-off list of how they intervened with those children and how they kept their parents informed.

Campus cleanliness and beauty remained an important character consideration at Ash. Each classroom had an area of the campus to keep clean because "it's also our job to keep our classroom clean." An ongoing project was school beautification, noted in the 1999 application. In 2004, that tradition continued. Flowers were planted around the flagpole in front of the school, and many classrooms had gardens they were responsible for maintaining and watering.

Teacher modeling and respect for teachers was a continuing theme for Ash Elementary. Eleven new teachers were hired in a 2-year period and teachers stated they were involved in the hiring process in 1999 (on the CSRP application) and again in 2004. Describing her role as interviewer, one teacher stated, "When we interviewed new teachers we just let them know 'this is how it is at Ash—we really care about each other; we really respect each other, and we help each other out as much as we can'. It starts with us, and we let it flow

through us to the kids. We want to hire new teachers who are on the same page."

Over 50% of the Ash students were Asian, mostly Chinese, and an attempt was made to find and hire Chinese teachers, but the principal was adamant that "excellent preparation is a first consideration" for hiring, although she realized that a match with the students' culture was important. When Ms Romero interviewed new teachers, she looked for their philosophical belief systems. She asked about children's behavior and their reactions to that behavior. "I ask them about their being able to look at issues in a critical manner and their ability to articulate their thinking, and their openness to discuss issues . . . ." She continued, "I ask them a lot about what they think about children and their misbehaviors and what should happen and discipline. I get a good sense about how they treat children. I create scenarios and ask them what they would do. Also, the questions they ask me tell me a lot about who they are."

New teachers at Ash Elementary School met weekly with their assigned mentor as they did in 1999, and regularly with the principal. The plan to support all teachers, described in 1999 was still in place, but was improved 5 years later. For example, three or four times a year grade level teams worked together for a full day. Ms Romero noted, "The little money I have, I spend it on their own development working together as a team." Wednesdays were grade level articulation days where teachers met to discuss grade level objectives/activities.

Great attention was devoted at Ash to ensure a sense of community. Originally, there were perceptions among the Chinese parents that Ash teachers were not asking enough of their children. So the principal asked the local Asian Pacific Center to train its faculty. The Center worked with Ash faculty on conversation styles, belief systems, American vs. Chinese education systems, and storytelling differences. In addition, the teachers at the after-school program for Chinese students housed at Ash, the Day Star program, regularly met and exchanged ideas with the principal. Said Ms Romero, "We talk and share ideas about what's best for kids, regardless of cultures. We're like one family with them now."

Many programs originally designed to draw the Ash Elementary School community closer were maintained and had been expanded over the 5 years. For Family Literacy Night ("pajamas, pillows and pizza") kids come in pajamas and bring a pillow. The school orders pizzas. Everyone meets in the cafeteria, the teachers read a story, and the kids can choose which teacher they want to go to. Children rotate through three teachers/stories. This program has grown over the years—originally it was mainly the younger kids who would come, now its attracting older kids as well. Some of the 6th graders want to come back to see their kindergarten teacher read.

Ash holds Ethnic Teas. "I believe in connecting with parents as a community," says Ms Romero. "With the Latino population, I felt a certain reserve. I felt they were not participating enough in the school. So I started having meetings just in Spanish. Only six parents came. I had meetings in Chinese and 50 parents came; I had a translator, had [the meetings] in homes [because of the long relationship with parents]. Hispanic parents said that they felt uncomfortable bringing kids to others' homes, so we had Hispanic meetings at school. All we did was talk about each other—background, history, hopes and dreams for their kids. We decided to get training in Latino Literacy groups—principal, teachers and parents. We read literature, talked about literature, and we cooked (all in Spanish). The program continued on all year under the leadership of a teacher."

Finally, there were opportunities for students at the school to give back to their school. Activities mentioned in the 1999 application included some after-school programming for students, students' active role in maintaining the school planters and grounds, and various collection drives. By 2004 a significant new activity had been added. The Big Buddies program paired 3rd grade classes with kindergarten classrooms. Once a week they got together to do an activity, an activity that the teacher could not do by herself, or a reading activity. The teachers developed a cue card system so that the 3rd graders could remember what to say to the kindergarteners and how to say it appropriately. These were called "responsibility tips" given by the kindergarten teacher to the 3rd graders—ideas for becoming a responsible teacher.

NCLB focused Ms Romero's attention on academic achievement. But her real focus was the curriculum and the necessary teacher development that fosters a community of learners. About that she stated, "One of my goals has been [to work with teachers] to become problem solvers. I do that by talking with them in small groups, discuss with them, have them read books and articles I've read that have made an impression on me. I actually go through the process of having them trained with me in leadership. I spent a lot of money having them trained for two years in Leadership Academy. All my teachers have journals they write in. So, before we have a staff meeting, they write in their journal a response to a focus question I've given them, and then we'll discuss it and then we'll discuss what they've written in their journal that they want to share. The reflective piece is a big piece of the changes we've been able to make over the years. I ask them a lot about how they feel about what just happened in order to have them reflect on their experiences."

When teachers were asked about their school's signature programs, there was uniformity of understanding. A newly hired Kindergarten teacher commented about the cooperation she had noticed at her school. "I've never seen a school where the teachers are cooperating along with the principal in running the school." Other teachers agreed. One veteran commented, "Everybody here

puts kids first. All you have to do is walk through the classrooms to see the evidence." Ms Romero, describing her Community of Caring program said, "Our approach to Community of Caring is . . . based on a professional learning community. That's all encompassing because in a professional learning community there is a continual connection with people in order to learn and a respect for that process."

A well-conceived and established school or district culture can structure the environment for successive principals that allows for program continuity.

Both Cedar and Dogwood Elementary Schools were examples of this principle. Principals at both schools were experienced at other schools in their districts and moved to schools with a very long, consistent curricular history. That history, with which both principals were familiar, served as an anchor for them, for their teaching faculty, and for their community. The consistency of both programs allowed these principals to modify and tweak their school programs in context, relating their innovations and personal insights to the already ongoing excellent and well-established program of their respective schools.

Case Study: Dogwood Elementary School

In 2004 Mike Hernandez of Dogwood Elementary School was in his second year, but had over 10 years administrative experience at other schools in his district. Dogwood Elementary had a long tradition of excellence prominently noted in its 1999 CSRP application. Mr. Hernandez recognized the good job that the former principal had done at the school and intended to follow through. "Tradition is important," he volunteered. "There are good moral values here." He continued, "We've talked as adults about how to keep that going. It was important for all of our teachers to be able to articulate what it is we stand for. When people ask me, 'what do you do as far as teaching moral values?', I say—'well, we hire good people; we hire role models.'"

Dogwood Elementary School is very conscious to provide both a physically safe and a psychologically secure environment for its K-6 student population. Its *Parent/Student Handbook* is very specific about this and the security of students was addressed in the interview. Specific *Guidelines for Student Behavior* were enumerated in the 2004–2005 handbook. The introduction to the Student Behavior section states

> In order for any organization to operate effectively, it is important that all concerned parties be aware of what the rules are and why they exist. The rules governing the

behavior of students and the operation of the school reflect three guiding principles: (1) the school exists as a place to learn; (2) teachers have a right to teach and all students have a right to learn; and (3) self-discipline is the key to discipline. Our expectations for student conduct, therefore, boil down to common sense, good manners, and respect for one another.

Thirteen General Rules of Student Conduct and 12 state code rules were listed and specifically discussed with all Dogwood students. Students were informed of specific expectations in all aspects of school life. For example, the handbook lists a set of 17 bus safety rules, with the admonition that, “Student misbehavior constitutes a serious safety hazard on the bus. Students not conducting themselves properly will be issued a citation by the bus driver that must be signed by the parent before the student may be readmitted to the bus.” And there was an elaborate Athletic Code of Ethics and Behavior for students participating in sports at Dogwood Elementary as well as well as Spectator Code of Conduct for parents and other adults. Both codes carry specific sanctions.

The safety of the students was paramount. According to Dogwood’s Vice-Principal, “Little kids worry about things that adults don’t necessarily worry about and we’ve got to be in touch with that—going to the bathroom, bullying. We just try to take the approach here that we’re not going to accept that [bullying]. We let kids know that what they’re doing is not appropriate and do they have an appreciation how what they’re doing is being received? [This is] the teachable moment—this is not what Panthers do. There’s a Dogwood mantra: ‘You have to have good behavior and hard work.’ This is repeated by everyone regularly.”

In 1999 the CSRP application described Dogwood Elementary as having a Collaborative Management approach, a spirit of sharing and cooperation among the faculty. The school was described then as a place where “faculty felt they have a real voice in how the school is run.” By all indications, the sense of collective ownership was still in place 5 years later. Teachers participated in the hiring of other teachers and sat on interview panels for the new principal. One teacher told the interviewer, “The staff is very professional. Regardless of the time involved, we want to do what’s best for kids.” Another teacher noted the caring school community at Dogwood and the “comfort level” of the people who work there. She noted the closeness of the faculty, that the school was a caring place for adults to work in and parents to be involved in.

Both Mr. Hernandez and his assistant principal noted two signature attributes of Dogwood: (1) the focus on high academic achievement, and (2) the equally high expectations for personal conduct of the students. Said the principal, “We’d like to think that Dogwood students, as they move into 7th grade, are going to be successful in all the usual ways and will be viewed as a credit to their parents and community.”

A series of well-articulated programs helped students become well-rounded community citizens. Students were publicly recognized for their successes in meeting the standards of each program at regularly scheduled formal school ceremonies. Public recognition at such ceremonies was a hallmark of this school. Guidelines for each program were detailed in the school's *Parent/Student Handbook*.

a. Monthly recognition programs. Dogwood holds a monthly award ceremony to recognize students for both academic and character traits. For example, the "Student of the Month" (three per month selected by classroom teachers) is selected for demonstration of good behavior, hard work, and a good example for others. Parents are invited to attend the ceremony. The "Character of the Month" is awarded to the student who best exemplifies the Character Counts! Pillar of the Month.

b. Quarterly recognition programs. A "Personal Responsibility" program has been in place at Dogwood since the 1980s that provides public recognition and rewards for students in grades 1–6 who meet program guidelines. Each classroom has posted a Personal Responsibility Award chart. Teachers check off students whose behavior violates the school's General Rules of Conduct. Included on that chart are items such as inappropriate behavior in class, incomplete homework and assignments, unexcused tardy, and cafeteria referral. If a student receives more than three checks in any one quarter, that student is eliminated from the award that may include a field trip or other fun activity.

c. Semester recognition program. Perhaps the most comprehensive character education program observed at Dogwood is the "Block Award Program". The Block Award is "the highest award a student may earn at Dogwood Elementary and is available to 4th, 5th, and 6th grade students." The Handbook describes the award as follows: "This award is designed to recognize students who exemplify the qualities that Dogwood Elementary School hopes to foster in all of its students, namely: (1) the desire for self-improvement; (2) dedication and commitment in reaching for goals; (3) concern for and service to others; and (4) the willingness to be a positive role model to others." The Block Award requires student participation in a full range of school activities. Students must have demonstrated leadership and volunteerism by running for school office, working in the cafeteria or school library, or other school event. They must demonstrate academic merit and participate in the performing arts and in athletics. And, they must have received at least three of the school's many awards or honors. Teachers keep records of student participation and students can download criteria forms from the school's web site.

Dogwood's faculty instituted a variety of opportunities for students to contribute to the school and to the community, and many students seek to

participate. There are cross-age tutoring programs with training for the tutors, and many ways for students to participate in keeping the school, its classrooms, and grounds in good shape. Said Mr Hernandez, "We have very little discipline that occurs for infringements between older and younger children. This is their school."

Mentorship is important to program continuity and stability in good schools experiencing principal succession.

Elm Elementary School is a good example of this principle and Fir and Golden Tree are counter examples. Even though the current principal at Elm Elementary was the third principal at her school in 5 years, the first, long-serving principal was still in the district, still admired for his work (he was the current district superintendent) and still involved with curriculum. He hired the new principal at Elm from outside the district and provided mentoring to her. The Elm School principal was regularly in touch with her predecessor (and now boss) and discussed her ideas with him. This mentoring relationship worked so well that she remarked that "Tony's philosophy and mine are very similar." She had found a good coach, one who knew her school and who could provide knowledgeable, site-specific and sound feedback.

On the other hand, principals at Fir Elementary School and Golden Tree Elementary Schools noted no such mentoring relationships. The new principal at Fir was the third in 5 years, and the new principal at Golden Tree was the fourth in 5 years. They mentioned no contact with their predecessors. Indeed, when the Golden Tree principal was asked about a particular transition, she responded, "We're completely new to this school and all of this was done prior to us." The Fir and Golden Tree school principals, however competent they may be, had little historical context within which to make changes and believed they were left to pursue initiatives independently.

Case Study: Elm Elementary School

Monica Feldman, principal of Elm Elementary School, was in her second month as principal at the time of the interview in fall 2004. She was the third principal at Elm School since 1999. The principal in 1999, the one responsible for the preparation of the CSRP award application served the school for 13 years before being promoted to the district office. He was the current district superintendent. A next principal served for 2 years. Ms Feldman was an experienced teacher from a nearby district in her first principalship. Elm was 80% white with a history of high API scores.

A carefully thought out child-centered focus typified Elm Elementary School in 1999, with quality programs in music and the arts supplementing its academic emphasis. In addition, the Elm School expected children to develop important character traits and environmental understandings. Students were encouraged to bring only "no-trash" lunches—all reusable/recyclable containers. Earth Week was a major celebration, culminating in the release of butterflies raised by the children. Maintaining the grounds and the physical environment of the school was a priority. Elm students had an ongoing relationship with a nearby Navajo school, sending class letters, food, clothing, and books on a regular basis and hosting the Navajo students at Elm for an annual visit. In addition, book drives specifically aided an inner city school in another California city, and many Elm students participated in the Jump Rope for Heart Campaign.

A program called Kids with Character was developed at Elm Elementary in 1999. This program was described as including monthly school-wide themes with various activities that teachers structured to suit student needs and ongoing classroom activities. Themes included respect, friendship, responsibility, kindness, justice, compassion, tolerance, citizenship, honesty, and fairness. An extensive literature list and classroom materials were assembled to match the traits, and a separate monthly newsletter, the Elm Elementary School *Kids With Character Newsletter*, included articles by the students themselves, dinner discussion theme suggestions, and a Dear Abby-type column (for example, "I love to play basketball at recess, but a couple of the kids in another class never follow the rules. How can I get them to follow the rules and for everyone to have fun?"). Monthly school assemblies included a recognition program for students demonstrating the character traits. A second component of the Kids With Character program was a peer mediation program. A team of teachers and parents trained over 30 5th-graders in conflict resolution techniques for recess and the playground.

Parents were fully involved in Elm Elementary School and were trained to participate in the instructional program. As a result, parental interest was high, with the average classroom in 1999 hosting parent volunteers for 25 hours per week. In addition to clerical tasks, parent volunteers were described as delivering the Great Works of Art program and a physical education program to each class. Another unique feature involved goal setting by 2nd through 5th graders. In that program, parents and their children met with the teacher to discuss individual goals. For example, one 2nd-grade parent noted that her daughter was afraid of speaking in front of the class. This was shared with the teacher at a goal-setting conference, and overcoming that fear became her goal.

Many of the programs described in 1999 were ongoing, but others had been dropped or modified by 2004. Bringing no-trash lunches to school had become

school policy. The relationship with the Navajo school continued, but with no mention of reciprocal visits. Goal setting conferences continued, but in 2004 were voted on by individual grade levels. Fourth and 5th grade teachers voted to keep the goal setting conferences, but Kindergarten voted not to. The Garden of Learning, with greenhouse, garden and decorated ceramic tiles described in the 1999 CSRP application was dropped by the second principal (of the three), but Ms Feldman is "thinking about brining it back."

The Kids With Character program remained and grew, with the Elm school counselor nurturing that program with supplementary activities such as We Can Solve It Wednesday, where students dropped by her office to discuss school related social concerns. The counselor, in consultation with Ms Feldman, initiated visits to each class to conduct an integrated series of character lessons focusing on behavior. Each month, Elm explored a different character trait. She tied those traits to lessons and taught all students a specialized set of vocabulary for understanding behavior (i.e., passive, aggressive, and assertive) and to describe inappropriate and appropriate actions. Each Wednesday the counselor provided ideas to incorporate the traits into ongoing activities. For example, if there was a new student, a class might discuss how it could make that student feel more comfortable in school.

The peer mediation program was dropped, replaced by a community service requirement for all 5th graders. In a group interview, parents explained the reason for this change. They felt that some students participating in the peer mediation program were alienated because of their role. They did not feel they were heard. The mediation program ran into a glitch—primary age students wanted an immediate solution; many times the process turned out to be too long for the primary kids, and 5th graders complained that not many kids asked them for help. Then, the second principal instituted a scheduling shift in 2003–2004 that created new demands on student time making it inconvenient for 5th-graders to mediate. At our interview the parents stated they were not pleased with peer mediation. They indicated that children did not feel they were heard and that younger kids may not have understood what the program was all about. One parent felt it was alienating the kids who were the mediators and that there was a tendency for kids to make decisions for others rather than mediating.

A significant program that was added was the 5th grade community service requirement. According to a 2004 school publication, "it has become an Elm Elementary School tradition that the 5th grade class donates 1000 community service hours as their class gift to the school .... With our on-going Kids With Character program, it has become more meaningful to have our 5th graders perform activities that integrate these character traits with their academic efforts." Each 5th grader is asked to perform 12 hours of volunteering. Students could choose to volunteer with groups outside the school or at the

school campus, for example, helping with traffic control. The school counselor provided appropriate, positive training to ensure the students were kind, helpful, and respectful.

Parents, the counselor, a group of teachers, the Superintendent (the former principal and current mentor), and Ms Feldman were interviewed. All had high praise for the school. The school counselor noted, "Elm Elementary cares for children at every level. We're dealing with the whole child. Great communication—everyone really feels that these are our children—this isn't just a job, they're our kids." When parents were asked about what they would consider "signature" programs at Elm Elementary, they were quite effusive. For example, one parent noted, "It's family here, they take care of each other and they take care of the kids." And another stated, "It's not any one program—it's all encompassing—the whole package is so nurturing for our kids."

The teachers felt the same. They were also asked about what they considered the school's signature programs. Rather than mention specific programs, they noted the school's high academic and social standards, the parent involvement ("This is a school of parents"), and the sense of community ("We work really well in teams. It's a comfortable place to go to. Lots of cooperation across grades"). Finally, the new principal added her perspective. She noted, "This is a child-oriented, child-centered, parent-involved school that has tremendous expectations for everything I do."

Conclusion

Character education is the responsibility of adults (for examples, see Center for the 4th and 5th Rs, 2003; Damon, 2002, p. ix; Wynne & Ryan, 1997, p. 1), and its intention is to promote student character development. That process is a formative one. It develops over time as children learn what virtuous behavior is and what it is not. It develops as they practice and refine virtuous behavior—by approximating and modeling ideals (Sherman, 1999, p. 248). And, it is aided as they develop an understanding of the reasons for such behaviors in some deeper, habitual sense (Burnyeat, 1999, pp. 210–211). For such a process to work meaningfully for children, consistent mature adult guidance is required.

Yet, there is no consensus on how character education is to be defined, practiced, or evaluated. While the term historically has referred to the duty of the older generation to form the character of the young through experiences affecting their attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors, more recent definitions include developmental outcomes such as a positive perception of school, emotional literacy, and social justice activism. There are sweeping definitions of character education (e.g., the Character Counts! six pillars, Community of Caring's five values or the

Character Education Partnership's 11 principles) and more narrow ones such as those implemented by some of the programs described here.

Regardless of the type of good character education program implemented in our schools, stability and continuity for its students are important. Children, even adults, need predictability and consistency in their lives. They need to understand what they are expected to do and how to do it and they need to be able to depend on stable relationships for those understandings. Such consistency is behind research that documents the connection between high parental expectations and children's sense of competence and self-reliance (Maccoby, 1980), as well as a cluster of traits described by Baumrind (1973) as promoting children's instrumental competence—a combination of parental control, clarity of adult communication, maturity demands, and nurturance (i.e., concern for the children's wellbeing and pleasure in their accomplishments). So, when significant adults impose relatively high demands, their children tend "to be (1) low in aggression (boys); (2) altruistic rather than egoistic; and (3) above average in competence and agency" (Maccoby, 1980, pp. 382–383). And, when those adults consistently enforce those reasonable rules and demands, their children have been found to be: "(1) able to control aggressive impulses; (2) high in self-esteem at age ten or eleven; and (3) competent and agentic—i.e., able to approach new situations with confidence and persist in tasks once begun, generally positive in mood and not withdrawn or immaturely impulsive" (pp. 381–382).

Yet, the research on leadership stability and continuity in schools is sparse. Current school leadership research tends to focus on the shrinking pool of available principal candidates (e.g., Cusick, 2003), or practices to assist new principals (e.g., Franklin, 2005), or the myriad leadership styles or leadership behaviors noted earlier in this chapter, but the issues of principal turnover, particularly principal succession in well functioning schools, are scarcely evident in the educational literature. The research by Andy Hargreaves and his colleagues (Hargreaves, 2005; Hargreaves & Fink, 2003, 2004; Hargreaves et al., 2003) is a notable exception.

Consistent with Hargreaves's findings, when the principals interviewed for this study were asked about how their districts made decisions about assigning or reassigning school leaders, their understandings were not clear. Indeed, Marzano et al. (2005) cite the "relative paucity of empirical studies" (p. 6) on school leadership in general as a problem for the field. But according to Hoy and Miskel (1996), "For administrators in schools, creating a sense of stability is critical for maintaining an image of effective leadership and is an ongoing social pressure. . .. Stability occurs in situations where the set of relationships among elements remain constant and in situations that are either unchanging or changing slowly" (pp. 206–207). While this conception may not apply wholly to the schools described in this study, it is evident from the principles we derived from our school case study descriptions that those school environments providing greater stability—through consistent leadership, mentoring support, or enduring curriculum perspectives—are ones best able to support deeper and more lasting change.

Endnote: Names of schools and individuals are pseudonyms.

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Chapter 31
Values Education and Whole Person Development in Ukraine: The Role of Vasyl Sukhomlinsky and Current Applications

Olga Sukhomlinska

Introduction

Morals and moral theories have played an important role in human history, dating from at least the time of the Ancient Greeks. They have changed over time according to the dominant perception of the role and place of the person. Since the time of the Greeks and throughout history, education has played a crucial role in guiding moral theory and practice. At the same time, school education in particular has played a role in guiding this theory and practice through what might be termed values education, moral pedagogy and their related school-based morality. Ukraine represents a distinctive case study relative to values education. As a former Soviet state, its educational history has not been well known in the West, nor are its current struggles especially well known. In the midst of this lacuna lies a wealth of historical educational insight, especially through the work of Vasyl Sukhomlinsky, and current work in values education designed to address deep-seated divisions in Ukraine society.

Moral Pedagogy and School-Based Morality

Issues related to moral pedagogy and school-based morality are to be found threaded through the modern history of the school and the related content of teaching. They were linked initially with the religious tradition and later with secular morality. Educators such as J. J. Russo, I. Herbart, J. Dewey, Y. Korchak, as well as Slavic authors and commentators like K. Ushinsky, Lev Tolstoy, P. Kapterev and others, have contributed to this tradition. Vasyl Sukhomlinsky (1918–1970) is among them. He was a teacher and director of a village school in Ukraine, author of more than 45 works on different issues of education and upbringing of children, paying special attention to moral education of secondary school pupils. He lived and worked in

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Soviet times when, in the USSR, the dominant moral ideology blurred the role of the individual and the state.

The ideology of the Soviet state revolved around the notion of an ideal fair society being constructed out of current collective effort built, in turn, on personal discipline. Subservience to the state and collective responsibility were combined in Soviet times with the Nietzsche motif of God denial, rejecting traditional notions of classical ideals, eternal life and utilitarianism were the coordinates for Soviet school-based morality. Such an ideology was at its zenith in the times when Joseph Stalin was the supreme ruler of the Soviet Union.

Sukhomlinsky's Moral Pedagogy: Pedagogical Ethics

It was amid such circumstances that, in the early 1960s, Sukhomlinsky addressed the problem of the moral and ethical basis of schools in Ukraine and so developed a new moral pedagogy for his school. This process was driven initially through his own deeply held beliefs but, by the 1960s, was influenced by social processes of de-Stalinizing the Soviet Union, and especially Ukraine. These were the beginnings of a democratic movement that would eventually bring down the Soviet Union. Allied with this democratization came an actualization (rather than institutionalization) of morality and ethics in society.

Within the context of all this, Sukhomlinsky developed a new paradigm for moral education that was a true innovation for the times. He posited that morality constituted the true spiritual basis of the person and, therefore, must constitute the basis of education. In 1961, his book, *Spiritual world of a school pupil* (*teenager, young adult*), was published by Moscow's Educational Publishing House. For the first time in the history of the Soviet Union, the topic of moral and spiritual pedagogy is raised. Sukhomlinsky's innovation was admitted in 1971 in the book, *Problems of methodology of pedagogic and methodic of studies*. ("Проблемы методологии педагогики и методики исследований") by leading Soviet methodologists M. O. Danilov and M. I. Boldyrev, who wrote: "There are educators of a special genre of research. They tend to study those phenomena and processes that were not explored before. Such educators are researchers of the 'white spots' in educational science. V. A. Sukhomlinsky is among them, he began to study a spiritual world of a Soviet school pupil. This fact is very interesting: the problem, that recently seemed to be a 'white spot' in pedagogic become one of the mainline of contemporary educational studies" (p. 60).

A peculiarity of Sukhomlinsky's approach to moral education was in his practice-based stance. He did not idealize the work of the school so much as problematize it and, in the process, developed his moral education theory. The stance is seen in a series of books written from 1961 onwards, in which he deepened and enlarged the problematic of moral education that become a core of what is known as "late" Sukhomlinsky. The books are "I give my heart to children" (1968), "Born of a citizen" (1970), "Methodic of education of a collective" (1971), "Talk with a young director of a school" (1973) and "One hundred recommendations to a teacher" (1984). Most of his books were published after his death in 1970.

A peak accomplishment of Sukhomlinsky's approach to moral education at school is in his creation of pedagogical ethics, which he systematically and gradually describes in two books "How to educate a genuine person: Ethics of communist education" (1975) and "Anthology of ethics" (1990). He describes there moral and ethical categories of good and evil, beauty, love and hate as the child perceives the world. Sukhomlinsky introduces to pedagogical science such notions as 'spirituality, "culture of feelings", "culture of wishes", and what he saw as moral imperatives such as "compassion", "empathy". In the times, these represented aspects of humane behaviour that were opposed to the dominant Marxist ideology. Focussing on the inner world of the student's personality exposed the Soviet state to a humanist moral tradition and humanistic ideal that had been buried by decades of Soviet ideology.

Principles of Holistic Education

Sukhomlinsky (1976) presented moral education of a child as a means of drawing on all the components of human development, intellectual, physical, aesthetic and functional. He wrote, "taking care about the excellence of each edge, side and feature of a person, a tutor simultaneously keeps an eye on the circumstance that harmony of all human edges, sides and features is defined by . . . a leading, defining component . . . this harmony is morality" (p. 72). His main argument was a conviction that absolutely each child granted the relevant education can reach the highest peak of morality, in spite of the apparent limits and barriers that exist around intellectual and physical development: "Here for nobody a way to the peak is closed, there is a genuine and unlimited equality, here everybody can be great and unique" (p. 73).

The central task of school education was to instil moral attitude, convictions and behaviour through supporting, loving, understanding and reassuring the child on the "wish to be good". The "wish to be good" was his way of speaking of a profound desire on the part of all people to be holistically developed. Hence, moral education was the basis of all education because it went to the heart of the human quest. For Sukhomlinsky, the central task was contained in a number of key principles. These were (1) education is synonymous with child development; development prepares and makes possible the process of study, and study, in its turn, stimulates the process of development. So they are two interrelated processes; (2) cognitive processes play a leading role in moral education because it is through cognition and being enriched by knowledge that a child develops moral sense. The radical notion for the time was that an educator posited the importance of "personalization of knowledge", rather than mere corporatization. Hence, sound education across all measures relied on the development of this deep moral sense in the individual person; (3) introduction to the structure of all educational process and especially to the structure of moral education an "emotional–axiological feelings" approach that is both a sign of the developing personal attitude of a child to the moral component of school activity and can in turn provide an evaluative tool for teachers.

This latter principle played a significant role in the later development of Soviet educational science and school practice. It exists in his early works as well, but is completed in the book, *Born of a citizen* (1970), and especially in chapters titled "Emotional and aesthetic education" and "Unity of emotional and moral education". The approach was initially rejected by the existing pedagogical science and Sukhomlinsky was sharply criticized for his "usage" of emotions in the educational process. He stated "So far as the scope of emotional depth of learned ideas and principles during adolescence goes, as broadly as a person seizes cognitively, so emotional and moral evaluation of the outside world join so they run into one another... The delicacy, cordiality, reciprocity of personal attitude to a person and a collective, to pain and joy of other people" (Народження громадянина. – Вибрані твори. – Т.3. – 1977. – С.501).

Continuing to enumerate the principles by which Sukhomlinsky implemented the central task of the school: (4) education was about activity. Here, Sukhomlinsky was not unique because the Soviet system of education and upbringing was based on the activity approach ("practice is a criterion for truth"). He was unique, however, in the fact that he extended the activity approach to moral education. Practical behaviour and training were said to be important components in the structure of morality formation; (5) individually differentiated and age-specified organization and content of moral education. Such an approach was distinctive in the context of moral and spiritual education. For Sukhomlinsky, the age, sex, physical and mental condition of each pupil must be taken into account in determining an appropriate education for all. Again, he personalized the task in the context of a dominant corporatization ethos; (6) creation of values dimensions in the school and personal life of a child, whereby Sukhomlinsky created and classified values determinants of the personal, family, school, ideological (national, Soviet) life of a child. He presented them in a relevant system as leading regulators of child behaviour. In this context, he offered and reinforced a system of educational axiological imperatives and determinants (e.g., Nature, Family, Labour, Love, Motherland, Good, Evil, Beauty, Must). He paid special attention to the development of school values in a child, namely, School, Knowledge, Labour, Teacher, Friend, Book, etc.

The Contribution of Sukhomlinsky to Values Education

Sukhomlinsky's moral (values) education rested on his own central beliefs in: the human dignity of each school pupil; the person of the teacher who not only reveals the world to the pupil but affirms the pupil's position in the world; the school as witness (not just reporter) to the truth; morality as the vital source of cognitive development; and, the practical (activity) orientation of any effective educational process. His special attention and contribution was on educational and methodological bases for moral education (e.g., forms, tools and methods). He proposed innovative pedagogy, including: Philosophy for the classroom ("Lessons of thinking") that he conducted in stimulating environments conducive to communication

and dialogue; development of child cognition through fairy tales, novels on moral–ethic problems, development of school traditions of moral–ethic content ("Holiday of the ABC-book", "Holiday of Mother", "Holiday of the First Harvest"), etc. that are in details described in his works and existed in the curricula of the school he chaired.

Sukhomlinsky provided moral education with organizational and educational structure, including the daytime curriculum and after-class work. Also, being innovative for his time, he involved an environment which directly encompasses a child (parents, friends, street, village), making educational use out of them, bringing natural situations into play and also creating them artificially to demonstrate and work through moral–ethical dilemmas. Above all, Sukhomlinsky endorsed the role of the school, and especially the teacher, as leader and former of moral values, alongside parents and the state.

Continuing the Sukhomlinsky Legacy: Values Education and "Sources of Tolerance"

Anna Lenchovska

Since 2002, the Congress of National Minorities of Ukraine has conducted inter-ethnic and inter-religious camps, titled "Sources of Tolerance" for teenagers from national minorities. The camp's mission is to promote the values of civil society, to overcome prejudice and xenophobia, to develop an active life attitude, to form national self-awareness and to create a peer-leaders network. The main principle of the project is camp contact and an attempt to see the world through the eyes of a person from a different culture. The camp gathers for 18 days teenagers from 15 national minorities of Ukraine (Poles, Jews, Armenians, Lithuanians, Germans, Romanians, Moldovans, Volga Tatars, Armenians, Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars, Russians, Greeks, Byelorussians, Bulgarians) as well as refugees from Afghanistan and the Congo.

The main principle of the camp is personal contact. Personal acquaintance and personalization (in a Sukhomlinsky sense) help to destroy biased opinions and lower levels of indifference, aggression and the fear of difference. Each day, the camp plunges into a world of culture, values, language, symbols, customs and traditions of one nation. It is important for children to feel that they are not alone in this world, that they are surrounded by many cultures and that they are different from one another but each of them is interesting and unique. A values-based approach is used to explore moral values in particular cultures and to find similarities in other cultures present in the camp.

The program is organized according to the following guidelines:

(1) Identification with the representatives of other culture, non-judgemental acceptance of each as a representative of his culture and unique personality. Each day is devoted to one ethnic and religious culture. In the morning, the camp

is plunged into an atmosphere of learning and discussing historical facts, trying dance, singing, working with visual images and symbols. During the day, participants can deepen their knowledge and feeling of this culture by participating in one of a number of workshops according to their personal choice. In the evening, multicultural groups play back what has been learned during the day. Before sleep, feedback helps children to reflect on their feelings and interactions during the past day in a calm and positive atmosphere.

(2) Equal-status contacts. Using the peer-guide approach, when someone tells important information about religion and tradition to a peer, all participants are deemed to be equal, so everybody has a chance to express her or himself and to play an important role in the activity.
(3) Joint activities. Children are not divided into groups according to their ethnic and religious belonging, which is why children from different nations do not have to compete with each other. Every evening, multicultural groups perform through song, dance or discussion what they have learned about one other culture during the day.
(4) Creation of an atmosphere of positive interest to cultural differences while focussing on human values in each culture. The values-based approach helps camp participants to feel respect for everybody's story and peculiarities. The camp lasts 14–16 days that allows for the creation of a sustained atmosphere around respect and acceptance.
(5) Building bridges and reconciliation process. Special attention is paid to reflection on national tragedies and genocides (Armenian Genocide, Holocaust, Great Famine, deportations, etc.) and to reconciliation processes during the Remembrance Day. A personalized approach (biographies, video-testimonies) is employed because it draws history closer, makes it more human and emotionally accessible for teenagers.

Psychological research carried out in the camp showed statistically significant increased index of tolerance from 93.75 to 96.29, t –1,976 (Soldatava et al., 2002).

Editorial Addendum: The Educational Contribution of Vasyl Sukhomlinsky

The editors have taken the unusual step of providing a postscript in this chapter, testimony to both the extraordinary work of Vasyl Sukhomlinsky and the sad fact that, because this work was in Eastern rather than Western Europe, he is so little known to those in the West. Olga Sukhomlinska has provided a sensitive account relaying that Vasyl Sukhomlinsky's educational theory and practice was impelled by the imperatives of empathy and compassion, an approach with strong affinity to Nel Noddings' (1988) ethic of care. Vasyl Sukhomlinsky (1918–1970) is renowned for his work as principal and teacher in the rural school at Pavlysh, in Ukraine, and to prominence in the 1950s and 1960s during the post-World War II reconstruction of education in that country. Unfortunately, his outstanding contribution as a teacher,

principal and academic was prematurely terminated by his untimely death, owing to an injury sustained during his military service in World War II. Sukhomlinsky is a virtual unknown to English-speaking educators, but has a wider following in non-English-speaking countries (see Papadopoulou, 2008). Few of Sukhomlinsky's many works are translated into English, however, insight into the richness of his educational though and practice are provided by Alan Cockerill (1999), resulting from his doctoral research, and Simon Soloveichik (1977), an educational journalist from Russia, in addition to the foregoing contributions by Olga Sukhomlynska and Anna Lenchovska. Insights provided by these authors and his translated works suggest that the work of Sukhomlinsky accorded with many of the insights provided by the contributors to this volume.

The educational thought and practice of Vasyl Sukhomlinsky begins with a love and respect for students that led to a profound understanding of the inner world of children and their perceptions of the world. He took a holistic view of education that extended beyond the academic to practical concern for the physical, psychological and spiritual health of students. Expectations of the teacher for each student are modulated by perceptions of the capacities and developmental needs of that student. Marks awarded were for encouragement and not for judgement or belittlement. Sukhomlinsky would go out of his way to avoid discouraging a student for fear that this would lead to the disengagement of the student from learning. It was important to develop the student's sense of agency and mastery to impel continued interest and engagement in learning. Sukhomlinsky's approach fits well with the essence of contemporary positive psychology (e.g., Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Every effort was to inspire in students a love for learning, and so ignite intrinsic motivation to learn. A lifelong love of learning was cultivated by engaging students' natural curiosity. Although intellectual engagement was understood as a key tenet of learning, education needed to involve the emotional and moral aspects as well. Education was grounded in experience and was a path to personal, emotional, spiritual, social and ethical development and maturity, as well as the best way of developing the intellectual skills and capacities needed for academic mastery. Education that did not include moral formation was not education worthy of the name (Cockerill, 1999; Soloveichik, 1977; Sukhomlinsky, 1981; Sukhomlinsky & Soloveichik, 1977).

Sukhomlinsky's approach to education mustered the synergy between quality teaching, values education, and service learning illustrated by Lovat, Toomey, Clement, Crotty, and Nielsen (2009). As well as the characteristics of quality teaching such as intellectual engagement, communicative competence, resilience, the development of empathy, etc. (see Lovat, 2005), Sukhomlinsky emphasized the need for aesthetic, creative engagement and encounter with the natural world in order to actively stimulate the emotional, cognitive, social and spiritual development of students. Importance was placed on the development of students' imaginative capacities alongside and in support of cognitive aspects of learning. Elements of service learning are foundational to Sukhomlinsky's approach to education. Learning involves not only the development of intellectual skills, but also social competencies through cooperating and working with others, and engagement in the giving of practical assistance. The world of work and involvement in the wider community

and society was seen as part of schooling, not as an onerous task or something to be added post-school, but as a creative way of learning and helping. The moral imperative impelling Sukhomlinsky's approach included the conviction that education should prepare students for their adult life – personally, socially and vocationally (Cockerill, 1999; Soloveichik, 1977; Sukhomlinsky, 1981; Sukhomlinsky & Soloveichik, 1977).

For Sukhomlinsky, education was education for life (Cockerill, 1999). In line with recent findings of the neurosciences which point to the synergy between the affective, cognitive and social dimensions essential for engagement in sustained learning (e.g., Immordino-Yang & Damasio, 2007), Sukhomlinsky's educational theory and practice gave due recognition to the interaction of the affective and the cognitive in engagement in learning. Sukhomlinsky used the fantasy of fairy tales, as well as riddles and folk puzzles as a stimulus for emotional and cognitive growth. Emphasis was on developing the creative and critical capacities of students and not on mastery on content alone. The student–teacher relationship was of the utmost importance, and teachers were expected to know each of their students by name. Teachers were expected to use methods that made learning enjoyable for students. Trust between students and teachers was considered essential and sustained effort and the privacy of students was respected (Cockerill, 1999). Anger was considered to be an ineffective mode for teaching a child (Soloveichik, 1977). Rather than school cutting childhood short, school was to prolong it with interest and motivation maintained throughout the school life (Cockerill, 1999; Soloveichik, 1977). Just as student health was considered an essential building block for learning, so teacher wellbeing was considered essential for good teaching. Sukhomlinsky created an educational environment where staff development was facilitated through what is best described as action research focussed on educational issues arising within the school at Pavlysh, and this approach has similarities with the regime instigated by Neil Hawkes at West Kidlington Public School in the UK (see Farrer, 2000). Hence, in Sukhomlinsky's work, we see an integration of many practices consistent with those described in this volume into an educational practice that placed values education at the core of the educational endeavour and that was central to the promotion of student wellbeing.

Conclusion

Ukrainian values education is seen to be part of its history, enigmatically oppositional yet applauded during Soviet times. Some of this enigmatic opposition relates to Russian–Ukrainian politics during the Soviet era. The role of Vasyl Sukhomlinsky could not be overstated. He was one of those rare prophetic characters, much like John Dewey, who saw the big picture of education for what it was. He was deeply patriotic yet saw beyond the instrumentality of his times, in his case a quite harsh and coercive instrumentalism in the form of the Soviet state. He saw the integral role of values education in the entirety of education and pre-figured the nexus between the emotions, sociality and cognition evidenced by the later neurosciences.

Sukhomlinsky understood the complexity of the human person and the priority of the individual over the state. His legacy continues in Ukrainian education today and this is seen, in part, in the exegesis by his daughter and the case study of the camps called "Sources of Tolerance", both in the earlier part of this chapter.

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Chapter 32
Imaginative Education and the National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools: Practical Implementations for Promoting Ethical Understanding

Tim Waddington and James Johnson

Introduction

During the introductory sections to this *Handbook on Values Education*, a strong argument was put forward that the search for more effective teaching practices would require an increasingly holistic, "whole-person" approach to learning. Such a view, in contrast to the typically linear and so-called objective assumptions about knowledge and learning characteristic of Western educational systems, was described as incorporating a wider breadth of human subjectivity. The values education project thus seeks to include diverse modes of experience and understanding beyond the intellect as traditionally conceived, including but not limited to social, emotional, and somatic modes of human development. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the values education enterprise should find a certain kinship with Imaginative Education as elucidated by Kieran Egan (1992, 1997, 2002, 2005), for the proponents of IE share if not an identical, at least a parallel interest in the manner with which the intellect develops in concert with the affective, social, and imaginative realms. Arising from such a comparable stance, proponents of Imaginative Education are well placed to suggest what might otherwise appear to be a grand promise; that the planning frameworks and theoretical grounding of IE offer a powerful vehicle for the promotion and implementation of Australia's Values Education project.

Illuminating such an assertion is, in short, the purpose of this chapter. Having provided a brief description of the connection between the imagination and cognitive activity, as well as the five kinds of understanding suggested by Egan, we will sketch out an exemplar unit regarding the 2008 apology made by Canada's federal government to Aboriginal Canadians. This topic was selected for several important reasons: (i) it speaks directly to the avowed principles for Australia's National Framework for values education, particularly Integrity, Tolerance, Freedom, Responsibility, and "Fair Go"; (ii) it demonstrates the dynamic relationship existing between the

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intellectual, affective, and imaginative domains that is central to the theoretical framework of Imaginative Education; and (iii) perhaps most importantly, it allows us to speak knowledgably about a subject directly analogous to Australian experience without presuming, from our specifically Canadian frame of reference, to understand every particularity of the Australian example.[1] Suggesting that the emotional, intellectual, and ethical realms grow together, we will follow the unit outline with a concluding discussion regarding the nature of learning gains likely to be made by students, the clear implications for values education being the emergence of an inductive and affective manner of reasoning which is tolerant of multiple perspectives, alongside a pedagogical method which recognizes that while ethical character can be learned, it cannot necessarily be taught.

On the Nature of Imagination and Its Relation to the Intellect

In writing any work on imagination, one is necessarily confronted with a problem of definition; while intuitively understood, the protean nature of what we collectively infer by the term 'imagination' appears, at least from an analytical view, to present specific conceptual frustrations. Indeed, as Egan (1992) suggests, "Once we try to excavate it, categorize it, and label the parts, ... we seem to create disagreement or, at least, dissatisfaction with the characterizations" (p. 3); and yet, in suggesting that attending to the imagination is integral to the provision of effective educational programs, as this chapter will endeavor to do, it would certainly behoove us to appreciate the term with something at least approaching precision. It is in this spirit that Egan suggests, "Imagination lies at a kind of crux where perception, memory, idea generation, emotion, metaphor, and no doubt other labeled features of our lives intersect and interact" (p. 3). We can see in this statement that the imagination does not refer simply to images and pictorial representations in the mind, as might be suggested by a somewhat limited understanding of imagination confined to the realm of the arts, but rather a more expansive complex of humanized meaning and invention: "Our everyday use of 'imagination' refers, perhaps most often, to the non-pictorial and non-imageable, we realize that the imagination is not simply a capacity to form images, but is a capacity to think in a particular way. It is a way that crucially involves our capacity to think of the possible rather than just the actual" (p. 4).[2]

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[1]The comparative histories of Australia's Aborigines and Canada's First Peoples are quite striking. Without needing to delve into every instance, issues of land ownership, cultural assimilation, and the role of residential schools dominate. Shifts in cultural awareness and governmental policy led to official apologies by Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in February of 2008 and by Canadian Prime Minister Steven Harper in June of the same year.

[2]Although we have elected not to use the word here, the notion of "grist" may prove helpful. IE purports that imagination, as such, needs something to be imaginative both with and about; so to speak, "grist for the mill". There are, of course, other treatments of intelligence such as the

Much of this sense of the imagination as a productive capacity finds resonance in the writings of key Enlightenment thinkers – specifically Burke, Hume, and Kant – with significant implications for the understanding of imagination, particularly as it relates to the affect and rationality. Egan (1992) notes that in 1757, Burke claimed:

> The mind of man possesses a sort of creative power of its own; either in representing at pleasure the images of things in the order and manner in which they are received by the senses, or in combing those images in a new manner. . .But it must be observed, that this power of the imagination is incapable of producing anything absolutely new; it can only vary the disposition of those ideas which it has received from the senses. (p. 20)

Here we see a couple strands of thought; Burke is suggesting a role for the imagination in the structuring of understanding – what Kant in his first [1781] *Critique of Pure Reason* alluded to in saying ". . . the imagination, a blind but indispensable function of the soul, without which we should have no knowledge whatsoever" (as cited in White, 1990, p. 44) – as well as the inseparable relation between imagination, concepts, and reason. Egan appears to follow this line, suggesting that "the imagination is pushed, as it were, to perform the even more fundamental task of providing the prior structuring of our perceptions. That is, what we *can* perceive, and know, is . . . structured by the imagination" (p. 21). Moreover, these productive capacities of meaning-making are intricately bound to the emotional sensibilities. Hume, for example, suggested in 1739 that "It is remarkable that the imagination and affections have a close union together, and that nothing which affects the former can be entirely indifferent to the latter" (1739/1888, p. 427), while Kant observes that "the imagination can generate in us ideas that cannot be expressed or represented in any other form; ideas of infinite space, endless numbers, eternal duration [which] fill us with complex emotions involving wonder and the sense of the sublime" (Egan, 1992, p. 21). To Egan's view, then, "the function of the imagination is such that it never merely copies the world or translates perceptions; it is a constantly active and creative faculty that shapes the world we perceive and that uses our hopes, fears and other emotions in that shaping" (p. 24). This position, to the sensitive reviewer, appears to suggest a tension between a priori "categories of the understanding," in the Kantian structural sense, and a more intuitively productive and affectively driven process of active meaning-making; but despite this difference, we can see that under Egan's usage, the imagination is to be clearly distinguished from pure *ir*-reality or fantasy. Imagination, as used here by Egan and Burke, is a productive capacity of understanding bound to rational possibilities. Whereas fantasy, for example, would therefore endow a human with the ability to defy gravity and "leap tall buildings in a single bound," the imagination is that productive capacity that allows us to envision a mechanism enabling human flight, a distinction which here

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popularized theories of Howard Gardner which, to some, may provoke musings about "mathematical imagination" or "spatial imagination". Such domain specific conceptualizations are not our particular focus of study here, but we would certainly encourage response and healthy dialogue investigating the potential alignments and incommensurabilities between the two bodies of ideas.

allows us to recognize, as Egan does, that "reason and imagination are not mutually exclusive faculties, or even in any way incompatible" (p. 25). Indeed, as more eloquently conceived by Wordsworth, "Imagination is reason in her most exalted mood" (*The Prelude*, Book XIV, 1.192, as cited in Egan, 1992, p. 25).

Returning toward a specific discussion of Imaginative Education, we must concern our attention to the manner with which Vygotsky dealt with the imagination. His theories of imagination, rationality and development are neatly summarized by Vygotskian scholar, Natalia Gajdamaschko (2007), who suggests as follows:

> To understand Lev Vygotsky's views on the development of the imagination, it is necessary to recognize that he did not accept a narrow view of imagination as some sort of innate and relatively stable capacity of a child or adult – a capacity that does not change over time and is not necessarily connected to the intellectual development and/or cultural development of the individual. This [latter, and erroneous] interpretation of imagination is common among North American educators, many of whom consider imagination to be an unconscious, or semi-conscious, autistic, spontaneous capacity. . . .This concept of imagination separates the role of imagination development . . . from their cultural development or their intellectual abilities, and it denies the link between the development of imagination and the processes of learning-teaching. (p. 34)

This passage clearly proposes that the aforementioned disconnection between rationality and imagination is in error. Imagination, according to Vygotsky, is thus a very appropriate target of educational intervention, subject as it is to its relation with formative experience and the development of intellect; moreover, the imagination cannot be said to be somehow innate or self-initiating but rather a mode of understanding intricately bound to others such as intellect and reason that are also co-developing. In working toward a definition of imagination, then, we must understand that imagination is to be understood in the context of intelligence, experience, and the presence of concepts: quite simply, it cannot exist in an experiential or conceptual vacuum. As Barrow establishes, "We have to get people to be imaginative about something, since the notion of having imagination that takes no specific form is incoherent. We therefore have to develop it by means of developing understanding of particular matters" (as cited by Jagla, 1994, pp. 146–147). Thus, while teaching toward engagement of the affect, we must not shirk away from the notion of imagination existing within rigorous disciplines of knowledge, as Egan (1992) warns: "Ignorance, in short, starves the imagination. And we are ignorant of all that knowledge which we might know how to access, but haven't, or which we have learned how to learn, but haven't. Only knowledge in our memories is accessible to the action of the imagination" (p. 52). We are, perhaps, better reminded that the imagination and intellect, rather than being in a zero-sum contest, serve and complement each other; that "Imagination must dwell within rationality if rationality is to serve human life and enrich our experience. . .. [even while] rationality without imagination is blind, rudderless, and as likely to destroy what is of human value as help it . . . at best arid and at worst damaging" (pp. 166–167). Imagination thus appears a legitimate and indeed highly relevant focus of educative activity simply by recognition of the fact that intelligence and imagination are each implicated in

the other. We need, to a considerable extent, to attend directly to the development of the imagination concurrently – and inseparably – with that of the intellect.

The discussion offered to this point has attempted to illustrate some of the major principles undergirding the concept of imagination that informs the body of theories and practice referred to collectively as Imaginative Education. Despite the imagination's ethereal nature, such an attempt at definition is clearly important and it is to this end that Egan (1992) has conceptualized it as follows:

> Imagination is the capacity to think of things as possibly being so; it is an intentional act of mind; it is the source of invention, novelty, and generativity; it is not distinct from rationality but is rather a capacity that greatly enriches rational thinking. (p. 43)

> Identifying imagination in the capacity to think of something as possibly being so, certainly does not suggest any conflict with rationality. Rather, the ability to hold alternative conceptions in the mind and assess their adequacy or appropriateness would seem a necessary component of any sophisticated rational activity. (p. 42)

The core feature, as understood by Egan, seems to be this generative and productive capacity, a flexibility of consciousness that seems "to enable the imaginative person to conceive of a wider than normal range of states or actions that do not exist or that do not follow by literal extrapolation from current states or actions or from conventional representations of states or actions" (p. 37). Imagination is thus the "'reaching out' feature of students' minds that picks up new ideas, tries them out, weighs their qualities and possibilities, and finds a place for them amidst the things they have already learned" (Tyers, 2007, p. 5). As co-constructive with rationality, emphasizing the imagination certainly alludes to a divergent path for educational theory and practice; That is, Egan (2005) suggests, "when we examine imagination we are also dealing with some of the central features of students' emotional engagements with knowledge" (pp. 213–214). As we shall see, it is precisely this intermingling between intellectual and emotional, alongside the actual with the expansively possible, that suggests Imaginative Education as such a powerful vehicle for Australia's Values Education project.

On the Interiorization of Cultural Tools and Kinds of Understanding

The collective body of theories and practices known as Imaginative Education is thus premised upon the accrual and internalization of cultural tools such that they become individually held cognitive tools. This process was referred to by Vygotsky as "Interiorization." Egan (2005) elaborates a broad array of such cultural artifacts – language, numbering and counting systems, mnemonic techniques, algebraic symbols, works of art, writing, sign systems, maps, etc. – that individuals "interiorize" in the process of development:

> When we imagine these things as an accumulated storehouse of human accomplishments, inventions, or discoveries, we refer to it as our culture. Each of the elements of our culture

> can be internalized, in varying ways and to varying degrees, by individuals. From the storehouse of cultural tools we can select and construct our individual kits of cognitive tools. This imaginative approach to education aims to maximize for students the array of important cultural tools that they each convert into their own cognitive tools. (p. 8)

The interiorization of cultural forms thus allows them to serve as psychological tools, such that the early imaginative play of children gradually becomes the directed, purposeful imagination of the adult. Significantly, Vygotsky warns that not everything can become a tool: if something does not possess the capacity to influence behavior, it could not be a tool, a clear reminder that once internalized the now "cognitive" tool will not only affect the manner of intellectual and imaginative processes, but also the behavioral outputs such cognition provokes. As such, "Through the processes of interiorization and appropriation of cultural tools that mediate social (interpersonal) activity, a child is constructing psychological tools of her own inner activity.…the entire nature of imagination is changed" (Gajdamaschko, 2007, p. 39). Cultural tools become cognitive tools and by doing this, the imagination becomes volitional, controlled, and productive, intricately tied to psychological functions, not the least of which is intelligence.

Imaginative Education, formally conceived, reflects a fundamental shift from more traditional notions of education that are premised on the accrual of knowledge and skills, the unfolding of natural development, or the socialization of students into political and economic roles. Rather, it describes education in terms of a sequence of *kinds of understanding* through which students internalize cultural-cognitive tools of successively increasing complexity. Egan (1999) explains:

> Our understanding of the world and of ourselves has been transformed again and again by our incorporation of various symbolic tools such as language, literacy and theoretic abstractions. I think we can reconceive education as the process whereby we acquire as fully as possible the major symbolic tools invented or discovered in human cultures. Each major set of tools generates for us somewhat distinctive kinds of understanding. (p. 263)

As such, rather than presenting structured taxonomies of information or emphasizing a progression through naturally occurring stages of development, Egan presents us with a theory whereby students recapitulate, not so much the specific inventions and knowledge gains made throughout history, but rather the successive accretion of particular intellectual tools as they developed throughout the course of human history. In doing so, Egan postulates, distinct forms of understanding result from the development of particular intellectual tools as acquired through the interiorization of culture. While broadly varied in nature, the tools Egan (1997) expressly focuses upon are those evident in language, namely, "the successive development of oral language, literacy, theoretic abstractions, and the extreme linguistic reflexiveness that yields irony" (p. 4).

The five "kinds of understanding" are presented below (Table 32.1), to be read from left to right. Under each heading is the form of language-use best descriptive of its kind of understanding and the dominant cultural-cognitive tools associated with that form. In his *Brief Guide to Imaginative Education*, Tyers (2006) is careful

Table 32.1 Five "kinds of understanding" (Adapted from Owen Tyers' *A brief guide to imaginative education*, 2006)

Somatic understanding *Pre-linguistic/ Proto-linguistic*	Mythic understanding *Oral language*	Romantic understanding *Written language*	Philosophic understanding *Theoretic use of language*	Ironic understanding *Reflexive use of language*
Body senses	Story	Sense of reality	Drive for generality	Limits of theory
Emotional responses and attachments	Metaphor	Extremes and limits of reality	Processes	Reflexivity and identity
Rhythm and musicality	Abstract binary opposites	Associations with heroes	Lure of certainty	Coalescence
Gesture and communication	Rhyme, meter and pattern	Wonder	General schemes & anomalies	Particularity
Intentionality	Forming images	Collections and hobbies	Search for authority & truth	
Humour	Sense of mystery	Revolt and idealism		
	Games, jokes, drama, and play	Context change		

to point out that teachers and students "must work to preserve the kinds of understanding already learned while developing each new kind of understanding. . . . The purpose of IE is to enable each student to fully develop and preserve the five kinds of understanding while they are learning math, science, social studies and all other subjects" (p. 4, original emphasis). The kinds of understanding occur in the specific order noted "because each kind of understanding represents an increasingly complex way that we learn to use language. . .. Each makes a distinctive contribution to understanding, and they work best if they can be combined" (p. 4). Ideally, then, students will not be working within any single kind of understanding; they will instead carry forward earlier kinds of understanding while also engaging embryonically with future forms.

Somatic Understanding

During the proto-linguistic (alternately, pre-linguistic) phrase of life, the child will begin developing somatic, or bodily, awareness as she learns to manipulate and communicate in her physical environment. Somatic awareness is premised in conscious, self-initiated, representational, but nonlinguistic acts of *mimeses* (intentional acts based upon imitation). Egan (1997) summarizes in the following way:

> The Somatic is a somewhat distinctive kind of understanding that sequentially precedes the Mythic, coalescing and accommodating with each subsequent kind of understanding

> as they develop on the Somatic foundation. Somatic understanding, then, is not something that exists only prior to language development but rather, like each of these kinds of understanding, ideally remains with us throughout our lives, continuing to develop within, though somewhat modified by, other kinds of understanding. (p. 163)

Somatic understanding, therefore, is the basis upon which subsequent learning proceeds. It begins pre-linguistically, but such kinesthetic intentionality continues developing as we traverse later forms of understanding.

Mythic Understanding

With the onset of oral language, the child is no longer subject to the limitations of direct physical experience. Referring to myth as "the prototypal, fundamental and integrative" (Egan, 1997, p. 35) cognitive tool, the development of cognitive tools associated with oral language allows the child to represent, imagine, and engage in a broad range of non-immediate phenomenon. Mythic understanding reflects the most potent features of language use in oral cultures: These cultures, Egan (2006) suggests, "use story forms and vivid images, rhyme and rhythm are common, binary oppositions play a large role, [and] they move on metaphoric connections" (p. 100). As such, we see the emphasis on story, humor, mystery, drama, and creative play as the child begins to expand her vocabulary, sense of fantasy, and use of abstract binaries and early metaphorical speech.

Romantic Understanding

As the child gains facility with abstract sign systems, she begins to gain a sense of her identity as distinct from her surroundings, real or imagined, alongside an awareness of the world as increasingly complex. This finds its cultural parallel in the technological advance of alphabetic literacy, as developed in ancient Greece during the so-called Greek miracle which radically served to reorganize human cognition. Egan (1997) describes the miracle in the following way:

> Among much else, it opened up what we call the historical period. Fluent literacy is not simply a matter of thinking and then writing the product of one's thoughts; the writing, rather, becomes part of the process of thinking. Extended discursive writing is not an external copy of a kind of thinking that goes on in the head; it represents a distinctive kind of literate thinking. (p. 76)
>
> It is possible to see a clear recapitulation of the process as children develop literacy today. As Bruner puts it, "literacy comes into its full powers as a goad to the redefinition of reality."...reality is no longer something that is simply given. (p. 79)

At this point in the cultural recapitulation, Tyers (2007) describes, the child comes to a burgeoning sensibility of her world as she investigates the "extremes of reality, associates with heroes, and seeks to make sense of the world in human

terms" (p. 4). At this moment in her development, she is interested in extreme facts such as the longest whale, the tallest building and the most goals scored in a season. Through her sense of wonder, her engagement with revolt and idealism, and her fascination with collections and hobbies, she begins to build the necessary bridge between the oral traditions of myth and storytelling, and the theoretical, rationalized abstractions available to her through Philosophical understanding:

> Sophisticated rationality did not emerge full grown, like Athena from the head of Zeus. It developed bit by bit, carrying its mythic origins well into the modern period. Romantic understanding represents crucial elements of rationality developing along with persisting features of myth – in both cultural history and in education today. (Egan, 1997, p. 80)

It is precisely this "mixture of the mythic with the rational" that constitutes the central defining feature of Romantic understanding (p. 81). "Students' forms of thinking," Egan concludes, "gradually accommodate to the shapes of autonomous reality, but they first make sense of reality in 'romantic' terms" (p. 102).

Philosophic Understanding

At about the age of 15, a more structured and rationalized form of thought begins to emerge from the largely discrete details experienced within Romantic understanding. As Egan describes it: "The central feature of Philosophic understanding is systematic theoretic thinking and an insistent belief that Truth can only be expressed in its terms" (pp. 104–105). It is such that we see emergent cultural-cognitive tools regarding the drive for generality, search for authority and truth, an awareness of abstract processes, and the recognition of general schemes and their anomalies. We should recall that, in keeping with Vygotsky's views on development, this new form of cognitive structuring and awareness is not something that happens *routinely* as a result of maturation, but rather represents the collection of an expanded set of culturally mediated cognitive tools that allow the imagination to reach out conceptually and structure experience. During this phase of increasing conceptual clarity, students come to "the realization that they themselves are parts of the complex processes and systems that make up the world" (p. 121), such that they come to see themselves, not in terms of Romantic qualities but rather as embedded in an ongoing process of human development, a schematic shift that comes – in keeping with the broader theory – with both sizable gains and associated losses. Here, the burgeoning sense of general schemes tends to reduce interest in extremes, collections and the dramatic such that Romantic and Mythic knowledge often comes to be "dismissed as irrelevant, pointless, [and] a trivial pursuit" (p. 125). Thus while "building reliable general schemes is necessary for the individual student to become a realistic and sensible [autonomous] agent in the world" (pp. 126–127), the child does appear to lose something of her more directly connected Mythic and Romantic understanding of her experience.

Ironic Understanding

The core of Ironic understanding begins when the child, now a young adult, begins to recognize that there are very real limitations native to systematic thinking. At this juncture, Egan's theory suggests that she makes two significant realizations:

> She starts to appreciate that theories, and even the language she relies on, are too limited and crude to capture everything that she means and that is important about the world. She also recognizes that the way she makes sense of the world depends on her unique historical and cultural perspective. (Tyers, 2007, p. 5)

Obviously, this kind of understanding brings us into a discussion of the so-called modern and postmodern, with what Egan (1997) refers to as its attendant "problems concerning language and its referentiality," and the development, in individuals and across societies, of a prescient Ironic understanding "that results from the breakdown or decay of general schemes [and] leads to the accumulating reflexiveness of language and consciousness" (p. 138). Witnessing that in the twentieth century, Western intellectual history has grappled with the seeming recognition that language, despite being our most intricate cultural tool, may ultimately prove incapable of grasping realty and truth, Egan identifies a problem for (post)modern humankind as it struggles to deal with the Rortian suggestion that "we are to accept the 'contingency of ... our most central beliefs and desires,' and abandon 'the idea that those central beliefs and desires refer back to something beyond time and chance'" (p. 138). The essence of Ironic Understanding is therefore found in the potential for provisionality and malleability in human thinking and the utterances of language that play in the slippage between statement and meaning. Confronted as we are with a context characterized by the destabilization of meaning and a multiplicity of (often conflicting) identities, the educated person comes into encounter with the most contemporary of "ironic" cultural tools; the limits of theory, the reflexivity of language, the role of identity in the interpretation of meaning, coalescence, particularity, and a productive sense of epistemic doubt. For Egan, the internalization of these tools by the educated person leads, not to some form of postmodern nihilism of truth, meaning or depth, but rather to "the fluent ironist" who can slip like a chimera "from perspective to perspective" in the search for substantive truth and understanding (p. 145). It leads to Socrates.

On Canada's Official Apology to Aboriginal Peoples: A Unit Example

The unit outlined in the following pages follows the essential narrative structure of Imaginative Education. The story, in keeping with the Romantic toolkit of human extremes and association with heroic qualities, centers upon the perseverance and courage of both Aboriginal persons to survive residential schools and seek formal restitution, and the Prime Minister to stand at the crux of Canada's Aboriginal history and be held to account for this country's sordid legacy of cultural centrism. As

in Australia, the cornerstones of the narrative structure are easy to find. We have, of course, Hansard archival footage of Prime Minister Harper's Apology alongside the formal response by Chief of the Assembly of First Nations Phil Fontaine in the House of Commons, photographic juxtaposition of the Aboriginal child dressed in both traditional and western costume, and a litany of distressing policy statements from Canada's past governments that sought to "kill the Indian" in the Aboriginal

Romantic Framework	**Topic:** PM Harper's Apology to Aboriginal Canadians	
Finding a Narrative		
Heroic Qualities	**Heroic Image**	**Organizing Content into Story Form**
What "heroic" qualities or values are central to the topic? What makes the characters in this story full of wonder? **Resilience/Perseverance and Courage** (Two simultaneous qualities) **From the Aboriginal view:** To survive the residential school experience To persist until apology To tell their story at Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission **From the view of PM Harper:** To understand history and its impact To recognize/sympathize with others and be changed by experience To stand and deliver a true, respectful, and just apology	***What image captures the heroic qualities of the topic?*** PM Harper's Apology Phil Fontaine's Response The 'Residential' child	***What "heroic narrative" will allow us to integrate the content we wish to cover?*** **A narrative occurring on three levels:** **Political:** Assimilation to Cultural Equality and Partnership **Social:** Individual/collective action's impact upon social paradigms **Psychological:** Opposition/Intolerance to Relationship/Obligation

Developing Cognitive Tools	PM Harper's Apology to Aboriginal Canadians		
Exploring Human Strengths & Emotions	**Extremes of Reality**	**Collecting & Organizing**	**Teacher-led/strructured ⟷ Student-led/open-ended**
How can students understand the human hopes, fears, passions or struggles that have shaped our knowledge of this topic? **Ignorance and Hate** **Domination and Victimization** **Understanding and Regret** **Truth and Healing**	***What extremes of reality are related to the topic – biggest, hottest, oldest, richest?*** **Set up binaries in quotes:** **Assimilation** "*Indian culture is a contradiction in terms…they are uncivilized…the aim of education is to destroy the Indian."* Nicholas Flood David Report 1879 *"The great aim of our legislation has been to do away with the tribal system and to assimilate the Indian people in all respects."* Prime Minister. Sir John A. MacDonald 1887 *"Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question and no Indian Department."* Duncan Campbell Scott, Department of Indian Affaris, 1920. **vs. Apology** "*This day testifies to nothing less than the achievement of the impossible. We heard Canada say it was sorry. We still have to struggle, but now we are in this together. I reach out to all Canadians."* Phil Fontaine, Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, 2008	***What parts of the topic can students best explore in exhaustive detail? How can students present their knowledge in some systematic form?*** **As research:** Historical Timelines Collecting First Person Narratives Stats on Aboriginal Populations: Residential schools Incarceration rates Poverty rates Incidence of F.A.S. Rates of suicide Etc. **The experience of residential schools:** Prohibited language, Prohibited culture (potlatch), Religious domination, Physical and sexual abuse, Child abduction.	

Looking Forward and Concluding	PM Harper's Apology to Aboriginal Canadians	
Towards Further Understanding	**A Celebratory Ending**	**Assessment**
How can the unit develop embryonic forms of Philosophic and Ironic understanding? What cognitive tools characteristic of the disciplines or embodied self-awareness can be introduced here? Understanding the **template of conflict resolution** What are the **general principles** and processes behind apologies and restitution? How does a (re)newed understanding effect ethical behavior? For example, "Fair Go" **Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission** Purposes, organization and potential Challenges. **Issues of redress** Financial redress and/or other forms of contrition/restitution based on successful interpersonal apologies.	***What is the best way of resolving the dramatic tension inherent in the unit? What communal project or activity will enable the students to experience and share this resolution?*** **Gallery Presentation** for other classes with an eye on less educated responses to Aboriginal history. **Drumming and healing circles** **Field Trip** to a Coast Salish Longhouse (British Columbian example)	***How can one know whether the topic has been understood, its importance grasped and the content learned?*** **Ongoing reflective journal** to trace psychological shifts / changes in understanding. **Flowchart/graphic display** re: apologies and conflict resolution. Writing **short stories** that demonstrate shifts in thinking: binaries to mediation **Gallery walks** re: specific historical-social narratives **Poetry readings** re: major themes Unit end **self assessment letters** **Historical Essays**

child. Limited examples of such pronouncements are included in the unit above (see "Extremes of Reality") but there exists a very clear lineage from Egerton Ryerson's 1847 pronouncement of using education to "civilize" Aboriginal children, through to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People of 1992, to more contemporary statements of regret, compensation, and, finally, apology arising within the last ten years, all of which could be used in a full implementation of such curriculum. What is most salient for our purpose is this notion of narrative on each of the political, social, and psychological levels, for it is with regard to these narrative structures that Imaginative Education, through its union of intellectual and affective domains, is likely to produce the psychological shifts in learners that are necessary not only to a robust understanding of the curricular material at hand but also the specific goals of Australia's Values Education.

The original intent of this chapter was essentially threefold; to outline the salient ideas and practices of Imaginative Education, to outline a unit of study that adheres to the principles of IE, and to argue how these ideas and this approach are an excellent fit for the goals of values education. It is at this point that we are in position to discuss the unit included above in order to more fully unify these ends. As is appropriate to our topic (and as expressly included within the unit), we will attempt this by importing the language of Restorative Justice. Obviously, space limits the degree to which we can delineate the various approaches and theories from such a rich and diverse field as Restorative Justice. To simplify this, we will draw from various authors, each having somewhat different approaches and goals, with the assumption that there is considerable coherence within the field and that it is fair and reasonable to work with a composite of the ideas contained in different schools such as conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and restorative justice proper. The term "Restorative Justice" will thus be used as a short-hand descriptor for this composite of approaches.

The reason for the comparison between IE and Restorative Justice is that there is significant overlap between, if not parallel psycho-emotional processes arising within, the two models. This comparison will attempt to show, therefore, how the kinds of cognitive templates that are central to both approaches – that is, the internal processes or dynamics that are created in each – are likely to provoke a common type of psychological change in the learner. What emerges is that the initial stages of Restorative Justice parallel the Mythic and early Romantic kinds of understanding found in the IE framework. Both approaches begin with an oppositional or binary dynamic before moving, through a narrative mode, toward finding resolution in a rule-governed recognition of perspectives. It is the nature of this transition – from binary entrenchment to disciplined argumentation – that we want to explore in order to argue that IE offers a powerful educational model for the development of an ethical, values-based brand of thinking and, concurrently, the goals of values education.

Restorative Justice stresses the importance of beginning in the binary mode for sincere and open dialogue to occur. In a parallel manner, Imaginative Education treats the cultural-cognitive tool of binaries as a universally accessible kind of understanding and, therefore, an excellent gateway to shape thought and educational development. In the end, both are striving for the same process and goal even if their orientations are different. Significantly, this first stage in the process of psychological change exposes a weakness that is common to several models of curriculum design and practice, namely, the presumption of a neutral forum for discussion. This is important to highlight for several reasons. The Australian Government (DEEWR, 2008) acknowledges the inherent turmoil and "charged" atmosphere in values education. Its *Final Stage 2 Report* states:

> The Stage 2 cluster experiences assert and often demonstrate that successful values education initiatives are positively disturbing and disruptive in nature. They can challenge familiar and traditional notions of the curriculum, the teacher role, the ways school operate, teacher–student relationships and the very nature of schooling. (p. 12)

Thus, to engage in any discussion of race relations or, in this case, a cultural history predicated on cultural obliteration, means that one should reasonably expect a highly charged emotional context. To take as an assumption that openness to honest dialogue pre-exists or that liberal values are a kind of bedrock for every classroom can prove, in other words, short-sighted if not foolish. One must not neglect the presence of closed-minded, oppositional, or even racist students in a class. Restorative Justice recognizes this idea and asserts that we must start our deliberations in this black and white arena and only then progress toward a mode of open dialogue, eventually arriving at reframed opinions and beliefs.

This process is akin to the general developmental movement through the Mythic, Romantic, and Philosophic Understandings as explained in IE. Whereas Egan (1997) argues from the socio-cultural perspective that binary or "Mythic" thinking, by virtue of its early phylogenetic and ontogenetic development, is virtually accessible to all, Restorative Justice makes the complementary claim (Moore & McDonald, 2000) that one must begin with an acknowledgement of polarized perspectives or

risk that no forward progress will occur. Where Restorative Justice sees this mode of thinking as a position that can be overcome, IE sees it as an opportunity to access a kind of thinking that will engage the imagination and then lead to different and more "reasoned" kinds of understanding. It is here, then, that the reader may wish to revisit the use of binaries in the early portions of the example unit, under the heading "heroic qualities," "heroic images," and "extremes of reality" to see its application in the planning framework. The linking idea here is that the binary creates a "tensioned space" where the imagination is called into play, whether in the classroom or a setting of meditation. Moore and McDonald argue that, "The basis of conflict is closed communication.... If an idea is proposed by the opposing group, it is to be resisted" (p. 13). The dominant attitude for the person unable to grasp the position of the "Other" is that if they give in they have personally failed, and then the conflict moves from outward to inward conflict and the person becomes even more entrenched in preexisting states of understanding rather than becoming more open to other possible narratives or reframed understandings (p. 13). If, in the parlance of IE, we are moving people toward a Romantic identification with heroic qualities extant within a new narrative, in this case the struggle of Aboriginals for recognition and equality, we must make room to hear the original fears, positions, and biases that lock people into their oppositional thinking before they move on.

In our example unit, as in Restorative Justice, the initial establishment of clear binaries is of central concern and Zehr (2002) raises this very issue when examining the role of the offender in victim–offender reconciliation conferences. There are issues and a history that have "created" this offender and there are rationalizations and understandings that keep the offender in a place where healing cannot occur *unless these elements are heard and then contested.* Moore and McDonald make it clear that the elements of participation, equity, deliberation, and non-tyranny are essential; a simple translation of these values would be that we all get to be heard. Only when one feels that they have been heard will they be open to the stories of the other. Further, with these starting values and ensuing shifts we begin to see some alignment with the objectives of Australian Values Education, objectives like "Fair Go," "Honesty and Trustworthiness," and "Understanding, Tolerance, and Inclusion." What is important here is that we cannot rush too quickly toward the goals of ethical development before we examine the kind of preliminary work that must occur. Ultimately, the binaries are fundamentally important to both Imaginative Education and Restorative Justice; by extension, they also appear necessary to values education in that they allow for an environment where shifts in understanding and, presumably, values may emerge.

The next phase for these approaches is the manner with which narratives are used to humanize meaning. If participants of Restorative Justice have moved past understandings based in opposition and reached the stage of open dialogue, Moore and McDonald suggest we should see a "shift in tone" (p. 44) along with a commensurate willingness for people to tell their stories. In the IE framework, with a less controversial topic, one might here move students toward the interesting stories that illuminate a topic and let the narrative work its emotional power toward educational ends. Conversely, with a more controversial issue, like the federal apology to

Aboriginal Canadians, Restorative Justice would advise the use of personal narrative to reframe understandings about the issues and perspectives involved. Restorative Justice asserts that, at this point, one should notice shifts in emotion that Moore describes as "deflation," a letting down of the guard as the participants move out of or beyond their oppositional positions. Brendtro and Larson (2006) explain this as a "tit for tat" dynamic, only in this instance with a positive connotation. That is, as participants feel listened to they are likely to become more open to the perspectives of others. It is here, after the entrenchment of binaries subsides, that changes in the emotional tone occur. In a climate of openness, narratives can begin to work their cognitive and emotional power on the participants in the very manner Egan's aforementioned use of imagination as the interplay between affect and reason suggests.

The emotional climate is thus central to the process when beginning to build new understandings – in the present example a future history of respectful reciprocity between western and Aboriginal Canadians – and it is in the sharing of stories that emotion and reason interact to create new possibilities. In Egan's terminology, it is the utility of narratives for developing an association with the heroic, an awareness of the extremes of reality, and an engagement with revolt and idealism characteristic of Romantic Understanding that propels the student toward new ways of thinking; with regards to the Canadian Federal Apology, an emotional (empathic) bond with the principal figures and ideas. Through the humanization of meaning, what can perhaps be seen most prominently in the "Collecting and Organizing" section of the example unit, Romantic Understanding involves the acquisition of cognitive tools alongside specific content that make new associations with subjective experience possible. Narrative leads us toward new possibilities, including new ethical frameworks and the capacity to understand the impacts of ourselves upon others, because "learning to follow stories is to develop these mental capacities, to make more flexible our manipulation of possibilities . . . where possibility, contingency, the conditional and provisional surround the. . . unadorned literal actuality" (Egan, 1992, pp. 63–64). Succinctly put, using the Romantic framework allows us a vehicle to move away from static, stark, and simplistic representations and move toward a richer, more complex, and humanized understanding. As students become dexterous in their use of narrative and develop the cognitive tool kit of Romantic Understanding, they are increasingly likely to enact the desired outcomes of values education; "Treating others with consideration and regard, respecting another person's point of view, being aware of others and their cultures, accepting diversity within a democratic society, [and] being included and including others" (DEST, 2005, p. 4). In accomplishing this we will have achieved a more open and tolerant space for discussion, created an empathic bond between student and subject, and made the environment fertile for the development of Philosophic Understanding.

As mentioned earlier, the transformation from Romantic to Philosophic Understanding represents a movement from a focus on particular experience to an awareness of the general schemes and theoretical principles that organize a wide range of phenomena. In the context of the current unit, embryonic forms of philosophic thought are included in such questions such as "what are the general

principles and processes behind proper apologies?" alongside issues such as historical presentism and the appropriateness of financial redress. Such questions soon appear analogous to depictions of more "objective" moral understanding such as Kant's Categorical Imperative or Kierkegaard's Universal Ethical. Obviously, some of our desired outcomes regarding fairness, tolerance, and mutuality will have already been achieved if our use of Mythic and Romantic Understanding has been successful; a narrative that has altered because of the impact of listening to another perspective is evidence of this change. But this is our baseline of success. Some students will take it further, and struggle for philosophic articulation of their new awareness. Philosophic Understanding denotes an explicit articulation of some kind of organizing theorem or truth claim that can encapsulate or integrate the reformed and disparate new narratives. The teacher might watch for generalizing comments from the students about the "colonizing impulse of nation states" or that "bullying in the playground is similar to bullying at the cultural level." Such language, were it to occur, would reflect a deepening appreciation and internalization of specific curricular concepts in the form of categorical principles and the organization of experience, analogous to the descriptions provided in Australia's *Final Stage 2 Report* (DEEWR, 2008) which states, "Students can be seen to move in stages from growing in knowledge and understanding of the values, to an increasing clarity and commitment to certain values" (p. 11). These embryonic moments of Philosophic Understanding are not guaranteed for all students, obviously, but the means to create the conditions for their emergence appear evident through planning frameworks of Imaginative Education. Most importantly, if we get students to this point of realization, to an internally driven, spontaneous value claim around issues of equity or fairness, we will have induced, and with some degree of permanence, an understanding of particular core ideas of Australian Values Education, rather than merely "instructed" inert ethical rules with who knows what level of interiorization.

It is in the Philosophic mode that the power of the imagination is recognized by Restorative Justice as enabling the desired reconciliation of perspectives. In the earlier phases of the process, it is important to create an open dialogue which sets the stage for the imagination to do its work. Fisher and Ury (1991) claim, "Nothing is so harmful to inventing as a critical sense waiting to pounce on the drawbacks of any new idea. Judgment hinders imagination" (p. 58). As people first identify and then move beyond their binary and oppositional views, so the theory suggests, they feel comfortable enough to unfetter their imagination and engage in producing new possibilities, alternatives and, potentially, a creative philosophic reframing of their understanding. In this manner, Restorative Justice recognizes both the power of the imagination to recast previously entrenched positions and the degree to which the emotional climate is critical for the imagination to produce possibility. This stretch into the Philosophic represents, then, not the abandonment of direct emotive experience in favor of detached or abstracted reason, but the very desirability that an enhanced emotional climate will result, one which encourages collaborative, empathetic enquiry into, and ultimate creation of, a general scheme that is sympathetic to a broader range of narratives. As such, the experience of being heard creates the potential of community and the formation of new options for both thought and

behavior. Fisher and Ury characterize this phase of the process as "broadening the options on the table" (p. 66). Up to this point, divergent narratives have been important as they have modeled different modalities of understanding and experience; however, at this juncture, the dissonance of narratives now has the potential to stand as catalyst for philosophic analysis as the imaginative thinker tries to find some general principle that might unite the varying concerns and perspectives.

The method advocated by Fisher and Ury toward finding such general principles resonates strongly with IE's description of Philosophic Understanding. They advocate that one should identify the problem and then analyze it in terms of general schemes, moving away from purely personal experiences, toward more reciprocal and normative claims. In doing so, the level of confrontation will have moved far from its original entrenched structures toward an empathetic "ought" that, at minimum, connotes publicly contestable reasoning and reinforces the shared belief that a focus upon shared principles is more productive for generating solutions in the context of sensitive discussion. Fisher and Ury (1991) describe it thus:

> Go back and try to identify the general approach of which the action idea is merely one application. You can then think up other action ideas that would apply the same general approach to the real world.... One good option on the table thus opens the door to asking about the theory that makes this option good and then using that theory to invent more options. (p. 67)

In this description of the interplay of deductive and inductive thinking, we can thus recognize its clear intersection with Philosophic Understanding, replete with its drive for generality, search for authority, and lure of certainty. Perhaps more importantly, we have a testament to the virtually limitless productive capacity of the imagination in the Philosophic mode, which in the context of negotiation offers to transform polarized and oppositional combatants into an empathetic mutuality that centers its attention upon a new normative approach, theory or idea. It is clear that Philosophic Understanding and Restorative Justice cohere in this process of psychological shift as people move out of conflict and into communities characterized by tolerance, openness, and reciprocity.

Conclusion

In the preceding interplay of IE and Restorative Justice, we have attempted to justify how a unit like the one regarding Canada's apology to Aboriginal people might, once translated to an Australian context, provide a powerful model for implementing the values education project. The intention was to illustrate how the Imaginative approach might serve to build the kind of values-based communities that any democratically minded system of public education has as its mandate by provoking a psychological shifting in the learner from binary to romantic to philosophic forms of thought. In this regard, the Imaginative framework should satisfy many of the recommendations of the *Final Report of the Values Education Good Practice School Project* **-** *Stage 2-Components of Effective Implementation* (DEEWR, 2008).

Specifically, IE "contrasts with traditional didactic teaching and content-centered pedagogies which are largely inappropriate for effective values education" (p. 10) in that IE focuses on how cognitive changes facilitate learning rather than on the content to be learned. Moreover, Imaginative Education, like values education, is "... an approach to existing curriculum, a way of seeing curriculum that requires an integration rather than an addition" (p. 11). The planning frameworks of IE are definitely not an addition; rather, through the engagement of the imagination and recognition of the interplay between affect and reason, IE offers a "whole-person" approach to curriculum theory and implementation called for by the values education project. Such a mode of instruction also seems to address the professed need that values education, "needs to be deeply personal, deeply real and deeply engaging. The teaching and learning is three-dimensional and could not be more profoundly meaningful" (p. 11). Finally, if the unit provided in this chapter is any indication, IE offers to produce the kinds of cognitive shifts that values education is attempting in cluster projects. The implementation of the Imaginative frameworks may, therefore, "provide both the tools and the common ground for positively engaging with the diversity and difference that arises from a multitude of cultures, faiths, ethnicities, abilities, and geographic and socioeconomic circumstances, and which can marginalize groups from mainstream learning" (p. 11).

Ultimately, the degree to which the reader finds our argument persuasive will be intimately bound to the manner with which our unit regarding the Canadian apology to Aboriginals serves as a useful model for how one might induce values-based awareness. We cannot presume to instruct the Australian example: there is no universal curriculum and it would presumptuous of us to tell Australian educators how to teach their own cultural history. We do perceive, however, strong symmetries in our respective colonial histories which allow us to suggest possibilities for the Australian narrative from the perspective of the Canadian. One of the strengths of the Imaginative frameworks is their flexibility such that they could accommodate these necessary contextual adaptations. Importing the lens of Ironic Understanding, perhaps such challenges with translation are fortuitously apt, for if the argument against the dictation and direct instruction of "values" writ large is correct, we cannot allow ourselves to be tempted to oppressively impose values but rather must find the means, methods, and environments that make these values grow from within the individual. As so powerfully suggested some time ago by eco-philosopher Aldo Leopold (1949), "Nothing so important as an ethic is ever 'written'... [Its evolution] is an intellectual as well as emotional process" (p. 190), one that needs continual reinforcement and refinement in the individual, in the public space of relations. Such is a core purpose of teaching. It is in this sense that "as the ethical frontier advances from the individual to the community, its intellectual content increases" (p. 190).

If we first conceive of integrity as a consistency between words and deeds, and then impose the "right values" from our position of power as classroom authorities, we will have created hypocrisy, not integrity. We will have put students in a bind where they must choose the "right" values or keep previously held limited understandings, and thereby played directly into the binaries we have professed to work beyond. However, if we can create an emotional and intellectual climate where all

can be honest, sincere, and seek the truth and, in that space, individuals experience an alteration in their understanding and willingly follow these new possibilities, then we have demonstrated and facilitated a space where the principles of Australian Values Education are learned and then lived. We cannot possibly hope to accomplish such a lasting transformation either on the first day or in one fell swoop of explication. "No important change in ethics was ever accomplished," Leopold (1949) continues, "without an internal change in our intellectual emphasis, loyalties, affections and convictions" (p. 174), and if teachers, as the ethical leaders in the room, try to make easy or simplistic pronouncements from the centre, we trivialize that which is most essential. In the end, students are transformed, not by coercion or blunt dictation, but by the careful application and cultural power of the cognitive tools that are built into the theory and framework of Imaginative Education.

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Chapter 33
The Developmental Contours of Character

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Introduction

Historically, there has been a chasm between the fields of developmental psychology and education. While so much of educational practice is or should be based on theory about and research on child and adolescent development, sadly this is less common than one might presume. In a recent editorial for *Edutopia*, Chris Colin (2009) laments that “what is discovered in the lab tends either to stay in the lab or is basically irrelevant to the classroom.” He then lays out the many reasons for this failure: the two disciplines tend to work in isolation from each other; psychological work is complex and often highly abstract or theoretical; there is a tendency to want to apply basic research before it is fully understood. Nonetheless, there are plenty of examples of cases where effective practice is attained by the timely and appropriate application of child and adolescent psychological research. In other words, this is the path we ought to travel, even if there are many hurdles to overcome.

In this chapter we will make a more specific argument for the application of child psychology to character education, and, particularly, we will work to answer the question of “what is character?” Our goal here is not to produce a laundry list of personality traits or, for the eager educator, to generate a “how-to” manual for classroom practice. Rather, we mean to demonstrate how contributions from developmental psychology can help clarify the contours of character. We maintain that by getting clearer about character’s complex structure or form, we can better substantiate the best practices for character development and education. Ultimately, we define character education as intentional strategies within schools to foster children’s capacities and motivations to act as moral agents, i.e., to do good in the world. Our discussion will focus on a few specific, though certainly not all, aspects of moral agency: self-regulation; autonomy; perspective taking and moral reasoning; empathy and emotional competence. First, though, we will explore why character education should be seen as part of the general aims of education.

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"Intelligence Plus Character"

Any educator with a social conscience can recall Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, famous phrase "Intelligence plus character – that is the goal of true education." Moreover, most, if not all, can go on to express why these words are important: many so-called smart people, despite their intellectual competencies, may nevertheless behave badly or be committed to harmful paths of action. Indeed this was King's point back in 1947 when he authored his short essay, "The Purpose of Education," for a college newspaper. Citing as an example the former governor of Georgia, and well-known segregationist, Mr. Eugene Talmadge, King acknowledged the statesman's ability to "think critically and intensively" while taking exception to Talmadge's contention that people of color were "inferior being[s]." King's conclusion to his essay has become a well-rehearsed mantra for character educators far and wide: "[E]ducation which stops with efficiency may prove the greatest menace to society. The most dangerous criminal may be gifted with reason, but with no morals."

In contemporary circles of character education, King's distinction between intelligence and character resembles the division that is now often drawn between "performance character" and "moral character" (e.g., Character Education Partnership, 2008; Lickona & Davidson, 2005). That is, performance character, like intelligence more broadly, need not apply to moral or ethical concerns per se. Rather, matters of performance point specifically to skills that allow individuals to optimally regulate their thoughts and actions, or exert self-control, and achieve levels of personal excellence in their conduct (e.g., achieving one's "personal best" in a running race or swim meet). Moral character, on the other hand, refers directly to interpersonal ethical imperatives such as justice or compassion. Such imperatives, or social prescriptions, are understood as *intrinsically* good, and *not*, as Berkowitz and Puka (2009) have suggested merely "*derivative* of the ends toward which they are applied (e.g., courageous in the service of saving innocent lives or courageous in fulfilling a violent gang initiation)" (p. 108, italics added).

Despite the utility of this distinction, the idea that morality or moral character can be carved off so neatly from other areas of human conduct is troublesome, and speaks to the tension within character education regarding the best practices for nurturing moral competence. At the very least, dimensions of performance and moral character should be seen as complementary, as Lickona and other character educators have urged. That is, as individuals develop the kinds of regulatory abilities that allow them to meet standards of practical *personal* excellence, they must also be aiming at high standards of prescriptive *interpersonal* excellence. Drawing again from King's essay, educators must foster "not only the power of concentration, but worthy objectives upon which to concentrate." The tension, in this case, between personal and interpersonal dimensions of character is not so much resolved as it is held in check – personal desire or ambition is constrained by attention to, and concern for, interpersonal norms or codes of conduct.

Still, there are good reasons to resist this characterization of human life, not the least of which are the implications that moral conduct ultimately results from

external constraint and that moral character is little more than an "add-on" or non-essential ingredient in the formation of virtuous people. A more integrative approach to these concerns would advocate for a position that makes it less easy to split the spheres of character, and human life, so readily in half. Here, the words of another famous social and educational reformer, John Dewey, come to mind: "moral science is not something with a separate province. It is physical, biological, and historic knowledge placed in a humane context where it will illuminate and guide . . . [human] activities" (Dewey, 1922, p. 296). Character, insofar as it might prove to be a "moral science," can be seen to draw from many domains of knowledge and human life (e.g., biological, psychological, social, cultural, and historical) that are, in turn, situated within a humanistic framework. Although this is a daunting task, it is not impossible. Chikura Hiroike, whose seminal opus *A Treatise on Moral Science* written in the early twentieth century founded the field of "moralogy" in Japan, integrated a wide array of disciplines (e.g., psychology, law, history, biology, economics) in his effort to develop a universal scientific theory of morality (Hiroike, 1966). While our attempts remain less ambitious than Hiroike's, such an integrative and humanistic conception of science informs our approach to character education. This approach, as we will show, is one that adopts some of the scientific tenets of developmental psychology as its "humane context" for guiding educators and others with a vested interest to promote the positive growth of children. The field of developmental psychology, however, is not without its own share of tensions too, particularly if we attend to the "historic knowledge" that Dewey insists is so critical.

Summary and Implications

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s famous description of the goals of education parallels the contemporary distinction between performance and moral character. The gap that this distinction implies between personal and interpersonal standards of excellence should be filled by integrative efforts to develop a humanistic "moral science."

Character Education Meets Developmental Psychology . . . Again

The relationship between character education and developmental psychology has never been easy. While, at least in principle, the two fields hold great potential for informing each other, the intellectual landscape between character education and developmental psychology has long been marked by tension, in much the same way as Colin's (2009) editorial points to a broader tension between education and psychology. For character education, the sources of such tension tend to center around areas of developmental psychology that examine the growth of socio-moral competencies and motivations in children and adolescents. The two most notable sources of this tension, at least from the psychological side of the landscape, can be found in

the cognitive-developmental research tradition associated with Lawrence Kohlberg and Jean Piaget. Both of these figures are credited with putting moral psychology on the map for developmental researchers, but this came with some costs. One of these has been the alienation of traditional character educators (e.g., Ryan, 1989, 1996; Wynne, 1986) whose favored technique for socializing moral values emphasized conforming to routines, systems of reinforcement, and rote learning. Citing Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* as their authority, traditionalists in character education have long argued that "virtue of character results from habit" (Aristotle, 1985, p. 1103a18). Although this claim sat well with the once-dominant Behaviorist model in psychology, it stood in stark contrast to the processes of reasoning and deliberation that were – and still are – the hallmark of cognitive-developmental research.

The second source of tension between character education and developmental psychology grew out of Kohlberg's influential critique of character as an approach to morality that amounts to little more than an arbitrary "bag of virtues." Siding with Rationalist philosophers, like Immanuel Kant and John Rawls, and citing evidence from social psychology that cast doubt on the notion of stable character traits (e.g., Hartshorne & May, 1928), Kohlberg argued in his critique that virtue-based accounts of morality fell victim to ethical relativism, and, as such, were an unsound basis for moral education. Specifically, he claimed that "labeling a set of behaviors displayed by a child with positive or negative trait terms does not signify they are of adaptive or ethical importance. It represents an appeal [only] to particular community conventions..." (Kohlberg & Mayer, 1972, p. 479). Kohlberg's rationalist position was set in contrast, then, to what was seen as the more arbitrary and conventionalized models of morality that guided character education. Interestingly, while many educators highlighted this distinction, others tended to miss it entirely and confuse Kohlberg's educational approach with that of ethically relativistic approaches like values clarification. The causes of this confusion often were the failure of educators to look at the theory undergirding the disparate approaches and to see only the superficial similarities in applied methods (Power & Berkowitz, 1981).

Time, however, has helped to heal some of these old wounds. The constraining influences of the cognitive-developmental tradition and Kohlberg's narrowly rationalist philosophical commitments are now felt less and less in moral psychology. As prominent citizenship scholar and moral psychologist James Youniss has remarked in his review of the most recent *Handbook of Moral Development* (Killen & Smetana, 2006), while "none of the chapters in [the] volume abandoned the essential role that reasoning plays in...leading to general moral principles ... many of the authors have tempered reasoning with such things as the dynamics of interpersonal relationships, emotions which imply interpersonal attachments, and concerns which go beyond particular individuals to society wide issues. These infusions help to humanize the moral agent whose moral choices involve more than the use of cool cognition" (Youniss, 2005, p. 142). The breadth of research questions, modes of inquiry, and psychological constructs under consideration in moral psychology has

reached unprecedented levels. Even those who were once opposed to character as a viable construct now suggest that we may "reconceptualize what is meant by moral character in a way that does not rest on assumptions about personal virtues or traits, while [still] capturing the essential notion that morality cannot be divorced from the person as a moral being" (Nucci, 2001, p. 128). All of this, as Daniel Lapsley and Darcia Narvaez have remarked, puts moral psychology "at an important crossroad ... that opens up new opportunities for theoretical innovation" (Lapsley & Narvaez, 2005, p. 20) and promises to enrich moral psychological research in the post-Kohlbergian era.

Character education is also at a similar crossroads. Regarding its Aristotelian roots, educational researchers (under the heading of "generalists," see Power & Khmelkov, 1997) have begun to recognize that habit and reason are not mutually exclusive. Instead, many have come to resonate with the view that "[children] can and must enter the palace of reason through the courtyard of habit and tradition" (Peters, 1963, pp. 54–55). Echoing these sentiments, moral and character educators (e.g., Berkowitz, 1997; Higgins-D'Alessandro & Power, 2005) are increasingly urging that *habituated* and *critical*, or reflective, virtue be taken together as central processes in the development of the "whole moral person." In this approach, notions of virtue and character have become less trait-oriented, and more focused on the broader psychological systems that sustain moral growth. The definition of character that we will use throughout the present chapter, in fact, describes character in just this way: as "*the composite of psychological characteristics that serve to promote moral agency*" (Berkowitz & Bier, 2005, p. 268, italics in the original). We, like others in moral psychology (e.g., Blasi, 2005), see how such conceptual re-situating has made Kohlberg's original claims about the arbitrariness of virtue, or what counts as "character," far less damning. That is, by *psychologizing* character the field now has the means to show the order, or system of relationships, that both motivate and enable moral conduct. This is anything but arbitrary, and, in fact, can be studied in the predictable social, emotional, cognitive, and behavioral patterns that emerge over the course of child and adolescent development. In the end, this makes many of the debates in education circles – such as whether character curricula should focus on a particular set of virtues (e.g., the Six Pillars of Character from *Character Counts*), school-related behavioral outcomes (e.g., school discipline, attendance), service behaviors (e.g., community service, volunteerism), and/or academic outcomes (e.g., grades, failures, graduation rates) – rest on more secondary considerations. The "virtues" are a product of a whole host of psychological developments (motives, emotions, values, etc.). The behaviors likewise are multi-determined, again by psychological factors; e.g., attendance has to do with values and self-regulation. The root of character education is it psychological foundation, and, as we hope to show, its reliance on mapping the developmental origins and contours of psychological change that emerge in the lives of children. Still, like any progressive science, developmental psychology is also itself undergoing development. We will, therefore, also try to draw attention to places in the research where this may complicate the conclusions that are drawn.

Summary and Implications

The fields of developmental psychology and character education are at a crossroads that promises to move past old tensions and generate new, and mutually enriching, forms of collaboration. One of these collaborations is represented by our own efforts to "psychologize" character in order to clarify its structure and trace the developmental contours of "what character is."

The World Through Developmental Lenses

Before we begin to sketch out what some of the psychological processes related to character are, an additional word about the central assumptions of developmental psychology should be introduced. Rose colored or not, seeing the world through the lenses of developmental science offers a unique view of psychological constructs like character. To begin, developmentalists study change and the patterns or system-like properties that emerge within such change. This means that a phenomenon like character, first and foremost, is seen as a *dynamic* process, and *not* a fixed feature of a person. Even if past research had not been successful in debunking the notion of static personality traits (e.g., Mischel, 1968), the older, traditionalist account of character would have been at odds with a developmental emphasis on order and change. This is not to contend that there are no continuities in human development. In effect the best predictor of future psychological characteristics is present psychological characteristics. The point is that this creates an illusion of stasis, where reality is fluidity and change. An honest person (one who tends to be truthful) will likely remain an honest person; however, the act of telling the truth is a product of an ever-changing set of conditions (e.g., social pressures of the moment, likely consequences of acting one way or another, strength of conscience, how alert one is at the moment, etc.). Some of the changes are transitory and momentary, but others are developmental in nature.

A developmental perspective also means that character cannot be broken down, or reduced, to any one part of the developing person. Rather, much like Dewey's sentiments toward "moral science," character emerges from the interaction, or convergence, of a variety of dynamic forces that include biological, psychological, and social contributions. In this sense, a developmental approach to character might be likened to famous philosopher and mathematician Henri Poincaré's (1901/1952) remarks that science is no more "an accumulation of facts . . . than a pile of bricks is a house." That is, developmental scientists look to find in character not a collection of "things" (e.g., personality traits, virtues, etc.), but a pattern of "processes" that build on one another (like the arrangement of bricks in a house). These processes are what allow individuals to ultimately function as competent moral agents. Our next task will be to describe what some of these processes are and how they interrelate, as well as to show how they may inform practices in character education. We will focus particularly on the development of self-regulation, autonomy, perspective taking and moral reasoning, and, finally, empathy and emotional competence.

Summary and Implications

Developmental psychology offers a unique way of defining character, one based on the interrelations between multiple psychological processes that enable individuals to function as competent moral agents. We focus particularly on the patterns of development seen in the following processes: self-regulation, autonomy, perspective taking and moral reasoning, and, empathy and emotional competence. Although this list is far from offering a complete picture of the nature of character, it nevertheless begins to show the value that developmental research holds for defining its contours.

Self-Regulation

Following Lickona and Davidson's (2005) argument that performance character is necessary for the full flourishing of moral character, a natural place to begin looking for characteristics that enable a person to function as a moral agent is the developmental literature on *self-regulation*. Self-regulation allows for the "conscious control of thought and action" (Kerr & Zelazo, 2004, p. 148), and has been argued to lie at the "heart of all socially useful, personally enhancing, constructive, and creative abilities" (Lezak, 1982, p. 281).

The self-regulation literature grows out of work assessing neurological functioning in adult brain-damaged patients (e.g., Lezak, 1995; Luria, 1966). Because of their injuries, these patients went from autonomous and competent people to ones displaying poor judgment, disruptive perseverative tendencies, and abnormal social behavior. In short, they lost most of the ability to regulate their own conduct, especially in the social and moral spheres (Anderson, Bechara, Damasio, & Damasio, 1999). In a reverse parallel to the path followed by brain-damaged adults, research has similarly shown that young children possess poor or disorganized regulatory abilities that, over time, improve and allow them to grow into more regulated individuals. In keeping with this parallel, the concept of self-regulation, as well as the procedures to assess regulatory functioning, has been adapted from this earlier literature on adults and applied to children (e.g., Carlson, 2005). At least in part, understanding this history helps to account for the dominance of brain-based approaches to the development of self-regulatory abilities (e.g., Barkley, 1997; Diamond & Gilbert, 1989). Still, as we will show, social experience and context also play a critical role in self-regulation, suggesting that it cannot be reduced to maturational factors alone (Hammond, Bibok, & Carpendale, 2010; Maccoby, 2000).

Self-regulatory abilities appear early in development. Already by age 2, children can engage in some voluntary inhibition (Aksan & Kochanska, 2004), and children become fairly competent at inhibiting impulsive or unsanctioned behavior over extended periods of time by age 5 (Peake, Hebl, & Mischel, 2002). This is also the age by which fairly complex problem-solving begins to emerge (Zelazo, 2008). Self-regulation is generally argued to emerge through caregiver-assisted, or *scaffolded*, regulation (Turner & Berkowitz, 2005); but, even from the tender ages of 4 or 5 onward, young persons become capable of regulating their own behaviors

without parental assistance, for longer periods of time, and in more novel situations (Kopp, 1982, p. 200). Further significant gains in such self-control are seen between the ages of 5 and 7, and are ascribed to children's growing abilities to effectively apply metacognitive mediations such as self-talk (or "private speech") and mental imagery (Berkowitz, 1982).

Improving self-regulatory abilities allow children to complete tasks, cope with frustrations, and generally behave according to social expectations and norms without continual monitoring by adults. These developments are especially important for the school context, where children "need to be able to follow directions, not be disruptive of the class, and be sensitive to other children's feelings" (Blair, 2002, p. 112).

The ability to follow directions, respect social norms, and respect others also provides a natural link to research on the development of *conscience.* Conscience is defined as the ability to carry out "societally desirable acts without surveillance" (Kochanska & Thompson, 1997, p. 54), and has been operationalized in studies as the ability to follow parental (or experimenter) requests and commands (Karreman, van Tuijl, van Aken, & Dekovic, 2006). Kochanska and her colleagues, in particular, have shown that young children's compliance to caregivers' requests is highest when the parent–child relationship encompasses two key features: mutual responsiveness and shared positive affect (Kochanska, 1997; Kochanska & Aksan, 1995; Kochanska & Murray, 2000). These findings are also consistent with Maccoby's research (e.g., Maccoby & Martin, 1983, as cited in Grusec, 1997, p. 17–18) indicating that parents who successfully elicit mutual compliance from their children have created an environment in which delaying immediate personal gratification is done in the service of meeting mutual goals.

In the study of conscience, the two most relevant streams of research deal with children's *inhibitory control* and *rule-use*. Inhibitory control is the ability to delay or prevent so-called prepotent responses, such as reaching for an interesting toy. This is also known as the *delay of gratification* (e.g., Mischel, 1974). This approach to inhibition uses a *forbidden object* paradigm, originally created to test aspects of Freudian theory (Singer, 1955). The researcher designates some desirable object (e.g., a gift, a toy, or a snack) as "untouchable" and then asks the child participant to wait alone with the object while the researcher leaves the room for a certain period of time. Success at this procedure is determined by how long children wait before caving to their desire to obtain the prohibited object. Children who avoid touching the object are typically rewarded with either a more desirable object at the end of the delay period (e.g., Mischel & Ebbesen, 1970) or, in some versions of the procedure, simply with the object itself (e.g., Cournoyer, Ruth-Solomon, & Trudel, 1998).

As this procedure suggests, the development of inhibitory control allows the child to avoid the immediate and impulsive course of action, favoring both long-term goals and social norms. Although inhibitory abilities may be seen from a self-interested perspective, such as when a delay response leads to receiving greater personal rewards, there are often moral, or at least socially prescriptive, implications for successful inhibition. One prominent contributor to this area of research, Walter Mischel (1974), has gone as far as claiming that it is "difficult to

conceive of socialization (or, indeed, of civilization) without . . . self-imposed delays" (p. 250).

More recently, researchers have begun to examine rule-use as an aspect of self-regulation (Bunge & Wallis, 2008). One of the most popular procedures to assess rule-use is the *Dimensional Change Card Sort* (*DCCS;* Zelazo, Müller, Douglas, & Marcovitch, 2003). This task presents children with cards featuring pictures that vary on at least two dimensions, the shape of the image (e.g., a boat or a rabbit), and the color (e.g., red or blue). Children are first asked to sort the cards into piles according to one dimension, such as the color. One rule needed to solve this task can be stated as: "put all red cards in this pile." The children are then asked to repeat the procedure, but are now told to sort according to the other dimension, e.g., the shape of the picture. A rule for solving the task would then become: "put all rabbits in this pile." To complicate the sorting rules still further, sometimes a third request can be made that involves arranging cards with or without black borders. Children can then be asked to sort borderless cards using one rule (e.g., the picture rule), and bordered cards using another rule (e.g., the color rule). What appears to make this task difficult for children is not memory demands, but rather resolving the demands of rule conflicts. That is, when two or more rules are operating simultaneously, success on the procedure is only possible if children formulate higher-order rules that allow them to integrate the competing sorting requests.

It is not difficult to see how this new rule-use paradigm can also be extended to the study of social norms and social compliance (e.g., Barkley, 2001; Beer, Shimamura, & Knight, 2004). As self-regulation develops, children become better at "retrieving rules for governing behavior in the current context" (Bunge & Zelazo, 2006, p. 118). If society is also to be conceived of as rule-based, especially its laws and social norms, then the ability to select the correct rules and norms for the particular situation may "govern some of our highest-level behaviors, involving very abstract concepts" (Bunge & Wallis, 2008, p. xiii) such as fairness and equality.

Much like past debates in character education regarding the active and passive dimensions of children's conduct, the self-regulation literature also has struggled with the issue of whether to frame the child as an active agent or a passive patient. For instance, children's failure to agree with caregiver requests and rules is often "conceptualized exclusively in terms of childhood dysfunction" (Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1990, p. 398), conflating self-regulation with compliance. Indeed, the literature that operationally defines self-regulation as compliance rests uneasily with studies charting the development of *non*compliance to parental requests (e.g., Abe & Izard, 1999; Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1990). This problem is recognized in the conscience literature, however, with calls for an expanded look at the role of bi-directional influences between children and their caregivers (e.g., Kuczynski & Hildebrandt, 1997).

Similarly, recent literature on rule-following has attempted to acknowledge the constructive agency of children, such as with Kerr and Zelazo's (2004) recognition that children eventually develop "higher-order rule[s] that [allow] them to . . . select the appropriate discrimination on which to base their behavior" (p. 155). Such higher-order rules provide the basis for prioritizing among various possible rules.

When character education lists a set of values (or virtues or character traits), they are open to the old Kohlbergian "bag of virtues" challenge (Kohlberg, 1968). However, the role that higher-order processes play in decision-making provides exactly the solution that this challenge requires. Decision-making rules offer the basis for rational prioritization among competing claims or values, while self-regulation more generally allows for the psychological competency to resist impulsive choices, delay gratification, and enact such higher-order rules.

Awareness of children's developing self-regulation is important in school settings. Educators frequently grapple with issues of "character" that are in many instances a matter of the delay in development of self-regulation. Early childhood educators (roughly children ages 3–5) and primary grade teachers (roughly ages 6–8), in particular, confront challenges when children act impulsively in ways that prove physically dangerous or merely disruptive of the orderly and effective functioning of the classroom. One difficulty with these behaviors is that they could arise from multiple sources, such as temperament differences (impulsive vs. reflective children), socialization in either overly permissive or overly restrictive households (Kochanska & Thompson, 1997), or from clinical problems, particularly attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD; Barkley, 1997), each of which can suggest different courses of intervention. Although these concerns present self-regulation as a kind of polemic, on the more positive side, it is also clear that self-regulation has critical links to success in school. Specifically, researchers have pointed to evidence from successful early intervention programs, such as the Chicago Parent–Child Center and Abecedarian Program, that have achieved dramatic increases in academic performance by working to promote children's self-regulatory abilities (Blair, 2002). For this reason, some researchers (e.g., Blair, 2002; Müller, Lieberman, Frye, & Zelazo, 2008) have proposed looking at children's self-regulation as a marker of general *school readiness*, i.e., children's ability to meet the cognitive, affective, and social challenges of the school setting.

Summary and Implications

Self-regulation is the ability to consciously control actions, and has clear links to both academic performance and social–moral conduct. Inhibitory control and rule-use are two important dimensions of self-regulation. Research suggests that children begin to master both of these dimensions in the early years of elementary school, which allows them to complete work with less and less adult supervision, as well as comply more readily to others' requests.

Autonomy

The claim made in the conscience literature that self-regulation "makes it possible for the child to begin to comply to parental demands" (Kochanska, Murray, & Coy, 1997, p. 263) is only a small step away from the view that self-regulation is "the

ability to modify and control behaviour in order to conform to social norms" (Beer et al., 2004, p. 1091). This thesis echoes back to the classic work in sociology of Émile Durkheim, who argued that society influences people by "exerting pressure on individual consciousnesses" (Durkheim, 1895/1964, p. 101).

Much like contemporary developmental research on the topic, Durkheim identified both inhibition and rule-use as determinants of social and moral behavior. Durkheim saw inhibition as "the means by which social constraint produces its psychological effects" (Durkheim, 1895/1964, p. 102). In his work on moral education, Durkheim also confronted the issue of individuals' agency. Although not widely recognized, he admitted that because any given moral rule is "a general prescription, it cannot be applied exactly and mechanically in identical ways in each particular circumstance. It is up to the person to see how it applies in a given situation" (Durkheim, 1925/1961, p. 23). While this claim seems to parallel more recent interest in children's formulation of higher-order rules, Durkheim's sociological account, as a whole, had little to say about the role of individual agency (Boudon & Bourricaud, 2002; c.f. Sawyer, 2005).

Jean Piaget's influential book, *The Moral Judgment of the Child* (Piaget, 1932/1965), by contrast, can be read as an extended critique of Durkheim's approach to morality and individual autonomy. Perhaps because Piaget's ideas were introduced to North American audiences through the lens of Kohlberg's work, more attention was placed on the stage-like growth of moral reasoning than on his critical reactions to the view that moral conduct reduces to social compliance (Sokol & Chandler, 2004; see also Piaget, 1965/1995). In fact, Piaget saw the central goal of moral education as leading children to "the reconstruction of knowledge rather than [its] social transmission" (Duveen & Psaltis, 2008, p. 183). Vidal (1998) has argued that Piaget wrote his critique in a spirit of autonomy, democracy and freedom, and opposed the notions of conformity and discipline present in Durkheim's work. Capturing this "democratic spirit," Piaget introduced some valuable ideas concerning moral autonomy that continue to shape the landscape of developmental psychology and character education.

Piaget is well known for parsing moral development into *heteronomous*, or other-controlled, and *autonomous*, or self-controlled, stages. Counter to the "cognitivist view" view that is typically associated with Piaget, however, in *The Moral Judgment of the Child* he characterizes these two stages of morality in terms of the two main social spheres that children inhabit. In the case of heteronomous morality, Piaget uses the asymmetrical power relations between children and adult caregivers to argue that moral reasoning takes an absolutistic form – rules dictated by parents are inviolable and, from the point of view of the child, cannot be changed, as the relationship is structured by unilateral respect. On the other hand, autonomous morality is characterized as emerging in symmetrical peer-relations marked by reciprocity, mutual respect, and affective exchange (Carpendale, 2009; Sokol & Hammond, 2009). As such, moral rules are understood by the child as being negotiated and flexible.

In character education, there has long been a tension between more conservative or traditional (e.g., Wynne & Ryan, 1993) educators and more liberal or

progressive ones (e.g., DeVries, Zan, & Hildebrandt, 2002). The former focus more on hierarchical methods of socialization (teaching about character, behavioral management systems) whereas the latter focus more on pedagogies of empowerment (democratic classrooms, class meetings, moral dilemma discussions). From a Piagetian (1932/1965) standpoint, this is precisely the tension between a heteronomous morality (moral rules defined by the dictates of authorities such as parents and teachers) and autonomous morality (moral rules defined by deliberation and debate). Lawrence Kohlberg (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989), in particular, elaborated on this framework by creating democratic experimental schools with foci on promoting both justice and a sense of community. This constructivist approach is based heavily on promoting an autonomous moral agent who nonetheless orients to the social–relational concepts of justice and community. Hence, the school is not intended to promote individualistic character (egoism), but rather socially aware, autonomous moral agents (Berkowitz & Puka, 2009). This is precisely what a successful self-governing society requires of its democratic citizens. Hence autonomy is a critical element in the socialization of civic responsibility and character (Althof & Berkowitz, 2006), but is far from the full picture, which requires a balance of autonomy with social responsibility.

A salient, though perhaps undervalued, aspect of Piaget's work is also the role that peers are seen to play in the development of autonomy, a view carried forward by James Youniss' blending of Piaget with the work of Henry Stack Sullivan (Youniss, 1980). In the standard reading of Piaget, an autonomous stage of moral reasoning follows only after a heteronomous stage. However, Piaget actually describes a different process. Children in fact are capable of autonomous interaction before age 7 at the more fundamental level of action and interaction with others (Carpendale, 2000). In other words, although autonomous *reasoning* about morality may develop later, autonomous moral *action* or conduct arrives earlier. Children's understanding of morality is thus characterized by both attributions of heteronomy and autonomy depending, in large part, on how they coordinate their social relations with adults and peers.

The central role that cooperation has in children's emerging autonomy and self-regulation points to the value of educational programs that encourage cooperative learning strategies and student-to-student collaborations (Berkowitz & Bier, 2005). Encountering new perspectives and being required to coordinate them with one's own, in particular, has long been recognized as a critical skill in children's moral reasoning (Berkowitz, 1985) and moral identity (Youniss & Yates, 1997). Research by Leman and Duveen (1999) has shown, for example, the positive benefits of pairing children of different reasoning orientations, either heteronomous or autonomous. Based on their analysis of 60 pairings, they found that when asked to jointly solve a moral dilemma these dyads evidenced more advanced forms of reasoning (for similar findings, see Berkowitz, Gibbs, & Broughton, 1980). Similar findings have been reported for other school-based outcomes such as mathematical understanding, map reading, etc. (Berkowitz, Althof, Turner, & Bloch, 2008). Such encounters with enriching, new perspectives can be fostered by collaboration with peers.

The success of programs utilizing peer collaborations is well documented (see Johnson & Johnson, 2004), even if not widely used in character education. A notable exception is the *Child Development Project* or CDP (Developmental Studies Center, 1997). Informed in part by Deci and Ryan's (1985) model of motivation, the CDP has built a comprehensive elementary school reform model on institutionalizing educational practices that fulfill three core motivations: autonomy, belonging, and competence. Teachers trained to facilitate collaborative decision-making and problem-solving promote student autonomy. Specifically, they help moderate discussions where genuine differences in perspectives arise and oversee the allotment of children in pairings or groupings that maximize positive mutual exchange. Just as we have stressed, however, the CDP argues that promoting autonomy alone is an inadequate developmental (or educational) goal, but most be balanced against the other prosocial motivations of the program.

Summary and Implications

Children are more than just passive recipients of moral lessons from parents, caregivers, and teachers. Instead, they are autonomous agents who actively construct their moral knowledge. The bulk of children's moral growth occurs within peer settings where relationships are characterized by mutual respect and reciprocity. Research suggests that fostering positive peer relationships and collaborative opportunities promotes the development of autonomous moral reasoning.

Perspective Taking and Moral Reasoning

The study of perspective taking in developmental psychology, or what is generally characterized as the ability "to put oneself in the place of another person" (Light, 1979, pp. 9–10), has it origins in the experimental procedure now known as the "three mountains task" (Piaget & Inhelder, 1948/1963). Developed by Piaget and his close colleague, Barbel Inhelder, the task was designed to explore the developmental changes in 4- to 12-year-olds' skills of spatial or *visual* perspective taking. The task involved asking participants to take a particular position around a three-dimensional miniature model, or diorama, of a mountain village, and respond to a series of questions about the visual perspective of other individuals that were positioned differently from themselves. The children selected their responses from a set of pictures of the diorama. Up until age 9, children often failed the task by providing egocentric responses – that is, by selecting pictures that depicted their own visual perspective rather than that of others.

Piaget and Inhelder's procedure for studying children's *visual* perspective taking skills served as a springboard for other researchers' interest in *social* perspective taking, or the ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others (Chandler & Boyes, 1982). Drawing on Piaget and Inhelder's early insights describing children's

growing abilities to coordinate and integrate others' perspectives, the efforts of developmental researchers to articulate a model of social perspective taking consolidated around Robert Selman's (1973, 1980) work in the 1970s. Selman described five levels of perspective taking, beginning with young children's early egocentric failures, moving through their increasing skills to consider and coordinate multiple perspectives simultaneously with their own, and ending with adolescents' emerging appreciation of how broad social ideologies (e.g., Catholicism, Feminism, or Conservative political values) shape interpersonal relationships (see Martin, Sokol, & Elfers, 2008, for further elaboration). Although rooted in a strong theoretical foundation, Selman's model has been substantiated over the past 35 years through both his clinical practice and educational initiatives. For instance, pair therapy – one of Selman's counseling innovations – partners children with social limitations, and through joint efforts to share their perspectives and coordinate their activities, helps the them develop greater interpersonal skills and promote their social awareness (Selman & Schultz, 1990). Selman's developmental model also informs his contributions to literacy training and program evaluation (e.g., *Facing History and Ourselves*; Schultz, Barr, & Selman, 2001). His most recent work, for instance, has involved devising developmentally sensitive curriculum materials that teach children to recognize and appreciate multiethnic diversity while honing their joy of reading (Selman, 2003). Not all developmental research on perspective taking, however, has been as successful at integrating theory and practice. This can be seen, for instance, in the contemporary theories-of-mind literature exploring children's understanding of their own and others' mental states.

Although Piaget's early work was principally aimed at characterizing the processes of perspective taking (an aim that Selman's work preserved), much of the research that followed these seminal efforts became more focused on the content of what children were being asked to reason about. As research interests shifted from visual, to cognitive, to affective, and to experiential perspective taking, to name just a few content areas; and, as more and more procedural innovations were introduced into a panoply of studies, Piaget and Inhelder's contributions were eventually eclipsed by a new research paradigm now known as children's developing *theories of mind* (Astington, Harris, & Olson, 1988). The particular content of this research enterprise is children's reasoning about the mental states that are understood to guide behavior, such as people's beliefs, desires, or intentions. One experimental procedure, in particular, has been the focal point of this literature: the assessment of children's false-belief understanding. The most common strategy for testing this understanding involves asking young children to follow a short story involving two characters, a boy named Maxi and his mother (Wimmer & Perner, 1983). Participants see Maxi place a chocolate bar in one location, and then, while Maxi is absent, his mother moves it to another, second location. Success on this procedure – or what is now typically referred to as the *unexpected transfer task* – is determined by children's responses to the question at the end of the story: "Where will Maxi look for his chocolate?" Although a seemingly straightforward and simple question, countless studies have revealed that children under the age of 4 fixate on where the chocolate has been moved, and not where Maxi originally placed it (Wellman,

Cross, & Watson, 2001). This leads the children to fail the procedure by responding that Maxi will look to the second location, where the mother moved the chocolate during his absence. In short, children before the age of 4 are generally regarded as failing to understand that others may hold, and act upon, false or diverging beliefs about reality.

Although there are other assessment procedures (such as the *unexpected contents*, or Smarties, task, see Gopnik & Astington, 1988) to determine if children appreciate others' divergent belief states, the common conclusion from these studies is that preschool children lack a critical understanding of how mental states operate in guiding conduct and navigating the interpersonal world. That is, they lack a fully developed "theory of mind." One of the practical upshots from this research is that children's social competence should also be greatly hampered, unless or until, they achieve a full-fledged theory of mind. While the empirical work has yet to make good on this claim (for an elaborate review, see Astington, 2003), one study by Lalonde and Chandler (1995) suggests caution in how theory-of-mind research is applied to the complexities of social conduct. Using a battery of false-belief measures and teacher questionnaires of children's classroom conduct, Lalonde and Chandler (1995) reported a pattern of varied correlations between theory-of-mind skills and social competence. The strongest relations were found in the area of cooperative play among peers and the lowest in children's conformity to standards of politeness and orderly conduct. Based on this evidence, they argued that insofar as children's social competencies might require the enlistment of creative and reasoned negotiation strategies (represented by what they called the "intentional" behavioral items on their questionnaire), then having a sophisticated understanding of others' mental lives became an important tool. On the other hand, when such reasoned or generative skills were not needed, such as when being asked to follow the well-established practices of the classroom or conventions of the broader society (what they called "social conventional" behaviors), then theory-of-mind competence was largely irrelevant (and sometimes even a hindrance) to competent social functioning.

In terms of character education, Lalonde and Chandler's (1995) interpretation of their data serves as a reminder that moral character draws from different psychological mechanisms, some involving more reflective capacities than others. Much like our earlier discussion of the integration of habituated and critical (or reflective) dimensions of virtue, successful navigation of the social world requires the coordination of multiple psychological processes. Moreover, Lalonde and Chandler's conclusions are also reminiscent of Lawrence Kohlberg's "necessary but not sufficient" argument in the study of children's moral reasoning.

In developmental psychology and moral education, Kohlberg's name is virtually synonymous with the six stages of moral reasoning that he originally formulated in his Ph.D. dissertation in 1958. These include pre-conventional levels of reasoning that show young children's preoccupation with material rewards and punishment (i.e., Stages 1 and 2), conventional levels of reasoning that illustrate individuals' growing awareness of social roles and their desires to fulfill the obligations that attend each (i.e., Stages 3 and 4), and, finally, post-conventional levels of reasoning that give evidence of increasingly principled considerations related to

fundamental rights and welfare of all people (i.e., Stages 5 and 6). The formulation of these stages and the interview procedure used to elicit individuals' reasoning (e.g., the Heinz dilemma) is widely known. What is perhaps less known, however, is Kohlberg's stance on the relationship between perspective taking and moral reasoning.

Extending Piaget's notion of structural parallelism (Piaget 1947/1950, 1968/1970), Kohlberg argued that certain cognitive processes which were basic to one domain of thinking, such as an individual's level of perspective taking, should also be basic to other domains, such as their level of moral reasoning. Importantly, these domains could be parallel in their formal structure without being identical in their content (e.g., perspective taking was not the same thing as moral reasoning although both share a similar stage-like structure). In other words, "moral reasoning has prerequisites in other domains of thought" (Walker, 1988, p. 48) that serve as necessary-but-not-sufficient conditions for the attainment of the corresponding moral stage. This view of structural parallelism, in turn, led researchers to hypothesize that "it should be possible to stimulate moral development only if the appropriate prerequisites in cognitive and perspective-taking development have been attained" (p. 53). That is, certain socio-cognitive prerequisites were seen as placing individuals in a "state of readiness" to advance to higher levels of moral development. One study, in particular, provided evidence for just this claim. With a sample of children between 4th and 7th grades, Walker (1980) investigated the effectiveness of a moral development intervention program. The program was designed to stimulate the onset of Stage 3 moral reasoning in this age group. He conducted pre- and post-intervention assessments of children's cognitive level, perspective-taking skills, and moral reasoning abilities in both an experimental group and a (no-intervention) control group. The results from the study indicated that the only children to achieve Stage 3 moral reasoning in the *post*-intervention assessment were the children who had already scored at Stage 3 perspective-taking and Stage 3 cognitive abilities (i.e., the beginning of formal operational thinking) in the *pre*-intervention assessment. Walker (1980) concluded that the intervention was effective only insofar as some children – those with the appropriate cognitive and perspective taking prerequisites – were "ready" to advance to the next level in their moral reasoning.

The conclusions from Walker's (1980) study in particular, as well as the implications that follow from perspective taking research in general, point to the importance of tailoring character education programs that fit with children's socio-cognitive readiness. From a developmental perspective, effective programs can never be just "one size fits all." Moreover, the view that particular psychological skills may be necessary but still not sufficient to capture the richness of moral growth, resonates with our earlier point that character draws from multiple developmental processes without being reduced to any one in particular. Being "ready" for character, then, is clearly a complicated matter. But "ready" here also suggests another important nuance that neither the processes of self-regulation nor perspective taking reveal in any significant way. This has to do particularly with the motivational aspects of character. That is, what moves a person at the visceral level to really care about

being good? Or to show concern for matters of right and wrong? To address these questions, our sketch of character and its developmental contours must also include the processes of empathy and emotional growth.

Summary and Implications

Perspective taking, or the ability to put oneself in the position of another, allows individuals to recognize and understand other people's thoughts and feelings. Recent trends in perspective taking research deal particularly with children's developing theories of mind, or an understanding of the mental states that guide behavior. Research suggests that perspective taking, or possessing a theory of mind, is both a critical interpersonal skill and a necessary prerequisite for moral growth.

Empathy and Emotional Competence

Empathy plays at least two roles in an individual's development, an epistemic and a moral role. On the one hand, in its epistemic role, empathy allows an understanding of others, and in particular an understanding of their emotions. In this sense, empathy may be linked to other forms of social-cognition, such as perspective taking. On the other hand, in its moral role, empathy leads to care and concern for others – or that motivational dimension of character that is missing from the other psychological processes we have discussed. For this reason, empathy is widely regarded as an important part of human life (Davis, 1994; Wispé, 1991).

One widely accepted rendering of empathy originates in the work of Nancy Eisenberg and her colleagues. As they suggest, empathy is fundamentally an "emotional reaction elicited by and congruent with another's emotional state or condition" (Eisenberg et al., 2002, p. 993). Eisenberg also elaborates on the connection between empathy and morality, building on what many see (e.g., Wispé, 1987) as the close tie between empathy and sympathy. Specifically, empathy refers to a state of emotional concordance or understanding that disposes a person to express concern for others, whereas sympathy indicates an actual feeling of care for another. However, many use empathy "to signify both types of reactions" (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989, p. 130), thereby investigating an "empathy/sympathy complex" (Moore, 1987, p. 340) rather than a "pure" form of either state.

Because empathy is traditionally seen as an affective process, it is often set in opposition to "colder" matters of pure cognition. This split between emotions and cognition has a history that dates back to ancient Greece, making it a highly entrenched view in Western psychology. Nevertheless, some researchers have resisted the either-or opposition between emotion and cognition by attempting to show the manner in which they are integrated (Sokol & Hammond, 2009). Martin Hoffman's (2000) account of empathy is perhaps the most well known,

although other integrative efforts have also begun to emerge in the neurosciences (e.g., Bråten, 2007; Decety & Ickes, 2009).

According to Hoffman, empathy is "a biologically . . . based, cognitively mediated, and socialized predisposition to connect emotionally with others" (Gibbs, 2003, p. 79). In Hoffman's model, the engine for empathic development, and a growing emotional competence, is the emerging agentic control (or self-regulatory abilities) and effective perspective taking of the child. This can be seen in the various levels of development that Hoffman describes. At the earliest levels, empathy is entirely reactive, with emotional responses based almost entirely on environmental cues, particularly those involving signs of distress. Hoffman sees, for instance, the most basic form of empathy – a primitive kind of emotional resonance – in the newborn infant's reactive crying (i.e., crying in response to other newborns' cries).

Later, children have a better ability to engage a more agentic response to the emotional displays of others. Yet this response may be egocentric and lack perspective-taking. Hoffman relates how one "14-month-old boy responded to a crying friend with a sad look, then gently took the friend's hand and brought him to his own mother, although the friend's mother was present" (Hoffman, 2000, p. 70). Besides developing the ability to more appropriately respond to the distress of others, further developments in empathy allow children to discern distress from more general situational factors and not just expressions of emotion. For example, a child may feel empathy for a friend that has lost a pet, even though the friend may not be present when the child hears the news.

Another similar view to Hoffman's can be found in the work of Carol Saarni (2007). Saarni makes an attempt, however, to situate empathy in a richer model of emotional competence – one that has been adopted within many social–emotional learning initiatives in education (e.g., Elias, Parker, Kash, Weissberg, O'Brien, 2008). According to Saarni, there are eight facets of the child's developing emotional competence, including the recognition of emotions, in both oneself and others, understanding emotional communication, and coping with negative emotions.

Reminiscent of a more classical tradition, Saarni builds moral responsiveness into her definition of this multifaceted view of emotional competence. As she remarks, "having emotional 'skills' divorced from a moral sense does not constitute a genuine emotional competence. Emotional competence entails 'doing the right thing'" (Saarni, 1997, p. 39). She also suggests, just as we have here, that such a nuanced emotional competency must be intrinsically interwoven with other psychological processes, such as self-regulation: "One is optimally self-regulating when one has a rich and varied emotional life that is shared with others" (p. 39).

As both Saarni's and Hoffman's accounts suggest, the development of empathy involves a wide range of increasingly integrated abilities, including, in its more advanced forms, the ability to take the perspective of others. Research on empathy, however, suggests two other important psychological facets involved in its development: emotional literacy and self-efficacy. Respectively, these appear to correspond to the epistemic and moral roles that empathy is understood to have.

Basic forms of empathy require children to recognize expressions of the emotions in others and the feeling of emotions in themselves (Saarni, 1997).

Even the more advanced forms of empathy depend on being able to recognize emotion-causing situations and to adequately respond to these. Some research, however, shows an intriguing disjuncture in the way that individuals may evidence high perspective-taking, or other socio-cognitive, skills while simultaneously possessing low empathic abilities. For example, many bullies score well on more cognitive aspects of social understanding, such as standard theory-of-mind measures, while nevertheless showing evidence of empathic deficits, i.e., a low emotional understanding of others (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004; Gini, 2006; Joliffe & Farrington, 2006; Krettenauer, Malti, & Sokol, 2008). For this reason, some character and socio-moral education programs, such as PATHS (Kusché & Greenberg, 1994) and Roots of Empathy (Gordon, 2000, 2005), teach children to specifically discuss and recognize emotions as a way to build emotional literacy within a larger repertoire of socio-cognitive competencies.

Besides emotional literacy, recent research on bullying and antisocial conduct suggests that another factor contributing to the expression of empathic care is *self-efficacy*, or the confidence in one's abilities to produce changes in the world. In bully–victim situations there are often bystanders, and low-level empathic responding, or emotional resonance, is often insufficient to motivate them to intervene by helping the victim (Gini, Albiero, Benelli, & Altoe, 2008). Active bystanders in bullying situations – that is, those who intervened to help – have been shown to have high levels of empathic responsiveness and high levels of self-efficacy. School-based intervention programs such as EQUIP (DiBiase, Gibbs, & Potter, 2005) address this additional dimension of caring for others, training students both in emotional literacy and in ways to efficaciously apply their concern to make a difference for others.

Summary and Implications

Empathy is a form of emotional social understanding that is linked to increased prosocial conduct (e.g., care for others) and decreased antisocial conduct (e.g., bullying). Although empathy begins with very simple affective connections, it can develop into advanced forms of perspective taking. Research suggests that emotional literacy and self-efficacy are particularly important for fostering empathic expressions of concern for others.

Conclusion

Our quick survey of some of the research findings in developmental psychology has indicated the following: (1) children as early as 5 or 6 years of age have begun to master inhibitory control and the coordination of complex rule usage, allowing them to function more independently, and successfully comply with adult requests and broader social conventions; (2) children's emerging autonomy and construction of moral knowledge, while obviously informed by contact with adults, nevertheless

benefits greatly from peer collaborations and positive opportunities for exchanging perspectives on problems or issues within peer groups; (3) perspective taking, and especially coming to an understanding of false-belief (one of the central markers of a theory of mind), during the early elementary years is a critical step in the development of interpersonal competencies and, more generally, suggestive of the necessary-but-not-sufficient social-cognitive conditions that enable moral growth throughout the developmental course; and, finally, (4) empathy and children's growing emotional competence rests on an integrated set of skills, especially perspective taking, basic emotional literacy, and self-efficacy. All of these findings and conclusions help us trace the contours of character development and to illustrate its multifaceted structure. In this regard, these findings not only show the promise of future exchange between developmental psychology and character education, but also highlight the continuing value of viewing character in psychological terms.

Where the exchange between the two fields of developmental psychology and character education goes from here is an exciting question. At least for us, continuing to explore the points of intersection between the fields will allow further insight into what character is and how it is shaped. Our picture of character is far from complete, with noticeable gaps even in the present effort to trace some of its basic contours (e.g., we have not elaborated on the processes of moral identity development). We have also said next to nothing about the broader integrative impulses that motivate our exploration of character, nor about the prospect of contributions beyond developmental psychology that could further delineate what a more fully elaborated "moral science" looks like. When we began the present discussion, we suggested that there are many hurdles to overcome in the joint study of child development and education. The truth is that there are many bridges to build. Hopefully, our modest contributions here have provided a few planks to get this process started.

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Chapter 34
The Unhappy Moralist Effect: A Story of Hybrid Moral Dynamics

Fritz Oser

Introduction

Moral psychology today goes beyond discussion of stage structures and developmental growth; it also includes motivational (responsibility motivation, Curcio, 2008) and emotional (moral sensitivity) dimensions (Tirri, 2007). It also contains aspects of domain differentiation (Nucci, 2001). Moreover, there are elements of what is called a shadow morality, which is a kind of moral individualism with respect to *non*-codified moral rules (Oser & Reichenbach, 2005). This chapter discusses an extraordinary moral psychological effect, namely, a phenomenon that goes beyond the reflections of Aristotle, as well as Senggen (2008), Höffe (2007), and Seel (1999). These authors believe and rationally "prove" that morality and happiness go together. We would like to show that it is not as simple as that and that there are many cases wherein choosing moral rightness can entail a measure of unhappiness. In this understanding, our appreciation of the quality of moral character can be enhanced. This is an important feature of a values education that is truly designed for student wellbeing.

The Effect: Little Moral Weakness or a Loss of Accumulated Gains

If in a situation of possible account or gain (with the respective future possibilities), persons forget the involved moral duties and obligations but suddenly (often through others like partners, parents, friends, etc.) become aware of it and see that to comply with it would lead to a loss of the accumulated advantage, they can become unhappy. They believe that on the one hand if they do not tell the truth fully or not tell all that would be necessary, or if they cheat only a little bit, or if they keep quiet in a witness account or if they do not declare the full amount, this might bring with it

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some advantage to them. On the other hand, if they refrain from doing this and take the morally right path, they feel unsatisfied if not unhappy. They feel that, because of their moral choice, they forego some of their more gainful options. This effect we call the "unhappy moralist effect." [1]

In this effect, morality is no more an absolute idea steering behavior in a clear and non-hybrid way. Rather, it is a rule system that inhibits success or gainful advantage of some sort. Mostly, the effect becomes visible in the moral gray zone that means in domains where the norms are not fully clear and decisive. For example, to earn $30 million a year as a Banking Manager while at the same time disadvantaging small entrepreneurs is not against the law. It is, however, unfair and, in a loose sense, immoral. It belongs to the moral gray zone but might well leave the manager feeling quite happy with himself/herself. If, however, the manager was to refrain from such action under the constraints of moral pressure, he/she might well feel a career failure and so not at all happy, even if knowing that the moral right had been pursued. A Polish proverb says: Any good deed has its punishment.

Happy Fare-Dodgers, Unhappy Moral Bounding

Another example of the "unhappy moralist" *effect* is in the following: in a study on "happy cheating" (Oser, 1999; Oser, Schmid, & Hattersley, 2006), each student of a vocational training class in the age of 16 and 17 was seduced to not use the fare for a tramway trip given to each student for going to another place in the city, but rather to use it to buy a beer. The experimental subjects did not know that the seducers were in position with tickets in case they were caught and that all tickets had been paid for in advance. The results were that 6 out of the 11 students dodged the fare while 5 resisted. Results of the pilot study showed that in general the fare-dodgers were on a fixed moral stage, while the non-fare-dodgers were in transition, according to the Kohlbergian schema.

The fare-dodgers were rather stable emotionally, and more reality related; they had a higher sense of self-worth and were rather modest in their general behavior (polarity profile). They were less severe in their judgment toward others, but more sensitive, and they rejected illusions to a lesser extent. They appeared to be less frustrated and were more popular, as seen by the rest of the group; they were less dependent on the group than the non-fare-dodgers. In regard to the life satisfaction scale, we found that the fare-dodgers had a slightly higher satisfaction values than the non-fare-dodgers ($m1 = 1.43$; $m2 = 1.25$, on a scale of -2 to $+2$).

In a word, it seemed that the "immoral" fare-dodgers felt happier, more satisfied about their actions and especially more integrated within the group of the other 16-year-olds than the "moral" non-fare-dodgers. The non-fare-dodgers did not feel very accepted, very stable, and were not very happy with their decision; especially

[1] In the manner of a social phenomenon, the effect is written in double quote; "unhappy moralist effect".

through the qualitative instruments (interviews after the happening), they expressed that they felt less free in their decision-making process and basically had only pursued the "moral right" because they were too afraid of being caught otherwise. In addition, some of the non-fare-dodgers said that finally they felt the decision was OK, but that they also felt unhappy about not being accepted. On the other hand, the fare-dodgers were more satisfied that they had overcome the fear of being caught; they felt they were somehow heroes in consideration of the fact that the State was demanding too much money from students anyway. They also had many other stories about having been successful with other types of adolescent cheating behavior (Oser et al., 2006, p. 151).

This result shows clearly what is meant by the unhappy moralist effect: The ones who were keeping the rules and resisting the seduction were feeling that they were afterward less seen as heroes, less satisfied, and less integrated. This also elicits the crucial point that happiness is not just a mood or an intuitive feeling, but is related to external acceptance of what we do or have done. With respect to trivial offences like fare-cheating, the ones who did opt for the risk-taking behavior were afterward the happier ones. In contrast to the unhappy moralist mentioned above, we could call them "happy immoralist."

Philosophical Terms and Psychological Effects

In the philosophical tradition of ethical reflection, moral correctness and happiness go together, not as if one is the condition for the other but, rather, that they are complementary states. Happiness is a formal character rather than a feeling. For philosophers, the happiness conception is rooted in the notion of a good life, and to be virtuous leads according to Aristotle to such a good life; the good life is fundamentally connected to any justification of *eudaemonia* or happiness.

On the other hand, if we think of happiness in the way psychologists do, namely, as a subjective feeling rather than a state of character, it is obvious that moral rightness and happiness do not necessarily go together. Indeed, they have potential to exclude each other in the sense that a morally correct person can never have the freedom that unfettered happiness implies. One is always bound to moral laws that are generated by a tradition, a society or a culture. This binding can actually inhibit happiness.

While psychologists refer to happiness if they speak about good feelings using correlations to all kind of measures like self-efficacy, belief, self-concept, moral identity, level of moral judgment, etc., philosophers refer to happiness in the sense of being involved in a process, doing good or being virtuous in concrete and often difficult life situations. For them, happiness is neither a cause nor justification for being virtuous. Rather, it is a by-product for striving toward a prosperous life, realizing virtues in the moment of complicated decision making.

In addition, in recent years, both ethical philosophers and moral psychologists refer in different ways to the "situatedness" of moral decision making. They call for

moral sensitivity and for virtues as the basis for new concepts of moral education which go beyond stage theory preconceptions.

Conditions of the "Unhappy Moralist Effect"

The most correct notion for the tension between a moral stance and not giving up in the face of seduction is "moral resilience." Resilience connotes the resistance to not abandon one's own moral principles because the gain of conforming is the ultimate reward, a reward quite beyond feelings of happiness.

As we described above, there are situations where a person caught in a real moral dilemma decides to opt for external advantage rather than underlying moral good. In these cases, they actually felt proud of having gone beyond their own principles, whereas those who acted according to the "correct" moral principles, with high moral resilience, felt bad about their action. In recent years, moral educational research has moved from positions of structural universalism wherein immutable principles apply regardless of the peculiarities of the situation at hand to context-based positions that focus on specific human situations wherein the virtuous character has to make relative, contingent, and often difficult choices. In these situations, important questions include:

- Does moral sensibility inhibit success?
- Is a moral person weak or strong by nature?
- Does moral decision making tend toward happiness or unhappiness, as determined by psychological and philosophical positions?
- What does moral resilience mean and what are its consequences?

These questions are juxtaposed with the Aristotelian "good life" metaphor. They are important questions for educators to ask and have satisfied for effective pedagogy around values education.

The Unhappy Moralist Effect in Childhood

Situational criteria for the unhappy moralist have always to do with the perspective of having regard for the feelings of others. The unhappy moralist has in mind that he/she has lost an opportunity to gain advantage materially or in some other way. This effect has a counterpart, namely, the "happy victimizer" effect. Nunner-Winkler & Sodian (1988) explored the status of 4–8-year-old children with respect to investigating their emotions when others behave immorally. They relied on the findings of Barden, Zelko, Duncan, and Master (1980) who found that children attribute positive feelings to wrongdoers, this being in spite of Turiel's (1983) finding that a 4-year old knows about the consequences of being immoral. Nunner-Winkler and Sodian (1988) were able to replicate the Barden study in a more sophisticated way; they

showed that 75% of 4 years old and 55% of 5 years old attributed positive feelings to the wrongdoer. This inclination became less prevalent with age. For the 6 years old, only 40%, and 8 years old 10% were attributing wellbeing to the wrongdoer. The majority of older children were anticipating negative feelings in the wrongdoer owing to the knowledge that sanctions would apply (Nunner-Winkler, 1989). This result is independent of situations of severe transgression or the condition of having engaged in purposive and serious wrongdoing.

Arsenio and Kramer (1992) confirmed that children will often attribute to the wrongdoer's positive feelings and the victim's negative feelings, at least in non-severe situations. In a replication study from Keller, Lourenço, Malti, and Saalbach (2003), an interesting explanation emanated. These authors were able to elicit the fact that younger children attributed happiness to the wrongdoer because they make judgments based on the satisfaction of obvious need, whereas older children make judgments around the violation of rules. These studies focused on children, whereas the unhappy moralist effect occurs mostly beyond the age of childhood because it includes the capacity of introspection.

Adults Caught in the Trap

In course work on negotiation, we simulate a divorce case in which two lawyers defend the case of the man (Paul) and two other lawyers the case of the woman (Barbara). The central issue for this learning process is that the two parties have different hidden information about their client; one positive, the other negative. The negative information concerns the lawyers of Barbara; this material shows her in bad light (e.g., she hits the kids, is not caring about the baby, locks the children in a room if her friends visit, has a relationship with a playboy, etc.). Furthermore, the children in question do not want to stay with her after the divorce. On the other side, the lawyers of Paul have no negative information about him (e.g., he still loves Barbara, wants her to come back, cares about the children, etc.). Both sides of the dispute want custody of the children.

The lawyers of Barbara have only three choices: one, they fight for Barbara and do not use the negative information (i.e., Barbara is our client, and we do all that is best for here); two, they give the case back and refrain from treating such a person (i.e., moral conscience demands that such an immoral person not be defended); or, three, the lawyers of Barbara take the information seriously and begin to negotiate with their client; in this case they can diagnose how much chance she will have in front of a judge, and what would in all likelihood truly be best for her, namely, starting a new life and leaving the children with Paul.

The effects which are at stake are called the "information availability bias-effect" and the "information devaluation trend-effect." The first effect concerns the lawyers of the man; they should strive for more information against the other party and ask if they know something concerning the wellbeing of the children. In this case, the other party must open their hidden information, or they must actively lie (which

seems to be more difficult than just hiding some information). Instead, the lawyers of Paul mostly are convinced that both parties have positive information, and their positivity makes them blind. The “information devaluation trend-effect” states that we as humans strive to put the positive interpretation on otherwise pessimistic data (e.g., you can never trust the judgment of children, or Barbara was a good mother for 20 years but now is having a crisis, all will come good if she gets the children, etc.). Such denials are ways of avoiding the negativity of what is confronting us and niggling at our consciences.

In our study we found that 30% of the subjects ($N = 110$ adults in management or higher political positions or lawyers) decide to give all the children to Paul, 12% give the custody of all the children to Barbara, 28% give the two older children to Barbara, 10% give the two older children to Paul, and 20% do not find a solution. The most challenging result is that the quasi morally resilient persons, those who use their information against the interests of their client and, therefore, indirectly help the attorneys of the opposite party, are largely unsatisfied with the result of their negotiation. They feel that they have done the right thing but are not convinced that their decision makes the world any better or that they are successful negotiators. They do not feel successful even when they are convinced that they have done the right thing. One of them said, “I am so exhausted; I will never become a good negotiator. I think it was the right thing to do but I am wondering how we could have brought things together.” This seems to be the key issue: On the one hand, the negotiator should be a winner with good tactical abilities, but on the other hand he should have a “moral stand” (Oser & Reichenbach, 2005). Additional data underlie these effects. Those who decide to give the children to Barbara exhibit a highly significant correlation between the statement “Morally, I completely did what was right” and “I am satisfied with the outcome” (0.707). When the children were separated (e.g., the older children to Barbara, the younger children to Paul), the correlation was less high (0.459). When the children were given to Paul, there was no significant correlation (0.219). This again leads to the assumption that a complementary phenomenon to that of the “happy victimizer” exists, namely, the resilient “unhappy moralist.”

What is the role of resilience in these scenarios? Resilience is what allows these people to retain their moral standards even when against their feelings of being unsuccessful. Those who act in morally correct fashion do not show positive correlations with being content about the solution they reached. This can be sustained with another significant correlation: “The solution is in the interest of all concerned parties” correlates positively with “We were lying” if the children were allocated to Paul (0.389), but negatively if the children were given to Barbara (−0.637*). That means that for Paul’s defenders there is a positive relationship between lying and interests. They believe that lying could help, whereas the “true liars” do not believe that. There is no significant correlation between the ones who do not find a solution (Oser et al., 2006, pp. 154–155).

This is a typical case of the “unhappy moralist effect,” namely, that the lawyers of Barbara, according to our interview, state that they first had a problem with this information, that they second tried to brighten up respectively to weaken it, and,

third, if they decided according to a certain “care and justice” concept to accept the allocation of the children to Paul, they felt unsuccessful as lawyers, being weak in decision making and exposed to ridicule in their professional circles.

Intellectuals often cite in this regard a witticism of Hannah Arendt, saying that good people have a bad conscience, but bad people have no bad conscience. The ones who took the moral decision often state that they did the right thing badly, and they would never be successful professionals. One said: “It took me quite a while to understand that she is not a good mother and that she just wants to go off the track and to get away from the responsibility of these children. The problem was that she wanted the children, all five, and that she was not able anymore to care for them. This was a tough situation.”

Another said: “Afterwards I felt relieved but somehow not satisfied; you know, you often cannot be successful and at the same time moral. You often just need to be hard with the world, but afterward it would be as if you have a stone in your stomach. Who cares later? But the weight is nevertheless on your shoulders. I fought enormously for the case of Barbara, but after listening the arguments of the other I gave up, and got lost in morality.” This is a strong statement, including all the elements of the unhappy moralist effect, namely, the gray zone of personal decision making, the likely reaction from one’s profession, the moral consequentialist dilemma, the fear of being perceived as a failure. Again, morality can hinder effectiveness and therefore happiness, at least as a feeling.

Additional Effects, Additional Studies

If we look more closely at the case and the process in it, we find two additional elements, namely, (a) the fact that the more the lawyer gets attached to the case and exercises “role taking,” he gets into the moral trap. In the “moral contact hypothesis,” the conflict gets bigger and bigger the more one considers the children. The contact hypothesis states that the closer someone gets to another person, the less aggressive he/she becomes and the less prejudices that are retained. A classical example consists of the Milgram situation in which the learner receives less electrical shocks if he/she is touched by the shock giver. Here, of course, the contact means taking the information about the children seriously. The other additional element is (b) the moral resilience hypothesis that, for sound moral intuition, a person prefers the moral solution and not the economical one, even if he/she foregoes other options. Resilience means taking the moral path even if the other is more seductive and more attractive.

In another study, children of the age of 7, 9, and 11 years, and adolescents of the age of 13 and 15 years, were represented in moral vignettes in which the moral dimension conflicted with the success dimension (Schmid, 2003). One example was seen in the selling of a motorbike, which had been involved in an accident but damage was not visible and so the potential was there for the “full value” sale to be effected. The moral question is: should the seller tell the truth and earn less money

or not tell the truth and earn more money? Children attributed to the “immoral” person (i.e., the one who did not tell the truth) mostly positive feelings, whereas the attribution to the morally correct person (i.e., the one who told the truth and suffered the price loss) was in general negative. Again, there was a significant age effect in this study.

In a further study, Hattersley (2005) relates the decision in which morality stands against success to strong and weak norms (Garz, 1999). The result was that 89% of the subjects were satisfied with the moral outcome when it relates to a strong norm. However, with respect to weak norms, a majority of the subjects were dissatisfied with the more morally correct action.

The Inner Moral Happy Life

Whatever happiness means, it is not true that morality leads to it in every case. There are cases in which a person is not able to balance the two domains of interests, namely, to be good and to be successful. Especially in cases where we believe that the law is on our side, we reject often our moral intuition (Haidt, 2006) and justify wrongdoing precisely on the basis of possessing the right to do it. On the other hand, the one who listens to the inner voice of conscience and stays on the morally correct path as their moral perceptions guide them, is less successful and not so happy in the immediate and shallow sense, but appeared to be satisfied in a deeper sense. This clear difference, until now hidden in the observations and interviews we did, namely, between satisfaction and happiness, becomes important. Perhaps this is what Aristotle meant when he spoke about the dangers of the virtues, namely, that none of them can be taken and dealt with in isolation. Each is dependent on the other. Until now we have never done research in the field of the inner moral happy life of mankind, but we have done research on what subjects say or express or feel (see also Hascher, 1994). And this is in accordance with the unhappy moralist.

The Primacy of Morality: A Solution?

The question on the primacy of morality in the situations of the German philosopher Seel (1999) gives in the last chapter of his book “Essaie on the form of happiness” convincing proofs that morality must prevail over all the other domains of life, even personal relationships. He develops seven serious objections against the idea of the primacy of morality, and disproves all of them simultaneously. Seel (1999) accepts that morality and happiness do not always correlate positively (he speaks about the fragility of happiness) but he presumes nonetheless the primacy of morality over all life spheres. How does he justify this? The answer lies in the fact that he does not use the metaphor of happiness as such, but the metaphor of the “good life,” and this is a profoundly different concept. The good life metaphor includes that even a morality of personal relationship (Honneth, 2008) must engage in the dynamic of

coordination of interests, which is inevitably painful. That means that the unhappy moralist effect is actually part and parcel of a good life concept. Within this, it is accepted that we suffer if we cannot obtain the direct way to gain a good, and this is, as a central human capacity, in the interest of all. In other words, the unhappy moralist effect is a sign of moral sensibility (Tirri, 2007), and this psychological capacity starts with the delay of gratification and stands in turn for a long tradition of culture, namely, to prevent us from relying only on the linear and the immediate, but instead on the multi-sided and long term.

Conclusion

The primacy of morality over all life spheres is weakened by the fact that sometimes morality is important and at stake and sometimes not. In all theories of morality, and also within the concept of the dynamic system model, the situational aspects are left out (Collins, 2009). That is why in the title, the word "hybrid" refers to the fact that in addition to the unhappy moralist effect the influences of situational constraints are given. To buy a chocolate in a store is less morality driven than to steal the drogue for saving the life of Heinz's wife. The issue of happiness thus does not refer to an absolute standard; it is a state that waits on a rational justification, and states are passing, whereas morality as a system of rules is not.

This is then the task of the modern day values educator, namely, to nurture students to appreciate that their own wellbeing is dependent not on short-term stimuli related to feelings of happiness, but to long-term issues of character and integrity. The latter are the true indicators of morality.

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Part III
Values Education: Wellbeing and Social Engagement

Introduction to Part III

Again, it is important to note that it is a largely artificial exercise to attempt to separate a sample of the effects of values education from other effects. Indeed, the entire thrust of the *Handbook* is in the suggestion that overly enthusiastic attempts to separate and isolate effects, in the way of a species of empirical research, is to miss the main point arising from new neuroscientific and educational research that the greatest effect across the educational measures occurs when they are perceived to be, and trialed as, conjoined in a nexus of effects. As much as anything, the separation into sections seen in the *Handbook* is therefore more organizational than real.

That said, it is considered helpful to deal with elements of values education research around their particular focus and specialization. In Part I, the focus was on curricular and pedagogical specialization. In Part II, it was on the development of integrity and character in the individual. In Part III, we turn to research on that species of values education that builds on the foundations of good practice curriculum and pedagogy, as well as character formation, and then takes the effects to the world, as it were. The conception is of the individual who comes to understand the merits of good character, thanks to good practice values education curriculum and pedagogy, and then is challenged to 'put their money where their mouth is' and take this character to the world in social engagement and active citizenship.

One can interpret a Habermasian frame of reference in the perspective being proposed in the claims perspective made in research findings uncovered in this section. The frame of reference emanates from Habermas's 'Ways of Knowing' and 'Communicative Action' theories. In a word, it is the one who knows not only empirically analytically and historically hermeneutically, but self-reflectively who is capable of the just and empowering relationships implied in the notion of communicative action. In a sense, one finally comes truly to know when one knows oneself, and authentic knowing of self can only come through action for others, the practical action for change and betterment implied by *praxis*. Habermas provides the conceptual foundation for a values education that transforms educational practice, its actors in students and teachers, and the role of the school towards holistic

social agency, the school that is not merely a disjoined receptacle for isolated academic activity, but one whose purpose is to serve and enrich the lives not only of its immediate inhabitants but of its community. Such is the perspective contained in this final section on values education: Wellbeing and Social Engagement.

Chapter 35
Towards Pedagogy of Giving for Wellbeing and Social Engagement

Thomas William Nielsen

Introduction

> The heart has reasons that reason does not know. (Blaise Pascal)

I have begun conference presentations of late by asking two questions put by Professor Martin Seligman at the 2008 Values Education Forum in Canberra, Australia: 'What do schools teach?' and 'What do you most wish for your children?'

I turn these two questions into a minor research project within a presentation, asking one half of the audience to close their eyes while the other half considers the first question and then writes down a response. I then ask them to close their eyes while the other half of the audience reads and considers the second question and then writes down their immediate response.

The half that is asked what schools mainly teach respond with words like 'knowledge', 'facts' and 'subjects'. The half that is asked what they most want for their children say things like 'wellbeing', 'happiness' and 'health'. In fact, these three words recur quite consistently – whether I give the presentation in Paris, Copenhagen or Melbourne.

The discrepancy between what we want for our kids and what kids are taught comes as a surprise to many in the audience. However, research (e.g., Isen, Rsonezweig, & Young, 1991; Post & Neimark, 2007; Seligman, 2002a) shows that when we feel good we are more capable, productive and creative. So why 'is feeling good' not top of the educational agenda, and why do we not teach wellbeing as part of, and in support of, the normal curriculum?

One broad explanation might be that we are only just starting to realize that it is possible to teach wellbeing and that doing so would not clash with the normal curriculum, but may even support it. Indeed, teaching wellbeing appears to have a positive effect on academic diligence and learning outcomes. Martin Seligman's

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work (e.g., Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Seligman, 2002a; Seligman, 2002b; Seligman, 2008), in particular, has been and still is instrumental in this belief becoming more widespread.

In this paper I aim to further develop an understanding of this phenomenon by describing a way of fostering wellbeing that can lead to increases in individual and communal health. I will draw on my involvement, spanning from 2004 to 2008, in the Australian Government's Values Education initiative. I will also make links to, in particular, Martin Seligman's research on positive psychology (e.g., 2002a) and Steven Post's research on what he calls the 'new science of love' (2007). Moreover, I will conceptualize the fostering of wellbeing in what I have termed 'a pedagogy of giving' to try to account for why the heart might have reasons that reason does not know, as Pascal once said, and why developing the hearts of students and school communities might be central to any attempts at increasing wellbeing and social engagement.

The Larger Context

Before I give an account of this method of fostering wellbeing, I should dwell a little on why it has become imperative to do so. As mentioned, research has shown that teaching wellbeing appears to increase academic diligence and thus learning outcomes. But if we are going to affect a paradigm shift in education – which it certainly would be to teach something that differs so much from public schools' core curricula – we need a solid rationale.

Many of the high school teachers I speak with on a regular basis tell me that students do not see a great deal of sense to their lives and are often cynical about world affairs, apathetic about their own role in the world and full of doubt, cynicism and fear. Obviously, there are many students who are not like that. But I am not concerned with them for the moment. I am concerned that the percentage of unhappy children and adolescents is growing, which must be indicative of a more widespread concern – even among the most optimistic. After all, while we are not all depressed or suicidal, it is a fact that the world we inhabit has entered a state of unprecedented peril. Never before has the possibility of extinction as a species been necessary to entertain. Never before have images of destruction and hatred (real or fictional) been beamed at us from so many sources. What does that mean for our collective nervous systems?

We all feel the 'weight' of the world. Most of us are still able to function, but more and more suffer to the point of depression, drug addiction and suicide. The most prevalent illness in Australian adolescents these days is depression, and a third of deaths among young Australians are suicides (Stanley, 2008). Worldwide, suicide rates have increased by 60% in the last 45 years (World Health Organization, 2008). Around 20% of Australian teenagers have a mental health problem, and statistics worldwide are the same (Stanley, 2008). A quarter of Australian children between 12 and 15 drink alcohol weekly, a quarter of Australian 5-year olds are overweight or obese; diabetes and asthma are also on the rise (Stanley, 2008). No doubt comparable to Australian standards, by the time they are 11, American children will

have seen on average 8000 murders and 100,000 acts of violence on television (Huston et al., 1992) – and this is despite the fact that close to 3500 studies worldwide indicate a connection between violent behaviour and watching screen violence (Grossman & DeGaetano, 1999).

As alluded to, I am an optimist at heart, but I am also a realist. Those involved in education who are not concerned about the mental, emotional and physical health of our young cannot be paying attention to what this research is telling us: we should not only be targeting the problems 'out there'; we should also foster an interior wellbeing in young people to confront those problems. The world faces serious social and environmental challenges that require young people with resilience and optimism.

The Call for Values Education

Many have indeed started to pay attention to the problems of unhappiness and ill health in our younger generations. This is reflected in the various programmes of 'values education', 'positive education', 'civic education', 'character education', 'moral education', 'service learning', 'resilience building', etc. that are being implemented in many countries at the moment (e.g., the USA, U.K., Australia, South Africa, Russia, China, Denmark, Sweden, Holland). These initiatives are a direct response to the epidemic of violence, binge drinking, depression and rising suicide rates among teenagers worldwide.

Research has started to accumulate the findings about the effectiveness of these programmes. A review of the literature reveals that values education is predictive and linked to pro-social behaviour (Benninga, Berkowitz, Kuehn, & Smith, 2003, 2006; Berkowitz & Bier, 2004, 2007; Billig, 2000; Deakin Crick, Coates, Taylor, & Ritchie, 2004; Deakin Crick et al., 2005). Moreover, we also now have a body of research showing that pro-social behaviour promotes academic achievement (Caprara, Barbaranelli, Pastorelli, Bandura, & Zimbardo, 2000; Welsh, Parke, Widaman, & O' Neil, 2001; Wentzel, 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1996). The 'holistic' conclusion is as follows: if values education promotes pro-social behaviour, and pro-social behaviour promotes academic achievement, then these three dimensions in education seem closely connected.

Nevertheless, as values education is still a relative newcomer in educational theory and practice, there is certainly room for letting the body of research grow in this area. Most studies on values education have been relatively small-scale, so some large-scale studies are needed. In this regard, Australia has been in the forefront.

The Australian Values Education Experience

Of all the countries teaching values education, Australia is a world leader in providing sustained, large-scale, government-funded values education, research and resources. After developing the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* (www.valueseducation.edu.au) in 2003, in consultation with

educational communities all over Australia, the Australian Government committed funding for a multidimensional values education initiative designed to support schools in implementing the framework. As part of that initiative the Values Education Good Practice Schools Project (VEGPSP) was established as a two-stage endeavour to fund selected schools from across Australia to plan, implement and research local projects that would exemplify good practice in values education. Using the qualitative research methodologies of action research and meta-analysis (DEST, 2006), schools all over the nation designed and implemented their projects to meet local needs and to further inform the development of values education practices in Australian schools.

VEGPSP Stage 1 ran from 2004 to 2006. The *Final Report* (DEST, 2006) described the endeavours of 166 schools and set out key recommendations for good practice in values education. VEGPSP Stage 2 built on the work of Stage 1 and extended it to other school contexts. Stage 2 ran from 2006 to 2008 and involved 143 schools. Out of this project the *VEGPSP Stage 2 Final Report* (DEEWR, 2008) emerged, proposing 10 key good practices in values education:

1. Establish and consistently use a common and shared values language across the school.
2. Use pedagogies that are values-focused and student-centred within all curriculum.
3. Develop values education as an integrated curriculum concept, rather than as a programme, an event or an addition to the curriculum.
4. Explicitly teach values so students know what the values mean and how the values are lived.
5. Implicitly model values and explicitly foster the modelling of values.
6. Develop relevant and engaging values approaches connected to local and global contexts that offer opportunities for real student agency.
7. Use values education to consciously foster intercultural understanding, social cohesion and social inclusion.
8. Provide teachers with informed, sustained and targeted professional learning and foster professional collaboration.
9. Encourage teachers to take risks in their approach to values education.
10. Gather and monitor data for continuous improvement in values education.

These 10 good practices are not an exhaustive account of what more than 300 schools achieved in 5 years of values education projects, but they do represent a synthesis of what emerged over time.

Having been involved as a university advisor in both stages of VEGPSP, helping schools to implement values education and research and monitoring their efforts, I have had a unique chance to become familiar with the 10 practices. I came to appreciate one of them in particular: the finding relating to student agency and action – what I have developed further, calling it a ‘pedagogy of giving’. In the remainder of this paper, I will provide data and analysis as to why a pedagogy of giving might be central to young people acquiring shared values.

A Classroom Example of Putting Values into Action

In one of the schools I worked with during VEGPSP Stage 2, two teachers, who team-taught two grade 3–4 classes, decided to let the values of care, compassion and responsibility guide a unit called *Cool Kids 4 a Cool Climate*.

One teacher's goal was for her students to take responsibility for – and first steps towards – an environmentally sustainable future. One way of doing that, she felt, was to help her students empathize with those hardest hit by the effects of climate change. She got the students to write a diary as if they were a drought-stricken farmer. For children of this age, the results were dramatic:

> Dear Diary,
> Today is Friday, another busy day. The earth is all dry and very deeply cracked. The poor old sheep dog is too thirsty to round up the sheep and the cows are so skinny you can see their rib bones. I have to shoot them tomorrow. I am out of water to feed them so I think it is best . . . I don't know what to do. Should I sell the property or not? (Nielsen, 2009)

Having developed empathic links, students were then involved in collecting relief packages for drought-stricken farmers. One of the teachers reported:

> The culminating activity . . . was for the children to list ways to show that they care about the effects of drought on our community. From this list they chose, as a group, one idea to put their words into action. They chose to collect tinned food, blankets, toys and books to donate to the Country Women's Association (CWA) to go to drought affected farmers in our area. Over the space of five weeks they developed a plan, allocated jobs, and organized posters and newsletter articles. They collected over 350 tins, numerous blankets, four boxes of clothing, as well as toys and books. A representative from the CWA collected the donations and the children received a letter of appreciation. I wish I could include the photo we took of the children with their collections so you could see the look of pride on every face . . . . (Nielsen, 2009)

Other action projects by the same classes included recycling at the school:

> At present the two classes are responsible for the recycling for the entire school. They have taken full responsibility for this process and are quite forthright when letting people know if recyclables are placed in the wrong bin . . . . many parents commented on the positive impact this unit of work was having on their family as a whole. Many reported being 'nagged' if they left lights or appliances on. Emptying the recycling into the bin was not a chore anymore and every television in the house wasn't on at the same time. One parent reported that their daughter was monitoring the packaging of the products they bought. Turning off lights, reporting dripping taps, using the fan rather than the air conditioner, using less plastic wrap, walking or riding if possible, etc, have all become part of their daily lives. (Nielsen, 2009)

One of the teachers concluded:

> At first I wasn't sure if the explicit teaching of values was going to feel forced, as if tacked onto the integrated unit as an afterthought. It quickly became obvious that the inclusion of the values enhanced the unit . . . . . . the extremely high level of engagement of the children over the 15 week unit is a testament to the connectedness they felt . . . . . . the thought of teaching about climate change and its effects on people without looking at the values of care, compassion and responsibility now seems quite shallow. (Nielsen, 2009)

Head–Heart–Hands Learning

The Cool Kids unit followed a number of good pedagogical practices for fostering student agency and action. Throughout the unit the teachers used guided constructivism as a way of giving the children a sense of responsibility while steering them towards predetermined and worthwhile learning objectives. Having, in contrast, occasionally observed 'values education' conducted in a slightly didactic mode – a kind of transmission teaching – I was reminded that values education relies as much on tried and tested pedagogies as does the quality teaching of any other part of the curriculum. In fact, given the personal, and to some degree relative, nature of values, it might be even more important to avoid the transmission models of the past, so that schools and children, when asked the popular question, 'Whose values?', will truly be able to answer, 'Our values'! (Townsend, 1992).

The teachers also helped students personalize the learning and engaged their *affective* dimension, in particular, by having the students write a diary in which they imagined themselves to be drought-striken farmers. The ability to imagine, Noddings (2004) points out, is a prerequisite for feeling empathy; without the ability to project oneself into another's shoes or to think what it would be like for someone else, true empathy is not possible.

But the Cool Kids unit did not cater only for the students' head (cognition) and heart (affect); by doing what was needed to collect drought relief packages, the students were able to engage their compassion in concrete, 'values-in-action' activities, thus employing their hands as well as their head and heart. Throughout my observations of values education I noticed that where students put values into action by giving to someone or something beyond themselves, their passion for and enjoyment in a task increased.

Ever since John Dewey, we have been aware that experiential learning has positive effects on students' retention and enjoyment levels. By 'doing' we often learn more deeply. Has the time now come to recognize an additional aspect of 'doing'? What mysterious synergy emerges when head and hands seem to be connected in 'heart activity', or doing something – for others?

Wellbeing and Giving

To answer this question we need to make links to research on positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Seligman, 2002a, 2002b, 2008), as well as to research on giving (e.g., Dillon, Wink, & Fay, 2003; Post & Neimark, 2007). Having researched the matter for more than 20 years, Seligman (2002a) identifies three types of happy living: the 'pleasurable' life, when we gratify our senses (e.g., by eating an ice cream); the 'engaged' life, when we engage our signature strengths in activities that makes us lose track of time (e.g., computer games); and the 'meaningful' life. In this happy state we are often still using our signature strengths, but for a higher purpose than our own gratification. While sensory pleasure and engaging

activities are not to be dismissed, we enjoy higher and more steady levels of happiness and recuperate more easily from trauma when our lives also contain meaning and we are doing something for the greater good.

A review of the new science of giving confirms that doing something for others makes us healthier, happier and even live longer (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 2002; Dillon et al., 2003; Oman & Thoresen, 2000; Piliavin & Siegl, 2007; Post & Neimark, 2007; Scales et al., 2006). In schools, giving is a strong predictor of increased mental and physical health into adulthood and reduced adolescent depression and suicide risk (Dillon et al., 2003). It is noteworthy that even when the giving is 'enforced' to some extent, as with service learning, the benefits remain: students who are exposed to service learning end up volunteering more afterwards (Post & Neimark 2007). Several studies all show that generous behaviour has a significant impact on teenagers' mental health, increasing their happiness, hopefulness and social effectiveness (e.g., Billig, 2000; Billig, 2007; Csikszentmihalyi, 2002; Scales et al., 2006). Giving even reduces mortality significantly. Dough Oman (Oman & Thoresen, 2000) followed almost 2000 individuals over the age of 55 for 5 years. Those who volunteered for two or more organizations had a 44% lower likelihood of dying – 14% lower than those who exercised four times a week.

If giving is so healthy, it seems useful to consider some ways in which students might give on a regular basis. Post and Neimark's research (2007) identifies 10 forms of giving:

- Celebration/gratefulness
- Generativity (helping others to help themselves)
- Forgiveness
- Courage
- Humour
- Respect
- Compassion
- Loyalty
- Listening
- Creativity

Although some of these are more abstract than others, it is my contention that any positive emotion generated by non-selfish thought or action will produce results similar to the research on overt giving. For example, the first item on Post and Neimark's list, celebration/gratitude, has been researched – and the results are indeed similar to the research on overt giving. In one study, just 5 minutes of gratitude caused a shift in the nervous system to a calm state, called 'parasympathetic dominance', which is where heart, breathing, blood pressure and brain rhythm are synchronized. In another study, after a month of practising appreciation for 15 minutes a day, 30 individuals experienced a 100% increase in the beneficial hormone dehydroepiandrosterone, as well as a 30% reduction in the stress hormone cortisol (Rollin McCraty, in Post & Neimark). Gratitude, therefore, as an example of 'internal' giving, produces similar health benefits as overt giving.

I teach a unit at the University of Canberra called Promoting Positive Learning Environment. Having shown my pre-service teacher students some of this data on giving and gratitude, I suggested to them, in the spirit that 'one should not always believe everything one reads', that we should test out the findings ourselves. I invited them to take the Australian Unity Wellbeing Index survey (see www.australianunity.com.au/wellbeingindex) at the beginning of the semester and again 6 weeks later. During the 6 weeks they were to keep a diary and at the end of each day record three things they were grateful for, or wanted to celebrate, in their lives. The aim was for students to personally investigate the links between positive psychology and the research on giving, these suggesting, respectively, that positive emotions and actions are effective conduits of individual and communal wellbeing.

After the 6 weeks of keeping a celebration/gratitude journal, the 23 participating students had increased their satisfaction noticeably in all eight areas: standard of living, health, life achievements, personal relationships, personal safety, community, future security, and spirituality or religion. As this was a learning research project without a control group, it is hard to tell how much the students' wellbeing was influenced by the actual learning about positive psychology/giving and how much it was changed by practical application. However, in some ways this is only interesting from a research point of view because, pedagogically, it is obvious that the combination of both theory and practice will most often be more potent than either on its own. Indeed, this principle applies to one of the main points in this paper: namely, that the synergy created when mind, emotions and body (head, heart, hands) work together, is by definition more effective than one or two of these dimensions in isolation.

Of course, this is not a new thought in education. Ever since the release of the Carnegie report (Carnegie Corporation, 1996), we have known how important it is for learners to be engaged holistically. What *is* relatively new, however, is to suggest that the nature of the engagement itself can be more or less transformational. Giving to others would seem to be a powerful medicine – perhaps an antidote to our own inertia, apathy and fear. Could it be that we can create a strong ballast, a *conscience*, in students by simply enabling them to 'do good' on a daily basis?

Giving as a 'Living Principle'

Certainly, the above data and analysis echo a relatively new proposition in education: that when young people are given chances to give to something or someone beyond themselves, it enhances the commitment and personal attachment to the learning objectives, as well as their general happiness and wellbeing. I return to the *VEGPSP Stage 2 Final Report* (DEEWR, 2008):

> Starting from the premise that schooling educates for the whole child and must necessarily engage a student's heart, mind and actions, effective values education empowers student decision making, fosters student action and assigns real student responsibility. Effective values education is not an academic exercise; it needs to be deeply personal, deeply real and deeply engaging.

As noted, this finding ties in with the findings around service learning (Billig, Root, & Jesse, 2005; Billig, 2007; Butin, 2007; Dymond & Renzaglia, 2008; Michael, 2005; Nelson & Eckstein, 2008; Pisano & Rust, 2007), which is when students are engaged in action-based activities applying to their curriculum learning in direct service to others or their community. Service learning combines principles of constructivist learning with a very practical manifestation of empathy and social justice in the form of giving to others or contributing to worthwhile social change.

Service learning, however, differs slightly from my notion of a pedagogy of giving in that the emphasis of the latter is on giving rather than on the curriculum as we know it. That is, service, or giving, is not something that has to be tied to the traditional curriculum at all times to qualify as service learning, or 'educational giving'; rather, I see the giving or service as an end in itself. Since modern curricula usually include a focus on social competencies, almost any type of giving will naturally be 'tied' to the curriculum in some way. But under my definition of giving – and by being familiar with the research on giving – we are more likely to understand the underlying value of giving if we do not see it as a means to an end. Getting students to clean their tables at the end of each day, for example, does not have to be tied to curriculum learning (nor should it be done to avoid employing cleaners to come and do a thorough clean!). Giving as a principle can be embodied in almost any situation and of itself has immense value to individual and collective wellbeing.

Another example is when students with a disability are included in mainstream classes. By supporting a mainstreamed student to integrate socially and achieve goals, other class members can take on some responsibility for that student's success, while learning empathy. Teachers prepare mainstream students using simulation exercises to help them understand the disability, as well as 'friendship games'. The sharing of special skills among students – with and without disabilities – means that they all have a chance to give (Foreman, 2001). Inclusive education research confirms that the use of peers in meaningful teaching and peer-mediation roles has been found to have positive effects on students and the classroom ethos in general (e.g., Gilberts, Agran, Hughes, & Wehmeyer, 2001; Kohler & Strain, 1999; Udavari-Solner & Thousand, 1996).

Inclusive education is a particular good example of both practical giving and of Post and Neimark's less overt forms of giving, such as respect, loyalty, generativity and compassion. It is worth noting, however, that the progression from overt giving to what we might call the 'living principle' of giving emulates the natural development in children from experiential to more abstract knowing and being. Hence why opportunities to give through overt actions seem important to introduce early on in students' lives. Otherwise it is likely that students end up not wanting to give when they are teenagers – probably, as Townsend (1992) notes, because they have never given to begin with.

True, researching the subtle ways of giving is slightly trickier, given the 'inner' nature of emotion and attitude. We can listen to a person, and we can *really* listen to a person, and in both cases the observable action is similar, but in the first case the listener will not feel as much empathy. However, we have enough research

evidence to suggest that whether we are listening with compassion to someone's story or organizing drought relief packages, we will still be reaping the same medicinal benefit.

Giving, then, may be seen, like love, to be a state of mind (and heart) that determines the quality of an action rather than being the action itself. Theoretically, we could be giving everyday – indeed, every second – of our lives. Post and Neimark (2007) talk about love as a driving force in our lives, and the recent movements of positive psychology, positive education, values education and service learning seem to signal a growing recognition of the power of love. In this line of thinking, giving emerges as a living principle that could underpin our educational practices, not just because we want children to do better at school, but also because we want them to *live* better.

A pertinent question, of course, is still *why* giving, or love, might be such a powerful agent in our lives. Seligman (2002a, 2002b) thinks of positive emotions as an inbuilt potential in human beings and thus fully compatible with Charles Darwin's theory of human evolution – since feeling good about ourselves seem to increase our capability, productivity and creativity (Isen et al., 1991; Post & Neimark, 2007; Seligman, 2002a). That giving is one of the most profound things we can do is not only a scientific claim made by positive psychology, but also a key tenet of most religions and spiritual traditions. Whichever of these beliefs we subscribe to, there seems to be common ground on which to proceed.

This still does not completely explain why improving others' lives has such a powerful effect on our own. Ultimately, our hearts, rather than our powers of reason, will have to recognize the truth of that. The heart has reasons that reason does not know. This is a paradox, especially in an academic article, but I hope I have created something of a balance between reason and my attempts to go beyond it. I have cited empirical research to show that 'giving' and 'love' work – even though we might not fully know why. Knowing this does not matter to some extent. Knowing that it works does.

Conclusion

Victor Frankl, the concentration camp survivor and eminent psychologist, said, 'Self-actualisation is possible only as a side-effect of self-transcendence'. The research and conceptualization I have presented here – that enabling students to give routinely makes them happier and better adjusted – seem to support this statement. As the world faces seemingly insurmountable challenges, it has never been more important to give younger generations the wherewithal to counter stress, fear and uncertainty.

Historically, we have swung like a pendulum between various educational preferences: religious versus scientific, liberal versus vocational, etc. Interrogating what

it means to be human and putting that into action may bring together these past and present dichotomies. There is now enough research available for us to agree on the strategies and actions that foster human happiness and wellbeing – no matter what our ideological backgrounds and demands of society.

As such, a pedagogy of giving could serve as a common ground for everyone involved in trying to rectify the disengagement in our schools and among our youth – as well as the wider problems of fundamentalism and separatism. What we need in education, and in general, are shared solutions rather than positions that divide us further. Bringing the 'heart' and 'heart-action' into schools has parallels with many aspects of life, an example being the global financial crisis. We have discovered that systems need to be guided by values that serve the common good. The recent trend to bring philosophy into financial institutions – through training and by recruiting philosophy graduates – is not so surprising.

Kieran Egan (1997) says that all knowledge is human knowledge. I think we have now entered a time in human evolution where we also need to recognize that all knowledge should be *humane* knowledge: a servant of our humanity, our compassion for each other and the earth. History has shown the danger of knowledge disconnected from our humanity.

We have come a long way but, as I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, a discrepancy still exists between what we most want for our kids and what schools primarily focus on. I have used the human heart as a metaphor, but I have also tried to establish firm grounds for employing the science and psychology of love at all levels in education. I have argued for a synthesis of what all religions have as their core message and what research now shows increases our individual wellbeing and collective social capital.

People who show deep respect, who are truly tolerant and who stand as examples because of their integrity will be the true way-showers in the future. This is why I think we should begin to understand how we best assist children to fulfil their own potential of becoming such way-showers via a pedagogy of kindness and active compassion. Then, I predict, we will also see young people who will no longer try to cover up an inner void with superficial means, like drugs, alcohol, premature sexual relationships, etc. Instead, young people will come to fulfil their inner longing for communion and community via healthy and sustainable means – through meaning and purpose, though giving to someone or something beyond themselves.

Notes

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Chapter 36
Values Education as an Ethical Dilemma About Sociability

Robert Crotty

Introduction

This chapter and its reflections have developed from the experience of dealing, as the University Associate Network representative, with four clusters of schools engaged in the Values Education Good Practice Schools Stage 2 (see DEEWR, 2008). Three of the clusters, the Yorke Peninsula, the Edmund Rice Ministries and Sea and Vales were situated within the confines of South Australia. The Cross Borders cluster was coordinated from Victor Harbor, but included schools from Western Australia and the Northern Territory. Each cluster had its own particular ethos and pursued the aims of the project in an individual way.

The Four Clusters

The Yorke Peninsula cluster, consisting of three primary rural schools, chose sustainability as the mainstay of their project. They linked particular values, chosen by the school community, with sustainable activity and then further linked these values to specific sites and specific elements of the school curriculum.

When it came to practice, the three schools in the cluster paralleled a project promoted by Australia Zoo called 'Wildlife Warriors'. Students had been encouraged by the Zoo project to identify as Warriors in their role as protectors of wildlife. On this basis, the cluster constructed the idea of 'Heroes for Seven Generations'. This concept was intended to give the student cohort, by identifying themselves not only with the present but also with the future, a sense of empowerment to (a) construct personal values, (b) to have a vision and goal beyond themselves and (c) to look beyond immediate needs and interests.

The values associated with this project were presented to the students as reaching out into the broader local community where many of the students will eventually live and find employment. One of the objectives is that in the vision for the Yorke

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Peninsula community, the students could be a powerful agent for change. They could make a difference in the community.

In this way strong links have been forged within the three school communities and also between the individual schools and the local communities that surrounded them. It was this sense of self-identification and this ability to project themselves into a future that they could affect that I found most remarkable.

A second cluster had its lead school at Seaford, on the outskirts of urban Adelaide. This Sea and Vales cluster consisted of five schools in the local area. Their specific project has enabled the students to forge links with the community outside the school by either becoming involved in environmental sustainability or by becoming involved in some aspect of citizenship. In this way the individual students have developed a personal moral code and achieved a standard of social conscience and responsibility. The teaching staff, the student body and the local community have been linked into the project.

The students have been allowed to choose their own specific values by discussion and they came up with the following: Fair Go, Care and Compassion, Respect, Responsibility, Integrity, Honesty and Trustworthiness, Freedom, Doing Your Best, Understanding, Tolerance and Inclusion. The students also brainstormed ideas to come up with sustainable actions which related to these values.

The basis for the project consisted, in the main, of partnerships. The Project had begun with the teachers who underwent professional development that would enable them to develop and deliver a curriculum where values were the actual framework for the students' learning experiences. This professional development had been shown to affect curriculum design and teaching practices in the schoolroom. This changed schoolroom environment affected student behaviour and reaction to the teaching experience. Teachers and students together were able to look beyond the school to the wider community with an enhanced sense of social responsibility.

A series of focus groups were held to gain some evidence relating to this change. The students' understanding of values was pursued by questioning them on the value of Respect. Each focus group was able to describe, first of all by positive examples, what was meant by having a value of Respect as a key requirement. They were also able to respond negatively by describing what they would call disrespectful behaviour. In the main the activities described turned out to be personal – allowing others to speak and express opinions even if they were not mainstream, helping people when in need, not invading personal property. Three of the cohorts extended the list of actions under the value of Respect to acceptance of ethnic difference. This seemed to be an advanced awareness of respectfulness and demonstrated higher knowledge than would be expected prior to teenage years.

The Cross Borders cluster included disparate schools across Australia, linked by the characteristic of remoteness. The lead school was at Victor Harbor, a country town south of Adelaide. Other schools were Birdwood High, also on the outer fringes of Adelaide, Spearwood Primary School in Western Australia, Chrysalis Montessori school also in Western Australia and Mataranka Primary School in the Northern Territory. The latter school was by far the most remote.

There has been very astute interaction between the teaching of values and a related Project across the cluster. Environmental studies was chosen as the

instrument for delivery of values education and formed the heart of the curriculum. The technical possibility of linking these remote schools to achieve anything like a comparable project was achieved by IT. Two programmes in particular, Centra and Moodle were used. The former enabled teachers and students to speak synchronously and be visible to each other. The latter enabled the participants to communicate interactively. There are a number of specific examples that could demonstrate the learning that was achieved.

An example from Birdwood involved a regular home economics lesson in making a fruit salad. In the course of this curriculum, the students were asked to investigate the source of the strawberries and then consider the carbon footprint that was made to bring out-of-season produce to their kitchen and what possible alternatives might be considered. One of the teachers spoke to them about the school vegetable garden which ran on sustainable principles. Student discussion turned to 'When you teach, you teach yourself!' Teachers involved in this teaching realized that they were models and they were transmitting values by modelling. Teachers and students were unexpectedly caught up in a quite new educational venture.

At Mataranka students learnt ecology through their construction of a 'Home Sweet Home' habitat for turtles. As soon as the turtles were removed from a self-sustaining system, however, it was only too clear that humans needed to intervene to reassert the functions of the environment. The students quickly realized that this sustaining of the environment was complicated and ongoing, with a delicate balance in play. Their comments showed that they were well aware of the complexity of dealing with nature.

Still with this cluster, one of the best examples of how a project in values education can move out of its original setting and forge wider relationships involved work at Spearwood on constructing a frog pond. The original micro-project ended in disaster when, over a holiday period, the pool dried up and the frogs died. The students were shocked. The educational challenge was to decide what would be needed to sustain this ecosystem. Year 6 students learned from their previous setback that plants and living creatures need to suit environments. Even native plants need time to establish before they can manage on their own. From this experience they learned not only responsibility, but also the value of resilience. They also decided to decorate the area with a mural collaboratively planned with assistance from an Aboriginal elder and suddenly the project took on an even wider value.

It is clear that what was achieved went far beyond environmental studies and knowledge of science. The students were playing with responsibility and resilience and doing so at high level of achievement. In fact, the teachers were surprised by the knowledge that emanated from the project.

What has been achieved within the Edmund Rice Ministries cluster (a group of three secondary, single-sex Christian Brothers colleges) relative to the values education project does not make sense unless it is seen as constructed on an earlier Service Learning context and its culture of promoting justice and charity. Service Learning within the Cluster has been described thus:

> The boys (the schools involved are single sex) are encouraged to assist and stand in solidarity with the poor and marginalized in our world, and to be aware of and respond to social justice issues. (Lynne Moten, Service Learning Coordinator, Rostrevor College.)

The Service Learning has been situated as an outreach for the Religious Education and Retreat programmes within the schools. By Year 11 the students have been required to complete 50 hours of service within a wide variety of charitable organizations. Every second year, staff and students travel to India to be very practically involved in quite arduous social work.

The project has made use of already existing partnerships within the three schools making up the cluster. The grant for values education was used to provide professional development and time for Middle School staff to write specific units of work relative to values education. This writing was done in the areas of Social Studies, English and Religious Education. The intention was that, once a small group of teachers has been initiated into the project, they and the curriculum outcomes they produced would be used to bring about change in the wider school community.

The good practice achievement of this cluster is that the values framework has been utilized in such a way as to link the Service Learning framework and the curriculum.

It seemed to me as an external observer that the intention was to rewrite curriculum in a particular way. I will refer to special items in the curriculum writing programme.

The most engaging curriculum item was a simulated sweatshop at one of the schools. A study of overseas sweatshops led to the re-creation of an actual location where sports materials were supposedly manufactured under conditions that could only be classified as extremely unethical. The interaction between students and this simulated environment generated a knowledge of improper practice. There was a dilemma, however: if this sweatshop was not available, then many people would have absolutely no access to necessary pay.

The students were asked: what can be done? As with most ethical dilemmas the students contemplated answers that pushed them beyond their comfort zones. Can a person in a first world country prop up a system that takes advantage of the poor while providing those very poor with the minimum to live? They proposed answers that once they had not thought feasible.

What struck me in the four clusters, with all of which I had close contact, was that the students were developing their own particular knowledge. I compared this to the knowledge that I had acquired in my own schooling and to the knowledge that I had become acquainted with as an educationist in a variety of classrooms. I became aware of a critical mode of thinking that vigorously challenged socialization that I had not noticed in either of these other contexts. I, therefore, set out to find a framework to describe this knowledge.

Human Knowledge

What is meant by human knowledge? That question is at the hub of this enquiry. At this point I would like to introduce the theoretical subtlety of Jurgen Habermas and his threefold typology of human knowledge (1972, 1974, 1984, 1987 and 1990). Habermas set out to realign the consciousness of human agents. His epistemology

claimed that humans can construct reality by means of knowledge-guiding interests. Basically, he wanted to demonstrate that all knowledge is interest-bound and people can, by critical enquiry, come to see whose interests are being served. Humans constitute what is ‘real’ for them, and organize their experience in terms of these knowledge-guiding interests.

In other words, knowledge, for Habermas, is directly and intimately related to what we intend to do with that knowledge. We humans are caught up with the need to survive and thrive in our daily existence. We must, first of all, produce from nature whatever is required for physical life and, in so doing, we must come to predict, control and manipulate the environment. This is a technical interest or disposition. It constitutes that body of knowledge that will keep production of necessities under technical control. It is the sort of knowledge that is embedded in technologies and work. The technical interest gives rise to a range of empirical-analytical sciences.

But, to survive and thrive requires not only the practical necessities of life. Humans need also to communicate and they can do so only if there are agreed symbols to guide inter-subjective understanding. This is the second knowledge-guiding interest: it is focused on the cultural and social reality that surrounds us like a web surrounding a spider. This interest involves the knowledge embedded in social devices such as language, cultural symbols and social structures. Historical and hermeneutical sciences result from this interest.

But Habermas emphasises a third interest, which is emancipatory. This knowledge-guiding interest is the human capacity to be self-reflective and critical. It brings about a knowledge that informs human responsibility. The emancipatory interest gives rise to a conscious self-reflection which becomes aware of the ideologies that influence humans; it offers freedom that can acknowledge the relations of dependence and allow the person to make choices.

The technical and the communicative interests are focused on the present and the past. The emancipatory interest is focused on the future, an imagined future. It is only this focus on the future which gives full meaning to the technical and communicative interests. The third knowledge-guiding interest gives rise to the critical sciences.

It is precisely by imagining a future and taking steps to achieve the imagined future that humans can break out of the cultural system into which they have been socialized. The cultural condition can be circumvented. This is revolutionary thought and because of it Habermas was considered by some contemporaries to be threatening the very structure of society. He was promoting the need for drastically original thought that could subvert the prevailing culture.

Taken alone, the first two interests are committed to maintaining the status quo. In contrast, Habermas stressed that humans will only achieve real freedom if their interests are informed by the emancipatory interest. He took psychoanalysis as a model of critical knowledge. Mental patients are assisted in psychoanalysis to reconstruct their life history. Patients review their life histories and become aware of unconscious desires at work in them, distorted perceptions and unhealthy dependencies. Critical knowledge allows the thinker to perceive the interests that are being served. Just as the patient, assisted by the psychoanalyst, engages with a future no

longer dominated by the past, so too the critical thinker finds an emancipation in the imagined future.

Ultimately self-reflection on personal behaviours, and on those social institutions within which such behaviours take place, will give rise to modification of culture. I consider this to be a matter of vital importance.

Application to the Four Clusters

In the four examples of values education I have found that the third Habermasian interest, the emancipatory interest, has been fostered. This knowledge-guiding interest concerns the human capacity to be self-reflective and self-determining. The knowledge that is produced by interaction with the interest informs human responsibility. The self-reflection makes the individual aware of those ideologies that influence humans and it offers a way for the individual to deal with them. It seems obvious to me that in the four clusters this particular mode of knowledge is shared by teachers and students.

For example, the Yorke Peninsula students were aware of how they themselves were part of the future and what they did now, with the attitudes that they presently possessed, would affect that future. The acknowledgement by the Seaford students in their focus groups that the value of Respect should be applied to ethnic difference shows a deep awareness of the ideology of prejudice and differentiation. Within the Cross Borders cluster, the statement by Birdwood High students that 'when you teach, you teach yourself' upturns the normally accepted classroom status. Students have shown deep self-reflection. The Mataranka and Spearwood experiences with human interference in natural ecosystems have bred the same sort of deep reflection with outstanding results. Finally, the Edmund Rice Ministries cluster's construction of the sweatshop has brought about a knowledge of improper practice which then gave rise to an ethical dilemma of profound proportion. Can an improper practice be supported because it has a good consequence (minimal return for the desperately poor)?

In short, habits of self-reflection have been fostered, ideologies have been recognized and higher order thinking has been taking place.

This consideration of what is happening in classrooms has raised an ethical question. Do we as educators have a right to enable young students to modify culture? The new knowledge in which the teachers and students are involved can be classified as dangerous. The student and the teacher have been enabled to break out of any traditional schooling paradigm. This means that a school that has successfully embraced values education could well be at odds with the society that surrounds it, with the educational paradigm into which it is supposed to fit. There is a prima facie case that this raises an ethical issue and that values education is involved in an ethical dilemma since it disturbs the cultural relationship of the school community and the other attendant societal groups.

This ethical question links the two contested areas of ethics and culture. I will now endeavour to deal with each in turn (see Crotty, 2007).

What Is Meant by Ethics?

Ethics is the human endeavour to determine whether human actions and intentions can be adjudged good or bad, right or wrong. It defines a system that informs humans as to what is right or wrong in a particular situation. Ethical theory and ethical reasoning have subsequently developed because it is not always clear how a human should rightly respond in a particular situation, how the human should be informed.

Historically in the western world, there have been three standard approaches to ethical reasoning. First, there is consequentialism. Consequentialism takes regard of the consequences that will follow from making a certain response to a human situation. Its basic premise is that the consequences of a particular human response determine the morality of that response.

An important subcategory of consequentialism has been called utilitarianism. This theory goes one step further and holds that consequences that promote human welfare are ethically preferable to those that do not do so, and those consequences that promote welfare more are ethically preferable to those that do not maximize welfare. Following from this, Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian principle (as refined by John Stuart Mill) was that so long as people do not interfere with the freedom and happiness of others they should be allowed to think and do as they like.

Another approach has been to focus on the duties and obligations of those who perform human actions. These are called deontological theories. Immanuel Kant held to the principle of unconditional respect for other people, treating people not as means to an end, but as ends in themselves. Kantians struggle to do what duty demands as against what the human spirit wants to do.

Yet, another approach has been called virtue ethics, which concentrates on the particular qualities of the person involved in making a human decision as to what is right and what is wrong. A response is deemed good and right if it is what a hypothetical good person would normally do. The virtue ethicist, therefore, must identify those virtues which good people should possess if they are to live fulfilling lives.

Each of these broad approaches has its problems. How does the ethicist who follows consequentialism or utilitarianism decide on the relative value where there is more than one consequence of an action? The decision maker's duties and obligations, given precedence by the deontologist, can themselves sometimes seem to be in conflict. And who decides the necessary virtues of the morally upright person for the virtue ethicist?

The three approaches seem to hang in the air, each without a foundation. I would like to take another approach and begin by the claim, later to be defended, that human life is inextricably dominated by human culture. Human culture is similar to a software programme within a computer. It directs the output of the hard-wired computer. If a glitch develops within the software, then inevitably the output is skewed. So, it is with human culture. I will now develop my thinking on culture further.

What Is Meant by Culture?

Without controversy, I understand culture to mean the total shared way of life of any given human group; substantially, culture is composed of that group's modes of thinking, acting, feeling, valuing.

Perhaps more controversially I see culture as a human construct, a system of symbols. It is not something static; having been constructed, it develops and adapts to its environment, just as the human group, within which it has its being, develops and adapts to a changing physical environment. The development and adaptation of a culture and the development and adaptation of its attendant human group are not separate issues. Without human beings there could be no culture; development and adaptation of culture and humans happens synchronically.

Some anthropologists would even claim that without culture there would be no human beings; the very notion of being human requires being programmed by culture (see Geertz, 1973, Ch. 2). Why should this be so? While other animals, to a large extent, have their behavioural patterns predetermined by their genetic code, the behaviour of human beings is regulated genetically to a far less extent. The cat, for example, does not need to be taught its various miaows. Instinctively it acquires a range of recognizable utterances that serve to express contentment, intention to hunt and so forth. The cat may learn a small range of behaviours and values from its mother and companions but, to a great extent, these are learned by instinct. The human baby is the opposite. It does have a few instincts (the instinct to eat by sucking, to grasp objects with the hand), but most behaviour and values are learned.

Because of this need to learn, humans have a need to put a construction on those events in which they are involved and they do so by means of this system of symbols that is a culture. They need to construct reality, to achieve order; culture enables them to do so. This dependence on culture has been claimed to be species-specific (Lumsden & Wilson, 1981); as stated above, other animals are not so dependent on learned culture to find order in everyday living. Perhaps, some would argue, humans are actually directed by their genetic make-up to find this order through culture.

Cultural Relativism

Hence, looking across the contemporary world we can review such different cultures as Chinese, Japanese, European, Aboriginal Australian – even granted that there are many sub-variants within each of these. Looking back in time, we can reconstruct, from texts and artefacts, ancient Greek culture, ancient Mesopotamian culture, ancient Celtic culture. They are different. Are they real? Are there levels of validity in them? Are they comparable?

Common, universal characteristics have been confidently identified as existing in all cultural systems (Kluckhohn, 1953, pp. 507–523). For instance, even in the 1970s Melvin Spiro (1978) was able to identify 'invariant dispositions and orientations' which stemmed, he claimed, from 'pan-human biological and cultural constants' (pp. 330–360). He cited abhorrence of incest, rejection of murder and

gregariousness as examples of these universal cultural traits. On the basis of 'invariant dispositions and orientations' he was able to postulate 'a universal human nature' underlying all human cultures (pp. 349–50). Human cultures derived their reality and validity by reference to this universal human nature.

However, there are other scholars who hold that any such perception of a universal human nature is illusory. Every culture, they maintain, is unique, formed within the parameters of the life experience of a particular group and variously shaped by non-recurrent historical events. Each element of a culture can, therefore, only be judged by what it contributes to the totality of that culture. A particular form of government (which is a cultural artefact), such as ancient Greek democracy, cannot meaningfully be compared to a similar form of democracy in another culture, such as Australian democracy; each cultural element only has meaning within the total cultural framework of its own group. No cultural element within one cultural system can be compared, on this argument, with what might seem to be a similar cultural element in another cultural system. Such complete cultural relativism has, of course, its own philosophical difficulties (see Geertz, 1984).

A variant, more moderate relativism has been proposed and deserves attention. The case could be put that while the behaviour patterns of animals are for the most part genetically determined and the genetic code orders their activity within a narrow range of variation, human beings are genetically endowed with very general response capacities. These are not the cultural universals proposed above by Spiro and others; they are response capacities that allow humans to learn and to adapt within broad ranges of activity. These would be similar to the list of 'innate modules of the human mind' identified by Steven Pinker (1994), which he also calls 'families of instincts'.

Pinker (1994) writes, for example about language:

> Language is a complex, specialized skill, which develops in the child spontaneously, without conscious effort or formal instruction, is deployed without awareness of its underlying logic, is qualitatively the same in every individual, and is distinct from more general abilities to process information or behave intelligently. For these reasons some cognitive scientists have described language as a psychological faculty, a mental organ, a neural system, and a computational module. But I prefer the admittedly quaint term "instinct." It conveys the idea that people know how to talk in more or less the sense that spiders know how to spin webs. (p. 18)

In this sense, we have an innate response capacity or 'instinct' to speak, but our capacity to speak English, for example, is culturally determined. Perhaps this principle can be applied to the whole of culture: response capacity is determined and controlled by the biological species; how this capacity will be activated and manifest itself will normally depend upon the culture into which the individual has been socialized. However, a hypothetical human being with capacities *simpliciter* would be an incomplete animal; it is culture that completes the human being by activating these capacities in a number of quite specific ways.

Following this line of thought, culture would be 'learned' in a way analogous to language:

> 'Culture' refers to the process whereby particular kinds of learning contagiously spread from person to person in a group and minds become coordinated into shared patterns, just as "a language" or "a dialect" refers to the process whereby the different speakers in a group acquire highly similar mental grammars. (Pinker, 1994, p. 411)

Moderate relativism does not require its followers to be uncritical of their own learned culture or even of alien cultures. However, in the case of alien cultures, care must be taken. For a critique of an alien culture to be valid, a cultural proposition must be evaluated within its own cultural framework and context, just as it could be critiqued spontaneously by adherents within their own cultural parameters. In other words, when critiquing an alien culture, the canons of evidence and epistemology proper to that particular cultural discourse need to be respected (Hanson, 1979).

Culture and the Need for Order

What does culture, understood in the way proposed, offer to the human being? The human individual has a need for order. To make sense of the universe, self and others, the individual within the group requires order in the sense of a construction of meaning, a direction, a purpose. All cultural activity takes place in the context of the construction of a cultural 'world' of meaning. These constructed worlds, shaped according to perhaps significantly different configurations of values, power relationships and knowledge, achieve viability because they are supported by a group which, by its general acceptance, gives plausibility to such constructed worlds. The supportive group commits itself to its 'world' and defines its own roles and identities vis-à-vis it.

Culture, every enduring culture, offers this advantage to its adherents. To find meaning and direction, individuals and groups accept and then adapt themselves to this cultural heritage of a constructed world. When the group has achieved meaning and direction, it will struggle to retain its cultural heritage with the same tenacity as an individual displays in maintaining personal, physical life. Hence there is always a strong element of adherence and continuity in culture, together with a less utilized capacity to adapt and change.

It is the universal need for order (which can now be defined as the most tenacious of all general response capacities) together with other human capacities that give rise to the impression of so-called cultural traits or universals. The general response capacities of the human group are activated and directed in quite specific and indeed idiosyncratic ways by a particular culture. Because of these two factors, general response capacities and idiosyncratic activation, there will be both similarity and diversity when any two human cultures are compared.

Ethics Within This Cultural Framework

Returning to the question of ethics, I want to hone in on the central idea that human culture exists to provide order or meaning in human affairs. I now identify ethics (still definable as a system of principles by which human actions and intentions

can be adjudged good or bad, right or wrong) with the system of principles that determine how a particular person can achieve what is ordered in human affairs and avoid what is disordered in human affairs. For the purposes of this exercise, I am going to pretend that humans live their lives in separate groups, each with their own everyday culture. That is never or rarely the case in reality.

To achieve order in everyday life, humans must marshal thinking, acting, feeling and valuing towards that end, ensuring that they think, act, feel and value in such a way as to bring their ordered life in line with an ordered community. Such a human being, I now maintain, is an ethical one. The person whose thinking, acting, feeling and valuing are disordered is out of line with the ordered community; that person would be unethical. A human culture, contemporary (e.g., Chinese culture) or in the past (e.g., ancient Mesopotamian culture) has been refined over time to achieve this end – to bring ordered individuals in line with an ordered community. Cultures that endure over a length of time have endured precisely because of their capacity to achieve such a purpose.

In this light, the three broad theoretical approaches to ethics as mentioned above begin to make sense and, indeed, to coalesce. Consequentialism is based on the output. An ordered individual should live harmoniously within an ordered community; if the consequence of some human thinking, activity, feeling, valuing is to bring about disorder for the individual or the community, then it is wrong and bad. But how can that disorder be identified?

The answer lies within the thinking, activity, feeling and the valuing patterns, of the individual culture. There are general response capacities, but their expression is culturally determined in this particular culture. The ethicist can only decide about consequences for this particular culture, arguing back from particular human patterns of thinking, acting, feeling and valuing to those general response capacities. Carrying out this work, the ethicist may, in the end, uncover certain constant ethical principles across all or most cultures ('Thou shalt respect human life'; 'Thou shalt not kill without due reason'; 'Thou shalt protect the weak and helpless'), but these will relate to a variety of actions that could be judged either right or wrong, good or bad. The disparate cultural expressions of this ethical principle may differ markedly from one culture to the next.

Hence, in one community, the killing of a convicted murderer will be judged as part of the ordering of the community and fulfilling the ethical dictum 'Thou shalt not kill without due reason'; in another community, the same action will be judged as part of the disorder of the community and contrary to the dictum 'Thou shalt not kill without due reason'. For both communities, the ethical principle remains constant; its expression differs radically in the two constituencies. The ethicist cannot migrate from one cultural group to another without changing the focus of decision-making on ethical behaviour.

The second group of theories, the deontological, looks to the duties and obligations of the decision makers. From where do those duties and obligations arise? They too derive from the cultural need for order. They are based not only on the general response capacities, but also on particular expressions of those capacities. We should remember that there are those who would want to say that these general response capacities are genetically determined and no further argument for

or against needs to be advanced. In fact, cultural relativism affects any deontological system since the duties and obligations arise from the culturally derived expressions of the response capacities. Kant would undoubtedly disagree.

Virtue ethics, as one proponent has put it, declares as immoral what every right-minded person considers to be immoral. But who is this 'right-minded person'? This is an appeal to a society as a community of ideas that has a certain cultural/moral foundation. In other words, it is an appeal to an accepted culture: common ways of thinking, acting, feeling and valuing. But this is dependent on the general response capacity or a particular expression of such a capacity adopted over time by the community. Lord Devlin, who espoused virtue ethics, pointed, as the exemplar of the right-minded person, to 'the man in the Clapham omnibus' (Devlin, 1965, p. 15). That is fine for defining the culturally determined order within a very particular variant of European culture; it would not solve the ethical dilemmas raised within an Inuit society.

In short, the three main approaches to ethical reasoning, each of whose proponents would claim some degree of objectivity for their favourite, end up in a form of comparable relativism once the inevitable cultural ambience is taken into consideration. Consequentialism is based on the recognition of disorder in the cultural system, but that recognition is always relative. Deontological theories are based on particular expressions of response capacities and every one of these is culturally determined. Virtue ethics relies on the 'right-minded person', but this person will always live and act within a relative cultural situation. The three approaches are very similar. They are somewhat different descriptions of the same matter.

Application to Values Education

If this conclusion on ethics is accepted, namely that ethics is the maintenance of order within a cultural system, then values education needs to be appraised from an ethical perspective. If, in fact, both in theory and in practice as seen in the discussion of the outcomes from the four clusters above, values education demonstrates that cultural boundaries are questioned and stretched and perhaps even breached, surely there is an ethical issue. Earlier, a conclusion was stated that ultimately self-reflection on personal behaviours, and on those social institutions within which such behaviours take place, will give rise to modification of culture.

That is precisely what values education is all about. We have students who are not satisfied with the status quo, who are actually educated not to be satisfied with the status quo or with the cultural condition. They are educated to disturb the existing order, the accepted cultural direction.

This requires ethical circumspection. The existence of numerous contemporary cultures means that there is no obligation to maintain any constant cultural definition of order and direction. However, the existence of numerous past, defunct cultures means that a cultural system can become irrelevant. There is no other reason for the death of a culture. Surely the ethics of training for this dangerous task of stretching the cultural boundaries would require preparation, informed oversight and vigilance.

The teacher's role in values education appears to many as a suspect transfer of responsibility for learning to the student. On the contrary, it now appears that the overall responsibility is more firmly placed in the teacher's ambit.

But there is a further ethical dilemma. On the one side, if values education is recognized as developing a higher order knowledge whereby the student achieves, much earlier than would be expected, an emancipatory knowledge which is seen as specifically human knowledge, then there would be an ethical obligation to develop this. It is not as if values education could then be seen as an optional extra. The school would have an ethical obligation to develop it. But this must go hand-in-hand with the further ethical obligation to prepare students, to oversee the procedure and to be vigilant in case there are unforeseen results. The two ethical obligations to facilitate and to invigilate will inevitably cause conflicts in the real world.

No more can be said. values education, in its explicit form, may be a modern educational development. Having been recognized for what it is by means of Habermasian theory and its outcomes acknowledged as they occur in actual fact, the ethical dilemma has to be accepted as part of the total education scenario. Education is by its nature a dangerous occupation. There is no other way to see the totality of education.

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Chapter 37
Values Education, Mental Reality Constructs and Student Wellbeing

Brian V. Hill

Introduction

Thirty years ago in some Western democracies, public discussion of "values education" was passé. State schools in Australia, for example, had the allegedly "value-neutral" mandate of teaching basic knowledge and skills, but the explicit study of values was embargoed for fear of generating divisive controversy. By contrast, most traditional religious schools explicitly engaged in values education without perceiving any need to review their inherited value stances. A largely implicit public philosophy of "steady as she goes" disguised tendencies in both sectors to indoctrinate unexamined values.

But today's society is more diverse than it was then, and there is now a growing recognition that in both contexts we must revisit the task of values education. But do we know how to talk about values or what teaching procedures are most appropriate? Are the private agendas of the various sub-cultures that now make up modern societies so diverse that it is no longer feasible to hope for mutual agreement on which values to defend and commend in the public domain? And given this diminishing consensus, are our societies obliged to rely on increasing *legal* regulation to sustain at least minimal social cohesion? We are finding that reliance on such a default position is subject to a law of diminishing returns.

In the current debate on these questions, two kinds of discourse are seeking to provide a way through. On the one hand, some social scientists and service providers are promoting the notion of "wellbeing" as a usefully neutral objective for their interventions. From another direction, philosophers of a communitarian bent have been attempting to rehabilitate the notion of "the common good".

In this chapter I will review some recent Australian developments in the field of values education. I will then advance an operational definition of "values", preparatory to asking to what degree the respective concepts of personal wellbeing and the common good are serviceable for goal setting in this area.

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A Fragmenting Consensus

Taking the Australian experience as a salutary case study, what cultural changes have led to recent forays into values education?

After the Second World War, Australia entered an era of social and economic reconstruction. In the area of cultural values, however, it was still staidly monocultural, predominantly guided by the values of old Christendom, even if many people had by this time moved away from the composite[1] world-view which had sired those values.

But in addition to the after-effects of a global war, this consensus was coming under siege from a number of other directions. In universities, scientific positivism was consigning religion and common morality to the cultural graveyard. The general culture was experiencing a youth revolt which challenged the authority of the inherited values imposed by an older generation on youth (but not necessarily on itself).[2] And a resulting sexual permissiveness, accelerated by the arrival of the contraceptive pill in the 1960s, was also challenging old standards.

Meanwhile post-war migration was bringing to Australian shores many people who lived by world-views different from the traditional mainstream. Migrant groups, initially from Northern European, then also from Southern European and Middle-Eastern countries, and more recently from countries in Asia and the Pacific, have challenged racist stereotypes and enriched Australia's cultural resources.

To these various developments must also be added the emergence of a drug subculture and the increasing use of the Internet by criminal predators targeting youth. Other less welcome effects of social change have included steep increases in the number of broken marriages, dysfunctional families, intergenerational tensions and religious and inter-ethnic disagreements. It has taken some time for the community to admit that it has problems, but, as the Prime Minister's Science Council reported in 2001 (see also Stanley 2001):

> In spite of Australia's increasing wealth and generally high level of education many indicators of developmental health and well being are showing adverse trends amongst children and adolescents. Changes which have occurred include [a marked increase in] family breakdown and blended families, [and the] undervaluing and neglect of children . . . Some of these problems (such as . . . suicide) have trebled over the last 30 years and are higher than at any [previous] time in Australia's history. (p. 2)

[1] It is perhaps necessary to note that the life-world of "Christendom" was never purely Christian, but always a sometimes uneasy co-existence between Judaeo-Christian values on the one hand, and Graeco-Roman values on the other, with reinforcement of militaristic values over time by Teutonic infusions.

[2] The situation in which the adult generation was enjoining its children to adhere to moral standards from which they themselves had resiled was scarifyingly depicted in Douglas Coupland (1991). Coupland was speaking for the North American scene, but his analysis correlates at many points with the Australian experience, as illustrated by Hugh Mackay (1997).

The Quest for Values

In this context, the role of the public school has become increasingly problematic. One consequence has been a statistically significant flight into private education. Yet it was not until the 1980s that some state education departments were beginning to frame values charters in an attempt to renew their mandate to provide schools of, and for, the people (e.g., DEQ, 1989; EDWA, 1985; NSWDET, 1991; SADE, 1991). Such attempts became bolder in the early 1990s, with the Wiltshire Report (Wiltshire, McMeniman & Tolhurst, 1994) on Queensland state schools incorporating a Values Charter and recommending that every school develop its own locally customised charter, compatible with this framework (see also Hill, 1994).

At the national level, a political move to increase the Federal Government's involvement in public schooling added a new complication. State Ministers of Education were brought together in 1989 by the then Federal Minister, John Dawkins, to agree on a set of national goals for schooling (MCEETYA, 1989).[3] Subsequently, a detailed National Curriculum was developed, in the expectation that the states would fall into line with it.

This curriculum, however, was notably starved of learning outcome statements that operationalised the goals of values education. The deficiency was exposed in a review undertaken by a research group in Western Australia (Hill, 1995). The next move by this group was to draw four religious school systems into a process of negotiation, which resulted in the compilation of an "agreed minimum values framework" and a number of sample outcome statements illustrating how it could be operationalised (Wallace, 1995).[4] This framework subsequently had a notable influence on the curriculum which was drawn up shortly afterwards by the new W.A. Curriculum Council (CCWA, 1998), representing both the state and non-state school sectors. The new curriculum included a detailed values framework, more explicit than had ever before been mandated in that state – or arguably, in any other Australian state.

Ironically, shortly after the value-shy National Curriculum had been published, another arm of the same Federal Labor Government – the Prime Minister's Department – set up an enquiry into "Civics and Citizenship" which put the ball of values education back in the Commonwealth's court (Civics Expert Group, 1994). Then a Coalition Government came to power, but the momentum continued through the establishment of a project to develop relevant online resources, under the title *Discovering Democracy*.[5]

The most notable other development at Federal level has been the National Values Education Project. In 2002, a pilot 2-year project, through which funds were disbursed to about 70 individual schools across the sectors in each state, led to a

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[3] It was subsequently superseded, but not substantially changed, in *The Adelaide Declaration on National Goals for Schooling in the Twenty-First Century* (MCEETYA, 1999).

[4] The author's involvement in this project was as academic consultant and collator.

[5] Currently at: www.curriculum.edu.au/ddunits/help/help.htm

promising number of grass-roots initiatives. This was then followed up in 2004 by an allocation of $29.7 million dollars (Australian) over 4 years, to fund several initiatives. These included the making of large grants to a number of "clusters" of 4–10 schools each, formed to develop collaborative values education programmes. Also, a national forum was held each year for progress reports from each cluster, grants of $1,000 were made to any Australian school able to submit a credible plan for a local forum bringing school and community together, and extensive online resources were produced.

Regular reports were required from the clusters, in case-study format, while some funding was also earmarked for evaluation exercises of a relatively objective and independent kind. It appears that values education has now become a talking point throughout the Australian community, and several promising initiatives are being developed at school level.

Clarifying Values Discourse

One thing that these initiatives have demonstrated, however, is the need to develop a more consistent form of discourse about values education. The tendency is to substitute platitudes and worthy moral sentiments for linguistic precision and operational definitions. For example, the terms "beliefs" and "values" are regularly conflated. This prevents the making of necessary distinctions between the rational and non-rational elements involved in the process of forming values. This in turn tempts educators to over-simplify the strategies needed for effective values education. I have discussed this problem at more length elsewhere (e.g., Hill, 1994), so will here merely highlight a few key points.

The confusion arises because while there is undoubtedly an intimate link between beliefs and values, they are not synonymous terms. Though we acquire our values in a variety of ways, some barely conscious, it is always a valid move to invite a person to defend rationally the values they are acting on. The request to *justify* their "value judgments" identifies the cognitive aspect of valuing and invokes personal beliefs about what is or what ought to be the case. But the *motivation* to espouse a value is rarely confined to intellectual conviction. It is also likely to draw on prior cultural conditioning, innate temperament and visceral impulse. Such considerations have led me to propose the following definition:

> Values are the priorities which individuals and societies attach to certain beliefs, experiences, and objects, in deciding how they shall live and what they shall treasure. (Hill, 1994, Section 2.2)

The fulcrum in this definition is the word "priorities". This foregrounds the fact that valuing goes beyond understanding to volition and a disposition to act in certain ways. We do not necessarily act on every belief we happen to accept intellectually concerning the nature of reality or obligation. There can be at least four reasons why this is so.

First, an individual may believe that A is true, without deeming it important in relation to their personal life choices. I attach no importance to my belief that a particular football team is based in Sydney, whereas a justified belief that sweat shops in a certain Third World country make a particular brand of shoe has prompted me to stop buying that brand and to support a voluntary aid agency which helps better the condition of exploited workers in that country. Belief, in this latter case, has led to a change in my priorities.

Second, we may feel we are prevented from acting in what we believe to be the right way by some form of external compulsion. From an educational point of view, this should caution us against over-exercise of the powers of compulsion available to parents and school authorities. Enforcing behavioural conformity in respect of some school rule may on occasions be justified in terms of social order, but is no guarantee that individuals will necessarily develop personal dispositions to act this way when in situations where they are free to choose.

Third, we may encounter an internal conflict in a particular situation between two values (e.g., honesty vs. protection of a loved one).[6] Such dilemmas are usually resolved by deeming that, in our personal value system, value A takes priority over value B. That is, we tend to rank our values in a kind of loose hierarchy, consistent with the wider framework of life-world beliefs that we have developed. This signals the need to include studies of world-views and value systems in our range of curriculum studies, in order to help students to order their own beliefs and priorities wisely.

Fourth, there is what philosophers (and theologians) call "weakness of will" (e.g., Stroud, 2008). In many situations, we frequently, and knowingly, do not do what we believe to be the right thing to do (practically or morally). This fact has significant implications for our teaching strategies in values education, taking us well beyond mere values transmission by word or edict.

Wellbeing as Public Value

Clarifying our discourse is only a beginning. We will, of course, want to be in the business of transmitting or commending certain values. As we noted earlier, the inherited consensus is in hiatus. Cultural relativists dismiss as an impossible dream the securing of agreement on *ultimate* values, but as mentioned earlier, a more *proximate* proposal from social scientific sources has seemed to offer hope, invoking the notion of "wellbeing" as an acceptably impartial value (Kahneman, Diener, & Schwartz, 1999).

[6] A classic example generated by Joseph Fletcher (1966) was that of the woman in a concentration camp, who, fearful of how her children would survive without her, and knowing that pregnant women could secure release, persuaded a guard to impregnate her.

The term has become increasingly popular in the discourses not only of health and education but also of economics.[7] Its appeal derives from the fact that it appears to denote achievement of a homeostasis acceptable to the individual rather than a more aggressive intervention in the interests of some externally normed future state. Ostensibly, we are not prescribing what this person should become; we are just trying to ensure that his or her choices will not be disabled by physical, mental, or socio-economic deficits.

In the effort to achieve ideological neutrality, an earlier era saw widespread use of a related term: "development", usually allied with processes of maturation. But apart from the relatively automatic biological growth processes to which the term "maturation" strictly refers, normative loadings inevitably creep in to developmental models. Moreover, some of the skills and interests we want to encourage in our students are largely independent of maturational considerations. We justify them on other grounds related to our cultural values, albeit still commonly using the term "development" to describe what is actually a values agenda.

The term "wellbeing", on the other hand, seems to enable us to steer clear of partisan value judgments. In regard to physical health, for example, "wellbeing" means not only the absence of symptoms of unwellness, but a positive commitment to maximising physical viability. In psychology it means achieving a sustainable level of self esteem and need-satisfaction, or, in one iteration, "happiness".[8] In economics it means gaining a viable level of income security. In education, it means having the self-confidence and desire to learn new things and acquire new skills. In politics, it means enabling citizens to pursue their personal goals and to participate in social policy formation if they so choose.

Each of these is a process objective, and each depends on the other dimensions of wellbeing for its full realisation. In such cases our interventions, it is claimed, basically leave our clients free to choose whatever values or views of the world they are drawn to. The purportedly neutralist human scientist is joined at this point by some post-modernists who consider that in any case it is none of our business to impose our or society's views of the world on our clients. That route, they say, leads to the oppression of peoples by self-interested ruling élites.

Values: The Hidden Agenda

There is a measure of truth in the claim of scientists and human service providers that, *qua* professionals, they are required to be disinterestedly objective in their interventions. Certainly, the scientific quest for *biological* and *social* adjustment

[7] Thus, Jan Carter (1984) sought by this means to move beyond the paternalistic connotations of "welfare". Again, influential in the evolution of a discourse linking individual wellbeing and economic investment were Keating and Hertzman (1999). Also, "Supporting Student Wellbeing" was the theme of a recent national conference on education (see ACER, 2004).

[8] See, for example, the frequent equation of "wellbeing" with "happiness" in what some researchers are attempting to promote as "hedonic psychology", e.g., Kahneman et al. (1999).

has reached a useful though incomplete degree of objectivity through the use of such devices as double-blind experiments, though the paradigms of enquiry within which they operate are never free of normative presuppositions (Kuhn, 1967).

Moreover, at the psychosomatic *interface*, it is much harder to disentangle the multiple causes which complicate both our definitions and our correlations. Consider, for example, in the field of mental health, the competing explanations of the same observed symptoms, as between medical and psychotherapeutic models, in the treatment of depression. In the same way, interventions directed towards facilitating "*human development*" usually blur the distinction between simply *assisting maturation* and deliberately *promoting* a particular view of mature adulthood.

Ultimately, especially in interventionist areas such as *social work* and *education*, value-loaded practices dominate. And, as always, philosophical questions precede empirical ones. On what grounds do we dare to intervene in the life-streams of other human beings? To what extent should their consent or dissent be factored in to our consideration of means? What models of the human person underlie our attempts to modify their behaviour and dispositions? What shall count as normal? What visions of human flourishing and viable community justify our interventions? And if individual and national interest conflict, on which side should we, as professionals, come down?

There is an even more fundamental issue to be resolved. As was noted earlier, many understand "wellbeing" to connote a desired *present* state – a sustainable homeostasis – rather than any external normative vision of human flourishing. But this is not just a question of definition; such an understanding itself constitutes a value judgment.

In a keynote paper at a philosophy conference entitled "Was the Piggy Who Went to Market Satisfied?" (Hill, 2002) I juxtaposed two discourses – the market-oriented discourse of economic rationalism and the discourse of moral philosophers. We often invite new philosophy students to address the question: "Is it better to be a pig satisfied or Socrates dissatisfied?" In the present context, this could be rephrased: "Is any kind of *dis*satisfaction compatible with wellbeing?" or, "Is happiness the same as satisfaction?"

Economic rationalism presents us with a market-oriented goal of insatiable consumerism appealing to instant gratification. More philosophical discourses identify quests for meaning and purpose beyond the mere satiation of immediate bio-social needs and wants. Add to these discourses those who wish to bring issues of social justice into the values debate. Which way shall we lean?

Even at the height of the Empiricist era, there were always scientific voices calling for a more teleological view of human personhood. Viktor Frankl (1962) continues to command respect for his thesis, wrung from his experience in a World War II concentration camp, that human beings live by meanings that transcend their bio-social imperatives. Similarly, Abraham Maslow's (1954) "hierarchy of needs" continues, despite criticisms and adaptations, to attract frequent approving citation. Maslow argued that while we must undoubtedly satisfy basic needs, full

actualisation of our being comes only through the fulfilment of longer term purposes and the nurture of enduring relationships.

Our understanding of the term "wellbeing" must therefore include recognition that human beings are driven to construct – on the run, as it were – some kind of framework of meaning, however provisional and patchy, which is their way of making sense of the social reality. Such a framework includes values and goals which literally give them reasons to go on living. If a person's framework disintegrates – in the face of neglect, abuse, or disillusionment – then self-harm through addiction or suicide can occur – and all too often *is* occurring in Western societies – even amidst a surfeit of creature comforts. Many are choosing to identify this dimension by some such term as "spiritual wellbeing" (Fisher, 2001; Tracey, 2004; Zohar & Marshall, 2000) How then can we contribute to a learner's wellbeing at this level?

World-Views and the Common Good

At an international conference themed on the Common Good, I recently posed the question: "Is the Common Good a Universal Ethic?" (Hill, 2006). Clearly, many people coming from different religious and philosophical traditions would, from within their own world-views, answer in the affirmative. At the same time, they would differ in their perception of what constitutes the *summum bonum*, and what core ethical imperatives are implied by it. Prima facie, this fact would appear to imply that any search for common values is best dissociated from issues of ultimate beliefs or universal values.

It would also seem to follow that while a religion-sponsored school might promote its own perception of the Common Good as a universal ethic, a state school must operate more cautiously on the relativistic premise that the best thing one can do about values education – if one is going to do anything – is to promote values which seem generally acceptable to the particular community, or at the least are the outcome of an open voting procedure. But, lowest common denominators can be very low when self-interest rules and there is no attempt to negotiate a shared, rational concept of the Common Good.

Negotiations that are simply political can lead to very parochial, and sometimes morally defective outcomes. For example, in the case of the "values clarification" movement of the 1970s, emphasis was placed on *clarifying* one's own values, and then *negotiating* in the school classroom what values should operate in that context (Raths, Harmin, & Simon. 1978). The underlying subjectivism in this approach favoured political power plays rather than ethical justifications, leaving open the possibility that in a particular case the outcome might be an immoral majority decision. One example would be a majority agreement to marginalise an ethnic minority, as happened in white American schools during the era of public school segregation.

A more recent example of ethical subjectivism has arisen in cases where schools, challenged in the current climate of debate to do something about values education, have sometimes uncritically adopted lists of values commended in supposedly

impartial packages advertised on the Internet.[9] In many cases, such packages have begged the question of what wider meaning frameworks hold them together. Whether religious or scientistic, the answers inevitably reflect beliefs about what is and what ought to be.

Moreover, to the extent that many of these packages purport to function independently of ultimate belief systems, the temptation is to treat the values they list as discrete and free-standing, requiring only behavioural reinforcement. This may appear to produce some good outcomes under controlled conditions, but the task of enabling students to integrate the pieces into a personal way of life requires more.

This is not to deny that such packages contain many resources for learning, from which the professional teacher may derive useful teaching strategies. But, the exercise of professional discretion in utilising these resources (in contrast to submitting uncritically to whatever the package prescribes) will require appeal to a more holistic view of education, and a sensitivity to the Common Good.

In an attempt to rediscover the convivial society, many recent philosophers, particularly those often called Communitarians (Bell, 2009), have tried to revive the notion of the Common Good, and the term is beginning to reappear in social and educational theory (McIntyre, 1984; Taylor, 1989). Some noble attempts have also been made in recent times to negotiate agreements between people with diverse world-views, such as that of "The Parliament of the World's Religions" (Küng & Kuschel, 1993),[10] which bases its hopes on achieving rational agreement even at the world-view level.

But at these *ultimate* levels of belief, agreement depends not only on rational considerations, but on deep-laid cultural conditioning and significant experiences of relationship. It follows that we are unlikely to achieve agreement in the foreseeable future on what constitutes the Ultimate Good. This has led some to identify the term "Common Good" with hegemonic expressions of democratic life, in which the majority – or a militant minority (e.g., the Ku Klux Klan) seeks to impose its priorities on minorities, dressing them up with this label.[11] They propose an approach of "deliberative democracy" with the process aim of resolving conflicts of interest between disparate groups in society.

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[9] Some widely used examples I have discussed elsewhere have been the Bahá'i-inspired *Virtues Project* (2001), the *Living Values Education* (LVE, 1998–2009) kit produced by the Hindu group Brahma Kumaris, and the *Tribes* (TLC, 2007) approach developed from a behavioural science based in the USA. Each of these approaches offers a number of useful strategies and provides lists of commended values. What is not brought to the surface are the world-views underlying their implicit values systems.

[10] "The World's Parliament of Religions" was founded in 1893 by Unitarians and Universalists of the Free Religious Association, and continues to attract wide participation. Its 2004 meeting in Barcelona, Spain, had over 8,900 participants from 75 countries.

[11] See, for example Feldman's (2009) interpretation of the era in the 1920s "when all Americans supposedly shared in one overriding interest, the profitablity of business enterprises, deemed in republican democratic parlance the common good" (pp. 292 ff.). The implication is that the notion of the common good handicapped adaptation of an increasingly pluralistic society to the needs of old and new minorities.

I will in fact be suggesting some procedural principles in the next section, but there is a significant difference between majoring on purportedly neutral conflict resolution rather than on attempts to identify agreed substantive values. The tendency is for "rights" talk, which invites adversarial debate, to swamp shared visions and minimise convivial engagements between groups.

Certainly our chances of averting the collapse of society into moral chaos and civil war – such as some modern societies are experiencing – depend in the first instance on our being able to agree on the most just *political* compromise – which is the fall-back position of the Liberal democratic ideal. But can we build on this a more positive and benevolent vision of community as well?

The "Middle Ground" Argument

In other places (Hill, 2004), I have advanced a modest proposal, appealing to the notion of a middle ground in the democratic society, that is the public space in which all citizens mingle. This can operate at a minimalist level, where one emerges grudgingly from one's own enclave to utilise essential public services, or it can also be an arena of convivial interchange.

As an alternative to societies in which a dominant minority group enforces its will on the general populace – of which there are many lamentable examples in history and even in modern times[12] – the Liberal democratic ideal is one where a society allows individuals and close-knit sub-cultures the freedom to pursue and even to advocate their own particular visions and values, subject to an agreement to respect the equal rights of all citizens to legal protection and freedom from poverty or persecution.

Such a society necessarily involves people sharing many resources and engaging in common political, legal, economic and welfare activities. One thinks of health, education, the market economy and so on. Beyond basic services of this kind, however, there are many other arenas of possible interaction, of even more convivial and enriching kinds. In a healthy democracy, people from many different backgrounds are encouraged to mingle and share in a diversity of cultural, sporting, and compassionate activities.

Such activities also pave the way for mutual trust to develop, opening up the possibility of dialogue about each other's ultimate visions and values, pursued freely within a bond of mutual respect and even friendship. This does not mean that we must all agree on everything, or endorse a common world-view, or even a universal ethic, before such sharing can occur. What is required is an agreed minimum, a value consensus which goes beyond merely defining rights, by identifying humane visions

[12] A case in point is strict Muslim Sharia law. The debate is scarcely joined in Western countries as to whether, even if applying only to an Islamic sub-culture within a pluralist society, this tradition is compatible with democratic polity. It is arguable that political correctness and misguided applications of new defamation laws in Australia are currently obscuring its potential to subvert the democratic process (see Claydon, 2009).

and aspirations which are able to command general assent: in short, a negotiated Common Good.

But, how to do this? The West Australian project referred to earlier, using a modified Delphi technique to garner views from disparate sources, developed some procedural rules with which it is appropriate to conclude this paper, as follows:

1. Initially, we asked each participating group to describe its own core visions and ethical values.

   We did this, not in order to attempt to collapse them all into *one* world-view and ethic to which all would be expected to conform, but in recognition of the fact that the values a person lives by gain both their ultimate justification and their motivation from the degree to which they are compatible with the person's own mental reality construct.
2. We asked participants to nominate not only the values they thought were minimally required for the maintenance of human rights in a democratic society, but also their ultimate visions and core values.
3. We then looked for potential agreements on shared visions and values which could also be justified at a practical level in terms of what is needed to sustain convivial democratic life.

   Our reasoning here was that education would be impoverished if its raison d′être were confined to the minimal conditions for democratic co-existence. We were trying to identify the shared aspirations and *common goods* which could enrich our interactions.
4. We agreed that if we encountered points of serious disagreement, we would, if possible, put them on hold and focus at this stage on our agreements.

   This was not to be construed as a way of dismissing areas of disagreement, as though they were unimportant. Individual meaning-constructs are deep-rooted. Participants were still left free to pursue goals of their own, provided that these were compatible with whatever middle-ground values were agreed upon. Our hope was that no disagreement would arise that was so incorrigible that we could not continue the consensus process.[13] Admittedly, that was an act of faith, or shall I say of growing trust in each other as people of good will.

   The sceptic's prediction that such a level of agreement is no longer possible in pluralistic societies is equally an act of faith, until the attempt has at least been made. These are early days for pluralistic democracies to prove their worth.
5. We accepted that just as democracy is a procedural notion, not an ultimate vision for living, so the values framework we derived from this consultation would be a provisional minimal agreement.

The implication here is that such negotiations will always be a work in progress, as communities change in direction and composition. Also, the very act of regularly revisiting the consensus has educational implications, inviting learners to own

[13] But see previous footnote. The Muslim participants in this exercise did not, in fact, advance the argument that Sharia law should apply either to their sub-culture or the wider society.

the Common Good about which they were learning, on the understanding that they might well become contributors to its better formulation. The word "minimal" was included, not in order to suggest a fragile, minimalist framework, but both to encourage communities to make a start without feeling threatened, and to foster the quest for an ever widening shared vision of the Common Good.

Conclusion

Such a process does not belong only to the philosophers, remorselessly correcting each other's logic, but also to ordinary people who value community life and in good faith seek reconciling relationships with those who hold different views of reality from themselves. For a person like myself who believes in a universal ethic grounded in the nature God has given us, there is a reasonable expectation that such a process of negotiating the Common Good will in fact draw all parties closer to such an ethic.

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Chapter 38
Building a Sustaining Classroom Climate for Purposeful Ethical Citizenship

Darcia Narvaez

Introduction

In the recent past, moral and character educational approaches have typically emphasized individual capacities for moral reasoning or good habits. As understanding of human nature has improved, scholars are realizing the intersubjectivity of human behavior, its groundedness in a social fabric, and the importance of both in human development. There is greater understanding of how moral behavior is shaped by context. Environments elicit particular interpretations, foster specific habits, and channel opportunities. The social fabric of an organization is often called its climate or culture. In this chapter, a "sustaining climate" is proposed as the optimal culture for moral development and moral functioning. The notion of climate, however, is only one of several elements important for moral character development that are summarized by the integrative ethical education model.

The Place of Climate in Values Education: The Integrative Ethical Education Model

The Integrative Ethical Education model (IEE; Narvaez, 2006, 2007, 2008) provides a comprehensive approach for fostering moral character in schools and organizations. Grounded in bioecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and drawing on findings from neurobiology (Narvaez, 2008), anthropology (Hewlett & Lamb, 2005), and social and emotional learning (Elias, Parker, Kash, Weissberg, & O'Brien, 2008), IEE's aim is to foster human flourishing through skill development and novice-to-expert instruction (Hogarth, 2001), positive social influences on brain and behavior, resulting in personal and group empowerment (Baxter Magolda, 2001; Scharmer, 2007). IEE tries to solve many of the issues that arise when educators take on moral character education (see Anderson, Narvaez, Bock, Endicott, & Lies,

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2004; Narvaez, Bock, Endicott, & Lies, 2004) and presents an empirically derived set of proposals for educators, which are briefly presented here.

The first proposal is to *establish a secure, caring relationship with the child*, ensuring the social context for learning and the mutual commitment to working together and influencing one another (Masten, 2003). Wired for emotional signaling and motivation (Greenspan & Shanker 2004; Panksepp, 1998), a caring supportive teacher can foster empathy and caring behavior in students as well as motivation to learn (Wentzel, 1997).

It is known from social and motivational literatures that the classroom climate primes and promotes particular behaviors (Battistich, 2008; Solomon, Watson, & Battistich, 2002) so the second proposal is to *create a sustaining climate that is supportive of ethical behavior and excellence*. Educators can ensure that the school and classroom environments are fostering good intuitions – intuitions that promote mastery learning, prosocial relationships, and citizenship development. Climates that help students meet their needs (e.g., for belonging, competence, autonomy; Deci & Ryan, 1985) also foster skills for good character and resiliency (e.g., Benson, Leffert, Scales, & Blyth, 1998), thereby encouraging prosocial behavior. High support and high expectations for achievement and behavior produce the best results (Zins, Bloodworth, Weissberg, & Walberg, 2004). This proposal is discussed in more detail below.

The third proposal draws on the literatures of expertise and schema development, proposing that an apprenticeship model of teaching be adopted to nurture a set of ethical skills that comprise ethical sensitivity, ethical judgment, ethical focus/motivation, and ethical implementation (Narvaez, 2009a; Narvaez & Bock, 2009; Narvaez & Endicott, 2009; Narvaez & Lies, 2009). Through four levels of instruction for expertise development (immersion in examples and opportunities, attention to facts and skills, practice procedures, integrate across contexts), students build their embodied understanding (intuitions and explicit understanding) of a skill in context. When teachers incorporate ethical skill development and practice into regular academic instruction and school activities, they promote moral capacity building, positively affecting student character development (Narvaez et al., 2004).

The fourth proposal highlights the importance of *self-authorship*, emphasizing how educators can empower student self-actualization (Baxter Magolda, 2001). Plato pointed out what has become a truism in an individualistic society: character development is a problem of the self – "deciding what to become and endeavoring to become it" (Urmson, 1988, p. 2). Domain-specific self-regulation and metacognitive skills can be coached (Zimmerman, Bonner, & Kovach, 2002) and are necessary for domain success (Anderson, 1989).

The fifth proposal emphasizes the *restoration of the ecological network of relationships and communities that support the child's development*. When families, neighborhoods, and schools align their goals and practices for optimal child development, flourishing is more likely to result (Lerner, Dowling, & Anderson, 2003).

When applied in a school setting, the Integrative Ethical Education approach uses a flexible, collaborative model where educators adapt the research-based framework of skills and novice-to-expert pedagogy to local needs and conditions. The

framework is intentionally broad and inclusive so that educators have maximal flexibility in their local adaptations (see Narvaez, 2009a; Narvaez & Bock, 2009; Narvaez & Endicott, 2009; Narvaez & Lies, 2009).

The Minnesota Community Voices and Character Education project especially emphasized ethical skill development and climate. Across participating schools and a comparison school, over a 1-year pre–post evaluation, school climate positively influenced the development of student reported ethical focus skills: Community Bonding, Citizenship, and Ethical Goodness (each $p < .001$; Narvaez et al., 2004).

Next, we further develop proposal two, the sustaining climate. A sustaining climate builds on best practice as demonstrated in mastery learning climates and caring climates, adding the grounding in additional characteristics needed by human mammals for flourishing.

The Power of Climates

Organizational climates and cultures shape individual perceptions and social behavior (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989; Power & Higgins–D'Alessandro, 2008). Using a broad definition, the climate encompasses social structures that include the goals and aspirations of the group, overt and hidden systems, as well as the incentives and disincentives that regulate behavior. More specifically, climate has to do with how members of the group work together, treat one another, encourage and discourage particular feelings and behaviors. Here, climate is defined as a culture of shared expectations, habitual ways of acting and responding that have been explicitly and implicitly supported initially by the leader (educator) and then enforced by the group as a whole. Climates influence multiple aspects of individual and community life, including implicit learning, and attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors. See Table 38.1 for a short list of what climates influence.

Table 38.1 Examples of things that climates influence

Primary and secondary desires (e.g., performance vs. mastery goals)
Positive emotions (e.g., awe, compassion) or negative emotions (e.g., status striving, competition, contempt)
Social habits
Work habits
Learning habits
Routine preferences
Topics of imagination
Episodic and autobiographical memory
Relationship quality and emphasis
Individual and group focus, efforts, goals

Implicit Learning

Humans learn in two basic ways, with the deliberate mind through conscious effort (as in book learning) and with the implicit mind through unconscious systems that learn automatically without conscious effort (as with most of learning through life experience). Implicit learning includes the “hidden curriculum” of schools (Hasher & Zacks, 1984; Jackson, 1968; Wilson, 2003). Through the hidden curriculum, environments “educate” the implicit mind in terms of what actions are successful for getting needs met in that environment (Hogarth, 2001). The mind learns effortlessly from the recurrent patterns in the environment (Frensch, 1998; Reber, 1993). For example, from repeated social interaction with members of their cultural group, children learn how to greet someone, when to share eyegaze, what signals indicate pleasure, and so on (Hall, 1973). These habits become automatized without effort. Most of human behavior is governed by such implicit, tacit knowledge (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Bargh & Ferguson, 2000).

Because of the power of environments (Hogarth, 2001; Sternberg, 2001), adults who work with children have a great deal of say over what kinds of intuitions and cultural expectations children will develop because the adult designs and supervises the environment. Classroom environmental structures include the overt and hidden systems of rewards and punishment, the goals and aspirations promoted by the environment. The climate that results from the environmental structures plays a large role in how people treat one another, how the group works and makes decisions, and what feelings are allowed.

Attitudes, Cognitions, Behaviors

Climates influence member attitudes, cognitions and behavior in multiple ways. Attitudes like “boys will be boys” and “everyone gets bullied – you have to learn to stand up for yourself” support certain types of climates. Climates that emphasize performance (looking good) over mastery (learning) foster different attitudes towards effort and study. Climates affect what members think about, expanding or narrowing members’ imaginations, fostering or depressing emotional expression (e.g., can I say what I think?). Environments shape individual hopes and movement towards self-actualization.

Climates promote particular habits and expectancies that affect the interpretation of events, individual goals and options for action. Humans are susceptible to suggestion and imitation. This means that if they see someone else do something, they are likely to do it too. Local climates are conveyed not only by social practices, but physical properties. For example, when trash is on the ground, rather than in a receptacle, people are more likely to throw trash on the ground. Situations press us to behave in certain ways – e.g., wild and crazy at a football game, quiet at a funeral. The climate also can emphasize dangerous ideas such as belief in one’s superiority, vulnerability, or distrust towards another group (Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003). Climates can affect how we treat members of other groups (Zimbardo, 2007),

exemplified in the abuses of prisoners by soldiers at the Abu Ghraib prison during the Iraq War.

Climates influence not only the kind of personality traits members display, but also what types of habitual dispositions they develop at the outset. Climates elicit particular behaviors from members often without their awareness. People learn from the reactions their actions elicit in an environment. You do not guess at an answer if the teacher rebukes you for it or expose your feelings if peers laugh at you for it. You raise your hand when you know the right answer because that is what pleases the teacher. We learn from what is rewarded or punished by those with power. We learn from teacher and peer discourse – what is emphasized or ignored.

Learning Climates

Several types of climates have been described and studied in educational settings. The majority of climate research in classrooms has been conducted on the *learning* climate and its relationship to achievement. The messages that students perceive teachers conveying are related to their cognitive and affective outcomes (Fraser, 1989). When students perceive teachers emphasizing high achievement and competition, students are likely to adopt a *performance* goal orientation (Urdan, Midgley, & Anderman, 1998). Performance climates emphasize looking good in comparison to others and can have detrimental effects, but not always (depending perhaps on whether the goal is to not look bad rather than to look good; Elliot, 1997). In contrast, when students perceive teachers emphasizing understanding, students are more likely to adopt a *mastery* goal orientation (Urdan & Midgley, 2001). Mastery climates emphasize learning and understanding and bring about positive attitudes towards learning, student engagement, and higher achievement (Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Elliot, 1997).

Social Climates

Positive classroom climates include caring climates which emphasize community feeling. In such classrooms, students feel greater psychological and physical safety, leading to a stronger sense of belongingness (Anderman, 2003; Ma, 2003). Positive social climates produce fewer behavioral and emotional problems and raise achievement levels (Kuperminc, Leadbeater, & Blatt, 2001; McEvoy & Welker, 2000); they increase academic achievement among urban students (Haynes & Comer, 1993) and provide a protective factor for boys and high-risk students (Haynes, 1998; Kuperminc et al., 1997). The power of the climate influences not only academic motivation, but socio-moral development as well.

Moral Climates

The relation of school climate to *moral* development was first examined by Lawrence Kohlberg and his students who began to attend to the climate of schools in

the 1970s. When they constructed *just community* schools, schools-within-schools, they found that the "moral atmosphere" was key to fostering a sense of responsibility to the community and for cultivating moral reasoning in students. Moral climates emphasize fairness and care, and democratic procedures (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989). The Child Development Project in the 1980s adopted a caring, just community as a first principle for organizing classrooms (Watson, Solomon, Battistich, Schaps, & Solomon, 1989). Caring and just were defined as classrooms where (1) teacher–child relationships are warm, mutually trusting and supportive; (2) every student's needs for autonomy, competence, and belonging are met; (3) students have opportunities to discuss and refine understanding about morality that they practice in the classroom; (4) teachers promote these goals with proactive and reactive techniques that support student behavior in conformance with prosocial values (Watson, 2008). Such classroom climates increase prosocial behavior (Battistich, 2008).

Characteristics of these three types of climates – mastery learning, caring, and moral – are integrated into a proposal for sustaining climates. A sustaining climate is also grounded in attending to a broader array of human mammalian needs.

A Proposal for Sustaining Climates

Children today have lost much of the social scaffolding of the past that cared for and mentored children – the "village" of care by the community that fostered children's self-regulation and other key skills for flourishing. Erosion has occurred in all the supports children had in the past other than school: community, religion, family, and culture (Brazelton & Greenspan, 2001). The social environment in the USA has become toxic for child development not only because of the loss of support across the board, but also because of intrusive, negative role models (e.g., Garbarino, 1999) and the daily "monsters" of family abuse and community neglect (Canada, 1996). Whereas a positive learning climate may have been enough to motivate students 50 years ago and a caring classroom would have been enough to foster moral character 20 years ago, today much more is required as a counterweight to the negativity and toxicity in which children are immersed. It will be suggested here that children need a *sustaining* climate that meets a broad array of basic needs, fosters individual resiliency and strengthens interpersonal relations. See Table 38.2 for a comparison of a sustaining climate with caring and learning climates.

Basic Needs

The "environment of evolutionary adaptedness" (EEA) was proposed by Hartmann (1939/1958) then Bowlby (1973, 1988) as a way to describe what human mammalian systems require in early life. Anthropologists more recently have summarized some of the characteristics of early life found in communities resembling

Table 38.2 Comparison of mastery learning, caring, and sustaining climates

Mastery learning climate How do we learn?	Caring climate Who are we as a community?	Sustaining climate (characteristics in addition to those of mastery & caring) Who should we be?
Student-focused Mastery focused Intrinsic rewards Students self regulate Activities maintain student interest Deep thinking encouraged Clear flexible procedures	Management is a form of guidance Shared responsibility for classroom tasks Peer interaction encouraged Students have voice in meaningful decisions Encourage sensitivity to needs and perspectives of others Conflicts handled openly with just and caring procedures	Democratic practices Individual purpose and self-actualization are central to goals of education Positive group purpose Enhancement of human potential Broad ethical skills supported Leadership development Global awareness emphasized High-profile parenting encouraged Partnerships with local community

what is presumed to have been the EEA, small hunter-gatherer bands. In such communities, adults provide prompt responses to children's distress, offering comfort and support as needed. Several adults share in caregiving. Children experience constant touch and holding in the first years of life and experience multi-age play groups. There is a general focus on the enjoyment of relationships. The social environment is positive, not punishing, warm and caring, not harsh and forbidding.

Other basic needs, which turn out to be characteristic of the EEA, have been described by contemporary psychologists, such as autonomy to express oneself and act freely, competence, meaningful purpose, and trust in social supports (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Fiske, 2003; Staub, 2003). It should be pointed out that researchers often describe basic needs as individual needs. However, individuals are always embedded in relationships which form the backdrop for their expression and fulfillment. For example, autonomy occurs within a social context, as does competence. Competence is really about effectance – the ability to make valued things happen or the ability to influence others with one's skills; so, basic needs are embedded in a relational context.

Climates influence how well a person can meet basic needs. One teacher writes: "We have all been in classrooms that feel tight and tense. Imagine trying to learn while worrying about pressures, limits, disapproval, and criticism" (Turkanis, 2001, p. 99). Such a climate is unlikely to meet needs for social belonging and autonomy and is likely to provoke resistance or rebellion. We learn how to effectively get needs met in each environment we encounter. If an environment does not provide positive ways to feel a part of the group, then negative ways will be learned. If an environment makes false promises (the discourse does not match practice), then cynicism will prevail and a counterculture may arise.

The "developmental assets" approach provides another perspective on basic needs. Assets represent characteristics of individual students and community supports that buttress resiliency (Benson et al., 1998; Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1998). Classrooms can foster assets. For example, in a growth-oriented classroom, discipline is not punishment, but is coached character development (Watson, 2008).

Moral Habitats

Habitats, the places where humans pass their time, vary in which values and dispositions they foster. This is a critical fact because the values one develops and expresses come from the habitats in which one spends the most time. For 99% of human history, humanity shared a common moral habitat[1] – that of the environment of evolutionary adaptedness (EEA). In that habitat, close positive relationships were fundamental. Children received the moment-to-moment care they needed barring traumatic events. During that time, humans lived in small, nomadic bands and were largely peaceful (Fry, 2007). In the last 10,000 years or so, the common moral habitat has splintered often into inhospitable habitats for the type of "moral sense" that Darwin (1871/1981) described and the EEA reflects. The panoply of habitats now can be sorted according to optimality. Compared to the social habitats of our ancestors, many habitats today are cold and disheartening, promoting suboptimal or even aberrant development. Cultural narratives and religious dogma have misshaped some habitats into forms that are counter to human flourishing (e.g., those that encourage punishment and use pain for behavioral control; Prescott, 1996). Moral habitats influence "moral" brain development.

Triune ethics theory (Narvaez, 2008, 2009b) describes three basic ethical propensities that humans carry as part of their evolutionary heritage. Each propensity is rooted in evolved brain systems and can be activated by the situation or by dispositional habit. The *security* ethic is a primitive propensity for self-preservation through status, territory, rivalry and similar urges. It can be triggered by threat or be a default disposition for persons who experienced poor nurturing or trauma at a young age. If a person adopts a self-preservation orientation when solving moral problems, they are using a security ethic. The *engagement* ethic is rooted in a countervailing set of brain systems and experiences. It focuses on social connection and responsiveness to others in the moment. The *imagination* ethic uses the most recent parts of the evolved brain which includes executive and abstract reasoning functions. It allows us to envision those who are not present, make plans for the future and coordinate planned action. The imagination ethic operates usually in coordination with one of the other ethics. Optimal structuring of the brain systems involved in the engagement and imagination ethics rely on warm, responsive parenting in early life and other sensitive periods, but their functioning is influenced by the climate or situation throughout life as well. Within the classroom, educators can calm the security

[1] I adopt the term "moral habitat" from John Ozolins (2007), although I define it differently.

ethic with a positive climate and use the ethic of imagination (Who should I be? What can we do for others?) to promote and emphasize the ethic of engagement (e.g., how can we show care and respect for one another?).

Emotional Expression and Development

The mammalian brain is wired for emotional signaling, facilitating actions that meet the needs of the organism (Panksepp, 1998). Humans use emotional signals to determine appropriate behavior. Organizational climates or cultures convey expectations that are picked up by the individual's emotional systems. Is this a safe place to be myself? What feelings are okay to exhibit? Does the climate support excitement for learning or obedience to direction?

Climates can evoke different emotion systems. Classrooms can be set up to emphasize and activate particular ethics. When climates are unsafe to the individual, they will provoke a "security ethic" in which self-safety becomes a major focus and priority for action (Narvaez, 2007, 2008). "Boot camp" classrooms (DeVries & Zan, 1994) emphasize obedience and competition, activating the security ethic. In these classrooms it pays to be self-focused and wary. When climates are caring and positive, they will evoke an "engagement ethic" in which the individual is able to feel and show concern for others. Such "community" classrooms (DeVries & Zan, 1994) are about relationships, and cultivate the engagement ethic when the joy of interpersonal relations is emphasized. Such classrooms foster empathy for others and compassionate response. "Factory" classrooms (DeVries & Zan, 1994) emphasize academics, minimizing social and emotional learning, leading to detached imagination (without engagement).

The Sustaining Climate

Sustaining classrooms offer the closest match to the EEA and meeting human needs. In such classrooms, relationships are central but thinking skills are also. Imagination is rooted in engagement. The climate is caring, but also rich in positive relational discourse ("let's think about how we can help our neighbor" "what effect does x behavior have on other people's wellbeing?"). A prosocial "imagination ethic" is fostered which allows a person to consider the needs of others and imagine possibilities for action and response. In sustaining classrooms students learn to foster the engagement and imagination ethics while minimizing the self-centered security ethic. Students learn skills for flourishing and helping others flourish.

Emotional Sensitivity: Emotional Signaling, Responsiveness, and Trust

Climates influence emotional signaling. Cold climates suppress and control emotion, encouraging obedience without protest. Warm climates offer social and

emotional support to members as they meet the tasks of the day. A warm climate is a human and humane environment. Feelings are accepted. Sustaining climate shares a lot of characteristics with Rogers & Freiberg's (Rogers, 1983) person-centered classroom in which unconditional positive regard is practiced. In a person-centered classroom, leadership and rule development is shared; all students can help manage the classroom. Teachers help students with self-discipline and intrinsic motivation.

Sustaining climates offer a democratic, negotiating approach to tasks. That is, individuals have a say in what they do, what the goals are and what are good outcomes. Like their interest in the goings on, their emotions are engaged as a matter of course. The individual spirit is not alienated by coercive strategies. Instead, individuals have an effect on the course of the group activities. They have influence. Much like a good parent–child relationship, there is mutual influence and co-construction of the relationship and joint activities.

Good feeling is not enough. Habits and capacities of various kinds must be fostered. A sustaining climate is one that takes seriously the social and work habits that are established early, by the individual and the group. Whenever things go wrong, there is relational mending through conflict resolution, forgiveness, and restitution.

Moral Discourse and Structures, Citizenship, and Solidarity

A sustaining classroom is democratic and open. Democratic classrooms foster student development by allowing students to have an opportunity to make suggestions for structuring the rules and practices of the classroom. Students have opportunities to discuss all sides of controversial topic (Berman, 1997). Open classrooms promote democratic values (Ehman, 1980). In a sustaining classroom climate, students are at ease enough to express their thoughts and feelings about basic issues. They are able to engage in discussions in which viewpoints conflict and develop greater social perspective taking skills. Such activities also promote moral judgment development (Reimer et al., 1991) and personal efficacy in democratic functioning: "Open-classroom climate generally is related to higher political efficacy and trust, and lower political cynicism and alienation – to more democratic attitudes" (Ehman, 1980, p. 110). Those who have extensive experience designing and creating curriculum as children learn to "own" their learning generally and feel more capable in making decisions, solving problems, and thinking creatively as adolescents and adults (Turkanis, 2001). Students who practice these skills are able to "enhance and embellish assignments, discuss requirements and expectations, seek new depth and experiences, and search for meaning and value in projects and classroom studies" (p. 102).

Purposeful citizenship is fostered by teachers who help students develop a sense of social responsibility (Berman, 1997). Such teachers promote peer interaction within a context that emphasizes cooperation and equality. They allow conflicts to be openly and effectively resolved. They give students a meaningful voice in

controlling their environment. They enlarge young people's perspectives by inviting them to consider the perspectives of others and the good of the group. Of course, there are different ways to be a cohesive group. You can have a democratic community but demonize the outgroup. Teachers can set up or allow climates to develop that emphasize the Security ethic (me against you, us against them), the engagement ethic (relational care), or the imagination ethic (inclusive solutions). Sustaining classrooms are globally sustainable. That is, they take multiple perspectives into account when planning, thinking of consequences and solutions.

For a successful participatory democracy, Reimer, Paolitto, and Hersh (1991) suggested that several conditions must be met. Student interest is maintained. Issues are raised clearly so that the pros and cons of concrete proposals can be discussed and this is done in a clear, flexible procedural order. Students and staff discuss issues by voicing reasons for their stands and not by attacking one another on personal grounds. Controversy and conflict are welcomed as a way to encourage cognitive and ethical growth. Moral judgment is promoted through discussions of what rules to establish, thereby building understanding of the need for agreements and commitment to following them as well as discussions of everyday dilemmas and socio-moral problems.

Democratic citizenship is enhanced through the development of additional capacities and attitudes required for global citizenship. The policy experts in the Citizenship Education Policy Study Project (Cogan, 1997) identified the public virtues and values that a global citizen should have in the 21st century. It is anticipated that if people around the world do not develop these characteristics, there will be more wars and threats of war. The experts agreed on the following characteristics, in descending order of importance. Each person should (a) Approach problems as member of a global society; (b) Work cooperatively with others and takes responsibility for one's roles and responsibilities in society; (c) Understand, accept, and tolerate cultural differences; (d) Think in a critical and systematic way; (e) Resolve conflict in a non-violent manner; (f) Adopt a way of life that protects the environment; (g) Respect and defend human rights; (h) Participate in public life at all levels of civic discourse; and (i) Make full use of information-based technologies. This may be a handy list for teachers to post in the classroom.

Meaningful Development, Enhancement of Human Potential, and Flourishing

Sustaining classrooms are about supporting flourishing. Student interests are central to the goals of the classroom. The openness of the classroom means that the heartfelt interests of students are integrated into the tasks from which they choose. As the teacher gets to know students, she co-shapes instruction with students in ways that engage and delight them. Humor and joy are not strangers to classroom life. Moreover, the educator helps students develop a sense of positive purpose through ongoing discussions of the good life. Student self-actualization is part of the classroom mission. Individuals develop their talents under the guidance and

encouragement of the classroom and school community in response to community need, an Aristotelian idea (Urmson, 1988). The community is drawn into the classroom, whether for developmental support, instructional purpose, or the investigation of community needs that the students can help meet.

Conclusion

Sustaining climates pay attention to human mammalian needs. They integrate emotional signaling, democratic practice and discourse, and enhance human potential. Sustaining classrooms offer places where students are encouraged to self-actualize through the academic tasks at hand. Students learn to integrate positive purpose, citizenship, and flourishing as individuals, as members of the classroom community, and as global citizens.

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Chapter 39
Valuing Social and Emotional Connectedness Among Learners at All Levels

Christine Brew and Brenda Beatty

Introduction

Educational reform agendas reflect a maze of cross-currents that appear in the literature as strongly espoused and hotly contested schools of thought. Fullan (1991) argues that, in response to the National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk* 1983, educational reform took two very different forms both aiming to effect sweeping and deep change. These two reform agendas he describes as intensification and restructuring. Standardized tests, continuous evaluation and monitoring served to intensify the "what and how" of teaching while restructuring involves school-based management, teacher participation in decision-making and reorganizing schedules and fostering cultures to support more collaboration. Fullan (1991, p. 7) declared that the two approaches, later to become known as "school improvement" and "school effectiveness" genres, were "politically and philosophically at odds". Even so, he predicted a tug of war that would lead to combinations of the two genres as a function of the politics of strange bedfellows (Fullan, 1991). A decade later Fullan, Little, Leiberman, Earl and Newman among others, contributed chapters to *Keys to Effective Schools: Educational Reform as Continuous Improvement*, which was commissioned by the National Education Association (Hawley & Rollie, 2002). Perhaps not surprisingly, this book reflects the convergence that Fullan predicted.

The imperative to achieve "continuous improvement" (Fullan, 2002, p. 3) is loaded with powerful and specific implications for every individual in the learning environment. As Murphy and Alexander (2002) note, "The recognition that

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learning is continuously and markedly shaped by the social context in which it occurs is one of the most powerful concepts to emerge in recent psychological literature" (p. 21). The emphasis upon evidence of continuous improvement is evocative of the school effectiveness and accountability regimes, while the acknowledgment of the importance of social context is akin to the school improvement discourse. The implication is that each is inextricably linked to the other, a precept which we explore further in this chapter.

The values education discourse invites us to re-examine our priorities, reconsider what is important to us and re-dedicate ourselves to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon we call "schooling". One of the roles of educational researchers and practitioners is to attempt to come to understand the impact that these current developments are actually having on schooling.

We draw on four studies. The first study was commissioned to provide base-line data to aid schools in tracking the evidence of impact from a federally funded initiative to foster student sense of connectedness within several very large US secondary schools. A second study, conducted in a Canadian context, considered a whole-school and community approach to fostering cultural transformation. Known at the time as Together We Light the Way (TWLTW), this model positioned student sense of connectedness with school at the centre of its design. Conceived in response to extreme high risk factors in a small inner city primary school, and then trialled for its transferability across Canada, TWLTW promised to address the Justice Canada goals of Crime Prevention through Social Development. This study has helped to demonstrate the central role schools can play to promote social cohesion and thereby increase safety, as well as foster the valuing of academic success. Broadly this model can be associated with the "school improvement" a.k.a. cultural development genre. A third study we discuss involves three southern US schools that were implementing an aggregate of communication strategies known as the Baldrige tools, which are consistent with the TQM/Quality reform agenda. In these middle and upper socioeconomic status schools, data-focused dialogues and the use of the various Baldrige tools were helping to create an ethic of continuous improvement and the sense of a shared responsibility for learning among students, teachers and leaders. Broadly, this model can be associated with the "school effectiveness" a.k.a., accountability genre. Even though the TWLTW and Baldrige models arose from distinctly different philosophical traditions, and took their points of departure in response to very different immediate needs, both approaches seemed to be converging at a similar place. Participation in a shared sense of the scope and sequence of negotiated goals was placing a value upon the individual and collective sense of responsibility for learning among students, teachers and leaders alike. The key role of the school principal in both of these approaches and implied through the findings from the student sense of connectedness research leads us to the final study for discussion. The inner leadership and collaborative learning processes associated with becoming emotionally prepared for the relational complexities of the principal role are addressed in a fourth study involving a multi-modal cohort-based Master in School Leadership in Australia.

Measuring Student Sense of Connectedness with School

In 2005 drawing on base-line quantitative survey data collected from over 3,000 students in seven very large US high schools, we published a validated instrument (SSCS) designed to measure students' sense of connectedness with school (Beatty & Brew, 2005). These schools were embarking on an intervention designed to create a sense of smaller cohorts within mega schools drawing on research that has consistently shown that smaller schools seem to have an academic advantage over larger schools.

Student connectedness at school is well-grounded in established links among sense of belonging, self-esteem and self-efficacy (e.g., Battistich, Solomon, Kim, Watson, & Schaps, 1995; Bishop & Interbitzen, 1995; Ryan Stller & Lynch, 1994).[1] Baumeister and Leary (1995) argue that, "the desire for interpersonal attachment may well be one of the most far-reaching and integrative constructs currently available to understand human nature" (p. 512). While extra-curricular involvement has in the past been considered sufficient to provide opportunities for students to make the all important social connections with peers, Osterman (2000) in her review of the literature challenges this perspective. She points to studies that provide evidence of the need for a sense of belonging and acceptance – from both peers and teachers – as likely two facets of a related phenomenon both of which are critical for student engagement. As academic engagement has been established as a reliable predictor of student success more broadly (Osterman, 2000), it becomes important to understand the interrelationships among student sense of belonging with peers, with teachers in classrooms, in extra-curricular settings and throughout the school community. While student engagement can be taken as a reliable predictor of student success (Connell & Wellborn, 1991), student motivational variables, e.g., interest in class, interest in school and social responsibility, stand between students' social connectedness with each other or "belonging" and their academic achievement (Wentzel, 1998).

Notwithstanding the strong association between socio-economic status (SES) and school achievement and the fact that "most school effectiveness studies show that 80% or more of student achievement can be explained by student background rather than schools" (Silins & Mulford, 2002, p. 561), measures of alienation from school have arguably had predictive value for linking trauma with school violence (e.g., Hyman, Cohen, & Mahon, 2003). In a study which surveyed 300 middle adolescents Cunningham, Werner, and Firth (2004, p. 141) found that "connectedness to peers and teachers in the school environment can be characterized as a resource that may promote positive coping responses." These authors examined the interplay among school, teacher and peer connectedness and mastery, coping self-efficacy and coping behaviours, concluding that perceived control (internality) and sense of connection with others can wisely be considered as resources to enhance students' ability, particularly those perhaps most at risk, to cope at school.

The SSCS items were developed drawing on dimensions considered relevant in the literature and five constructs were validated: teacher support; trust in school

leaders; sense of belonging; confidence in school and academic engagement. The teacher support construct (TS) includes five items concerning support for learning, e.g., “I feel comfortable asking teachers about things I do not understand” as well as relational issues, e.g., “Teachers speak to me in a respectful manner”. Trust in school leaders is a small construct of two items (TL) “The principal treats students fairly at this school” and “I trust that the Assistant Principal would listen openly to me”. The sense of belonging construct (BEL) includes five items covering sense of safety, feeling known and being noticed, and feeling comfortable sharing thoughts and feelings with peers. The confidence in school construct contains four items which concern students’ sense that school is interesting and preparing them for the future, e.g., “I can succeed in this school” and “The school offers learning opportunities that are of interest to me”. The academic engagement construct (AE) contains four items that cover both individual effort and effort with peers, to recognize that learning is both an individual and social phenomenon, e.g., “I apply myself to learning in class” and “I do my best to contribute to group projects”.

From the literature we hypothesized that teacher support would have a strong direct effect on student academic engagement and that it may also directly impact students’ sense of belonging (Osterman, 2000). Student sense of belonging we proposed would indirectly impact on student academic engagement, perhaps mediated by confidence in school and teacher support. Trust in leaders we expected would not directly impact on student academic engagement, but could have a bearing on teacher support and confidence in school.

A structural equation model was tested which hypothesized the relationships among the five highly correlated dimensions (Table 39.1) and the model was found to have good fit indices (entire sample $\chi^2 = 887.299$; df = 160, RMR = 0.02; RMSEA = 0.04, GFI = 0.97, AGFI = 0.96; TLI = 0.95 and CFI = 0.96) with close to 50% of the variance (R^2) for academic engagement accounted for by the four constructs (see Fig. 39.1 – observed variables and residual errors omitted for clarity).

The data fit a model that suggests the impact of teacher support upon academic engagement acts both directly and indirectly through student confidence in school and sense of belonging. Furthermore, trust in school leaders has an indirect positive impact on academic engagement through student confidence in school and teacher support. We theorize that a possible shadow effect may be occurring in the link

Table 39.1 Inter-correlation matrix for the SSCS constructs

	Teacher support	Belonging	Confidence in school	Academic engagement
Trust in leaders	0.72	0.70	0.77	0.49
Teacher support		0.71	0.82	0.62
Sense of belonging			0.75	0.55
Confidence in school				0.65

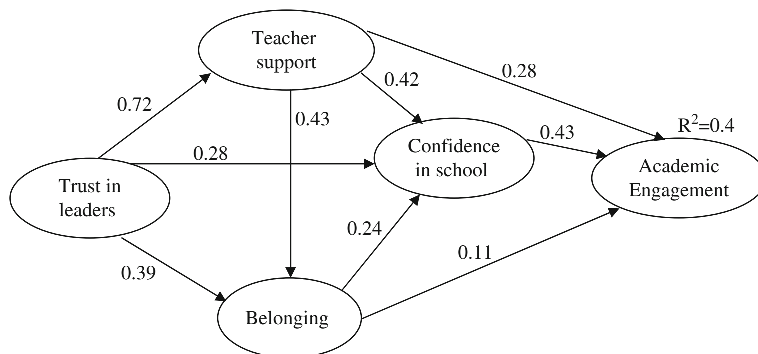

Fig. 39.1 Structural equation model (adapted from Beatty & Brew, 2005) ($n = 3{,}320$)

between Leader Trust and Teacher Support. This may be a manifestation of Silins and Mulford's (2002) empirically drawn connection between the way teachers say they are treated, especially by the school administration, and the way students say they are treated by teachers. Trust in leaders is also having an effect on academic engagement through confidence in school and sense of belonging.

We also established that the instrument had valuable discriminating power with respect to being able to measure differences between student subgroups. Specifically, those considered most at risk and those least at risk. Included in the survey were two questions which provide the opportunity for academic self report. "Did you fail any subjects last year?" (Yes/No) and "Do you expect to pass all your subjects this year?" (Yes/No). Students who answered yes to the first question and no to the second question were considered the most at risk. Students who answered the opposite were considered the least at risk. Significant statistical differences for the means of all five constructs for these two groups were evident (Beatty & Brew, 2005). A statistical comparison of the parameter estimates for these two groups for the structural equation pathways was also conducted by employing a $\triangle\chi^2$ difference test and this was found to be not significant. Hence we conclude that the structural equation model presented was relevant when thinking about the needs of each of these two groups.

Overall the study helped to reposition the role of social and emotional sense of connectedness and relationship with school in the context of a reigning preoccupation with performance outcomes which had been creating a climate within which these important factors could easily have been overlooked. We see a confluence between School Effectiveness Research "SER" proponents – of measuring from the top – and School Improvement "SI" proponents – of building from the bottom – as they have clashed in their views as to how to prioritize efforts to optimize children's experiences of school – most often silently by ignoring each other's literature base.

Creating Safe and Caring Learning Communities

The Creating Safe and Caring Learning Communities project (CSCLC) was based on a model called Together We Light the Way (TWLTW) which originated in Ontario as a highly successful approach to whole-school community-based crime prevention and social capital building. The project was funded by the National Crime Prevention Centre of the Ministry of Public Safety Canada to test the transferability of the model across Canada. We provide here some of the model's conceptual underpinnings as they relate to the focus of this chapter.

Congruent with the school improvement philosophy that builds the culture first, in order to support academic success, TWLTW (Dean, 2000) positions student sense of connectedness with school at the centre of its design. The approach is consistent with Osterman's (2000) argument that student sense of belonging is pivotal to student engagement, and her hypothesis that teacher–student interactions have a bearing on children's relationships with each other. The key is placing a top priority on valuing respect – for self and for others – to foster a whole-school cohesiveness and sense of identity. This phenomenon evolves from an initial behaviour modification stage through to a cultural transformation that becomes self-sustaining. In the first stage, respectful, considerate and relationally sensitive speech and actions are consistently reinforced with respect cards, handed out whenever a student is observed exhibiting the desired behaviour. Celebrations of success are a regular feature of the model, and over time respectful ways of being become infused in the relationships among students, between leaders, teachers and students and even between parents and their children. *TWLTW's* foundation of respect for all and the strengthening of caring relationships work in tandem with embedded curricular connections and improved teacher practices. It positions schools at the centre of change agency for their ability to promote social cohesion and increase social capital within society. Among interrelated outcomes are increases in student sense of safety and belonging, parent and community partnership involvement in school and student academic performance, along with decreases in bullying, vandalism, absenteeism and discipline problems. Beyond a model of community involvement in support of the school's academic and behavioural goals, which remain of abiding importance, this model invites all school community members to see their membership as an investment in themselves, children and society at large. Deliberate and explicit affirmation of diversity among individuals and the building of collective strengths by discovering "opportunities for growth and development" are combined with systematic re-culturing of healthful habits and civic engagement. Through celebrations of learning success and the pursuit of a range of authentic community centred activities, partners from all sectors – health services, parents, police and businesses – identify and pursue shared goals.

Implementations of the model were effective in increasing student academic achievement, reducing reported and perceived student behaviour incidents such as bullying and fighting, and increasing high-quality parent and community partnerships. Report findings point to the value of the model for increasing staff and principal confidence and optimism about the tone of their school. Involvement of

community partners enhanced the schools' sense of shared purpose, a critical focus to build upon in the future (see Dean, Beatty, & Brew, 2007).

Conceptual Underpinnings of the Model

We know that children learn best in a safe and secure environment (Dean & Whyte, 1995; Search Institute, 2000; Sugai & Lewis, 1999; Thompson, 1998; Wentzel, 1991) and that we must engage them emotionally in order to teach them (Sousa, 2000).[1] To engage students emotionally, we know that they must feel safe, feel loved, become loving and become engaged (McGee, Menolascino, Hobbs, & Menousek, 1987). We also know that children from impoverished, broken and dysfunctional families are at greater risk of dropping out of school and obtaining little or very low functioning literacy skills (Snyder & Huntley, 1990). Correspondingly, such persons are at greater risk of experiencing further deprivation in their adult lives as these risk factors appear to be cumulative and interactive (Jackson & Panyan, 2002).

Research on Risk Factors

In the last 20 years, many studies have contributed to a more comprehensive knowledge of the factors that increase the chances of children becoming dysfunctional adults. In Canada the National Longitudinal Study of Children and Youth explored the risks for children becoming dysfunctional and/or delinquent. Family dysfunction in its various forms (Snyder & Huntley, 1990), parenting practices (Chao & Willms, 1998), marital discord (Reid & Crisafulli, 1990) and poverty (Pagani, Boulerice, Vitaro, & Tremblay, 1999) contribute to family mobility (De Wit, Offord & Braun, 1998; Simpson & Fowler, 1994); academic failure (McEvoy & Welker, 2000; Walker & Sprague, 1999); school non-attendance (Barth, 1984); exposure to chronic violence (Garbarino & Garbarino, 1993); chronic parental unemployment; parental substance abuse (Jacob & Johnson, 1997; Thornberry, 1994); low self-esteem (Reasoner, 1994); early onset of aggression and antisocial behaviour; child abuse; out-of-home placements; inappropriate peer relationships; victimization; co-occurrence of problem behaviours; living in socially isolated neighbourhoods that do not meet basic needs (Thornberry, 1994) and witnessing violence (Hurley & Jaffe, 1990). When three or more risk factors are present in children's lives the likelihood of these children developing serious behaviour problems rises sharply (Jenkins & Keating, 1998).

Parent and Community Involvement

Berger (1995), Cushman (1993) and others have identified the importance of involving parents in the education of their children and in the life of the school community.

[1] Portions of this section have appeared in Dean, Beatty, and Brew (2007).

While family involvement often has individuals thinking of a specific set of activities performed by a certain set of people, partnerships allow for a wider set of activities to be performed by an interconnected network of partners.

A connection between school climate and the extent to which family and community members are involved (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Epstein, 1995) is more likely to occur when the school climate – the social and educational atmosphere of a school – is one that makes them feel welcomed, respected, trusted, heard and needed.

The Model

TWLTW has ongoing embedded strategic processes, a set of pillars with guiding principles and a set of core programs. The two underlying strategic processes involve continuous Goal Setting and Partnerships – with staff, students, parents, business and community partners – and remain integral to the model's implementation at every level and stage. The four Pillars are Academics, Respect, Teamwork and Leadership. The Seven Core Programs which are integrated into the curriculum are described below.

Underlying Strategic Processes: Goal Setting and Partnerships

School and Classroom Planning/Goal setting in the *TWLTW* model are strategic processes designed to create engagement, focus and commitment in individuals and groups. Goal setting, planning and decision-making are guided by integrating and aligning with the four pillars. The pillars facilitate purposeful planning for teaching and learning. Goal setting at the school level is used to move concepts and planning into action. Individual school planning teams elect a sequence for emphasis on one or more pillars as they customize for implementation according to the existing initiatives, needs and readiness of their school context.

The Seven Programs

The *Respect Program* involves establishing a system of shared language, recognition of respectful attitudes and behaviours towards self and others and rewards for desirable behaviours. It addresses bullying and other forms of violent behaviours, develops a sense of self (character), resiliency, respectful and caring relationships, respect for self and others in the classroom, school, family, local and global community and citizenship through the promotion of service and civic-mindedness. It provides opportunities for students to demonstrate leadership skills, develop a culture of respect with fellow students of all ages and adults within the school and the surrounding neighbourhood.

The *Leading with Reading Program* is designed to foster a love of books and reading and educate parents and community partners about the importance of reading to children and to instil the habit of families reading together. It is designed to ease the transition from home to school for very young children and provide opportunities for older students to perform acts of service and demonstrate their leadership skills.

The *Choice is Yours Program* teaches students what a wise choice is and that they have the strength within themselves to take responsibility for making wise choices that benefit others as well as themselves. This is designed to create an awareness of "the greater good". It helps children realize that their choices will define them as individuals and shape their lives in an interdependent society. It helps them notice how the constructive choices they make have a positive impact on themselves and others.

The *Celebrating our Stars Program* recognizes students' efforts to achieve in Academics, Respect, Teamwork and Leadership, which increases sense of self, self-awareness and self-worth. It is designed to recognize and reward good decisions and beneficial actions associated with self-leadership to engage all members of the community in honouring and celebrating student success.

The *Healthful Happenings Program* is designed to ensure students learn about the connection between health and nutrition and the way healthful lifestyles affect their learning and wellbeing. It is designed to strengthen commitment to self. Students learn the importance of addressing all areas of health and wellbeing – physical, mental, emotional and spiritual – as they engage, with the community in taking ownership and sharing leadership for the health and wellbeing of all of its members.

The *Parenting Voices Program* seeks to instil home support for increased student achievement in Academics, Respect, Teamwork and Leadership by developing positive family and school relationships through increased parental and family involvement with the school. It provides an opportunity for parents and families to have a voice in the education of their children and to see that the school values and uses their input.

The *Connections: Classroom and Community Program* is designed to connect classroom learning to all areas of life. It provides opportunities for students to apply what they are learning in the classroom to real situations outside of the classroom and to develop and practise employability and entrepreneurial skills.

Even though officially the first pillar in the model is "academics" the *TWLTW* implementation invites schools to make their own decisions about where to begin. Given the theorized root position of trust in leaders for its antecedent relationship to teacher trust and the other SSCS factors (Beatty & Brew, 2005) and given the overall quantitative indications of behavioural and academic success of these implementations, the prioritizing suggested by one of the participating principals was not surprising:

> The biggest impact would have been respect and ultimately all schools their first priority is academics ... I think sometimes I would rather put respect

> first and put the academic pillar second. All the research and all the work that we have done as a staff and as a community that when kids are physically and emotionally safe the academic piece will come – so therefore that is why I look at that respect piece first before I look at the academic piece.

The sense of an ethic of care in connection with growth, greater connection with family and community, increased teamwork and shared leadership was developing social cohesion and affecting relationships:

> I see a real growth, empathy, and concern not only for the children themselves, but also for families and community. Very much helping each other . . . A lot of teamwork, everyone here is a leader which is a change for some people. When I first came to the school, I was used to – "You are the principal and you are the only one that has power and leadership". Now I see people empowered and everyone taking on leadership roles. (Teacher)

The links among the ethic of care, respect, trust and the inclusion of diverse perspectives was not only present, but consciously understood:

> I really do think that is why a lot of our children do feel comfortable about addressing the bullying themselves with supportive teachers because there has been very good relationships established. The children do feel that there is that trust. There will be time invested, it's not just, "Oh you did it, and there is going to be time out." or "We are calling your parents". Time is always taken to find out both sides of the story and then address it. The kids, even though they know there is going to be a consequence, I think they do appreciate it, that you have heard the stories and that there are many stories. (Teacher)

A positive impact on relationships with parents was also shared:

> I think we have seen major changes with parents too because we have been so open. I see the difference, I used to see a lot of defensiveness, I rarely see that now. I see the way we have changed, the way we deal with parents. We try to, not being seen as "Okay, we have all the answers", but "You know what? You are right, maybe there is some way we can do this differently". Then all of a sudden, they are helping us and we are working together. (Teacher)

The parents' comments reflected a greater sense of feeling welcome at the school and perceiving a change in the school culture:

> Actually, when I first came to the school my reaction was how caring it is. All the staff helps. Everyone is so friendly, and I felt so welcome to the school. Speaking with other parents of different schools, I do not think that is the same. (Parent)

> Just participating on community days, assemblies, I do see a way that the kids respond to adults that are not typically a part of the school and certainly their response to me when I participated in the Circles, there is a level of respect that was not there before. (Parent)
> The school is simply great. It is one of the most respected schools in the whole entire community, the school district. There are people in the community who try to move right into this community so that they can have their kids go to this school. The teaching staff are great. Not just the teachers themselves, the assistants too. (Parent)

Student voices are considered and consulted in these school cultures. "Emotional meaning making" (Beatty, 2002a, p. 390) is used for problem solving:

> [Students were encouraged to bring up] all the different types of bullying . . . and the places that it happened. How they felt, what needed to be done. With that bullying we took a look at it and they itemized the three areas where they knew it was happening, one was the playground, two was the locker rooms and washroom area and three was the hallways. So, the students came up with the solutions to the problems and the one thing that they said was, "We need more supervision". So I took that and had increased supervision and visibility in those areas at those times. (Principal)
> We have a leadership program that we provide at lunch hour. The grade 4, 5 and 6 students are very involved in providing opportunities for all children to be involved with activities to keep them physically active and involved at lunch hour. We have our book buddies, [and] the older ones working in peer mediation . . . to help other students come up with strategies. (Teacher)

As discussed earlier, participating schools were encouraged to begin the program where it best suited them. Comments from teachers suggested that a focus on the academic component of schooling with respect to the program's focus on goal setting was a strategy that was tending to follow the initiatives associated with developing relationships. For example:

> I don't use the goals as much as I should but I have seen an awful lot of success when I make sure I give them time. They are so excited about it. I have seen children that come in and say, "I need a goal . . ." (Teacher)
> To me the goal setting is very powerful and writing down your goal, rather than just talking about your goals. . . . I am not great at it yet, but I'm learning. . . . It is something the kids are becoming more comfortable with. I can see that becoming more and more powerful as time goes on. (Teacher)

In TWLTW, portfolio sharing and goal setting were positioned as complementary to the other dimensions of this whole child – whole community approach. In the following study, goal setting, and data folder sharing were central to an unswerving focus on the continuous improvement of academic performance.

The Baldrige Phenomenon

The third study draws on research into the impact of an industry-based Total Quality Management model, the "Baldrige" approach in a large middle class suburban school district in Texas. This model while not prescriptive in terms of content or curriculum comes as a package of tools and communication processes that are associated with a focus on self-assessment, data gathering and the explicit aim of continuously improving students' academic performance.

The Texas educational sector had long been in an intensification era, instigated through the introduction of state annual testing of students in 1990–1991 (TAAS: Texas Assessment of Academic Skills, later called TEKS: Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills). The results of these tests were associated with published school league tables and schools being publicly classified yearly as below par or "low performing"; having reached minimum standards or "recognized"; or being above the norm or "exemplary". A 2000 report suggested that considerable test score success had been achieved in some of the traditionally low-performing districts (Skrla, Scheurich, & Johnson, 2000). Within four of the nine districts experiencing the most impressive turnaround results, two in particular had adopted business generated *Quality* management models. According to Skrla, Scheurich and Johnson (2000, p. 1), "In 1994 six out of every ten African American students in one 50,000 student urban Texas school district failed the state achievement test in mathematics. Five years later in this same district, eight out of every ten African American students passed this same math test". The same authors also cited similar success in another district where the majority of students were Hispanic. These results came to be known as the Texas Miracle.

But, there were counter claims to the Texas "miracle" stories. Haney (2000) and Valencia et al. (2001) argue that the education accountability system with TAAS at its centrepiece, rather than assisting the most vulnerable ethnic groups in the education system, had instead further marginalized their educational opportunities. Haney (2000) cited increasing drop-out rates among the African American and Mexican American cohorts and Valencia and others (2001, p. 321) also complained that the curriculum was less challenging and that there were "pernicious labelling effects that have their source in 'public report cards' of school ratings". Valencia et al. (2001, p. 319) proposed that the standards-based school reform accountability model reinforced a deficit model by placing academic improvement responsibility "largely on the individual and the family". They further argued that accountability is important, but that it must include "multiple indicators of academic performance" and must not limit teachers "to rote, unchallenging, and measurement-driven instruction" (Valencia et al., 2001, p. 321).

Criticisms with respect to adopting TQM models in education were also evident in the research literature at this time. TQM models have traditionally focused on reducing variability in products and services and, yet, the principles of effective education are argued to most appropriately centre on valuing diversity and recognizing that one size does not fit all (Parker & Slaughter, 1992; Banister, 2001). Banister (2001) denounced the Baldrige core concept of management by fact:

> Baldrige narrows the vision but it does so covertly – never explicitly disallowing such documentation, but in establishing a structure that makes non-comparative data inconsequential to the reporting process .... Self – assessments are a critical part of the Baldrige quest for learning–centered education [but] it is unclear how these self–assessments can be incorporated into the final report. Interest in individual student needs and learning styles are expressed, but "results" are the focus of the Board of Examiners and these results have very limited forms of representation. (p. 21)

So, it was within this context of hotly contested conclusions as to the definition and level of success being achieved, that we conducted a study of the Baldrige phenomenon, albeit in schools where students were not commonly struggling academically.

Derived from a selection of theoretical strands that originated with Edward Deming, the Baldrige criteria were developed as a rubric for organizations to measure their effectiveness when applying for the Baldrige Award. During the 1990s this corporate-based approach to systemic organizational change was adapted for the educational setting. The connection to the values education agenda is that the focus on "Baldriging" revolves around several core values: visionary leadership; learning-centred education; organizational and personal learning; valuing faculty, staff and partners; agility; focus on the future; managing for innovation; management by fact; public responsibility and citizenship; and focus on results. Through the adoption of these core values, schools are invited to engage in a cycle of continuous improvement by following six steps: validating the need for improvement; clarifying organizational purpose, goals and measures; adopting and deploying an organization – wide approach to improvement; translating the approach to "aligned action" at all levels of the organization; analysing results; making improvements; and repeating the cycle. Notably, the indicators devised to measure progress towards these goals are meant to be "fact-based" and to be applied systematically through cycles of planning, execution and evaluation (Hertz, 1999). Several tools are adopted to support this process. Some examples include personal student data folders within which test results are recorded and graphed; an Issue Bin (a.k.a. suggestion box); and Plus/Delta (e.g., what I liked about a topic or meeting process and what could be done better next time).

The core values of the Baldrige approach resonate with many of Deming's 14 points – constancy of purpose, improvement and training, and breaking down communication barriers, instilling pride in work, and involving everyone in accomplishing the transformation (Walton, 1990). Yet Deming advocated that dependence on mass inspection should cease, fear should be driven out, slogans and exhortations should be eliminated along with numerical quotas as indicators of success. On these four points the Baldrige criteria and Deming's ideas do not seem congruent. The Baldrige approach in schools relies heavily on numerical indicators of success. The implementation of Baldrige vocabulary and catch phrases such as management by fact and data-driven decision-making could be construed to be a departure from the spirit of Deming's notion of avoiding slogans. Even so, the Baldrige values, purposes and tools are positioned as providing direct support and encouragement for

connecting people at all levels of the organization. Despite the presence of the conflicting perspectives in the literature, we found some very exciting processes that were fostering a shift in the nature of the relationships between students, teachers and principals.

The Study

The three schools that were involved in the study (two elementary and one middle school) were in the process of implementing a Baldrige approach. Issues explored in interviews with principals and teachers included what "Baldrige" had meant for their classroom/leadership practice and how their interactions with colleagues, students, administrators, parents and the district were changing. Students' impressions were accessed from small focus groups and a short survey on their experiences of the tools (Brew & Beatty, 2002).

We begin with students' reflections on their experiences of the classroom tools. From the survey data the majority (70%) of students reported that their learning was "usually helped by using these tools". Out of three tools that the students were asked to comment on: data folders; Issue Bin; and Plus/Delta, the data folder stood out as the tool of particular value for them. Focus group discussions provided insight into the reasons for their perceived value. For example:

> What I like about the data folder is. . .we have little bar graphs and you record your grades down from tests and what I really like about it is that you can go back and look at them and you can see your progress. (Student)
> In third grade I didn't really know my grades. . . . Here I can see, ok, . . . I need to work on my language test. Before I couldn't do that, I would just sort of try to do my best but here I know what I am supposed to be working on myself. (Student)

Students also liked the data folders because they helped them get organized; they learned how to read graphs; they enjoyed the competitive spirit which encouraged them to work harder and it helped them to demonstrate their achievements with their parents.

The students valued the Issue Bin and the Plus Delta tools because there was a sense that they felt listened to, their opinion mattered and that the teacher acted upon their concerns. For example:

> In the Issue Bin I had put that we needed more activities and projects instead of just studying and we had a project the next week. (Student)
> One time I had a problem with sitting in back because I couldn't see and I put it in the issue bin and I got moved up front. (Student)

> There are some things I don't like about certain projects and so usually that doesn't show up again on another project when I put it up on the plus/delta chart. (Student)

The use of student data folders is consistent with current literature on best practice in student assessment, which proposes that through teachers sharing and discussing curriculum goals with students and encouraging them to set their own goals, students become better able to monitor their own learning and take greater responsibility for doing so (Earl, 2002). The teacher–student data folder conversations are likely to be most useful when the data gathered and the focus of the conversation that results are suited to the predispositions of the student: "more successful students are more likely to choose to monitor tasks they view as difficult, whereas less successful students may choose to do very little monitoring on the same tasks" (Murphy & Alexander, 2002, p. 18). It is up to the teacher to appreciate the orientations of the individual student towards her/his own data, and to meet the child emotionally and cognitively at this "place".

Both the plus delta and the issue bin involve the processes of giving voice to students, empowering them to participate in making a difference in their classrooms. The safety to have opinions, and to voice them either anonymously through the issue bin, or in conference with their teachers and their peers, is evidence of distinctly different conversations than most of us remember from our school days.

The most common negative theme associated with the Data Folders was the emotional fallout from unsatisfactory results. This included observing a decrease in their score, or not observing improvement or getting a low score and being required to document it. For the Issue Bin and the Plus/Delta tools negative comments mirrored the positive accounts where students described not feeling listened to or not having their issue acted upon. The challenge for teachers is to remain consistent by responding to all issues raised by the students, whether or not they lead to action. Yet there were also comments that echo Banister's (2001) warning that over time students find the Plus/Delta discussions mundane. For example:

> We were using a Plus/Delta chart, and no one really cared about it, they were all sort of out of it. Everyone was ignoring the teacher and talking back. (Student)
>
> I didn't like using plus/delta charts because we use it like everyday. (Student)

Feedback from teachers on how the approach was influencing classroom practice reflected the kinds of positive comments from students:

> My kids caught on to some of their subject areas a lot faster, and I really think the Baldrige mind set of "Oh my goodness, in October I knew 5 letters, but then in November I knew ten." Their faces just beamed! . . . As I was saying to (the principal), it is right there for them to see, before it used to be a mystery. "What letters don't you know?" Well they didn't know. "How

> many times did you hand in your homework?" They didn't know. Now we can get out that graph and say look here guys what is going on. (Teacher)

The data folders also provided a focus for individual student goal setting and attention and the chance for relationship building with the students one-on-one:

> Every nine weeks the students re-evaluate their goals . . . I also look at their comments that they write. The data is important . . . but I think . . . when you talk with the children one on one it helps you lead your conversation to the things that they feel are important . . .because they know better than anybody else the things that they need to work on. Especially in fifth grade, they can take the responsibility and say, "my handwriting is awful", or, "what I really have not been trying is in math". . . . Or if their goal was to read a novel a week and they did that, I can say "that's great" and then that gives them some like "oh she notices", and pride, and to feel good about themselves that they have accomplished something. Even if they didn't achieve their goals, say, "but look at the progress that you made". . . . it is feedback that is relevant to the students. (Teacher)
>
> I felt in years past we kind of did things blindly. I felt like we had this book, you taught it, you gave the test, they all passed, let's go on to the next chapter. With the tools, the way it works, you are really in tune with what the kids know. (Teacher)
>
> I think it forces us to look at the data. I think it is a way to see that it is just not that 20% of the sixth grade didn't pass this objective. So I need to teach this objective better, it's Teresa, Joseph, Jovita and Tim who didn't master this objective. (Teacher)

Another teacher described experimenting with sharing the curriculum directly from the State guide to inform students of their learning objectives:

> A couple of times, I would put the TEKS objective that says a fourth grader needs to know this about fractions, and I will write it directly out of the TEKS book (laugh), with all of the funny words, and I say. "This is what the State says you need to know for fractions, for fourth graders. So you have had fractions, you know what to do with fractions, here is the text book, there are other books in the room, there is the computer, we have sites for fractions, you need to demonstrate to me in the booklet, or you can show on a poster or on a power point, that you know this. "No problem" They went right to it. And it was like, "This is cool".

The empowerment experienced by sharing formerly arcane knowledge such as the state expectations documents that had traditionally not been shared with students suggests a far greater scope in even young students for partnering with their teachers in the learning process. The value-added of having informed students who

are engaged self-directly because they can see the path ahead is not to be underestimated. Clearly the assessment initiative for this teacher is associated with more focused student conversations which are initiated by so-called facts about performance levels, but what quickly becomes apparent is the value of creating a conversational space for sharing subjectivities within that dialogue. Wiggins (1993, p. 14) draws our attention to the Latin origin of the word assessment, assider, which means "to sit with":

> Its very origin implies more than marks, percentiles grade point averages ... [and] conjures up images of teachers observing students, talking with them and working with them to unravel their understandings and misunderstandings – making assessment an integral part of learning that offers detailed feedback to the teacher and the student. (Earl, 2002, p. 69).

The way this teacher has interpreted the Baldrige approach is in keeping with the essence of the meaning of assessment. In the process of having such conversations, they become far more aware of the student's potential, their actual knowledge and their ways of thinking.

While the statements reported above arose from teachers who were further down the implementation process in their classrooms, one of the easiest ways teachers found to start applying the principles of Baldrige was by using the issue bin:

> The issue bin. That was an easy place to start. The kids kind of forget about it sometimes but then they have an issue ...What was hysterical was that my daughter came home one night. She is a senior and goes to [a different school]. And I don't think that they have heard of any of this. And she saw my issue bin and she said, "You have an issue bin?" And I said, "Yes." And she goes, "What? Your kids have issues?" And I said, "Yes." And she said, "What do you say? That you've got issues, deal with them?" And I said, "No, no, no. If there is an issue, then they put it in the bin." And she says, "And you care?" (laughter) And I said, "Yeah, you are looking for patterns, to see if you can change things." And she says, "What do they put in there?" And I said, [e.g.] "Did you realize that we have a math test on the same day as another paper is due?" And she's like, "None of my teachers ever do anything like that."

When the issue bin is used for teachers to track the change process, one can appreciate the empowerment for teachers too. This was evident in comments that related to perceived changes in peer and teacher–leader relationships through the use of the tools as vehicles for communication:

> If you have a conflict amongst your team members, instead of it becoming confrontational, and defensive, then you can say well, "let's use a tool and find out what the problem is." You are taking it off of personalities, and putting it with a process that can then be workable. (Teacher)

The explicit respectfulness for the problem solving process itself, cascades onto an implicit respectfulness for the individuals in the group. A no-fault safety zone is created as individuals seek to discover together what is really going on:

> Having an issue bin for the staff to use, it probably has focused more conversation to processes. When there's a problem, it is, "well what can be done about it?" Instead of just there being a problem, "oh no what are we going to do?" We are looking more at what process led to the problem. And what can we do to solve the problem. . . . It's just a very positive kind of building constant improvement atmosphere. (Teacher)
>
> You hear a lot of teachers sometimes who say "You know they just never ask our opinion on anything. They just make these rules up." . . . When you turn that over into the teacher's hands and say "Here's an idea and what do you think about it?", there's not that sense that you can complain, because you have made the call on that issue. I think that's the way it has changed the leadership on our campus. . . . The children are the workers in my class and for the administration level I am the worker. And so you're putting the decision in the hands of those workers and you're making people take ownership of what they are doing. (Teacher)

When principals invite teachers to be involved in broader decisions they share their traditional "domains of concern". Not only does this involvement invite a shift in knowledge authority, in that the complexities become shared knowledge rather than exclusive knowledge, but also, when leaders invite teachers into their world, and if they choose to reveal the emotional dimension of their experiences, this creates the possibility for greater emotional understanding of the subjective experiences of struggling with the decision-making process. Emotional embracement (Denzin, 1984) becomes possible when this aspect of one's experience is explicitly shared. Principals in the Baldrige schools were beginning to recognize the emotional sensitivity of data-driven conversations.

One of the major themes from across all levels of the data was evidence of qualitatively different conversations occurring as a consequence of the focus on making decisions based on data. However, beyond data-driven, Baldrige emerged as a dialogue driven process. From the principals' perspective, this quickly brought to the surface the recognition of the need for a high level of trust in relationships:

> The data is important but the dialogue is important. There is a different kind of data that you get back; it may not be the quantifiable data, it's the conversational data, it's where that trust is built. That's where you start helping people feel comfortable with you, and so that dialogue is important data. It's just different data than test data. (Principal)
>
> The challenge comes as a Principal getting sixty or seventy teachers to look at data and to identify "here's what I need to do and here's where I need improvement". To get them to the point where they realize that that data, may be their area, where they need to do something. I think everyone sees

> there's a problem but the problem's not them, or there's a "we're not going to say there's a problem' but "there's just an area for improvement". And I think there is a sensitivity part to presenting that to teachers, but yet at the same time making sure there's not a threatening situation becomes very challenging. I think that it really comes down to a trust factor. That's one thing that you're going to have to work on building. (Principal)

In an integrated system of involvement, students, teachers, administrators and parents share in the knowledge authority of student learning (Frase & Conley, 1994). Here too the Baldrige model seeks to develop such a system through encouraging teachers to share with parents learning topics of focus. In the case below, this was initially met with considerable resistance by teachers who were fearful of becoming vulnerable to the parents:

> Just even getting the teachers to feel comfortable letting the parents know what topics they would be studying from one month to the next it was a big step. I mean the first year we mentioned it was like pandemonium. People just didn't want to have it happen, not everybody, but there were some great concerns that the parents will hold us accountable (Laughing) . . . Just getting people through some of those steps . . . is a matter of letting go of the control; it's a matter of opening the door. (Principal)

The Baldrige approach created situations that were loaded with the potential for "relational leadership" (Regan & Brooks, 1995), which Regan and Brooks refer to as involving decisiveness along with integrative and collaborative processes:

> Probably teachers might come and talk with me about something that they might not have come to talk with me about before. I find myself very often saying well "What is it that you want to do?" . . . I find that the more open this process is the better. I don't know that I would have known to say that before. For me, it's helped me move along maybe a little faster. It's validated and affirmed what I am doing. (Principal)

Principals who put their trust in teachers, have to be able let them make their own mistakes, and learn from them. According to Reina and Reina (1999) there are four kinds of trust that are relevant to the workplace: "contractual trust", trust of character, being trusted to do what you have promised to do and are expected to do; "communication trust", trust of disclosure, being trusted to communicate openly and honestly; and "competency trust", trust of capability to do what you are expected to do. The first three kinds of trust are dependent on a fourth – capacity for trust, the readiness to trust ourselves and others. This final kind of trust influences our perceptions and it "expands or contracts depending on our experiences" (Reina & Reina, 1999, p. 14).

Two principals spoke explicitly of the value in consciously and deliberately modelling the Baldrige way of thinking and acting for their teachers. Along with the

other principals, they recognized that their feedback to teachers was critical and represented another valuable kind of "data" that would go a long way to engender the kind of connectedness that builds trust and relationship:

> I'm not about to be the Baldrige police (laughing). I think that my role is to model it. . . .. Sometimes we [the administrative team] would start and all of a sudden we'd go "wait a minute . . . you get what you model", and so . . . sometimes you have to be a little deliberate about it.. . . It's that whole thing of providing opportunities for training, encouraging people who are doing things, giving them positive comments. (Principal)
> I got an e-mail from one of our teachers earlier this week and she said, "You know how you told us to go out there and take risks and everything? Well I took a risk and I want to share it with you. Come on back and see my kids do a play." This is a kindergarten teacher who had her students do a little one–act play (laughing). But it's that whole idea of letting people make mistakes.. . . This campus was an exemplary campus when I got here so it wasn't as though you had to do a whole big over haul.. . . But at the same time people were being very safe. "This is the text book that goes with our lessons, we are on page twenty-seven and tomorrow we will be on page twenty-eight, the day after we will be on page twenty-nine." You don't know whether the kids already know it, don't know it, it doesn't matter, we're just kind of moving along. And it had got them great results and so why mess with it? So I think that's a big piece of this, letting people do it badly, and saying it's ok do it badly for a while you know (laughing). Let it fall apart. Let it be a mess. . .and that's a scary thing for people. (Principal)

Here the potential for "Baldrige" conversations to foster connected instructional leadership practice was evident in the direct encouragement of this teacher by this principal to take risks, to experiment in their classroom. The sense of trust and shared decision-making that this principal was endeavouring to build among members of staff and the administrative team was providing a climate for experimentation and the expression of creative ideas. When taking creative risks the fear of failure can be channelled into the exhilaration of experiment and can move people into the state of "flow": "Do 100% of what you know to do – and trust" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 180). Flow is a state of optimal performance, where challenge is met with total focus and trust in the self. The synergy factor is a large part of flow. It would seem that the leader and the teacher in this encounter were delighting in the synergy of sharing discussion of risks taken. The notion of "letting go" is modelled as the leader had reached into the classroom to encourage the teacher to also "loosen the reins" with students. When leaders remain non-prescriptive pedagogically, there is an implicit encouragement to adapt the curriculum in innovative ways. In effect, such experimentation encourages teachers to go beyond the minimum standards of skill testing and documentation and into applications that bring pleasure and a broadening of experience among students, teachers and their administrators.

Continuous improvement is an idea that can capture the human need for self-actualization and tap into strong motivational forces (Maslow, 1954). Yet when data drivenness focuses on deficits and neglects to affirm the worth of whole self – the smiles of acceptance, the recognition of shared humanness – it can be reductionistic. Only within an ethic of care for the whole self can individuals experience the critical safety and security (Maslow, 1954) they need to explore the exciting territory of improvement with optimism and enthusiasm. Creating an ethic of care (Noddings, 1992) is part of the challenge in the learning adventure generally, and in our view, it is a key issue for the Baldrige approach. The challenge and potential in the Baldrige model seems to lie in the need for emotional understanding (Denzin, 1984) in order to support people in the development of these new kinds of dialogue, disclosure and discovery. It is a reframing of what most of us know as "school".

It All Starts at the Top: Developing Learning Leadership

In our considerations of the final study we return to a focus on leaders and a reframing of what most of us know as school leadership. Readers may recall the statistical plausibility of our theorized SSC SEM model whereby an indirect effect of trust in school leaders upon student academic engagement comes through the mediating factors of teacher support, confidence in school and sense of belonging. Not surprisingly perhaps, student perceptions of leader trustworthiness – that is their communicative connectivity, receptivity, openness and fairness – may be influencing students primarily because these qualities in leaders can have a profound affect on teachers (Leithwood & Beatty, 2008). In the second study we looked at leading a whole-school success model through the deliberate fostering of a sense of connectedness, belonging and shared responsibility for the quality of life and learning in schools. Recall that in this Canadian study of turnaround success, in name, principle and practice, it was by working "together" that they were able to "light the way". Leadership in these schools was critical, as the ethic of care and respect for diverse individuality, healthful living, and the joy of learning, were celebrated in a broadly defined notion of school success that was modelled from the top and lived at all levels. The Maslovian (1954) need for a sense of sufficient social-emotional and professional safety is particularly prominent in adult educators who, in traditional school cultures may have mastered the projection of pseudo-certainty and maintained a professional silence on matters of emotion, irrespective of what they are really feeling. For school cultures to support the admission of uncertainty, and thus the openness to new learning, the attendant vulnerability and emotional challenges of enduring and learning from the associated discomfort of feeling "in danger", leaders do indeed need to be prepared to enter into some different kinds of conversations. In the third study we examined the Baldrige model whose communication tools create a system that fosters increased openness to learning from information flow, emanating not only from the top, but also from the bottom up – from "the worker" to the boss – be this a student to a teacher or a teacher to a principal. By learning together to use the system's tools participants report different kinds of

conversations and exhibit an awareness that the different "quality" in this Quality approach, is in the dialogue as much as it is in the data. Within this context, the need for developing trust was a featured focus of principals we interviewed.

We asked ourselves, what was different about the leaders in the TWLTW and successful Baldrige schools? A common theme emerged. In the Baldrige contexts, teachers and leaders had become more open to a discourse of critique, and self-correction. In the TWLTW schools, leaders were modelling the openness to new learning by creating respectful, healthful, joyful schools which were also communicatively safe spaces within which others could share perceptions and question procedures in order to create new possibilities together. These leaders' practices were making a definite difference.

The final study, which we will touch on briefly here as we conclude, has involved over 10 years of explorations into the emotions of leadership. A theoretical framework of emotional epistemologies emerged from an early phase of this work which explored both principal and teacher considerations of the emotions of leadership (Beatty, 2002a). A deductive and explicit application of the framework was successfully trialled in Texas (Beatty & Brew, 2005) with encouraging results that indicated a readiness to break the silence on the emotions of leadership. Based on this earlier work, it was hypothesized that a leadership preparation and development approach, which places an explicit and abiding priority on becoming emotionally prepared to work through the complexities of social, emotional, wellbeing and accountability issues inherent in the role, might be better suited to build collaborative professional learning cultures in their schools.

In Australia, the theoretical framework of emotional epistemologies was positioned as foundational to a carefully scaffolded developmental design across the content and delivery of an entire Master in School Leadership (MSL) degree. An emotionally integrative application of theories of learning was employed (Beatty, 2008). Again the results have been impressive. The turnaround phenomenon is over-represented in these graduates' schools, and leader wellbeing is reportedly far better served through the positioning of emotional meaning making and inner leadership as foundational for learners at all levels in their school communities, including of course, themselves.

In this MSL program, aspiring and in-service principals learn to deconstruct and reconstruct their images of ideal school leadership. For further details about the development and research associated with this project, readers may wish to consult Beatty (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2009a, 2009b). In the MSL, leaders learn to question the need for the professional silence on emotions. They are taught to recognize, challenge and change the pervasiveness of emotional absolutism typical of traditional school cultures within which the display of emotions is rewarded and punished according to externally defined feeling rules that undermine the internal emotional knowledge authority of the individuals within them (Beatty, 2002a, 2002b). Through reflective processes, conducted alone and in collaboration with peers and lecturers in both face to face and online environments, these leaders discover the value of integrating the personal, professional and organizational dimensions of self (Beatty, 2000a). They realize the value of breaking the silence on emotion (Beatty, 2000b)

and accomplish this by engaging in a process of storying and re-storying their professional selves (Beattie, 1995) together with their cohort peers. They learn how to practice emotional meaning making, making sense by sharing from their inner lived experiences as a way to develop, maintain and repair trust in relationships. Graduates report that this way of seeing and being aids their work to address the myriad complexities of their leadership work. Keeping the emotions in mind is key.

In a recent publication by Leithwood and Beatty (2008) the authors examine evidence in support of leading with teacher emotions in mind. They make explicit the connections between teacher emotions and the inner leadership practices that can help to prepare principals for leading in an emotionally grounded way to promote reflective learning leadership in all members of schools and their communities. The final chapter in this publication focuses on leaders and their emotions, and points to the inextricable links between teacher and leader emotions. Research to gather and collate further evidence of impact from reframing and reconstructing school leadership with a focus on emotion is ongoing.

Student sense of connectedness with school fosters academic engagement. We know that trust among adults in schools is predictive of academic performance (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). And we know that trust among adults in schools is powerfully influenced by leader knowledge, communicative behaviour and predispositions towards diversity and inner lived experiences. It is not surprising, given these things, that the Together we light the way phenomenon succeeds so well when the leader is modelling its principles and practices. The promise of the Baldrige experiment seems to rest upon a foundation of trust building.

Conclusion

Not surprisingly, Lovat and Toomey (2009, p. 145) found that "[w]hen everyone in the classroom exchange, teachers and students alike, is consciously trying to be respectful, trying to do one's best, trying to be honest, trying to be tolerant, and the like, the dynamic of the classroom changes, teacher satisfaction grows, student concentration improves and perhaps even their performance improves". We would argue that all exchanges in a dynamic healthy learning community require such qualities, including and perhaps most particularly those among the adults. In all, from our combined research in this area over the past decade – with students, teachers, leaders and students of leadership – we find that placing a value on creating social and emotional connectedness within and among learners of all ages is a priority worth pursuing.

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Chapter 40
Teach Our Children Well: A Social Work Perspective on Integrating Values Education in Schools

Mel Gray

Introduction

Although teachers are often surrounded by 'value-talk' in which 'values education' has become something of a buzzword or cliché, the lists of values displayed on posters on school walls come to be seen as what 'values education' is: A lesson to learn or teach. Few teachers – or social workers for that matter – have grounding in moral philosophy or ethics. Few would understand that the lists of values plastered on school walls are a result of a long history of moral theorizing which has attempted to reduce moral complexity to rationally defined lists of values and principles. But, most teachers know implicitly that values education is a complex endeavour (Bigger & Brown, 1999; Haydon, 1997; Leicester, Mogdil, & Mogdil, 2007; Passy, 2005) and that translating these values or principles into practice is no easy matter. Though schools are not just about teachers, but are complex systems which involve principals, administrators, managers, pupils – children and young adults – parents and a surrounding community, there is some agreement that teachers play a central role in values education (Copeland & Saterlie, 1990; Revell & Arthur, 2007) and that teaching is a value-filled endeavour (Lovat, 2009). Though much of the literature focuses specifically on teacher education and teachers as the main purveyors of values education, if values education is to have any purchase or currency, it has to become part of the lived experience of people in all school-related systems from policy makers through management to teachers, pupils, parents and the surrounding community. A school and an education system will achieve this when it becomes common knowledge that our school stands for . . ., i.e., our school lives and breathes the words on its badge or plaques.

This was the type of thinking that motivated the values education project that led to a range of intervention programmes in a number of disadvantaged schools

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in South Africa soon after the post-apartheid transformation of school education policy. The National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Republic of South Africa, 1996), sought to involve all stakeholders in the management and administration of education and, most importantly, to give parents a voice in this process. It sought a cultural change towards inclusiveness, democracy and participation. This was an ambitious undertaking given that schools had yet to learn how to accommodate the changes to a non-racially based education system entailed. In any event, this applied most visibly to the schools in which the Crime Reduction in Schools Project (CRISP) was implemented (Gray, 1999; Gray & Collett van Rooyen, 2002). They were disadvantaged schools, three primary and three high schools, chosen for their proximity to the university to allow ease of access for the researchers and students involved in this intervention research project (see Table 40.1).

Some Lessons from the Crime Reduction in Schools Project (CRISP)

The Crime Reduction in Schools Project (CRISP), funded by the Innovation Fund of the Department of Arts, Science, Culture and Technology in South Africa (1999–2002), was based at the University of (KwaZulu) Natal in Durban. It brought together a multi-disciplinary group of academics and researchers to develop and implement an intervention research programme for crime prevention in schools. The academics were drawn from the professional and academic disciplines of psychology, anthropology, social work, nursing, architecture and town planning, education, adult education and development studies. A developmental approach was taken to understand the range of issues that arise for children through their life course from beginners to graduates. For example, identifying abusive home situations was a priority for primary school teachers learning to understand why some children in their classes were withdrawn, unhappy or disruptive. There were similar challenges for high school teachers but often the cause and solution was quite unexpected. There were some classrooms in which young white teachers were intimidated by older black students, some of whom were well beyond what might be considered normal school-going age in developed western contexts. Completely by chance, a psychology student researcher discovered that many of these pupils simply could not read or write and engaged in recalcitrant behaviour to mask this inadequacy. Often the solution to complex problems is quite simple and, in this case, a group of students instituted a literacy programme, which achieved immediate and startling results.

Another totally unanticipated empowerment objective was achieved through a steel drum band, which, initially the school principal said there was no time for in the normal school curriculum so pupils who wanted to be involved would have to do so before or after school. The musician cum project leader decided to run the programme before school. The pupils had to start early. As well as learning to play the steel drums, their responsibilities involved arriving on time, unpacking the equipment, listening to the instructor and unleashing their creative talents.

Table 40.1 Overview of research projects[a]

Research	Projects	Aims and Objectives	Discipline
Research on prejudice and intolerance	Culture, conflict and control: interactional dynamics	■ Establish the locale and nature of conflict within schools ■ Establish reasons for conflict	Anthropology
Preliminary research: needs study learners' profile	Monitor crime in schools Provide demographic profile of learners	■ Develop a data base of incidents of crime and conflict in the school	Anthropology
		■ Scrutinise the nature of crime and conflict in schools	Development Studies Social Work
Prejudice and intolerance: Survey of current practices	Accommodating diversity through whole school development	■ Examine classroom policies and practices reflecting diversity and their impact on learning ■ Examine interpersonal relationships and participation of learners in their schools	Education
Perceptions and experiences of crime among school children	Crime I have seen project Media surveillance	■ Establish baseline information on crimes witnessed by learners ■ Document media incidence of crime	Development Studies Social Work
AIDS and sexuality	Perceptions of sexuality and early sexual experience among teenage female learners	■ Establish nature and extent of early sexual activity ■ Use information to inform	Social Work
	Awareness of AIDS among high school learners	intervention on sexual rights and safe sex practices	Anthropology
		■ Pre- and post-test intervention to measure AIDS awareness intervention and its effectiveness	Nursing

Table 40.1 (continued)

Research	Projects	Aims and Objectives	Discipline
Aggression and violence in schools	Measuring levels of aggression and the impact of violence on learners	■ Measure levels of aggression and tendency towards aggression among learners ■ Establishing the impact of aggressive and/or violent experiences on learners	Social Work
Programme evaluation	Developing and evaluating service learning for psychology students Evaluating service learning	■ Assess the effectiveness of service learning using psychological interventions in crime prevention ■ Assess the effectiveness of CRISP at one high school	Psychology Education
Gender conflict	Gender conflict among adolescents	■ Explore existing gender conflict ■ Describe resultant behaviour ■ Establish reasons for gender conflict	Nursing
Moral education	Character building and social responsibility development	■ Explore learners and teachers perceptions of moral problems ■ Develop a moral education programme	Philosophy Social Work
Project penetration	Interim programme evaluation	■ Determine the extent of knowledge, awareness and 'reach' of CRISP in the target schools	Social Work

[a]The purpose of all the research projects was to inform interventions within schools aimed at crime prevention. To this extent, the research was primarily developmental.

They learnt discipline. Soon the enthusiastic Jamaican rhythms began permeating the early morning airwaves and attracting an audience. More children than could be accommodated wanted to join. So impressed was the instructor with the children's natural talent, musical ability and sense of rhythm, that he decided to enter them in the Durban school band competition, which included competitors from the affluent private and public schools with the luxury of music teachers and music in the school curriculum. Now the school had something to strive for. The principal began to include the drumming in the school assembly and the pupils went on to win second prize in the band competition. This was a thrilling moment and little did anyone know how music would prove to be the common language to overcome diversity. The overwhelming lessons learned were that the most successful and exciting and empowering programmes were those which were unplanned and unanticipated. And there are many examples.

The nursing students came to the project expecting to run a health education programme for parents but, on meeting with the mothers who attended the first meeting, they quickly realized that this was not what the mothers had in mind. They were busy trying to start a market garden and seized on the opportunity to use the nursing students' programme to their own ends. Being just as enterprising, the nursing students decided to use the opportunity of the market garden to teach the parents about healthy eating and nutrition and to encourage them to grow foods that contributed to a balanced family diet, which, traditionally, tended to be dominated by cheap meat cuts and processed starch, especially maize meal and bread.

The social work students, rather than only running their counselling and education programmes, ran an entrepreneurship programme with adolescents, each of whom with a small amount of start-up capital, had to produce something marketable and sell it at a school flea market at a profit to be ploughed back into school funds.

The architecture and town planning students, following their interactions with school staff and participant observations, identified the hotspots for conflict on the playground at break time, but did not redesign spaces as expected. Instead they brought along a few footballs which dispersed children to more sites where everyone who wanted to play could be accommodated. Conflict diminished. They also observed a rush to the toilets, a constant problem in these schools due to excessive use and demand, and vandalism encouraged by poor lighting. The school in question was already surrounded by barbed wire with an armed guard at the gate during school hours. At the completion of their project, the students presented the school with an architectural plan of how school spaces might be economically redesigned, including better lighting and more toilets, to minimize opportunities for conflict.

The anthropology students sought to encourage teachers to build English and maths exercises around issues of direct relevance for the pupils, e.g., to develop reading study or comprehension exercises and maths problems around AIDS and HIV. The projections being proposed by researchers as to the 'multiplication' or spread of this pandemic in the population became far more meaningful when students were required to reflect on them through exercises in the classroom.

What, one might well ask, has any of this to do with values education? We deduced that values education was a fancy name for life skills, for self-esteem

building, for empowerment and for cooperative coexistence. These were not skills that needed special lessons. They were strengths or capacities that needed to find expression and this they did when a conducive environment was created or facilitated, i.e., 'a space of dialogue and possibility' (Greene, 1988, p. xi), for imagining a better school and community. Minimal resources were required. Even disadvantaged schools could provide opportunities for life-skills development, for adolescent boys to learn how to treat adolescent girls with respect, to understand AIDS and safe sex practices, to learn budgeting, literacy and numeracy skills, and to develop their creative talents. A school must pulsate with energy for then there is no time for mischief!

There were times, however, where more directive programmes were needed, especially when helping teachers deal with the newly created diversity in the schools and to seize on opportunities for values education in the classroom, at the time when problems arise. For the most part, teachers from different races had difficulty mixing. The school common room seemed to have invisible dividing lines and unmarked chairs appeared to have teachers' names on them because everyone appeared to have a rightful place. Even a blind person would know exactly where to find Mr X or Mrs Y. If this were the situation between staff, how much more difficult was it for teachers in the classroom? They needed the confidence to confront value issues head on when pupils lied or cheated or treated one another disrespectfully or when racist comments were made. Thus, a targeted values education programme for teachers was devised and implemented by a social worker and philosopher who developed a manual for this purpose, introducing teachers to Beauchamp and Childress' (1994) ethical principles and to rudimentary philosophical theories about morality and ethical decision making. But, cultures do not change overnight or after a single programme and teachers struggled to cope with the complexities of the new situations they found themselves in.

Another important lesson for all involved in CRISP was the realization that, in the face of apparently insurmountable problems – against all odds, including teacher hijackings, vandalism, blocked toilets, broken windows, Fort Knox like barricading making schools feel like prisons with high walls or barbed wire fences – everyone came to school. Teachers wanted to teach and pupils wanted to learn. There was dedication and commitment and abundant strength and good intention. And children managed to concentrate even though many lived in social turmoil and most had witnessed or experienced gross violence. Many were still in violent or abusive situations. This was borne out by the Crimes I Have Seen project which invited older students to submit essays and younger pupils to provide drawings of the crimes they had seen. So abundant was the data collected that to this day, it has not been properly analysed.

I have deliberately pitted this introductory discussion at the level of generality, first to protect confidentiality and second, to introduce my ideas on values education in schools from my social work perspective. However, further reading on values education in schools reveals greater complexities regarding how one builds sustainable values education programmes in schools. It is to some of this educational literature that I will now turn.

The Values Education Literature

With reference to my title, we cannot teach our children well until we have taught our teachers well and there appears to be some agreement in the educational literature that values education in schools begins with the education of teachers in training. Teachers are the essential role models of values education and their behaviour has a strong influence on pupils (Copeland & Saterlie, 1990). Reporting on a task force involved in designing and implementing a values education programme, Copeland and Saterlie (1990) define values education as follows:

> All education is infused with values. The ultimate goal of education is the positive influence of student behavior, and each student's values guide and help determine that behavior. In the process of teaching, the teacher's values are demonstrated to the students. In every class and throughout the school – indeed, throughout the school system – values are demonstrated through actions, procedures, policies, and attitudes from the board of education, to the superintendent and his staff, to the principal and teachers, to the cafeteria workers, bus drivers, and to the students. (p. 48)

As Lovat (2010) notes:

> This would mean restructuring the whole learning environment for the benefit of student achievement and would involve: pedagogical strategies and techniques used by teachers; catering for the diverse needs of students; organizing of schools for the express purpose of student achievement (school coherence); professional development of teachers; and, the creation of a trustful, supportive ambience in the school. (p. 490)

This also means that an appreciation of the all-pervasive nature of values needs to be part of teacher education in the same way that it is for social work students. Unless teachers have a sense of moral obligation and a deep sense of responsibility in shaping children's values, lists of values, such as those promulgated by the Australian Government's National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools, will remain just that, a framework with the list of values framed somewhere on school walls, which soon goes unnoticed. However, as Revell and Arthur (2007) note, there is no conclusive evidence that teacher education courses have an 'impact on teachers' attitudes and beliefs about teaching. . . . If character education is an implicit requirement of the curriculum then it would be useful to understand how teachers develop their understanding of character and whether teacher education courses can impact on this understanding' (pp. 79–80). But, there is some evidence that values education programmes have an impact on pupils' acquisition of personal values of respect, honesty, trust, courage, responsibility and so on (Dílmaç, Kulaksizoğlu, & Ekşi, 2007; Perry & Wilkenfeld, 2006).

While character education is distinct from other forms of values education, both are informed by the belief that moral behaviour should *be taught* (Lapsley & Narvaez, 2006; Revell & Arthur, 2007), i.e., that it does not happen automatically or without some sort of training. As in social work, teachers believe in the moral superiority of their personal values and are unlikely to develop an appreciation of the diversity of values without moral education in which they learn to reflect critically on their own values and on the impact of their behaviour on others (Gray & Gibbons,

2007). In the absence of moral education, teaching values becomes a rule-following, behaviour management approach, where teachers are more likely to discipline pupils when they break the rules (Revell & Arthur, 2007) rather than proactively use everyday situations and experiences to teach them the importance of living harmoniously with others, which lies at the heart of moral behaviour. Thus, it is that moral education is not so much education about morality as it is about teaching pupils how to get along with one another, how to treat one another with respect, how to respect one another's beliefs and values, and so on. It was this that lay at the heart of the CRISP Values Education Programme referred to above.

Character education helps in this process because it teaches the virtues of the good person, i.e., one who cares about others, feels responsible for others' welfare and is able to take responsibility for their own behaviour. Lapsley and Narvaez (2006, p. 269) outline eleven principles in their whole-of-school approach to character education:

- Principle 1 asserts that good character is built upon a foundation of 'core ethical values' – caring, honesty, fairness, responsibility and respect, which are often endorsed by national organizations, such as the Australian Department of Education and Science (DEST, 2006) and seek to foster 'pillars of character' – trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring, and citizenship. Such policy documents assume that these values are universally valid, promote the common good, affirm human worth and dignity, contribute to individual welfare, deal with issues of right and wrong, and facilitate democratic practices.
- Principle 2 states that educational programmes should teach these core values.
- Principles 3 states that they should be taught 'holistically', i.e., with attention to their cognitive, affective, social, cultural, and behavioural components in a way that engages school stakeholders at all levels in a deliberate, proactive and comprehensive way.
- Principle 4 emphasizes the importance of creating caring school communities.
- Principle 5 asserts the importance of providing students with opportunities to engage in moral action, such as community service and outreach.
- Principle 6 argues for the integration of effective character education in a rigorous, challenging academic curriculum.
- Principle 7 holds that a stimulating curriculum fosters intrinsic motivation to do the right thing by building a climate of openness, trust and respect, encouraging a sense of autonomy and responsibility, and building shared norms and commitment through dialogue, discussion and democratic decisionmaking.
- Principle 8 focuses on the importance of engaging all school staff.
- Principle 9 emphasizes the need for shared educational leadership, which provides for ongoing and long-term support for moral education initiatives.

- Principle 10 brings in the engagement of parents, families and community stakeholders.
- Principle 11 promotes continuous assessment and evaluation.

The burning question is 'how will values – and character – education become an intrinsic part of the teacher's responsibility if values and ethics remains peripheral to professional training and if, as Revell and Arthur (2007, p. 85) found, "moral discourse . . . plays such a marginalized part in the training of teachers"?' So while moral education might have gained a new prominence within curriculum policy via the National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools (DEST, 2005), as in the UK, 'the nature of that education is characterized by an emphasis on behaviour and responsibilities rather than moral reasoning or philosophy [based on the belief that] *responsible behaviour* should be taught' (Revell & Arthur, 2007, p. 80 emphasis added) and the promotion of certain values in schools is obligatory.

In their study of trainee teachers' understanding of moral education, Revell and Arthur (2007) found several contradictions: First, while teachers and educators consistently referred to their professional identity and teaching and learning within schools in moral terms, educational ethics and moral discourse were absent in the courses under study and perceived as peripheral to their training. Second, there appeared to be tension between trainee teachers' understanding of the moral nature of teaching and their willingness to act on that understanding. Most respondents believed that teachers should encourage pupils to reach their own conclusions rather than those that were sympathetic to those held by the school. Yet, a key tenet of moral education is that teachers should intervene by providing moral guidance to pupils (Arthur, 2003; Revell & Arthur, 2007). As already mentioned, most were only prepared to intervene when school rules were breached and few took proactive measures by deliberately seeking opportunities for moral education other than by allowing 'pupils to express themselves' (Revell & Arthur, 2007, p. 87). Further, teachers have proved unwilling to consciously influence children or to contradict parental values even where they may be contradictory to school or family values (Passy, 2005). This suggests that they take an uncritical approach to moral and values education (Carr & London, 1998). This is because most have been ill-prepared to deal with moral issues in the classroom (Strike, 1996; Tirri, 1999).

Teacher Education

If the quality of values and moral education in schools is to improve, i.e., if quality teaching is to be promoted, and if teachers are to deliver values education in consistent rather than arbitrary ways, then these issues must form a pivotal part of teacher education (Lovat, 2009). Here is where education might learn from social work, where the importance of social work as a discipline and profession is taught and where social work is shaped as an intrinsically moral and value-based endeavour

(Gray, 1991, 1996; Gray & Stofberg, 2000; Stofberg & Gray, 1988). Thus, professional ethics and values promotion is an essential part of the social worker's identity. Gaining insight into personal values and beliefs via critical reflection is an important part of social work education as is focused learning on professional values and ethics as a first step (Gray & Gibbons, 2007). But, professionalism requires the ability to think beyond the personalized, individualized domain to seeing one's professional role as situated in a broader community, cultural, social and political context from which moral authority and professional and public accountability arise (Blackburn, 2002; Popkewitz, 1987). It requires that student teachers be given opportunities to engage with moral and value issues that underlie teaching practice (Tomlinson, 1995), that they understand their affective dimensions (Dílmaç, Kulaksizoğlu, & Ekşi, 2007), that they develop the ability to make professional judgements (Nixon, 2004), that they see teaching as a moral enterprise (Pring, 2001) and that they become accountable professionals (Sockett, 1999). If teachers are to be able to teach values education confidently in the classroom, to reflect on their practice and be professionally committed to promoting moral thinking and sound values as part of their professional identity, then providing student teachers with opportunities to explore moral issues and their own personal and professional values and beliefs is essential (Hollinsworth, 1989; Korthagen & Lagerwerf, 1996). A solid grounding in moral education and professional ethics enables teachers to make autonomous decisions guided not merely by their personal experiences, but also by their comprehensive, in-depth understanding of moral issues in relation to their field of practice (Bull, 1990). It also leads them to challenge their own preconceptions and prejudices (Edwards & Protheroe, 2003) and those of others, including parents, fellow teachers and pupils, where appropriate and necessary, e.g., when racist or derogatory comments about others are made. As noted by Revell and Arthur (2007): 'If teachers are to retain any professionalism in the area of moral education then the presumption that they should engage with the ideas that inform models of moral education as well as the delivery of that education should be an integral part of their training' (p. 89).

Teaching Values Education

Haydon (1997) claims that much of the literature on values education is extremely vague and hortatory, proclaiming what must be done rather than how it might be accomplished. Several more recent papers have been identified wherein the teaching of values in particular contexts has been outlined, e.g., Hartsell (2006) in relation to environmental values, Bills and Husbands (2005) in relation to mathematics, Paterson (2009) in relation to civic values, Aplin (2007) in relation to heritage studies and Passy (2005) in relation to family values.

Hartsell (2006) notes that the teacher plays a pivotal role as a caring individual who facilitates values education by creating an atmosphere in the classroom to teach and encourage the development and exercise of values clarification skills. Moral and values education is not a process of indoctrinating moral principles into children,

but of opening up talk and reflection on values so as to encourage value awareness. It provides students with opportunities to identify moral issues, to become aware of their own values and those of others, and to analyse their own thinking on morals and values. The university classroom provides an opportunity to model what happens in the classroom situation and to teach student teachers how to identify and understand class dynamics so as to recognize and capitalize on opportunities for values education in situ (Gray & Gibbons, 2007).

Paterson (2009) believes that education is one of the main sources of civic values and engagement, which equips people with, among other things, the capacity for abstract thought and the opportunity to develop value awareness in a climate of open discussion. Most importantly, however, education tends to lead people to acquire socially liberal views. That said, a myriad of factors determine the level of civic engagement, including social class, parental interest in politics, cognitive ability and social networks. Paterson's (2009) study shows that those schooled in the social sciences, arts and humanities tend to be more left wing, antiracist, libertarian, tolerant of non-traditional family forms, concerned about the environment and politically engaged. Her findings make a strong argument for trainee teachers to have a solid grounding in the arts and social sciences if a liberal mindset is what is required for values education which rests heavily on a non-judgemental attitude. She also shows how teachers from different disciplinary backgrounds come to the school with different teaching cultures and values. Those from science, business and technology tend to be more conservative than their social science and arts colleagues.

What, one might ask, is distinctive about what is taught in the arts and social sciences? Hursh (2008) believes it has to do with engagement in 'social and philosophical analysis', with triggering the 'sociological imagination' through which 'we examine the larger structural forces that affect our lives and make sense of our experience as not idiosyncratic but societal. It is the way in which we come to understand our *personal troubles* as *public issues*' (p. 21 emphasis in the original). For Hursh the primary goal of education is not to produce obedient citizens, but imaginative thinkers, who can imagine and create a better world, i.e., to produce fully rounded human beings with the 'ability to imagine a better world and to do something to make it better' (Bauman, 1999, p. 1). Values education offers a means to 'develop learning activities that are meaningful . . . that build on the students' experiences in schools' (Hursh, 2008, p. 33).

It is this broader understanding that teachers need to have. They need to be able to see their pupils not only as faces in the classroom or part of a school, but also as members of families and part of the broader school community and wider society. This is why values education needs to include an element of community outreach, of engagement with the broader community through involvement first of parents and then of the wider community. In the schools where CRISP was located, i.e., in communities with a high incidence of crime and violence, one measure to improve social conditions is engagement with the community such that the community feels a sense of ownership over the school and its activities. Of course, there is also need for simultaneous intervention at a structural level, i.e., for government input, but the cumulative input of teachers, pupils, school administrators and parent

bodies quickly adds up to an integrated whole-of-school approach which makes the teacher's work at the coalface of the classroom all the more meaningful, valid and fulfilling for all involved.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on lessons from a school-based intervention research programme and a social work perspective to make some suggestions as to the importance of values education in schools. It has focused particularly on the teacher's role, which, to be effective, requires the support of the broader school and community. It argues that some grounding in arts and social science subjects is a necessary part of teacher education as is study of moral philosophy and professional ethics. Though not developed more fully in this context, the social work literature on values and ethics offers a rich resource for educators that would provide fortification for values education not only for teachers in training, but also for pupils in schools. There needs to be communication between families, schools and communities to ensure that values education is being supported at all levels and to avoid the oft-heard 'the parents should be teaching them this' or 'the school should be teaching them that'. Values education is needed to give meaning to the list of values promoted by the National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools and to make them part of the lived experience of everyday school life throughout Australia and beyond.

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Chapter 41
Making Values Education Real: Exploring the Nexus Between Service Learning and Values Education

Judi Robinson and Kevin Kecskes

Introduction

Values education can support young people in schools, colleges and universities to become active, informed and compassionate citizens. Values education provides youth and young adults with a framework for personal growth and development and facilitates connectedness to community. When well articulated with curricula, values education can enhance a young person's sense of "self" and help them increase their awareness of personal ethos and help clarify beliefs (DEST, 2003, p. 10). However, values education, whilst well defined, can be a challenging concept to effectively integrate explicitly into teaching and learning practices in schools and universities (Mergler, 2008). There is a proven pedagogical approach, however, that is able to meet this challenge; it is commonly referred to as service learning. When implemented well, service learning can be an excellent teaching and learning strategy for the classroom delivery of values education, as the following vignette illustrates:

> Imagine a 16 year old young man from a typical middle class background who lives, attends school and socializes in an urban area. As part of his science curriculum he is required to study migratory wader birds, their many thousands of miles of flight paths and the challenges that they face from modern society, including pollution, development and diminishing food sources. The young man's study involves working with the local environmental group to conduct bird counts and assist in publicity campaigns to reduce impact on the birds through reducing dog and people access in sensitive areas. At the completion of his school years, the young man moves into the Real Estate industry and then progresses on to become a very successful property developer. His company successfully tenders for a large coastal tourism project that the local community has concerns of the environmental impact. He ensures consultations with the local environmental groups and works collaboratively and pro-actively to address concerns identified in the environmental impact study.

As this short vignette suggests, service learning can be used as an effective delivery mechanism for values education. In this chapter, we will highlight this

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effectiveness. The chapter is organized in three parts. Initially, it explores the essence of service learning, including the benefits it offers, the standards for quality practice, and its intrinsic connection to values education. Next, it explores guiding principles for good practice in values education and demonstrates how service learning can be an effective educational delivery mechanism for operationalizing values education. Finally, the chapter presents select case studies from both the US and Australian educational contexts that illustrate the natural connections between values education and service learning. These authentic examples demonstrate how service learning can be used as an effective delivery mechanism for implementing values education in schools and universities.

Service Learning

Whilst service learning has been used extensively in many regions of the world and specifically the USA for up to three decades, in Australia it is a relatively new concept that is growing in significance and application. There is debate amongst researchers and practitioners as to whether service learning is simply a descriptor for established experiential learning activities or whether it is an innovative pedagogical approach to effective teaching practices (Furco, 2001).

A range of definitions exist for service learning and it is worthwhile to explore a sample of these to develop a sense of common understanding around the intent of the practice.

Defining Service Learning

In 2002, a report from the National Commission on service learning (USA) titled *Learning in Deed: The Power of Service Learning for American Schools* described service learning as "a teaching and learning strategy that integrates meaningful community service with academic study to enrich learning, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities" (Fiske, 2002, p. 6). Barbara Holland echoed these sentiments in a Service Learning symposium in 2008. Professor Holland defined service learning as an activity that "... combines service activities with learning objectives with the intent that the activity benefit both the recipient and the provider of the service. This is accomplished by combining service with structured reflection that facilitates the acquisition and comprehension of values, skills, and academic content" (Holland, 2008).

Additional definitions include:

- Service learning is a "course-based, credit-bearing educational experience that allows students to (a) participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs and (b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the

discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility" (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995, p. 112, as cited in American Psychological Association [APA], 2009).
- "Service learning means a method under which students learn and develop through thoughtfully organized service that: is conducted in and meets the needs of a community and is coordinated with an institution of higher education and with the community; helps foster civic responsibility; is integrated into and enhances the academic curriculum of the students enrolled; and includes structured time for students to reflect on the service experience" (American Association for Higher Education [AAHE]: *Series on Service-Learning in the Disciplines* – adapted from the National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993, as cited in APA, 2009).
- "Service learning is a teaching method which combines community service with academic instruction as it focuses on critical, reflective thinking and civic responsibility. Service-learning programs involve students in organized community service that addresses local needs, while developing their academic skills, sense of civic responsibility, and commitment to the community" (Campus Compact National Center for Community Colleges, as cited in APA, 2009).
- "Service learning seeks to engage individuals in activities that combine both community service and academic learning. Because service learning programs are typically rooted in formal courses (core academic, elective, or vocational), the service activities are usually based on particular curricular concepts that are being taught" (Furco, 2001, p. 25).

From these various descriptions, a number of commonalities emerge that can be referred to as service-learning characteristics. These characteristics are what make service learning such an effective and unique teaching strategy and a very effective way to embed values education into teaching and learning practices.

The key characteristics of high-quality service learning are:

- Service learning is embedded in the curriculum and connected to standards. It is intentionally planned and is assessed.
- It connects young people to community by providing opportunities for students to address, solve, or meet a community need.
- It is reciprocal in nature; the "service" reinforces the learning and the learning reinforces the service. Both the learner and community partner benefit from the experience.
- It fosters civic responsibility, personal growth, social responsibility, and community commitment.
- It has a strong reflection aspect to deepen learning and civic awareness. This can be achieved through designing reflection activities based on Eyler, Giles, and Schmiede's (1996) Four Cs Framework so that reflection should be:

  1. continuous so that it occurs before, during, and after the project
  2. connected as it explores the link between the service and the academic learning, allowing for the synthesis of the actions and thoughts

3. challenging to inspire students to think more broadly and in different ways – demand high-quality student effort
4. contextualized so it is appropriate to the subject and student age level.

In addition, America's National Commission on Service Learning has identified that it "can be used in any subject area so long as it is appropriate to [the] learning goal [and] works at all ages, even among young children" (National Service-Learning Clearinghouse, n.d.). Indeed, in the USA, the Learn and Serve America's National Service-Learning Clearinghouse site provides a vast array of resources and activities developed for all year levels and all curriculum areas of education (http://www.servicelearning.org/).

The growing number of recognized service-learning programmes in Australia is also reflective of this diversity of application – from early educational settings to graduate-level university programmes. For example, in Brisbane in 2009, a 10-school programme was recently established to embed values through service learning. In this innovative programme, funded by the Commonwealth Government and coordinated by the two of the participating school principals, students ranging from the Preparatory year to year 12 develop and implement diverse service-learning projects in a range of curricular areas including History, Geography, English, Technology, Vocational courses, Art and Science (see DEEWR, n.d.).

It is important to distinguish service learning from other community-based activities that schools, colleges and universities are commonly involved in such as Volunteering and Community Service. The focus for these latter activities is on the activity and the recipient/s of the activity (America's National Commission on Service-Learning). They are largely episodic, offered voluntarily and in addition to curriculum and may involve a set number of community service hours. In contrast, service learning is a more complex concept whose defining characteristic is that the community-based (service) activity is intentionally designed to be reciprocal and is integrated within the formal curriculum, including the establishment of learning outcomes, specific pedagogical strategies and assessment plans directly connected to this specific teaching and learning environment.

Service learning should not be viewed as an "add-on" to curriculum. It is a teaching and learning approach that enhances the delivery of curriculum, strengthens what is already occurring in the classroom and connects young people to society. Research reveals that when a service-learning approach is used and a quality programme is implemented, many benefits emerge (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000). In summary, the benefits highlighted by the research are outlined below.

The Benefits of High-Quality Service Learning

- *Student engagement* – this is evidenced by increased attendances and motivation to learn. The learning helps young people to transfer the knowledge learnt in the classroom to real-life settings. Every student has an opportunity to be successful.

- *Assists academic improvement* – when service-learning activities are explicitly linked to standards, learning objectives, and essential learnings, research shows that academic outcomes improve. This is due to the fact that students are able to explore more deeply, engage in dialogue to ensure understanding and become more connected with the activities.
- *Improves higher order thinking skills* – skills such as analysis, problem-solving, decision-making, cognitive complexity, and inferential comprehension are improved because student learning is exposed to real-world tasks that require these skills.
- *Develops important personal and social skills for young people* – character development such as trustworthiness, responsibility, and compassion is strengthened in addition to a sense of civic responsibility. In addition, there is an apparent reduction in risky behaviours such as smoking, unprotected sexual relationships and drug use.
- *Develops stronger links/connection to their schools, communities, and society* – connectedness to school, community, and society occurs as a result of greater student engagement in learning and a raised interest in civic responsibility. Service learning can assist young people to understand and believe that they can make a difference in their schools, communities, and society; it is powerful in providing and avenue for young people to participate successfully in education on a regular basis.
- *Promotes exploration of various career pathways* – service-learning experiences can broaden students' exposure to career paths and opportunities and lead to higher or more varied career aspirations.
- *Is associated with positive school environments* – teachers passionate about service learning reflect that it reinvigorates teachers as it changes the way they teach and makes teaching more fun and productive. There has been documented reduction of discipline referrals and negative behavioural incidents in schools and classrooms when students are engaged in service learning.
- *Is associated with more community support for schools* – as a result of service-learning activities, communities often have a much greater understanding of young people and often come to view them as a community assets and resources as they contribute to community in positive ways. The service-learning activities benefit community and often capacity build within community organizations. Service learning can enhance school–community relationships and result in increased community support for the school (RMC Research Corporation, 2003/2007).

These benefits highlight the potential that well-designed, quality service-learning programmes can offer our young people, our schools, our communities, and society in general. It is essential, however, to recognize that a key aspect of the research is the focus on "quality" service-learning programmes (NYLC, 2008). In 2008, Billig identified eight standards for quality service-learning programmes. The understanding, exploration, and application of all these standards is essential for the development of a quality, effective programme that will achieve the benefits the research has identified.

Standards for Quality Service-Learning Programmes

- Duration and intensity – the service-learning activity meets/solves a community need and is linked to learning outcomes. The duration and intensity of the programme must be sufficient to achieve both these goals.
- Link to Curriculum – service learning is used explicitly as a teaching and learning approach to deliver curriculum goals, objectives, content standards, and essential learnings.
- Partnerships – that are mutually reciprocal with stakeholders working collaboratively to solve/address a community need. It is important a shared vision is established and partners view each other as valued resources.
- Meaningful Service – the service learning is personally relevant to the participants, is interesting and engaging, and connects the young person to community through relevant service activities.
- Youth Voice – with teacher assistance and facilitation, students have input/provide direction in planning, implementing and evaluating the service-learning experience.
- Diversity – through promoting understanding of diversity, service learning assists students to gain understanding of multiple perspectives, develop interpersonal skills in conflict resolution and challenges stereotypes.
- Reflection – a variety of ongoing reflection strategies allows young people to think deeply and analyse their own preconceptions and assumptions individually and in relation to society.
- Progress Monitoring – an ongoing evaluation process enables the assessment of the quality of implementation of the program, the success in meeting the learning outcomes and the development of strategies for improvement and sustainability (Billig & Weah, 2008).

These standards need to underpin the development of service-learning programmes so the outcomes the research suggests for students can be achieved. Moreover, if a high-quality programme is developed and implemented, research substantiates that this has the capacity to strengthen the partners, schools, and communities (Billig, 2004). Using the standards as a basis and essential component, we will now explore how to develop a quality service-learning programme.

Developing a Quality Service-Learning Programme

Many students in our schools, colleges, and universities are already engaged in activities that involve community partnerships and activities. These programmes may be representative of quality service-learning programmes already or perhaps may need some strengthening of aspects to move to a quality model.

For example, a school may recognize there is an issue around Preparatory students transitioning to Year 1 where the education is more formal and structured.

The teachers decide to establish a “buddy” system between the Year 1 and Prep students; every Thursday afternoon for a period of 6 weeks towards the end of the year, Year 1 students visit their buddies in the Prep centre and work with them on activities such as art and computer. The intent is to break down the barriers between Year 1 and Prep.

This existing initiative can provide a very effective starting point for a quality service-learning programme (beginning with what is already known or exists) and through aligning it with the quality standards and strengthening key aspects, it is possible to achieve a deeper learning experience and enhanced outcomes for all students; in addition to addressing a community issue – that of the transition from Prep to Year 1.

To move to a more quality service-learning programme the following self-assessment questions could be explored:

- Where can this be connected to curriculum?
- Who are all the partners? (community partner, parents, other students, school administration)
- How will we identify our activity?
- What do we want to achieve?
- How will mutual reciprocity be achieved?
- What timeframe is necessary to meet address the activity and meet outcomes?
- How can I involve students through youth voice or student directed learning?
- How can challenge perceptions and move students out of their comfort zones?
- What will ongoing reflection occur using a variety of tools? How can I capture intangible learnings, e.g., thoughts, feelings, and respect?
- How will we celebrate?
- How will ongoing evaluation occur?

These self-assessment questions all link to the quality standards framework and the result of exploring them may result in the following scenario:

Year 1 teachers in School X are seeking to improve the literacy outcomes of their students through the use of a service-learning approach. At the same time, they have identified that it takes the young children significant time to adjust to Year 1 when transitioning from Prep. The teachers clearly identify the literacy standards and essential learnings that need to be focused on for student achievement. The Year 1 students are given the opportunity to tell their own transition stories – how they felt, the aspects they liked and the challenges. They are then asked to come up with suggestions to improve the P-1 transition, why they think it is a good idea, what would they recommend to assist transition, who is involved, how long should each idea take, etc. With teacher facilitation, the Year 1 students then develop a transition strategy from all the ideas and discussions. The strategy includes:

- Asking the Prep students what they thought Year 1 would be like;
- a buddy initiative based on teams of three (3 year 1s and three preps). They explore each other’s history, likes, dislikes, fears and aspirations;

- a reading programme where Year 1s read and act out books to the Preps as a class and in small groups;
- guided tours of school with Year 1s as hosts;
- alternating visits to Prep and Year 1 classrooms to do shared work task;
- spending first break sessions with the buddies; and
- organizing a Prep sports afternoon with a range of activities.

The Year 1s constantly reflected on the programme through role-playing, discussions, and development of visual artefacts, e.g., flash cards that represent their thoughts and feelings. At the end of the programme, the Year 1s all created an invitation for their Prep buddies to join them for lunch. The programme was continuously documented and monitored to ensure it remained on task to meet the specified learning goals, was relevant and appropriate. At the end of the programme the Prep students were asked how they felt about going into Year 1 next year and this was compared to their responses at the beginning of the programme.

This model is now more representative of a quality service-learning programme and as a result offers a much greater chance of achieving the benefits quality service-learning programmes can offer.

Another effective starting point is to begin with a community audit (including your own education site), exploring community assets and deficits.

Values Education

The observation that values are lived and experienced (Halstead & Taylor, 1996) underpins the development and effectiveness of a quality values education programme. It is essential that the "living" and "experiencing" aspects are an integral part of the teaching and learning practices if the curricular initiative is to be effective. In the USA, values education is often referred to as "character" education; however, the major tenets of both initiatives largely overlap. The following section juxtaposes the major characteristics of the character education movement in the States to those undergirding the Australian values education movement.

Guiding Principles for Character Education

The Character Education Partnership, a US national advocate and leader for character education that is committed to fostering effective character education in K-12 schools has developed a set of 11 quality standards based on the guiding principles necessary to implement an effective educational programme (CEP, 2008).

These guiding principles are:

1. Character education promotes core ethical values as the basis of good character.
2. "Character" must be comprehensively defined to include thinking, feeling, and behaviour.

3. Effective character education requires an intentional, proactive, and comprehensive approach that promotes the core values in all phases of school life.
4. The school must be a caring community.
5. To develop character, students need opportunities for moral action.
6. Effective character education includes meaningful and challenging academic curriculum that respects all learners and helps them succeed.
7. Character education should strive to develop students' intrinsic motivation.
8. The school staff must become a learning and moral community in which all share responsibility for character education and attempt to adhere to the same core values that guide the education of students.
9. Character education requires moral leadership for both staff and students. The school must recruit parents and community members as full partners in the character-building effort.
10. Evaluation of character education should assess the character of the school, the school staff's functioning as character educators, and the extent to which students manifest good character (Lickona, Schaps, & Lewis, 2007).

In Australia, the National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools (DEST, 2005) has identified eight key elements, all of which are reflective of the Character Education Partnership conclusions.

These eight key elements constitute the following guiding principles for Australian Values Education.

Guiding Principles for Australian Values Education

Effective values education:

1. helps students understand and be able to apply values such as care and compassion; doing your best; fair go; freedom; honesty and trustworthiness; integrity; respect; responsibility and understanding; tolerance and inclusion;
2. is an explicit goal of schooling that promotes Australia's democratic way of life and values the diversity in Australian schools;
3. articulates the values of the school community and applies these consistently in the practices of the school;
4. occurs in partnership with students, staff, families and the school community as part of a whole-school approach to educating students, enabling them to exercise responsibility and strengthening their resilience;
5. is presented in a safe and supportive learning environment in which students are encouraged to explore their own, their school's, and their communities' values;
6. is delivered by trained and resourced teachers able to use a variety of different models, modes, and strategies;
7. includes the provision of curriculum that meets the individual needs of students; and
8. regularly reviews the approaches used to check that they are meeting the intended outcomes (DEST, 2005).

Table 41.1 Comparison of effective values education and quality service-learning practices

Guiding principles for effective values education (National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools, DEST, 2005)	Standards and indicators for quality service-learning practice (Billig & Weah, 2008)
Values education helps students understand and be able to apply values such as care and compassion; doing your best; fair go; freedom; honesty and trustworthiness; integrity; respect; responsibility and understanding, tolerance and inclusion.	Service learning challenges thinking and perceptions. It encourages participants to think deeply about their own knowledge, skills and attitudes and to examine their pre-conceptions and assumptions.
Values education is an explicit goal of schooling that promotes Australia's democratic way of life and values the diversity in Australian schools.	Service learning promotes understanding of diversity and mutual respect among all participants. It allows participants to gain an understanding of multiple perspectives.
Values education articulates the values of the school community and applies these consistently in the practices of the school.	Service learning allows opportunity for young people to explore their own values, put their values into practice and through continuous reflection analyse their values in relation to that of the school and society.
Values education occurs in partnership with students, staff, families and the school community as part of a whole-school approach to educating students, enabling them to exercise responsibility and strengthening their resilience.	Service-learning activities are based on collaborative, mutually beneficial partnerships. Partners may include youth, educators, families, community members/organizations and business. Partners view each other as valued resources.
Values education is presented in a safe and supportive learning environment in which students are encouraged to explore their own, their school's and their Community's values.	Service learning involves youth and adults working collaboratively in an open, trusting environment. The reflection process enables exploration examination of own values in comparison to others and society in general.
Values education is delivered by trained and resourced teachers able to use a variety of different models, modes and strategies.	Service learning is a teaching and learning strategy that is designed by teachers to meet specified learning goals.
Values education includes the provision of curriculum that meets the individual needs of students.	Service-learning experiences engage students in meaningful and personally relevant service activities. It is age and developmental appropriate.
Values education regularly reviews the approaches used to check that they are meeting the intended outcomes.	Service learning involves ongoing progress monitoring to assess progress towards meeting specified learning goals.

In summary, key thoughts therefore in developing an effective, sustainable values education programme hinges on the approach being explicit, intentional, planned, and systematic. A shared vision and understanding within the school/educational community needs to be developed. The programme needs to be linked to curriculum, be academically rigorous and purposeful. Outcomes must be measured and reflection needs to occur.

After exploring both service learning and values education, there is obvious resonance occurring between the key elements of each for the delivery of quality programmes which can be clearly seen in Table 41.1.

Developing a Service-Learning Approach to the Delivery of a Values Education Programme

As we have seen, the defining feature of service learning is the *intentional* integration of the methodology into formal curricula. Whilst we recognize that there is no singularly agreed-upon strategy for developing effective curriculum, most educators recognize that having a clear idea of course learning objectives in mind at the beginning of course or programme development is a critical element of success (Drisoll & Wood, 2008). In essence, we teach or develop learning environments – that facilitate students' acquisition of specific objectives. Therefore, in the context of values education, educators have a clear idea of the diverse skills, knowledge, and attributes for students to acquire. The next – sometimes challenging, yet also often most fun and creative – step is to develop sequential curricula that will lead towards the realization of those learning outcomes. This process of establishing specific learning objectives for the course or initiative, then developing pedagogical strategies to have students achieve these goals is often referred to as backcasting.

Case Studies

To help readers see how service learning can be an effective delivery mechanism for values education, we have chosen to share the following mini-case studies. The studies profile existing programmes in the USA and Australia and how a Service-Learning approach has been used. After each case, we suggest key values education learning outcomes that are achieved through the case. Also, we note the specific service-learning activity or strategy that assists in creating an effective learning environment where the values education learning objectives are actualized.

Case Study 1: Alternative School Site

This study is set in an alternate school site in south east Queensland. The site caters for young people disengaged from mainstream education with a maximum class

cohort of 21 students aged from 15 to 17 years. All students are from low socio-economic backgrounds and for most of the students their educational experience has only involved failure and negative interactions with authority and peers. On enrolment, it has been identified that the young people are disconnected from community, have a high absentee rate history from school and low literacy and numeracy levels. Ability-wise they are generally capable of achievement but have lacked the support from family, community and school to achieve. A mainstream secondary school sponsors the programme in partnership with a local community organization. A teacher and Youth Support Coordinator are attached to the programme. The site is hosted by the community organization and students attend classes at this off-campus setting.

The ethos underpinning this site is to connect the young people to community, develop in them a sense of "belonging", help them achieve both academically and socially, build responsibility and encourage them to see how they can contribute to community. The teacher wanted to embed these aspects into the teaching and learning practices so students could clearly see that it would become more engaged with learning that was meaningful, realistic, and practical. Hence a service-learning approach was used to deliver vocational qualifications and to assist student attainment of the literacy targets.

The service-learning community partner is a small state primary school in the local community. The school has a very significant indigenous population (over 10 times higher than other schools in the area), learning outcomes well below the state average, a very low socio-economic population, and substantial behavioural challenges. The primary school identified that many of the students, especially in the younger grades, were coming to school with no breakfast and the food that they were eating was of poor nutritional value. Further exploration revealed that the families experience difficulties in producing nutritionally valuable meals. The school does not have an operating canteen so it is not an option for its students to purchase food during the day. In an effort to improve the nutrition, to ensure the availability of food, and to reinforce the message in the community, the primary school has partnered with the alternate site and their community partner.

The young people at the alternative site:

- researched food nutrition, importance of it, link to health and ability to concentrate, behaviour, etc.
- worked with the students in the primary school to understand nutrition and develop a lunch menu for a 2-week period
- assigned tasks/timeframes to assist the primary students to shop, prepare and serve the lunches for a 2-week period
- developed a roster for the primary students so all could be involved in some aspect
- developed a budget
- sourced donations of food/money from the local community
- shopped with the rostered primary students – focusing on them completing the financial transactions, recording the transactions and reporting back to teachers and classmates.
- Assisted the rostered primary students to prepare the food, cook it and serve it

- Negotiated with the Primary students regarding menu choices
- Evaluated how the primary students responded – analysed results and made recommendations for the following year

This programme duration was over two school terms (April to October). Challenges centred mainly around logistical issues, i.e., working between two sites and the need to continually move students in a poor public transport area, permission forms, and timetabling.

Continuous reflection occurred throughout programme including exploration of the alternate students' own values (did they change? are they appropriate?) and the relationship to these in respect to the school's values, the community partner's values and society's values.

The role of the teacher and Youth Support Worker was critical in the success of the programme. This role was one of facilitator, support person and mentor rather than instructor/traditional teacher. This allowed for student directed learning and strong collaboration to occur both amongst the young people and with the community partner.

Programme Accomplishments

Programme evaluation, student reflection and anecdotal comments from discussions revealed that:

- Achievement of learning goals: the young people from the alternate site achieved six units of competency towards two of their Certificate II vocational qualifications and a strong contribution to a successful short course literacy result.
- The students were able to connect the learning experiences from the project to the Values and Mission statement of the Alternate site.
- Greater understanding of nutrition by the young people at the Alternate site themselves.
- Increased awareness of the concept of respect and self-control as the young people needed to be cognizant of appropriateness of language, dress, etc. whilst working with the primary students.
- Increase awareness of personal attributes such as patience, respect, really listening to other people, working in a team, being responsible, working to the best of one's ability, "there is always someone worse off than you" understanding.
- Inherent beliefs were challenged due to the wide representation of cultural backgrounds involved.
- Identification of a range of other issues to solve and possibilities for future programmes.
- Student connectedness to learning.
- Improved nutritional knowledge by primary students.
- Primary teachers reported improved classroom behaviour as a result of healthy lunch.

- The professional development time and support given to the alternate site teacher and youth worker to develop the programme concept proved invaluable in building their confidence and understanding of the programme and the preparation of the resources required.

From the informal observations in this case study, the following table has been developed to illustrate the key intersection between the guiding principles of values education and the standards and indicators for high quality service-learning practice.

Table 41.2 Summary of accomplishments in terms of service learning and values education

Key service-learning strategies	Key values learning outcomes
Linked to vocational courses and literacy short course to achieve specific learning outcomes.	Curriculum that meets the individual needs of the student.
Teacher support and PD occurred particularly in the preparation phase.	The programme was delivered by well trained and resourced teachers.
Duration and intensity sufficient to investigate the need, prepare the activity, complete the activity, demonstrate learning achievements, reflect and celebrate activity.	Service learning is a strategy used to deliver values education.
All partners had a shared vision of the programme. The partners included students at the two sites, teachers, families, community agencies and youth workers. Community knowledge grew as a result of this project.	The partnerships enabled the young people to be more aware of their local community and were connected through meeting and working with more of its members.
The young people provided strong leadership in this project, contributing ideas on development, leading the organization of the logistics of gaining and preparing the food and the analyses for future activity.	This allowed the exploration of students own values in relation to peers, the school site and the community partner.
The activity was a recognized need in the community and the young children in the primary school were in similar socio-economic situations as the young people at the alternate site.	Helped students understand and apply values, e.g., care and compassion, doing your best, respect, responsibility and understanding, inclusion.
Ongoing, varied and challenging reflection activities occurred, e.g., journal, digital storybook, discussions.	The young people were continually testing and putting into place their values against the school site values against the communities values.
The programme was documented from the beginning to ensure learning goals were being achieved and the programme remained relevant to the learning.	Continually assesses approaches used to determine if outcomes are being met.
Although the project involved a significant indigenous population there was wide representation of cultures across the two educational sites. This diversity challenged thinking, values, perceptions and actions.	The valuing of diversity in our schools.

From this Australian P-12 setting, we will now move to the USA and reflect on a case study in the Higher Education sector.

Case Study 2: PSU

Portland State University (PSU) is an urban university with 27,000 students located in downtown Portland, Oregon, a city in the Pacific Northwest with approximately 1.5 million inhabitants. Portland is known for its strong history of community engagement, amongst other things; this ethos belies a national trend of disengagement in the USA (Putnam, Feldstein, & Cohen, 2004). PSU is also known for its strong commitment to community engagement; most evident in its innovative, integrated general education programme (known as "University Studies") and especially for its community-based senior capstone programme (Kecskes, Kerrigan, & Patton, 2006). Whilst these institution-wide, community-engaged programmes have been well studied and are important to mention to provide a modicum of university context, we have chosen to briefly spotlight the lesser-known 9-year-old Student Leaders for Service (SLS) programme to illustrate how a university's formal student leadership development programme can use a service-learning design to intentionally promote values education.

SLS is made up of a group of competitively selected, socially aware students who have a strong desire and commitment to offer their talents, time, and educational experiences to serve the greater metropolitan community as well as encourage and support fellow students in getting involved in community-based service activities.

Involvement and participation in this particular programme requires students to serve as community leaders and campus leaders; these multifaceted leadership roles contribute to the achievement of the programme's goals. SLS members spend up to 10 hours weekly throughout the academic year providing direct service in their designated community partner site within the Portland metropolitan area. The sites in which people serve are varied, including public school settings, social service agencies, and other area non-profit organizations. Each of the community sites involved with SLS is interested in working with university students but because of limited staffing are not able to provide the intensive support needed to work effectively with multiple student volunteers or other service-learning students. Thus, the individual SLS member not only provides the organization with a consistent level of service throughout the academic year, but also recruits and supports other volunteers and service-learning students to work with the organization.

To assist us in these community–university leadership responsibilities, all SLS members are required to enrol in a *Community Leadership* class. This service-learning class serves as a venue to discuss and address the challenges students face in their service sites as well as develop leadership skills that help them to be effective in their service-learning placements.

During the year-long course, students and faculty balance course time between (1) formal instruction in values clarification, motivation, consensus-building, negotiation strategies, group facilitation, volunteer coordination, fund-raising, working with the media, conflict resolution, and other civic skills development; (2) theoretical investigations including community organizing history and strategy and democracy theory; and (3) allowing students sufficient time to organically develop real-time, problem-solving strategies with one another.

Table 41.3 Programme accomplishments: January 2008–March 2009 totals (does not include Spring term, April–May 2009)

	Number of Participants	Service-Learning projects completed (with examples) *Each K-8 team will carry out a minimum of three service-learning projects*	School-community partnerships created *Five additional community groups and/or organizations will be engaged with each K-8 school*
North/Northeast Portland			
Jefferson High School	**19**		
King School	**18**	**5** (started a school/parent newsletter, restored school's homework room)	**5**
Ockley Green School	**55**	**5** (provided bike safety lessons, built garden boxes for school garden, filmed promotional video of school)	**3**
Vernon School	**17**	**6** (published Welcome Books designed for new students, made a quilt to donate to Janus Youth)	**3**
Woodlawn School	**23**	**4** (created an art display with recycled trash, planted in school's community garden)	**2**
Southeast Portland			
Marshall Campus	**33**		
Kelly Elementary (2008 EDG:E only)	**29**	**4** (planted in school's garden, published books about service)	**2**
Lane Middle School	**15**	**6** (restored school's library, painted a mural depicting long-term effects of pollution)	**5**
Marysville School (2009 EDG:E only)	**15**	**4** (made earth-friendly window cleaner for school, landscaped school's gardens)	**2**
Whitman Elementary	**31**	**5** (began a recycling initiative at school, established penpal relationship with Mt. Scott Assisted Care)	**3**
Woodmere Elementary	**28**	**9** (sewed fleece hats for Community Transitional School, wrote letters to Mayor Adams, wrote thank you notes to cafeteria personnel)	**6**
TOTALS	**283**	**38**	**31**

Former PSU undergraduate student, Adam Smith, writes:

> [Joining SLS] was my first step in taking responsibility for my education and realizing my potential for academic achievement and community leadership. Being a part of a group of motivated and civically aware peers created the perfect environment for me to experience new situations, learn from others' life experiences, and begin to understand the importance of being engaged in my community. (Williams et al., 2006, p. 187)

In 2006, the student leaders in the SLS programme made an intentional and strategic choice to focus roughly half of the community partnerships of the programme in the highest need schools in the Portland Public School system. The programme they developed, called Educate, Dream, Give: Empower (or EDG:E), uses a "cascading" service-learning community and leadership development strategy. Two of the 10 SLS members are placed in two of the city's lowest performing high schools; eight additional students are placed in feeder elementary/primary and middle schools from surrounding neighbourhoods. In each of the high schools an "EDG:E service club" is developed with local students. These students receive service learning and civic skills training from the PSU students. Then, those high school students work in the feeder elementary and middle schools to develop after-school EDG:E service clubs in those settings. All students associated with the service programme collectively decide on projects to undertake; students are responsible for the complete implementation of all programmatic elements. This effort has been funded by PSU, in collaboration with U.S. federal, Oregon state, local country, and private foundation grant funding. The programme runs for the duration of the Academic year (9 months).

Between January 2008 and April 2009, EDG:E clubs participated in the coordination of 19 school and community-wide events that engaged over 800 additional youth, parents, and school and community-based volunteers.

In June 2009, 22 high school students from Jefferson High School and Marshall Campus will have received two credits from Portland State University for taking a PSU course specifically designed for EDG:E.

Table 41.4 Summary of student leaders for service programme accomplishments (14 months)

Key service-learning strategies	Key Values learning outcomes
Enrolment in Community Leadership class	• Values are explicitly addressed as part of the course. • Curriculum developed that meets student needs • Leaders delivery values in partnership with community • Continual review of approaches used and whether outcomes being met.
EDG:E – youth voice/leadership	• Trained leaders used. • Leaders consistently applied EDG:E values • Participants encouraged to explore own values and that of the feeder schools. • Is a safe and supportive learning environment.
Underpinning principle: students understand and apply values explicitly explored in class to the service-learning programme.	

Conclusion

Clearly, service learning is a teaching approach that can successfully improve academic outcomes through its relevance and connectedness to community. The evidence reflects that it gives young people permission to explore their own values and ideals in relation to peers, the school, and society; thus linking it intrinsically to values education. Through the deepness and richness of the learning achieved in service learning there is space and opportunity for young people to explicitly explore their values and beliefs.

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Chapter 42
Passion and Purpose: Teacher Professional Development and Student Social and Civic Growth

Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir

Introduction

> Elementary school teachers are assembling for a year-long professional development program called Fostering Students' Social and Emotional Growth, in Reykjavik, Iceland. As the program starts, each participating teacher is asked to reflect on what characterizes good relationships with students and what attitudes they want students to have towards them. A thematic analysis of the interviews indicates that these teachers emphasized four values: trust, respect, care, and safety.
>
> The theme of trust reflected all the teachers' perspectives that students should feel free to confide in their teachers, and trust them to be fair. On the theme of respect, the teachers emphasized respecting all students on the basis of their personalities, temperament, competence, and situation. They also stressed students' self-respect and mutual respect. On the theme of care they emphasized that students should feel teachers care about them and that warmth and mutual emotional ties between students and teachers are crucial for the well-being of everyone at school. Finally, the theme of safety referred to teachers' concerns about providing the students with feelings of being safe as reflected in trust and care, and in the teacher's respect for each student. Some teachers also mentioned the importance of humour and joyfulness in student-teacher relationships. (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007)

Trust, respect, care, and safety are basic human values. And the way these teachers discussed all four values reflects their relational and ethical concern for the students' wellbeing.

Our worlds and lives are value-filled. Every day we see how individuals show respect and care for the welfare of other people, within families, friendships, schools, workplaces, communities, and societies. We also see, daily, how interpersonal conflicts can arise because of differences in the life values held by individuals, associations, communities, and societies. Conflicts happen in our private and public lives (e.g., in friendship, at work), at the national level (e.g., in political decision-making), and even internationally (e.g., between religious groups).

In the challenge to promote human rights, responsibility, and solidarity, we must be seriously concerned with cultivating trust and respect, and care and justice among

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all humans, especially among young people within and among communities around the globe. This cultivation focuses on the core of educational values. With respect to school education this emphasis is especially pronounced through constructive school-based efforts to promote social, emotional, ethical, and civic awareness among children and adolescents, with the aim of ensuring their wellbeing in both their present and their future lives.

Any effort to provide education in schools is profoundly infused with values, indeed led by values, as it aims to improve both students and society (e.g., Campbell, 2003; Narvaez & Lapsley, 2008; Veugelers & Oser, 2003). In fact, as an occupation, teaching is "profoundly implicated in ethical concerns and considerations" (Carr, 2006, p. 172), for several reasons. First, education is considered to be a human right; each child has the right to an education as guaranteed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), Article 28. Accordingly, each teacher has the ethical duty and responsibility to foster students' growth. Second, all teachers are responsible to work within their nations' educational laws and curricula, which are inescapably value-laden; in addition, many schools promote their own specific values through the curricula that teachers are supposed to follow.

Third, even though the values in these national laws and curricula are supposed to guide the teachers in their work, teachers actively make their own meaning of these and other values. This means that, both implicitly and explicitly, their own personal and professional values lie behind their pedagogical ideas and work with their students (e.g., Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; Connelly, Clandinin, & He, 1997; Oser & Althof, 1993). Fourth, education at school is fundamentally interpersonal (e.g., Good & Brophy, 2003; Pianta, 1999). Successful relationships with others are essential to our wellbeing through the lifespan, and social relationships at school are no exception. They are crucial to the growth of students, teachers, and school leaders and are guided by their values, both implicit and explicit. Moreover, teachers play key roles in providing students with constructive and meaningful learning experiences.

Given the many essential roles that teachers play in fostering students' social and civic growth, it is crucial that they continue to grow as professionals throughout their careers. If they are to grow, and if schools are to develop with a focus on student wellbeing, a vital link is a better understanding of teachers' professional development (e.g., Clandinin & Connelly, 1995; Fullan & Hargreaves, 1992; Handal & Laufås, 1987).

In this chapter, I present a framework of teacher professional development which can be used to analyze, both thematically and developmentally, teachers' reflections on their role as they aim to promote their students' social, emotional, ethical, and civic growth (Adalbjarnardottir, 1994, 2007; Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997). To introduce the framework, I use a case study of a teacher's reflection on her pedagogical vision; her values, aims, and teaching practice; her motivation for working with students on social issues; and the ways she relates her vision to incidents in her own life story. I also show how she integrates teaching and learning into her process of professional growth as she participates in the year-long intervention program

introduced in the vignette above. Further, I discuss how her professional awareness relates to her students' social and interpersonal growth. The suggestion is that the framework can contribute to the work of teachers, principals, teacher-educators, researchers, school leaders, and policy makers as they support responsible and effective teaching in cultivating students' wellbeing through a focus on their social, emotional, ethical, and civic growth. First, however, this discussion is placed in the context of current literature.

Values in Education

As concern grows about the social, ethical, and emotional prospects for young people and the recognition that they need preparation to participate actively in society, more researchers than ever are focusing on the role that schools play in educating students in these value-filled areas (e.g., Killen & Smetana, 2006; Nucci & Narvaez, 2008).

Values and Rights

Over the last two centuries, democratic ideas about the social polity have gradually become established in many countries. The traditional democratic values of liberty, equality, and fraternity (brotherhood or "siblinghood") rooted in the French Revolution of 1789 have been guiding lights within democratic countries. These democratic values capture basic human values such as the equality of all human beings, mutual respect and responsibility, care and reconciliation, sympathy and compassion for others. This notion of values applies to all levels of human interaction. We see these values in action on the micro-level in daily interpersonal relationships in both our public and private lives, including social and interpersonal relationships and activities within the family and among friends, at school and in the community; they also operate on the macro-level, both nationally and internationally.

These values, and the related rights, are reflected in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and further outlined in the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child (1989). These documents capture the rights of every child: the right to psychological, physical, social, and economic safety; the right to be nurtured independent of physical and mental ability; the right to express one's opinion and to be listened to; the right to enjoy care and respect within and outside the home; and the right not to be bullied or abused, or to experience racism.

Given this increasing emphasis on rights for everyone, including children, during the last century schools gradually moved from an emphasis on meeting the needs of the society toward a greater emphasis on considering the needs of children. Accordingly, school has become more child-centered (Graham, 2005).

The Value-Filled School: Some Context

As reflected in both international educational institutions (e.g., European Commission, 2009; OECD, 2009) and national educational laws and curricula, schools are required to focus on the wellbeing of the whole child as a human being. Teachers are to foster each student's competence, skills, and self-efficacy, not only by focusing on cognitive aspects within traditional academic subjects, but also by taking a broader approach and integrating various social, emotional, ethical, and civic issues into the classroom and school curricula. Part of this task is cultivating important values on which the society has agreed (in the form of national curricula) such as respect and responsibility, trust and care.

In addition, values are inherent in the very nature of the teaching profession. Each teacher's selection of issues and tasks within each teaching subject is value-laden, as is the way she presents them in her work with the students, for example, in lecturing, using questions, emphasizing individual or group work, or reflecting on and responding to students' thinking (e.g., Lapsley & Narvaez, 2006). And every day teachers face various challenges as students interact over social, emotional, and ethical questions such as honesty and trust. Teachers develop an ethical atmosphere in classrooms and at school, in part by the ways they handle such tasks. In creating a classroom atmosphere of mutual respect and care, they serve as role models. In the words of Stanulis and Manning (2002), "How much adults say, what they say, how they speak, to whom they talk, and how well they listen, all influence a child's estimation of self-worth and impressions students have about each other" (p. 5). Accordingly, teachers play an important role in what is often labeled the "hidden curriculum" or "hidden moral education curriculum" (Narvaez & Lapsley, 2008, p. 156).

Thus, inevitably all teachers are social and ethical educators (e.g., Lapsley & Narvaez, 2006; Strike, 1996; Veugelers, 2000) whether they like it or not. They cannot avoid taking positions, and facing and handling various social, emotional, and ethical issues that are value-laden, whatever the educational laws and curricula that govern their subject area or grade level. Both implicitly and explicitly, they must be constantly cultivating various values that are based on the personal and professional meaning they make of these values. That process can be based both on the values they carry with them into their profession and those outlined in educational laws and curricula.

Furthermore, just as teachers bring various values to the relationship, students also bring a range of values from within their families, such as responsibility, punctuality, respect for others, and tolerance. From this perspective, both parties participate actively in developing the teacher–student relationship, bringing to it their values and skills. This means that the development of teacher–student relationships is a dynamic process influenced by the values, beliefs, and skills of both the student and the teacher (e.g., Brophy & Good, 1974).

Given this background, values saturate today's school culture and the daily life of schools and classrooms; schools simply are value-laden places (e.g., Campbell, 2003; Veugelers & Oser, 2003). Thus, we face a challenging and classical question: How can we best cultivate values among the youth as we promote their social and

civic growth? Below I outline some concerns we know of from research on students' social wellbeing and some other concerns that I feel need further research.

We Know Some Things

Various theoretical disciplines within the humanities, social sciences, education, and health fields have provided us with important insights into the cultural, social, psychological, and educational wellbeing of children and adolescents. With respect to the school context we know several things about ways of fostering students' wellbeing.

We know, for example, that the nature of teacher–student relationships can be a significant source of motivation for students to engage in school work that relates to their social and ethical awareness; it can also promote their academic achievement (e.g., Davis, 2001; Hamre & Pianta, 2001). For example, Wentzel (2002) highlighted the effectiveness of teachers who use authoritative, as opposed to authoritarian, teaching practices; this orientation is reflected in nurturance, high expectations of students' maturity, and the use of democratic communication. Students who perceived their teachers as authoritative were more likely to be seen pursuing pro-social (e.g., sharing, helping, comforting others) and responsibility goals; they also showed more interest in class, and more mastery orientation, and earned higher classroom grades.

We also know of ambitious educational programs whose results look promising for youth development. Berkowitz and Bier (2007; Berkowitz, Sherblom, Bier, & Battistich, 2006) reviewed the effectiveness of programs in this area, mostly in the US, that focus mainly on constructivist approaches. They classify these programs as character education, risk reduction, social-emotional learning, and service learning initiatives. The most common findings across these programs included students' "improved sociomoral cognition; prosocial behaviour and attitudes; development of problem-solving skills . . . emotional competency . . . improved school behaviour . . . reduction of violence and aggression; decrease in substance use . . . moderation of risk attitudes; improved self expectations and motivation . . . [and] increased academic achievement and academic goal setting" (Berkowitz et al., 2006, p. 696). We know that when students have a sense of the school as a community – something teachers can foster – they can gain multiple benefits (for overview also see Solomon, Watson, & Battistich, 2001).

With respect to teacher professional development we also know that it has been viewed from several perspectives in attempts to better understand and effect educational change. These perspectives include the process of teacher development throughout their career, such as differences in thinking between expert and novice teachers (Berliner, 1992; for review see Hammerness et al., 2005), along with their personal theories of teaching (Handal & Laufås, 1987), their professional knowledge landscapes (Clandinin & Connelly, 1995), and their pedagogical vision (Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997), as well as life history (Goodson, 2000).

In addition, the way teachers work with their students may depend on their educational ideas and beliefs (for review see Solomon et al., 2001). For example,

Good and Brophy (2003) suggest that teachers who adhere to a view of teaching as transmission tend to use direct teaching, emphasizing memorization, while those who adhere to social constructivism tend to emphasize discussions, and encourage different points of view, reflection, and mutual understanding.

But We Know Too Little . . .

There are, however, several areas where we know too little. For example, I think it is fair to say that we know too little about teachers' personal and professional values in general (Narvaez & Lapsley, 2008). Nor do we know enough about the values, aims, and teaching practices of individual teachers who teach tasks that relate to social, emotional, ethical, and civic education. And when teachers do participate in intervention programs that aim to promote such student growth (Berkowitz et al., 2006) we know too little about their individual values, aims, and teaching practices.

Also, even though these intervention programs provide teacher training we know too little about how the individual teacher experiences her participation in the program: what does she focus on and why, how does she feel the teaching is going, each lesson and each week? What is going well and less well, and why might that be? And we know too little about whether she experiences changes in her values, attitudes, aims, and teaching practices, as well as in her students' thinking and behavior during the intervention process. Further, within intervention programs we know too little about the relationship between the professional competence of different teachers and their students' progress.

As teachers play a key role in organizing constructive and meaningful experiences for the students with a focus on promoting their social and civic growth, it is important to explore and understand the personal and professional meanings that they hold about such work as it affects their role as a teacher (e.g., Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2002; Oser & Althof, 1993; Rodgers & Scott, 2008). We call this their pedagogical vision (Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997). To better understand their vision, I suggest we explore both the intervention process and the product. In other words, we should focus not only on the product, such as student outcomes, but also on the experiences of teachers and students during the intervention process itself. Learning is a process for both students and teachers and it is vital to learn about that process to encourage effective and responsible teaching and learning.

Why Look at Teachers' Pedagogical Visions?

The assumption here is that teachers' pedagogical visions relate to their relationships with the students, their selection and interpretation of the curriculum, their teaching practices, and how they evaluate students' knowledge, understanding, and skills (e.g., Connelly et al., 1997).

Many benefits can accrue from better understanding teachers' pedagogical visions for promoting student wellbeing and positive development. First, here the suggestion is that with broader and deeper pedagogical vision, and professional competence and skills, teachers are more likely to promote students' social and civic growth, which benefits both students and society. Second, as each individual teacher reflects constantly on her values, aims, and teaching practice – and the relationship among them – she can more deeply understand her own pedagogical vision (Adalbjarnardottir, 1994; Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997).

Third, just as we find it important to know about and understand children's and adolescents' individual competence and skills when we work with them, it is important for teacher educators to understand the pedagogical visions and teaching practices of student-teachers and practicing teachers so they can better meet them where they are and thus support them (e.g., Connelly et al., 1997; Hammerness et al., 2005). Fourth, such understanding should also help principals and policy makers to better understand teachers' pedagogical visions and the world they work within so they can best develop schools and improve education. Fifth, such research also provides a base for further research on teacher pedagogical vision and professional development.

To study the process of teacher professional development we need an analytic method or framework. Below I describe a framework of teacher professional development I began to chart almost two decades ago (Adalbjarnardottir, 1992) and which my colleagues and I have continued to develop (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997). I introduce this framework by briefly tracing its history and then by exploring a teacher's thinking on her role using a case study.

The Framework of Teacher Professional Development

To provide some context of the original model of teacher professional development I introduce the research and school development program that we call Fostering Students' Social and Emotional Growth (SEG). The SEG program focuses both on teacher professional development and on how students develop socially and interpersonally as they work on social, emotional, and ethical issues in the classroom. I will describe how the program operated during the year when Anna, the focus of the case study, participated in it.

The Context

The SEG program has two major aims: to provide a context for teacher professional development and to promote students' social and interpersonal awareness. The more specific aim is to promote students' interpersonal competence and skills by encouraging them to reflect on various social, emotional, and ethical aspects in relationships; simultaneously we aim to enhance their competence and skills in

their interpersonal relationships. In daily classroom work an emphasis is placed on fostering students' capacity for both autonomy and caring; their freedom to express their opinions, take initiative and show respect and responsibility; and their mutual care and trust as reflected in concern for each other, and empathy and tolerance in the classroom and the school community. I see this approach as a foundation for civic education, a base for learning what it means to be a citizen in various contexts: home, school, community, society, global world. From the start, our teacher–researcher collaborative work has been in line with what is now called action research (e.g., Whitehead & McNiff, 2006), lesson study (Lewis, Perry, & Muarta, 2006), narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), or self study (Ezer, 2009).

When Anna took part in the year-long SEG intervention program, she was one of 15 participating teachers. Every other week we met to discuss theories of youth development and teaching practices. We introduced the teachers to two sets of relevant theories: those on children's cognitive, social, emotional, and moral development and those on various teaching practices that seem to be effective in promoting this growth. The teachers constantly reflected upon their experiences, values, aims, and teaching practices, and on students' progress. For example, what value do they see in cultivating students' interpersonal competence and skills? They also reflected on their own theoretical knowledge, such as their understanding of theories of youth development (e.g., perspective-taking ability, perceptions of friendship, trust) in relation to their practice (e.g., activities that encourage students to take different points of view, to employ collaborative conflict resolution strategies, etc.). Besides reflecting on their work at our meetings, we listened to their personal and professional voices and understanding in interviews and weekly reports and in individual meetings with other teachers, teacher educators, and researchers in the program (see further description of the program in Adalbjarnardottir 1994, 1999).

In all our collaborative work, whether between teachers and researchers or students and teachers in the classroom, we emphasize creating a comfortable and supportive atmosphere. Well aware that it often feels risky and discouraging to reflect on and re-evaluate one's own attitudes toward teaching and teaching methods (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1992), we found it essential to build trust and mutual support among the teachers. Also, as teachers create a caring and safe classroom atmosphere, students can feel free to express their ideas, feel they are heard, and feel the need to listen to each other – and feel motivated to argue, debate, and reach agreement. Students then have an opportunity not only to share mutual care, respect, and responsibility, but also to show trust and tolerance for different viewpoints, and feel worthy of attention and affection (Adalbjarnardottir, 1994; Noddings, 2002, 2005; Selman, 2003; Watson, 2003). In the tradition of constructivist theories (Tobias & Duffy, 2009) we emphasized using various teaching methods and activities to challenge students' thinking and actions.

Along with the SEG intervention program, my first research step was to conduct an intervention study. The focus of the study was to explore whether the students in four of the participating classes, including Anna's, improved more in their social

and interpersonal understanding and skills compared to students in a control group: four classes that did not participate in the program (see Adalbjarnardottir, 1993).

Theoretical Roots of the Framework

The theoretical roots of our framework for teacher professional development lie in the philosophical tradition of phenomenology with an emphasis on hermeneutics (Heidegger, 1962): the study of ways to interpret human experience and place it into context. The framework also has roots in psychosocial theories that focus on the developing human capacity to coordinate – or take perspective on – the self and other's points of view (Kohlberg 1976; Mead, 1934; Piaget, 1965; Selman, 1976). Within education, constructivism (Tobias & Duffy, 2009) captures the integration of these traditions. The assumption is that each person (e.g., a student, a teacher) is active in constructing her own meaning of the knowledge, experience, and reality she stars in. Here, social interactions with others play an important role as each person develops in their ability to make sense of the world. Within social constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978) a special emphasis is placed on the idea that the meaning a person makes of her life experiences relies on her interactions with her social, historical, and cultural environment. In other words, the meaning she makes is socially and culturally bound.

A Brief History of the Framework

Motivated by the important role teachers play in promoting their students' growth, and also sensing that the teachers in the SEG program both improved individually and also differed from each other in their profession, I became interested in better understanding teacher professional development. My concern was also rooted in my own life experiences as a former elementary school teacher, curriculum developer in social studies, teacher educator and researcher. I became particularly interested in the flow between teachers' developing awareness of their work on social issues and their developing abilities to promote their students' growth. Using data from their reflections on their experiences, gathered through interviews, weekly reports, our meetings, and classroom observations, I began to chart their reflections on their role and the changes they experienced.

At that point my research focus broadened from focusing on students' social growth (Adalbjarnardottir, 1993) to also focusing on teachers' professional awareness. I began to develop the framework by thematically analyzing teachers' reflections on their own motivation for participating in the program, and their aims and attitudes, as well as their teaching strategies and style. Also, I looked at whether they experienced any changes during the program in the ways they understood children's

development, and in their aims and attitudes, as well as in their teaching strategies and style. I also analyzed their reflections on changes in students' progress in interpersonal relationships and the classroom atmosphere as a function of their participation in the program (Adalbjarnardottir, 1994). Thus, from the beginning the main focus of my research was on teacher motivation, aims, and teaching practices.

The next step in developing the framework was to explore differences in the motivation, aims, and teaching practices of the teachers within the SEG program. During these preliminary steps I came up with two categories: some teachers seemed to focus on the classroom (e.g., their aims and teaching practices were directed at classroom behavior), while others seemed to focus both on the classroom and beyond it (their aims were future-oriented; they showed flexibility and used variety of teaching strategies to meet students' multiple needs for now and the future). I used these categories to explore teachers' professional competence and skills in relation to students' progress within the SEG intervention program (Adalbjarnardottir, 1992).

Based on my early steps in developing the framework, Robert L. Selman, a professor at Harvard University, joined me in launching a more defined developmental model of teachers' pedagogical vision. We outlined further awareness levels for teachers' motivations, aims, and teaching practices, and proposed that as these issues interact they are reflected in teachers' pedagogical visions in general (Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997).

Since then, we have been modifying the model. I have focused more clearly on teachers' values (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007); Eyrun Runarsdottir and I have observed real-life teaching practices with a focus on classroom discussion, and Katrin Fridriksdottir and I have explored teachers' life stories in relation to their pedagogical vision (see our chapters in Adalbjarnardottir, 2007). Also, we have looked into teachers' terms of engagement with their profession (Selman, Buitrago, & Adalbjarnardottir, 2003), and currently, based on this theoretical model, we are developing a survey measure for use in larger samples (Lowenstein, Selman, Barr, & Adalbjarnardottir, 2007).

Thematic and Developmental Lenses of the Framework

Using the framework five issues are explored. As the upper part of Fig. 42.1 illustrates, the suggestion is that a teacher's *pedagogical vision* (in the middle) is reflected in her integration of the three issues of *motivation*, *values and aims*, and *teaching strategies and style*, which lie around the vision, in addition to her underlying *life story*, which is illustrated below the circle.

The conical shape of Fig. 42.1 represents the developmental dimension of our conceptual picture. The assumption is that with time, experience, and reflection, teachers put their pedagogical ideas and vision into a broader social, historical, and political context and refine or develop new aims in their work with their students. Gradually, over time, they integrate their pedagogical values, aims, and practices.

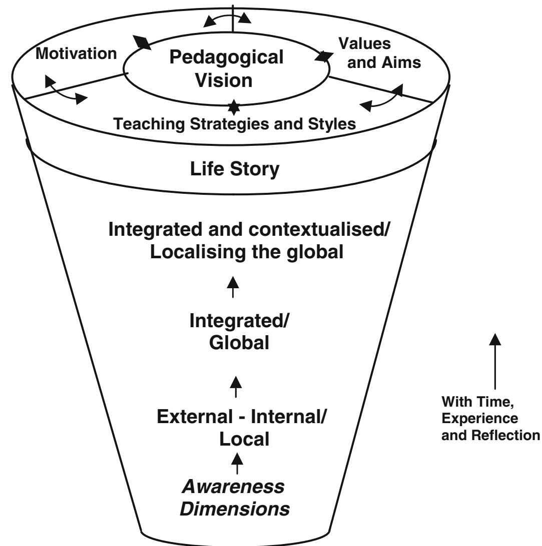

Fig. 42.1 Teachers' professional reflection: Awareness dimensions by professional issues

(Revised and modified from: Adalbjarnardottir, 1999, 2007; Selman, Buitrago, & Adalbjarnardottir, 2003)

Moreover, they become more aware of how their life story relates to their values, aims, and practice as well as their motivation for working on social and civic issues.

The developmental model is further outlined in Table 42.1. As the table indicates we maintain that three major dimensions of developmental awareness can be used to study the increased differentiation in the teachers' reflections. These awareness dimensions range from focusing primarily on students' knowledge and skills and observable outcomes (e.g., students' class behavior) to emphasizing various developmental processes: cognitive, social, emotional, ethical, civic (e.g., students' improved ability to differentiate and coordinate various perspectives around social and civic issues and to resolve conflicts in caring and respectful ways) (Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997).

We propose that an important change in the professional development of teachers may occur when they can readily reflect on their thoughts and actions as teachers by exploring how their attitudes, values, aims, competence, and teaching practices relate and interact with the students' needs and growth. At that point, they have articulated insights that make it more meaningful for them to work constructively toward their aims of promoting the students' social and civic awareness.

Table 42.1 further outlines the underlying awareness dimensions for the five developmental issues: Motivation, Aims, Teaching Practice (strategies, style, progress, classroom discussion), Pedagogical Vision, and Life Story.

It should be emphasized that the developmental part of our theoretical framework is a general frame rather than a fixed or a rigid one. It allows us to describe a general pattern of teacher professional development by looking at how they reflect on their role. We also assume that pedagogical vision is not only a developmental process, but also individual- and context-bound (Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997).

Table 42.1 An analysis of professional development of teachers' perspectives: Awareness dimensions and issues

	PROFESSIONAL ISSUES							
			TEACHING PRACTICE					
AWARENESS DIMENSION	**Motivation**	**Aims**	Strategies	Style	Progress	Classroom discussion	**Pedagogical vision**	**Life story**
Externally- or internally-based reflection ("local")	Motivation directed toward either self or students in classroom work	Focus on students' knowledge and skills. Classroom-bound; short-term aims	Unvaried teaching strategies	Authoritarian or permissive; one-way or unilateral oriented style	Awareness of improvements in own teaching skills as noted by self and/or others without reference to students' progress	Closed questions; focus on students' knowledge of facts	Pedagogical ideas; values, aims, and practice are differentiated, but not integrated	Experiences from own life story from childhood and/or teaching experience are related to teaching practice, but not to pedagogical vision
Integrated reflection ("global")	Motivation directed toward integrated needs for self and students to improve, and own role as a teacher	Focus on promoting students' growth for *their wellbeing in present and future lives, but not contextualized. Short-term and long-term aims*	Various teaching strategies and activities with respect to aims of promoting students' growth, but not contextualized	Authoritative; dominant two-way-oriented style	Awareness of the interplay between changes in own classroom strategies and the students' progress. Recognition of own strengths and weaknesses in teaching	Open questions; students are encouraged to discuss various views. Puts forward own position and conclusion	Pedagogical ideas; values, aims, and practice are integrated, but not contextualized	Experiences from own life story from childhood and/or teaching experience are related to pedagogical vision, but not contextualized

Table 42.1 (continued)

PROFESSIONAL ISSUES								
			TEACHING PRACTICE					
AWARENESS DIMENSION	**Motivation**	**Aims**	Strategies	Style	Progress	Classroom discussion	**Pedagogical vision**	**Life story**
Integrated and context-based reflection ("localizing the global")	Motivation directed toward integrated needs for self, students, and society to improve, and own role as a teacher. Contextualized	Focus on promoting students' growth for their own and society's wellbeing. Reference to important individual life competencies and skills for the present and future which are contextualized. Both short-term and long-term aims	Various teaching strategies and activities with respect to aims of promoting students' growth; these are contextu-alized with reference to students' different background, competen-cies, etc.	Authoritative; collaborative mutual oriented style	Awareness of the interplay between changes in own classroom strategies and the students' progress in relation to short- and long-term contextualized aims	Open questions; students are encouraged to discuss various views. Focus on autonomous, critical, and caring thinking. Belief in students' ability to analyze, debate, make inferences, and come to an agreement	Pedagogical ideas; values, aims and practice are both integrated and contex-tualized	Experiences from own life history – from both childhood and teaching experiences – are related to pedagogical vision. They are contextually integrated with values, aims, and teaching practice

(Revised and modified from Adalbjarnardottir, 2007; Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997)

Three points about the framework are important here. The first relates to the developmental component of pedagogical vision: we suggest a meaningful difference between teachers who only express an awareness of students' short-term outcomes and those who can also reflect on the connection between developmental processes, i.e., the related needs of students and the teachers, and various outcomes in life. Second, within our model the teacher does not necessarily express the same awareness level across the issues of motivation, values/aims, and teaching practice. For example, her aims might be quite ambitious, but her predominant teaching act in running classroom discussion might be to use closed questions. Third, the model is not fixed in the sense that the teacher might express a broader (or narrower) view in reflecting on her role in teaching another subject. Thus, a given teacher's pedagogical vision may depend on the context.

The assumption is that as a teacher's pedagogical vision widens, she gains a deeper understanding of her role in working with her students on social, emotional, ethical, and civic issues. And, she may become more committed to her work on social and civic education and probably also more successful in promoting students' growth.

To provide an example of a teacher's reflection over a school year, below I present a case study of Anna, a teacher who participated in the SEG program. First I use the thematic lenses to analyze what lies on her heart as reflected in her values, aims, and teaching practice. Also, I explore whether she connects experiences in her life story to her motivation and pedagogical vision. Second, using the developmental lenses, I analyze her reflections on changes in her aims and practice during the year she was engaged in the program. For instance, with the developmental lenses we ask ourselves questions like these: Are the aims classroom-oriented (short-term, local) or are they also future-oriented (see Table 42.1)? That is, do they integrate the needs of students and teachers to grow for effective and responsible teaching? Are the aims still general (long-term, global), or does the teacher also take a contextual view in her future-oriented integrated aims (long-term, localizing the global)? Third, I report on her students' progress in social and interpersonal understanding and skills during the program.

Anna's Professional Growth: Case Study

Anna is a passionate teacher; this was clear from the beginning of our collaboration. She has great self-confidence as a teacher, and for good reason: she is an excellent teacher who feels responsible about her teaching, and thinks carefully about what to teach and why and how. She has high expectations for her students, and encourages great creativity among them, focusing on their individual needs as well as collaboration. In our interviews and my visits to her classroom it was obvious that teaching is a calling for her; she is a very devoted and committed teacher. When she took part in the SEG program, she was about 40 years old and had been teaching for 20 years. That year her students were 8–9 years

old. This was their third year “together”, and she felt she “must be a big part of their lives”.

Anna’s Aims and Values

Throughout, the interviews with Anna at the beginning of the program and at the end of the program as well as her weekly reports, her themes were democracy and autonomy, and respect and responsibility. She also emphasized much care and concern for the students’ feelings and achievements and her wish that they would be “happy and interested” in school, and was concerned about earning their trust: “Some of them are on their own a lot; they have to have some grown-up whom they can trust.” These values – democracy and autonomy, respect and responsibility, and trust and care for the students’ wellbeing – were her guiding lights and reflected her pedagogical vision.

As Anna began the program her focus on democracy was reflected in her aim of developing “more democracy” among the students within the classroom: “For example, it is often hard to deal with very strong individuals. I feel I really haven’t received any instruction or help in this regard.” Also, communication between teacher and students should be “very democratic.” Her care for students’ wellbeing was also reflected in her aim to “improve the social interactions among us in the classroom.” She continued:

> Students’ social interactions are always burning issues and it is essential to be capable of dealing with them. I feel it’s my role to help them to get along well. Otherwise they feel unhappy in school. In fact, I feel this is where we have to start. We cannot start teaching a group of children if they feel uneasy or insecure about themselves ... Often I have felt kind of unsure about how to react to social conflicts among the children. It’s hard to know whether one is reacting appropriately.

Here, Anna strongly emphasizes her role in helping students to feeling safe and secure in their interpersonal relationships, which she also sees as a base for successful academic work. And she wants to do better in this role.

Anna also aimed to enhance students’ autonomy, which she related to respect: the teacher has to “respect the children and their opinions, because if we immediately start at school to suck their autonomy out of them, we cannot expect them to be independent individuals later in life.”

Immediately, we observe that Anna’s aims are not only classroom-bound, but also future-oriented, particularly with respect to promoting autonomy (“independent individuals later in life”). She is aware of her responsible role here, and includes herself in the process by aiming to improve students’ social interactions, emphasizing democratic teacher–student relationships (“among us”). At this point, however, she does not seem to place her long-term aim in a specific context. Thus, according to our framework, her ideas about autonomy are rather general, so we would classify her perspective as integrated reflection, rather than integrated and context-based reflection (see Table 42.1).

Toward the end of the school year, Anna put her aims into context more explicitly. For example, she expressed her perspective on fostering democracy by promoting students' autonomy, self-confidence, and respect for others' opinions:

> It is natural in our society, characterized by democracy, that the children have the opportunity to make decisions, for example, about what they want to study. In our society they have to learn to respect others, to listen to each other, and to make democratic decisions ... In a democratic society like ours we take it for granted that everyone gets the opportunity to participate. But our society is controlled too much by a few people, so in general people don't express themselves on various issues. Thus, I feel it is important for the children to get the opportunity to build self-confidence by expressing ... their concerns and by experiencing having their idea adopted or having to accept that it hasn't been agreed to this time, [but] it might be next time.

As this excerpt indicates, Anna now reflects on her ideas about democracy from a broader perspective than she had earlier. Now she places her aim of creating democracy among the students into an educational, sociological, and political context. It is clear that she is preparing her students to participate actively in a democratic society, one she now feels is not democratic enough (aims: integrated and context-based reflection, see Table 42.1).

She thinks schools have not been responsible enough in this regard and refers to her own experience as a child:

> I remember ... When I was in elementary school we were not allowed to decide anything ourselves. That may be part of the reason why our society today isn't a very open one. We were taught new customs and rules all the time and I was very constrained and never really felt good in school. ... I think this is why I am concerned about this aspect of my work with children.

Anna clearly relates experiences from her own life story (childhood) to her pedagogical vision of activating students (life story: integrated and context-based reflection, see Table 42.1).

In reflecting on her aim of fostering autonomy and self-efficacy she added:

> It's important that [the children] can stand up for themselves, dare to say no, and not rely on others' opinions. Dependence can lead to problems like drug abuse ... I also think that as a person you will feel better about yourself if you stand by your decision and pursue what you want.

Here she considers both psychological aspects ("you will feel better about yourself if you stand by your decision") and reactions to the surrounding environment (psychosocial aspects), i.e., the importance of not relying on other peoples' opinions, as they can be misleading.

As she had in the earlier interview, Anna again showed her strong care and concern about each student's personal development and wellbeing and the important role their social interactions play in how they feel and succeed at school. Her future-oriented concern seemed clearer now as she emphasized that "the way children manage in the group can affect them the rest of their lives, for example, if they feel they are never listened to and are always put down." Further, she said, "Interpersonal issues" are "of vital importance for the classroom work and the school community." Thus, Anna seemed to express a broader view on the importance of classroom social

interactions for both the school community and each individual student – psychologically and academically – both in the present and the future, compared to what we saw in her reflection as she began the program (contextualized future-oriented aim).

Anna is well aware of the needs of both students and society and associates them with her own role as a teacher in strengthening students' self-efficacy and preparing them to make democratic decisions. At the same time she emphasizes the interplay between being autonomous and respecting others: "You can be independent without putting other people down; we have to teach the children to respect others' opinions, to learn to listen . . . be polite towards each other." In this context she also mentioned how important she feels it is to develop mutual trust, both between students and between teacher and students, so they will be considerate of each other and feel safe.

Interestingly, we can easily relate her values and aims to democratic values. In her vision she emphasizes several points: individual *freedom* or autonomy; *fraternity*, reflected in her emphasis on trust and care; and the *equal rights* of her students, and their right, because of respect and care, to be taught based on their own interests and competence.

In short, Anna places her values and aims into context by giving meaningful examples of the teacher's role in building self-efficacy, mutual respect, trust, and care among the students, and in promoting both individual autonomy and democratic decisions. She relates these concerns to her life story by both reflecting on experiences in childhood and being an adult living in what is "supposed to be" a democratic society. Thus, she contextualizes her values, aims, and role as a teacher. According to our framework, we now classify her reflections as integrated and context-based (see Table 42.1).

Anna's Teaching Practice

It was an adventure to visit Anna's classroom. She was autonomous in organizing her teaching around the social and interpersonal issues, articulating clear aims and an overview of the work. She both integrated our themes smoothly into other classroom work (e.g., Icelandic language), and also organized large projects (e.g., a friendship island, into which she integrated various aspects of friendship). Taking into account the students' individual interests and abilities, she emphasized a variety of activities for them, including discussions, role-playing, painting, music, poetry, reading, and creative writing. In short, she was very active, integrative, creative, and sensitive to the students' opinions and feelings in her work.

Right from the start of the program her teaching style is authoritative: she is warm, caring, supportive, and guiding toward the students. She feels student–teacher interactions should be as "democratic" as possible: "I don't want to dominate the children. Instead, the teacher should listen to what the children have to say and choose tasks according to their interests . . . They should get to decide many things

for themselves, for example, with whom they are going to work." Just as adults "aren't always ready to work with just anyone," children probably feel the same. This approach makes her teaching easier: "The children are so incredibly creative; they are full of ideas and feel free to express them." She adds, "I find it very important that the teacher respects each child and doesn't expect that every one of them will fit into a specific system."

Thus, from the beginning of her time in our program Anna's ideas of teaching reflect child-centered thinking. She believes in students' competence and creativity, in the importance of listening to and meeting each one's interests, and in encouraging their own decision-making. She relates this approach to showing respect for students' differences (integrated and context-based reflection, see Table 42.1). Because of her expertise, I must admit that when she joined the program I was not sure she would feel she could benefit from it!

When the program began, she felt the biggest challenge was to run classroom discussions with a specific method that, through open questions, encourages students to consider various points of view in social interactions. Because she was "insecure regarding the questions" she expected to face that challenge, and she certainly did.

As the program proceeded Anna saw a change in her teaching practice: she said she started being more "constructive" as she conducted discussions on social and interpersonal issues, like solving problems that arose among the students. She also felt she "encouraged more social interactions among the students" than before, taking "time to build more trust" in the relationships.

Further, Anna felt she became more reflective about her work on social and interpersonal issues, "more conscious and contemplative." She also reflected on her character and personal style:

> I am probably more thoughtful. By nature I am rather calm, but before the program my feelings took over more. Previously, I often became angry or hurt and tended only to look at the issue from only one perspective, most often that of the victim. I think I am more balanced now . . . my feelings don't affect the problem as much, I control myself more, I am more neutral. . . . although perhaps not in dealing with my colleagues and others [laughs]; it's hard to see that oneself.

She also described changes in her personal feelings about handling classroom conflicts:

> Personally, I feel much better. Before . . . I often felt a knot in my stomach when I had to deal with a conflict but now I just do it, I simply find a way to deal with it. When something happens now it's nice to be able to just sit down with the children and discuss the matter.

As we see here, Anna is self-reflective as she considers her personality, feelings, and style in solving conflicts. She thinks she has improved considerably here, having become more aware of various perspectives and less influenced by her feelings when solving social problems or interpersonal conflicts with the children. She acknowledges, however, that this change might be situation bound (contextualization).

Anna also saw the effectiveness of her work in students' social interactions:

> It is interesting to observe how well the children listen to each other and seek the opinions of the others in the group . . . I feel they are more eager to discuss the issues and even deal with the problems themselves. They want a say in social matters . . . They argue more . . . They are not as judgmental and consider the reasons for a specific act. Cooperative work goes better than before and I feel they stay together more as a group.

Anna provided an example of how she and her students handled an ethical case in class. Her students suspected that three of the girls had taken candy from a store and expressed their concern to Anna. They even phoned her at home, asking her to address the case in class. Before class the next day she met with the three girls who were suspected of taking the candy, to hear the facts and ask them to reflect on this moral event. She encouraged them to look at the situation both cognitively and emotionally by asking them to define the problem from different perspectives using our questioning method ("What is the problem? Why is that a problem? How do you think your classmates feel about it? Why? How do you feel about it? Why?"). She also asked them to generate alternative ways they could solve the problem (What can you do to solve the problem? Why is that a good way?). Then she left them, but asked them to make a decision themselves about the best way, which they would present for discussion in class. They did. Anna felt neither she nor the students would have managed to solve this sensitive issue in such a caring and concerned way as community members without the program:

> The children had become such friends, they felt so secure and were so ready to listen. The boys who told me this weren't tattling; instead they were entrusting me with the problem and asking me to work with them. I am sure if they hadn't been in this program this situation would have become very difficult. They would have insulted and teased the girls. I was very pleased that young children like these would ask to deal with the problem. They were very concerned and caring . . . I myself don't think I would have dealt with the problem [without the program]. The parents were already involved and some felt it wasn't the school's role to deal with it.

Anna was proud of her students' abilities, strengths, and courage in solving the problem. She reflected: "It is interesting to see that they felt it was just natural to discuss the problem and also felt it was natural that the girls involved could do so as well. And the girls dared to do this."

This event shows the trusting and constructive classroom atmosphere Anna created: the students feel they belong to a community, and are willing to help resolve a moral issue in a responsible way. In this atmosphere Anna is considerate and caring in her interactions with her students; she respects them and believes in their competence. And they have great trust and respect for her.

As a teacher she provided them with intellectual encouragement and an opportunity to develop agency. She was enhancing their *knowledge* and *understanding* of a moral value ("it is wrong to steal"). She was promoting their *interpersonal competence and skills*, their ability to place themselves in each other's shoes and to express their concerns about moral issues they face in daily life. Thus, she provided a context for deepening the *meaning they make* of a moral value.

This example shows how effective and responsible she had been in working toward her educational aims, both promoting students' autonomy and democratic

decision-making and fostering their mutual trust, care, and responsibility. Her aims were reflected as she helped the girls and other students to consider the case from different perspectives and to come up with a solution, and encouraged a democratic discussion in class even on such a sensitive and ethical issue.

In running open classroom discussions among the students, she clearly believed in their capacity to solve interpersonal conflicts. Using our developmental lenses, we classify her approach as integrated and context-based reflection (classroom discussion: see Table 42.1).

Teachers' Professional Competence and Students' Progress

Anna's feelings about her students' progress in interpersonal competence and skills were supported in the intervention study I was conducting in parallel with the SEG program. The promising findings of that study indicated that the teachers who participated in the program were able to improve their students' interpersonal understanding (thought level) in classroom situations with teachers and peers, as well as in daily actions in classmate situations (action level) more than the teachers in the control group (Adalbjarnardottir, 1993). In other words, the students in the SEG program increased more in their abilities to take various social and emotional perspectives into account in interpersonal relationships. These findings are aligned with those of other studies (for overview see Berkowitz & Bier, 2007).

Moreover, in an exploratory study I looked more closely at the SEG program and evaluated students' progress in relation to the professional awareness of the teachers who were participating in the SEG program. Let me note immediately that this was a small study: it focused only on the four teachers who took part in both the SEG program and the research study. Accordingly, any generalizations from the findings require much caution. Using our developmental lenses, my analysis indicated that even though the teachers had improved the classroom atmosphere and their teaching practice, for example, in leading discussions, two of them seemed more classroom-oriented. We saw this, for example, as they reflected on the aims of working on interpersonal issues with the students. As the program began, one of the two teachers said she aimed at "improving students' behaviour in the classroom," and even though she expressed a broader view toward the end of the program it did not yet reflect a perspective that extended beyond the classroom:

> [It is important] to improve the social atmosphere in the classroom, and to improve the social interactions among the students, as well as between teachers and students . . . The better the social relationships we create, the better the schoolwork will be, and the more pleasant for both.

The other two teachers seemed to have a broader view of their role as they looked both within and beyond the classroom with long-term concerns for students' social wellbeing. Anna was one of these two teachers. Also, she and the other highly professional teacher used a wider variety of teaching methods in challenging students' thinking and behavior.

In comparing the progress of the students of these teachers, tentative findings suggest that both girls and boys in the classes of the more professional teachers improved more in their interpersonal understanding around interpersonal conflicts (thought level) with classmates, compared to the students of the other two participating teachers (Adalbjarnardottir, 1992, 1999). The students of these first two teachers more often considered both classmates' perspectives and feelings compared to the other students. Given the small sample size this preliminary finding requires further research attention.

Discussion

The challenge of the 21st century is to cultivate basic human values in our youth, such as respect and care, and trust and fairness, both for their own wellbeing and that of societies around the world. Given the current interest in values, this could be the golden age of focusing on values and promoting social, emotional, ethical, and civic growth among young people. We observe an increasing call for professionals, whether in practice, research, or policy, to step forward and collaborate to achieve this important task. In fact, this very handbook is a witness to that call.

Teachers need support for their important role in social and civic education, given the many challenges they face. These challenges include the subjective nature of the task (Lickona, 2004), the need for specific content knowledge and understanding (Shulman, 1987), and their need to be aware of their own values and visions. At school, teachers are the key professionals who can organize constructive and meaningful experiences for their students while they learn about self, social relationships, and society. We need a vision that has clear short- and long-term aims and an action plan that will support both practicing teachers and student-teachers in taking on this responsible role. Here we need a tripartite collaboration between educational policy (policy makers), practice (teachers, principals), and researchers (e.g., teacher educators, human, and social scientists).

School development programs tend to focus more on student outcomes than on teacher professional awareness (e.g., Berkowitz et al., 2006). I argue that we need to look at both as we seek more informed ways to provide teachers with support. A promising direction for teachers' own professional growth is for them to reflect on their role, particularly in collaboration with researchers and other teachers, as they focus on social, emotional, and ethical concerns in their practice (e.g., Adalbjarnardottir, 1994; Johnston, 1997; Oja, 2003; Selman, 2003). Such efforts should also promote students' progress in social competence and skills (e.g., Adalbjarnardottir, 1993; Watson, 2003).

However, teacher–researcher collaboration within social, and particularly civic education, seems to be still in its infancy. For example, we know too little about teachers' visions in this challenging area: what are their values and aims, what teaching practices do they use to attain their aims, and what is their motivation for working on social and civic issues? We know little about the developmental patterns

in teachers' visions as they work on these challenging issues. And we know little about the relationship between teachers' professional growth and students' social and civic growth. Moreover, we need frameworks that can meaningfully describe how teachers' motivation, aims, and teaching practices change during the process.

In this chapter I have used a case study to present a framework for teacher professional development that my colleagues and I have been developing. An important part of this framework is its use of both thematic and developmental lenses to analyze teachers' reflections on their role. The thematic analysis provides knowledge and understanding of what lies in the teacher's heart: the essence of her pedagogical vision, the subjects of her passions, and why and how she acts on her concerns. The developmental lenses provides us with the opportunity to trace a teacher's developmental awareness over time; we can even identify differences and similarities among teachers in the perspectives they take and the meaning they make of their work with students in social and civic educational programs.

By listening to the teacher Anna, in this chapter we have gained insights into the way she describes her role when she is provided with a context – an intervention and research program – where she can reflect on her aims and practice. Applying our framework of teacher professional development, using both thematic and developmental lenses we explored her vision, values, aims, and teaching practice, as well as how she related events and incidents in her life story to her vision. Further, we explored changes in her aims and teaching practice. Anna's reflections on her role contribute in several ways to the current discussion on effective and responsible teaching and can provide support for teachers in similar situations.

First, Anna is a teacher with *vision* and enthusiasm, who wants to prepare students to take an active part in a democratic society – to have a voice. Her guiding lights are the values of democracy and autonomy, respect and responsibility, and care and trust. She has a burning interest in teaching, a passion for students to achieve: she wants to see them become more self-efficacious, autonomous, respectful, responsible, and considerate. And she expresses much concern and care for the welfare of the students, and sees their feelings as the key to effective work (e.g., Noddings, 2002, 2005; Watson, 2003). Anna finds this work to be essential for the students' present and future lives in a democratic society, and she has clear future-oriented aims for supporting them. To attain those aims, she emphasizes democratic *collaboration* both among the students and between herself and her students. Further, she is *committed* to her work and to nurturing the welfare of children, convinced that she plays a responsible role as a teacher. And she faces challenges in a *brave* way.

Achievement, care, collaboration, commitment, and courage: these are among the key characteristics of passionate teaching as Day (2004) sees them. Anna expresses her passion through her enthusiasm and values-led teaching reflected in her pedagogical vision.

Second, Anna expresses self-efficacy (Hoy & Spero, 2005). Referring to the responsibility of her role, she believes in her own competence in making a difference to students and society. Third, she provides her students with intellectual

encouragement and an opportunity to develop agency and responsibility for their own actions. And she has high expectations for their performance. In the story she told of girls taking candy from a store, she provided an example of the ways she was enhancing students' knowledge and understanding of a moral value, and fostering their interpersonal growth, including their ability to place themselves socially and emotionally in each other's shoes and to face and solve actual moral issues in their daily lives. In this way she was deepening the personal meaning they make of a moral value. Relating her teaching practice to the "hallmarks of quality teaching" (Lovat & Clement, 2008, p. 9) she engaged the students *intellectually* by requiring critical analysis of the event and their own behavior; she was developing their *communicative competence* in providing a context for them to express their thoughts, concerns, and feelings; and she encouraged them to *reflect* on ways to solve the problem. Simultaneously, she was promoting their *self-management* in carrying out the solution and their *self-knowledge* as related to their sense of responsibility.

Fourth, Anna experiences *professional growth*. For example, she feels that by taking part in the SEG intervention program she improved both personally and professionally, especially in leading constructive discussions about conflicting points of view. And she felt her students improved too in their interpersonal understanding and actions.

Fifth, using our developmental lenses we observed how she grew in her profession even though she appeared to be an expert teacher (Berliner, 1992) when she began in the program. During the process, in her reflections on her work she was constructing and reconstructing the meaning she made of her values and related aims, and her practice. Gradually during that process her pedagogical vision broadened and deepened as she integrated and contextualized those meanings. Through her vision, her practice became more meaningful and through her practice process, her vision became more meaningful as she wove new learning into her pedagogical vision.

Moreover, her students were among those who improved more both in their interpersonal understanding and actions in classroom settings compared to those of the teachers who did not take part in the SEG program. In addition, within the SEG program we saw some indication that students of highly professional teachers, including Anna, progressed more in their ability to reflect on interpersonal dilemmas in classmates' situations compared to students whose teachers appeared not as professional in their reflections and teaching practices according to the analytic framework. This indication, however, needs to be interpreted with much caution given the sample size.

The developmental lenses can be viewed as more sensitive than the thematic one. As it incorporates dimensions of developmental awareness, some educators may feel they are being judged. Still, we know that teachers differ in their competence and skills. And we suggest it can be helpful and useful to analyze teachers' reflections both thematically and developmentally so they can better recognize and acknowledge their concerns and positions. With such understanding we hope to be better capable to support them in their important role. Also, we

believe the framework can be informative for principals, teacher educators, and researchers as they support responsible and effective teaching in fostering students' wellbeing (Adalbjarnardottir & Selman, 1997). However, given the differences in the way each teacher reflects on and makes meaning of her teaching (e.g., Johnston, 1997, Korthagen & Vasalos, 2005; Oja, 2003) we need to be cautious about oversimplifying and generalizing about the diversity and complexity in teacher development.

By introducing and using the analytical framework to explore Anna's pedagogical vision and integrating our analysis with the current literature, we can render a relatively holistic picture of a teacher's thinking. Thus, her case can serve as an important model of a teacher's thinking for other teachers; it provides them with important opportunities to mirror their own vision and aims in those of others.

Anna's is "a learning story" (McGough, 2003); she is learning by teaching. In light of similar challenges in social and civic education that teachers face in many countries around the globe, one of my main purposes in portraying this teacher is to encourage and support teachers in reflecting on their vision and practice as they teach subjects that involve social, emotional, ethical, or civic issues. Reflecting on their aims, values, and teaching practice is essential to their professional development and that of the school (Dewey, 1964; Schön, 1987). But teachers have few opportunities to reflect on their pedagogical vision, actions, and decision-making, and to engage in thoughtful inquiry and collaborate with their colleagues (Cochran-Smith, 2001). To provide them such contexts will require political will, as the task requires time, effort, and money.

Conclusion

"Respect and Care: The Challenge for the 21st Century" is the English title of a book I recently published in Iceland (Adalbjarnardottir, 2007). The title reflects a call for greater awareness about the values we want to cultivate constructively among the youth. It reflects a call for a serious focus within education on visions and ways to foster children's and adolescents' social, emotional, ethical, and civic growth. It reflects a call to governments, educational policy makers, and teacher educators to support schools in working on social and civic education. It reflects a call to principals and teachers to place a special focus on promoting students' social and civic growth. It reflects a call to teachers to reflect on their values, aims, and teaching practice. And it reflects a call to researchers to reflect with teachers on their work in this area of teaching, and also to continue to develop helpful frameworks to analyze teachers' pedagogical vision. Such teacher–researcher collaboration includes studying their professional growth in the process, along with the complex relationships between teacher professional development and students' progress, an issue still missing from the literature. These are important challenges in education we need to undertake around the globe for the welfare of the youth and society, guided by vision and values, aims and actions.

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Chapter 43
Education and Diversity: Values Education and Cross-cultural Learning Through Socratic Dialogue and the Visual Arts

Adam Staples, Catherine Devine, and Judith Chapman

Introduction

A major challenge in many societies is to ensure that schools are providing for the educational needs of all young people, especially in a context of globalization, societal change, debates around values and widespread concern for student wellbeing. Failure to adequately address these challenges runs the danger of deepening divisions in society and among some young people, reinforcing their alienation from learning and mainstream education and from a sense of inclusion and acceptance in society and community life more widely. This has implications not only for the individuals themselves, but also for the societies and the world in which they live, both in the present time and in the future (Staples, 2008).

This chapter is concerned to investigate educational issues associated with cross-cultural understanding, values education and student wellbeing, and to identify the ways in which innovative approaches to curriculum and teaching can provide opportunities for enhancing learning for all students in a time of personal, societal and global transition and change. The chapter draws from the experience of students associated with the schools involved in the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural Cluster of the Australian Commonwealth Government's Values Education Good Schools Practice Project and investigates the ways in which Socratic dialogue and learning through the visual arts can be used to enhance values education and student wellbeing.

The International Concern

The Year 2008 was the European Year of Intercultural Understanding. In 2008 the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development in Paris (OECD) launched a comprehensive review of migrant education across OECD countries.

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In his speech launching this review Deputy Secretary-General of OECD, Aart de Geus, acknowledged that both the ‘wealth of human capital and enormous potential’ (OECD, 2008) to be found in new migrant populations are able to contribute to the economic and social fabric of the host country. De Geus emphasized the crucial need to provide a focused education for migrants that capitalizes on their proven ability as learners and which incorporates and supports their heritage. The OECD called for an analysis of policies and practices and an identification of tangible actions and policy recommendations. Future policy for education in OECD countries is seen to be very much driven by a concern for diversity and an acknowledgement of the needs of migrant populations.

Christensen and Segeritz (2006), in their review of the OECD’s Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), suggest that as ‘immigration becomes a norm in our global world, schools are increasingly challenged to provide equal education opportunities to diverse student bodies’ (p. 1). The lasting success these students achieve from their experiences in school paves the way for equal social and economic opportunities; however, many immigrant students face difficulties in their new schools and it is imperative that innovative educational approaches be found to combat this issue and to address broader issues of cross-cultural understanding, values and the wellbeing of all students in schools.

LeVine (1984) describes culture as ‘a shared organization of ideas that includes the intellectual, moral and aesthetic standards in a community of the meanings of commutative actions’ (p. 67). ‘Cultural’ is interpreted further by Howard (1991) as a ‘community of individuals who see their world in a particular manner – who share particular interpretations as central to the meaning of their lives and actions’. The liberal assimilationist policies (Banks, 2008) adopted by many countries during the twentieth century, in an attempt to integrate members of minority ethnogroups into the dominant society, took the stance that individuals from migrant groups had to ‘give up their home and community cultures and languages to attain inclusion and to participate effectively in the national civic culture’ (p. 129). Such policies are no longer seen as valid in a time of globalization when it is now being accepted that immigrants must be allowed to live their lives as ‘biculturals’ – fully conversant in both their homeland culture and that of their host culture. Whilst members of these communities are on the one hand collectively described as belonging to one national society or country, for example Australia or Canada, on the other hand, they are able to identify clearly with cultures beyond the borders of the nation country. This approach has wide-ranging implications for education in the twenty-first century (Staples, 2008).

Educating for Diversity in Australia

In Australia, it is now widely accepted that issues of values and cross-cultural understanding are central to the education of young people, to social inclusion and student wellbeing, and to Australia’s future in the global community. The most

recent census in 2006 revealed that, of Australia's current population of 21 million people, 45% were either born overseas or have least one parent who was born overseas. Since the Second World War there have been around 6.5 million immigrants; and more than 650,000 people arriving in Australia under humanitarian programmes. At the time of the 2006 census, 22% of the Australian population were born overseas. The largest overseas-born groups were those born in England, New Zealand, China and Italy. Around 2.1 million of Australia's overseas-born population were born in Europe although only 8% of these were recent arrivals. Of the 1.2 million residents born in Asia, 27% were recent arrivals (arrived in 2001 or later). Since 1996, the groups that had increased most in number were those born in New Zealand, China and India. A number of the recent arrivals have been born in countries recently affected by war and political unrest, including Sudan, Zimbabwe, Afghanistan and Iraq. English is the dominant language spoken in Australia, although many people speak a language other than English with their families and communities. In the 2006 census, it was reported that almost 400 different languages were spoken in homes across Australia. The three most common languages other than English are Italian, Greek and Cantonese. A recent growth in the number of people speaking Asian languages and a decline in those speaking European languages is a reflection of changes in the birthplaces of overseas-born Australians. Mandarin and Hindi have exhibited the fastest rates of growth – both more than doubling in the number of their speakers since 1996. Christianity is the religion with which most people in Australia are affiliated, although the numbers associated with other religious are growing at a much faster rate. Increasing numbers of the population are now affiliated with Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism (ABS, 2006).

The Australian Labor Government's Multicultural and Integration Services Policy Agenda (ALP, 2007, p. 16) sets out the principles upon which it aims to ensure social cohesion through maintaining a multicultural Australia as a 'tolerant, fair and united nation'. These include (i) recognition that migrants and their children have the same rights to maintain their traditional customs, beliefs and traditions as do long-established groups and Indigenous Australians; (ii) recognition that we all have an interest in and obligation to foster respect for: the rights and liberties of others; the rule of law; parliamentary democracy; freedom of thought conscience and religion; freedom of speech and expression; freedom of association; right to protection from unlawful discrimination and harassment; (iii) strong integration services to assist migrants to settle into the Australian community; and (iv) strong opposition to the fostering of extremism, hatred, division and incitement to violence. The Australian Commonwealth Government's agenda in this area brings together education, economic and social policy. This policy is based around two guiding principles: first, to tackle the social exclusion of individuals and communities; and second, to invest in human capital of all people. Education is seen as the way to make a multicultural society work effectively and the way to ensure that children of all backgrounds can access opportunities and receive the foundation upon which they can build their lives in the Australian community and in a globalized world economy (Chapman, 2008).

A Case Study in Values Education and Cross-cultural Diversity: The Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural Cluster

The Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural Cluster came into being as part of the Australian Commonwealth Government's Values Education Good School Practice Project. The main objective of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural Cluster was to provide opportunities for young people from different schools, cultures and faith traditions (Jewish, Catholic, Islamic and Government schools) to come together and discuss issues such as values, national identity, social cohesion and citizenship. It was hoped that the work of the cluster could contribute to fostering positive relationships among young people of different cultures and faiths and in doing so contribute to the development of a stronger sense of community and social cohesion and wellbeing among the students and within society more broadly.

The work of the cluster was not focused on learning about different faiths or world religions per se. Instead the aim was to provide opportunities for social interaction among students from different cultural and faith traditions, so that they could engage with each other around important, relevant and significant social issues. Learning activities were planned with imagination and creativity. The first interschool gathering, for instance, took place at The King David School. The gathering was scheduled to coincide with Purim, an important Jewish festival. Twelve students from each of the different schools involved in the cluster came to King David School and they watched a performance about Purim. They learnt about the importance and significance of that festival in the Jewish tradition. They also engaged in small groups discussing topics such as: Does racism exist in our community? How do we combat stereotypes about particular cultural and religious groups? How as young people do we combat racism in the community? These small group discussions served as a precursor to a Socratic circle dialogue that then took place. Twenty students participated in the Socratic circle.

The second interschool gathering took place at the Melbourne Immigration Museum. Students went for a walk around the trails of aboriginal people by the Yarra River before going on a tour of the Immigration Museum, observing artefacts and art works depicting the experience of migration and participating in a Socratic circle around the immigration experience. The students who were participating in the Socratic circle were given a media file prior to their engagement in the Socratic circle dialogue. The media file provided an opportunity for students to review articles, annotate those articles and generally become informed and ready to discuss issues around values, most explicitly understanding, tolerance and inclusion.

The third interschool gathering, which took place at Siena College, adopted a focus on intercultural understanding as portrayed through visual arts. The students were assembled into 15 groups of five, each of which was provided with a resource package consisting of an artwork, a poem and lyrics to a song. The students started by responding to the various stimuli presented to them, and discussed them in light of contemporary local and international issues. It should be noted that the element of personal experience began to be introduced by the students into their conversations, signifying a build up of trust among the students from the different school

groups. Cluster staff acted as facilitators for the day and worked only on the periphery of the groups, not among them. This allowed for student leadership roles to emerge and for students to create their own pieces of art within an uninhibited and honest environment. The groups were given access to a wide range of artists' materials – canvas, paints, collage, montage, inks, texture – and in the period before and directly after lunch, their thoughts and discoveries that stemmed from the Socratic circles were transformed into visual representations. A majority of students worked in and with their group, collaborating together and a few individuals worked separately, bringing their works together at the end. Recurring themes represented in the work were racism, understanding (and in some cases the lack of understanding) in society, hope and respect. The power of the students' work was experienced by all participants and observers as overwhelming and many of the staff members were visibly moved. The students were eloquent in their explanations of their art work and their interpretations of the resources were original and succinct. A real success of the day was observing how the students from the different schools had begun to make connections – burgeoning close friendships were evident as was a sincere interest in the success of the day. Some of the art work emanating from the gathering was publicly exhibited at the Australian Catholic University Gallery.

At the end of 18 months, the outcomes of the many activities of student-based learning was successfully showcased at the Melbourne Exhibition and Conference Centre when the students came together in a 'Day of Understanding'. With an audience of Victorian secondary and primary students, the cluster members hosted a day that reflected the learnings, understandings and commitments of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural Group. A panel of community representatives started the conference by discussing the contemporary topic, 'What does it mean to be an Australian and what makes a good Australian citizen?' The remainder of the day was led by the students involved in the project. Key elements of the day included a dramatization entitled 'Story of Journey', an on-stage demonstration of a Socratic circle and an art exhibition in the foyer. Those who witnessed the students' journey all had a common observation – a deep and lifelong understanding and respect has been nurtured in this small pocket of Australian youth from diverse cultural backgrounds, young people who have the power to enable change and to promote dialogue in the future (Chapman & Staples, 2008).

Socratic Dialogue: An Approach to Values Education and Cross-cultural Learning Through Exploration of Texts

The Socratic circle discussion method was chosen as the dialogic framework for student interaction during the work of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural cluster for two salient reasons. First, Socratic circles allow adolescent participants control over the content of discussions and second, the method, including a component of immediate feedback, creates a heightened level of awareness and quality of practice of the characteristics of respectful and competent communication. Consistent with the aims of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural cluster, Socratic circles

supported open discussion of ideas and issues by promoting dialogue rather than debate. Many of the issues explored by students during discussion were controversial in nature, but the Socratic Circle approach enabled participants to objectify the issues, helping participants to move beyond reliance on long-held, and often untested, personal beliefs and opinions.

Socratic circles are a recent development in the history of Socratic dialogue and questioning. Informed by Socrates' Theory of Knowledge, that learning best takes place through disciplined conversation (Copeland, 2005), Socratic circles strategize discussion of issues through the exploration of texts. The practice of Socratic questioning was adapted by American Literature teacher Matt Copeland who created the Socratic circle methodology in response to the disengagement of his adolescent students. In traditional classroom discussions, the teacher asks a series of questions and students can choose to participate in the conversation or opt out. Alternatively, a teacher may ask a student a question at random but this can create anxiety for some students. All participants are expected to contribute to the Socratic circle discussion, but they are given time to prepare their thoughts and questions.

During the discussion, the inner of two concentric circles of learners makes claims to and asks questions of others in the group, in an attempt to arrive at a deeper understanding of a concept, issue, viewpoint or behaviour. The first of two circle discussions is preceded by the critical reading stage which allows each individual learner the opportunity to prepare for their contribution to the forthcoming conversation. Students are initially 'scaffolded' through the process of reading critically. They learn to annotate the text or texts for consideration, highlighting words, phrases, passages or images of note. Students prepare both comments and questions to pose during the discussion. Students are familiar with their role as respondents to questions, but can be confused by the expectation that they formulate incisive questions to generate thought and discussion during the Socratic circle. It is this, the higher-ordered task of critical questioning, that develops thinking and prepares students for active citizenship. Adolescents may justify their disengagement from learning by arguing that teachers are not interested in their ideations, but Socratic circles offer an opportunity for educators to position the learner as thinker and mediator of ideas, encouraging the student to take more responsibility for their participation in the learning process.

Socratic circles give educators the opportunity to observe and assess what learners have understood in relation to the content and the extent to which they are able to articulate that understanding using sound reasoning. In addition, educators can clearly identify the communicative capabilities of their students with particular reference to active listening and eager participation.

As the first of two circle discussions takes place, the outer circle records observations and makes appraisals of the inner circle discussion. When the first discussion is concluded, the outer circle shares some positive feedback and offer suggestions regarding areas for improvement.

During the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural project, students prepared analyses of written and visual texts. They responded to newspaper articles and editorial, provocative quotations and political cartoons, artworks and artefacts as well as

music and lyrics of issues-based songs. The use of contemporary media was appropriate and relevant for the engagement of the adolescent learners. Students were given stimulus texts a week prior to the discussion, giving them time to distil their thoughts and prepare for their contribution.

The issues in focus during the project were couched in an overall conversation about values. Students grappled with a comparative analysis of what are stereotypically regarded as Australian values and what are more broadly understood to represent universal values. Issues related to cultural identity, national policy and social inclusion were considered in light of community conflict and division. In discussion, students made reference to power relations and the dominant forces of government, religion and media as all playing a role in the construction of social cohesion. Students were able to ponder the role they play in contributing to a cohesive society and reflect on the importance of youth leadership.

On a less political and more personal note, students referenced the stories and experience of those who left homelands and travelled to Australia in search of a safe society. Their discussions in Socratic circles prompted more creative expressions of their understanding of experience and perceptions of reality. Students worked in intercultural groups to produce their artwork. They enjoyed a sense of pride about their collective creations and highlighted the extent to which creativity was at the heart of work in values and student wellbeing (Chapman, Devine, & Staples, 2008).

Visual Arts and Cross-cultural Learning

In January 2008 The International Committee of the History of Art held an important international conference in Melbourne, Australia called *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*. The purpose of the conference was to bring international art historians together to discuss the concept of crossing cultures in the visual arts and to address a number of questions such as ‘How have societies and civilisations worked to generate collective visual cultures’ and ‘Which works of art, which decorative cycles, which symbolic campaigns best embody visual communication between cultures?’ (CIHA, 2008). The deliberations of this conference revealed a common thread in art from prehistory until the modern era – exchanges between cultures and societies in visual imagery and art history have been a constant and these exchanges have meant that ‘cultures are crossed and reinvented’ and ‘fluid borders’ (p. 3) negotiated by artists, travellers and, in today’s world, by migrants. The understandings derived from the broader arena of art history have wide-ranging implications for student learning in the visual arts particularly as it impacts on values education and cross-cultural understanding.

In regard to visual art and the crossing of cultures, three distinctions can to be made which have implications for the design of learning activities in the area of values education and cross-cultural understanding. The first distinction is the idea of art depicting migration – artists capturing a migratory journey of another. This work is very much a visual story, simple in its explanation and intention. The work may be a moment in time during a journey or a more complex rendition of the

experiences of a migrating group. Depending upon the influences on the artist, these images may be accurate or falsified. Regardless of their integrity they have the power to affect public opinion, allegiance and possibly to incite extreme emotion. In the work of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural cluster students were exposed to artefacts and art works depicting the immigration experience and were provided with opportunities to respond to, interpret and analyse the work and its impact on individuals and society.

The second distinction, and a more abstract distinction, is that of art as the 'migratory' – objects of artistic importance that have themselves traversed borders with or without their creators and guardians. This focuses on the power of the art object and its ability to transverse borders, environments, cultures and barriers. Some such works of art may have travelled across generations and lands, proudly representing deity and belief, identity and belonging. For example, the migration of faith in art has a long history. The icons of Russia stand out as examples of works that sing the praises of God and his teachings and that are revered wherever they hang. Students engaged in the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural cluster were invited to bring to cluster activities examples of art and artefacts that had been part of their own family history and culture. Students were then invited to tell stories of family and loved ones associated with the visual objects that they had carried with them across generations and lands. Extraordinary stories of family journeys through times of war and escape from persecution as well as stories of love and family celebrations were embodied in the artefacts of family life that had been preserved and treasured across generations, lands and time.

A third distinction focuses on artists who may capture their own journey, or create works of art once they reach their destination. This third distinction perhaps allows for the most personal depiction of journey and the crossing of cultures through the visual arts. In the work of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural cluster students had the opportunity to explore cross-cultural understanding through their own paintings and their explorations through the visual arts both individually and in groups (Staples, 2008).

Discussion: Cross-cultural Learning and Values Across the Curriculum

In this chapter we have argued that the discrimination and misunderstandings between cultural groups that continue to exist in schools and society (Banks, 2008, p. 129) have the potential to be broken down through shared, co-operative learning experiences, using pedagogical strategies such as Socratic dialogue and the visual arts. We believe that through shared creative learning within the school environment, young people can come to better understand and respect themselves and each other. Schools should provide the opportunity for all students to express their culture and identity in the learning setting. Educational programmes should be focussed on the learning of all students to respect and value the identity and culture that each student brings to the classroom, the school and their society more broadly.

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005), in an exploration of cultural differences based on empirical research across 70 countries, argue that 'the principle of surviving in a multicultural world is that one does not need to think, feel and act in the same way in order to agree on practical issues and to cooperate. . . Successful intercultural encounters presuppose that the partners believe in their own values. If not, they have become alienated persons, lacking a sense of identity. A sense of identity provides the feeling of security from which one can encounter other cultures with an open mind' (p. 367–368). Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) conclude:

> The basic skill for surviving in a multicultural world ... is understanding first one's own cultural values (and that is why one needs a cultural identity of one's own) and next the cultural values of the others with whom one has to cooperate. (p. 367)

Hill (2006) suggests that, in addressing issues of intercultural understanding in schools, learning experiences might be designed that enable students to compare Hofstede's four dimensions of variability across a number of cultures:

1. Power distance or hierarchy: the extent to which status is respected.
2. Individualism – collectivism: the extent to which a society is structured around a group mentality or each person acting individually.
3. Masculinity – femininity: 'masculine' cultures have distinct social gender roles while 'feminine' cultures make little distinction between the ways a male or female is expected to behave.
4. Uncertainty avoidance: the extent to which a culture feels threatened by unexpected situations. (p. 13)

He concludes that there are five overlapping features that contribute to an effective school programme of intercultural understanding: (i) exposure to cultural diversity within the school; (ii) teachers as role models of international mindedness; (iii) a balanced, formal curriculum with an international perspective and open, critical approach; (iv) management practice that is value consistent with an institutional international philosophy; and (v) exposure to cultural diversity outside the school (p. 14).

In the work of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural cluster emphasis was placed on cross-cultural learning through Socratic Circles and the visual arts but it seems clear that the addressing of issues associated with values, intercultural understanding and student wellbeing are suitable subjects for treatment in a range of subjects across the curriculum. To take two examples, one in the field of geography and the second in the teaching of languages, we can see the relevance of values education and cross-cultural learning across the curriculum.

Kriewaldt (2003) argues there are three value dimensions which are central to geography education: (i) respect for human rights and concern for justice at a local scale to a global scale including the conception of global interconnectedness and interdependence in order to act to create a more secure world for all people; (ii) environmental stewardship and awareness that results in students making life choices that are environmentally sustainable; and (iii) intercultural understanding that results in respect for and celebration of difference. Kriewaldt maintains that 'the geography teacher is charged with a particular responsibility to provide opportunities for students to conceive their role as global citizens' (p. 43). She refers to the work of

Nussbaum (1997) who argues for 'a reconceptualisation of the classroom beyond national boundaries so that a global community emerges with a knowledge and appreciation of diverse cultures and the ways in which people and places are interconnected. Through an exploration of this values dimension young people ought to be better to listen and respond to difference positively' (pp. 43–44).

In the context of learning a foreign language, Schultz (2007) suggests 'five fundamental objectives for cultural learning and the development of cross-cultural awareness and understanding' for learners between the ages of 14 and 20. The five objectives are as follows:

1. Students develop and demonstrate an awareness that geographic, historical, economic, social/religious and political factors can have an impact on cultural perspectives, products, and practices, including language use and styles of communication.
2. Students develop and demonstrate awareness that situational variables (e.g., context and role expectations, including power differentials, and social variables such as age, gender, social class, religion, ethnicity and place of residence) shape communicative interaction . . . and behaviour in important ways.
3. Students recognize stereotypes or generalizations about the home and target cultures and evaluate them in terms of the amount of substantiating evidence.
4. Students develop and demonstrate awareness that each language and culture has culture-conditioned images and culture-specific connotations of some words, phrases, proverbs, idiomatic formulations, gestures etc.
5. Students develop and demonstrate an awareness of some types of causes (linguistic and non-linguistic) for cultural misunderstanding between members of different cultures. (p. 7 of printout)

Schultz observes that it is difficult to demonstrate cultural awareness or understanding as defined in these objectives, but notes also that unless there is some form of assessment the objective loses validity for the learner. She provides a template for a 'culture learning portfolio', based on the five fundamental objectives, whilst commenting that the proposed approach for the assessment of cross-cultural understanding, which combines assessment of process as well as product, will require considerable instructional time.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have provided an account of a curriculum project in the area of values and cross-cultural understanding in which we have observed the value, validity and primacy of student-centred learning, with an emphasis upon student-led dialogue through Socratic Circles, and creative, imaginative learning through the visual arts.

We have observed how concentration upon common learning tasks and goals among students of diverse cultural backgrounds promotes the development of learning, a growth of understanding, and the gradual acceptance of and practice in those values that are deemed to be universal. At the same time we have noted the growth of interest in and respect for the cultural interests, practices, institutions and values, that are functions of the particular forms of life that provide the backgrounds and

frameworks of discernibly different groups, nationalities and religions, in ways that enable their members to maintain a sense of their own national or cultural origins. In addition we noted among students an awareness of and commitment to the larger sets of conceptions and values that serve to define and identify the sense of citizenship in this particular participative democracy (Australia), and to secure assent to and acceptance of them.

In the work of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural cluster we observed forms of learning in which the young people themselves provided the leadership in working out ways of developing respect for the conventions, institutions and practices of parallel forms of culture. Such student-led learning was an important part of the success of this project and is recommended for future learning in values and cross-cultural understanding.

We have also seen, from the work of other scholars and researchers, that approaches to cross-cultural understanding and values learning are not restricted to just one domain or pedagogy. The works of scholars and curriculum experts in other curriculum fields such as geography and the learning of languages lead us to infer that major contributions can be made across the curriculum to the development in students of well-informed, culturally sensitive and soundly based notions of variations in and differences between various forms of life and cultural identity. All such learnings are part and parcel of the development of a consciousness of the multi-faceted and often widely diverse modes of being and action that are available and drawn upon in the development of a sense of citizenship and wellbeing in the globalized world of the twenty-first century.

These differences may be catered for in a range of learning activities and experiences widely across the curriculum: in the teaching of literature in all its forms and representations, in history, in political and legal studies, in geography, in studies of the society and the environment, in drama and dance, sports, in art and in the study of religion. Furthermore, it may be that a concern to develop cultural understanding may also be provided for in domains of intellectual activity such as the natural sciences and mathematics, where, for some in the past, they were thought not to be naturally found, though, given the development in thinking about the epistemological bases of curriculum thinking and planning, we would suggest that there is considerable room for further discussion and research in these areas too.

This kind of thinking leads us to some final thoughts: First, that the experiences and activities in which we have engaged in the Melbourne Inter-Faith and Inter-Cultural cluster reinforce the need for the development of even more sophisticated forms of student-led and student-centred learning and the extension of curriculum research thinking and achievement in those areas. The use of Participatory Action Research (Staples, 2008) as a research method to develop this research-based thinking and curriculum development in the area of values and cross-cultural understanding is thus a strong recommendation arising from this work.

Second, we note the range of possibilities of other contiguous and non-contiguous forms of curriculum activity in which, as we would see it, such approaches may also be usefully developed, made meaningful and employed to

promote growth and success. We urge the adoption and expansion of such approaches and activities widely across the curriculum arena.

Third, the Australian Values Education Good Schools Practice Project, under which the work of the Melbourne Interfaith and Intercultural cluster was undertaken, benefited by the engagement of a range of committed professionals in education: teachers, researchers, curriculum developers, advisers and system officials. We urge that there be collaborative reform efforts of this kind, greater involvement in the work of curriculum research, particularly in its key aspects and agenda of epistemology and the fields of values of all kinds. Such efforts may be seen as seeking to serve our future learners – and our future societies – better.

In this way we may hope to deliver on what Baroness Mary Warnock called one of the key tasks of any educational undertaking: 'to hand on our schools and society to our successors better than we found them' (Warnock, 1978).

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Chapter 44
Developing Student Wellbeing Through Education for Sustainability: Learning from School Experience

Libby Tudball

Introduction

In the preface to *Teaching for Uncertain Futures*: *The Open Book Scenarios Project* in Australia, Headley Beare argues that in relation to education for sustainability, 'business as usual is not a survival option. More particularly, schools cannot afford to be complacent, as they are responsible for educating the next generation of the world's citizens' (Freeman et al., 2008, p. vii). In a wake-up call for educators, Beare reminds us that in the future 'students will be globally oriented in a way we never conceived of in the 20th century, and what they must learn at school has changed dramatically'... 'Their lifestyle patterns will need to be radically overhauled too' (p. viii). Put simply, the resources that middle-class Europeans, Australians and North Americans currently use in their lives and work are not sustainable, so schools must act urgently to provide students with thoughtful alternative models for the future.

For more than a decade, there has been a global surge of interest in the importance of values education in school practice, and this has been reflected in research and new policies for values education (Lovat & Toomey, 2009; Palmer, 1999; Rauch, 2002; UNECD, 1992). At the same time, international recognition of the need to dramatically increase the development of whole-school approaches to education *for* sustainability (EFS), and of the need to make connections with the goals and imperatives for values and citizenship education, has developed across the world (Fien, 2001; Fien & Tilbury, 2002; Henderson & Tilbury, 2004; Rauch, 2002). It has been argued that education for sustainability must encourage students to develop understanding of the complex relationships between economic, environmental and social goals, systems and processes (Rauch, 2002, UNESCO, 2005). At the very minimum, school curricula needs to provide opportunities for students to come to recognize and believe in the need for global changes in lifestyles and consumption, to ensure

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their own wellbeing, and a more positive and sustainable future. Values education is at the very heart of this process.

This generation of young people will unavoidably be critical decision-makers in terms of stewardship of the earth. To be able to take an active part in sustainable development, students need to understand the concept of global interdependence, and need to value empathy, equity, personal responsibility, social justice and social action. In schools and classrooms worldwide, there is a growing movement in the development of 'Green teams', environmental clubs, campaigns for action including rubbish free school lunch weeks, Make Poverty History, Lights Out, and recycling; instances of programmes aiming for greater levels of sustainable behaviours. There is also more evidence of schools reaching out to make connections with their local communities, and ensuring that students have values and understanding to enable global citizenship. There is much to be learned from these school experiences and actions, particularly from sustainable development initiatives that have been developed and run by students, who can then see the authenticity and purpose of these programmes for their own lives. Jensen and Schnack (1997) argued that inspiring students to take action based on their knowledge and beliefs about improving the environment is critical for their future. More than a decade ago, Palmer (1999) agreed that:

> As the new century unfolds, human actions are affecting the environment in ways that are unprecedented, unsustainable, undesirable and unpredictable; a situation which presumably cannot be divorced from current practice in Education. (p. 379)

Now there is even greater urgency, so more school communities and global education authorities are developing goals for sustainability, and modelling actions to encompass respect for the environment, an ethic of responsibility, care, social concern, and the development of attitudes, values and actions to prepare young people for a lifetime of sustainable living (AuSSI, 2008; UNESCO, 2005). For students' wellbeing, they are entitled to a curriculum that centres sustainability issues, and empowers them to address issues such as climate change, salinity, car dependence, water conservation and over use of natural resources, as core areas of their learning experiences. It is only through shared values in relation to EFS that action can occur in local, national and global contexts, and through to the highest levels of governments and decision-making processes. Issues of natural resource management, land use planning, city planning, building management and planning for ecological conservation from local to global levels need to be integral in school programmes. Students deserve the opportunity to consider these issues from their own personal, household and school levels through studies of issues such as consumption and unsustainable carbon footprints.

In this chapter it is argued that for the wellbeing of young people now and in their future lives, they need and deserve a range of opportunities to be involved in learning activities to allow them to clarify their own understanding and beliefs about sustainability. Well-documented research in values education and education for sustainability demonstrate that school programmes can make a powerful difference in students' attitudes and behaviours (Fien, 2001; Henderson & Tilbury, 2004; Lovat, Toomey, Dally, & Clement, 2009). The urgency to ensure the efficacy of

school programmes in this field is recognized, and in 2009, there is enormous hope that the United Nations climate change summit in Copenhagen will result in global consensus on climate change, and subsequently renewed vigour in the growth of school programmes.

This chapter commences with a brief overview of the journey policy-makers and schools have already undertaken to ensure links between values education and EFS in Australia and other nations. What can be learned from different models and case studies of school experience to inform actions for the future is documented. In addition, what the literature reveals about and explicit focus on EFS through various layers of policy, school programmes, curriculum and pedagogy is analysed. Finally, recommendations are made to inform future programmes and policy.

Overview of the Policy Context

In 1992, world leaders met in Rio de Janeiro to sign *Agenda 21* at the Earth Summit. This international plan was a call to action to promote sustainable development at international, national and local levels. It was a critical milestone in the history of sustainable development, as it was the world's largest environmental gathering. UNECD and UNESCO policy developed from this meeting explicitly stated that: 'Education is critical for achieving environmental and ethical awareness, values and attitudes, skills and behavior consistent with sustainable development, and for effective public participation in decision-making' (UNCED, 1992, Chapter 36, p. 3). Formal and non-formal education programmes were seen as being indispensable to sustainable development. After the 1992 Earth Summit, it became obvious that the resolution of the conflict between economics and the environment could not happen unless there was also a clear integration of the social and community agendas of equity, place and engagement. The sustainability agenda became defined by the need to integrate the three main areas of political life: economic, environmental and social (UNCED, 1992; UNESCO, 2002).

Ten years later, in 2002, the World Summit for Sustainable Development in Johannesburg was held. Heads of government from all over the world reconvened to assess the progress made on sustainable development since the Earth Summit. In 2005, as a response to the international attention Education for Sustainable Development was receiving, the United Nations General Assembly declared the period from 2005 to 2014 as the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (UNDESD).

This resolution began to promote the need to re-orientate the role of education within the sustainability agenda. This shift called into question the dominant approach of educating *about* the environment and instead reflected the need for educating *for* sustainability. The latter seeks to engage people in critical reflection of current lifestyles and actions, and to be able to make informed decisions and changes towards a more sustainable world that empowers 'people of all ages to assume responsibility for creating a sustainable future' (UNESCO, 2002, p. 5).

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) urged the governments of each nation to be the main agencies for

facilitating and integrating a curriculum of sustainable development into schools (UNESCO, 2003). Their intention is for the next generation to develop the skills, values and knowledge required to create a sustainable future through empowerment of people of all ages, in all countries. The UNDESD aims to promote education as a basis for a more sustainable human society, and to integrate sustainable development into education systems at all levels. The aim is also to strengthen international cooperation towards the development and sharing of innovative education for sustainable development programmes, practices and policies (UNESCO, 2003).

Shifting Definitions and Approaches to Education for Sustainability

Many approaches to environmental education (EE) focus on students needing to have positive experiences within the environment and to learn values to appreciate and protect the environment. However, while these strategies are important for young people, awareness raising and experiences in nature alone are not sufficient. Schools need to develop a range of approaches across their curriculum, and through links to the community. More recently, increasing concerns related to global environmental degradation, irrefutable evidence of climate change and ecological damage, alongside concerns connected to increasing consumerism, and widening social and economic divides in the world, have meant that educators have broadened the concept of education *for* sustainability. Henderson & Tilbury (2004) argue that the difference between EFS and the more traditional approaches to EE is that EFS:

> Focuses sharply on more complex social issues, such as the links between environmental quality, human equality, human rights and peace, and their underpinning politics. This requires citizens to have skills in critical enquiry and systemic thinking, to explore the complexity and implications of sustainability. (p. 8)

In Henderson and Tilbury's (2004) important study of *Whole-School Approaches to Sustainability: An International Review of Sustainable School Programs*, they argue that EFS requires:

> A new pedagogy which sees learners develop skills and competencies for partnerships, participation and action. This shift has implications for how to conceptualise and approach issues such as: school governance, pedagogical approaches, curriculum, extra-curricula activities, resource management, school grounds and community partnerships. (p. 8)

Central to this view is the idea that every level of school planning and goals should be audited against and respond to the EFS imperatives, and teachers, school leaders, students and parents should work together to define their core beliefs and to collaborate in the achievement of their shared goals. In the *Educating for a Sustainable Future: National Environmental Education Statement for Australian Schools*, published by the Australian Government Department of the Environment and Heritage (AGDEH, 2005) education for sustainability is defined as involving:

> Approaches to teaching and learning that integrate goals for conservation, social justice, understanding cultural diversity, appropriate development and democracy, into a vision and a mission of personal and social change. This involves developing the kinds of civic values and skills that empower all citizens to be leaders in the transition to a sustainable future. (p. 10)

The long-term goals of environmental education for sustainability, as stated in the *National Environmental Education Statement* (AGDEH, 2005), include developing the capacities of students to:

- understand and value the interdependence of social, cultural, economic and ecological dimensions at local, national and global levels;
- reflect critically upon how this interdependence affects communities, workplaces, families and individuals and be able to make appropriate decisions;
- develop attitudes and skills which are conducive to the achievement of a sustainable future;
- appreciate and respect the intrinsic value of the whole environment and a sense of the sacred;
- develop an ethic of personal responsibility and stewardship towards all aspects of the environment; and
- participate as active and involved citizens in building a sustainable future. (p. 8)

Programmes to Promote Education for Sustainability in Schools in Australia

In reflecting on actions in Australian schools in relation to EFS, 4 years into the decade specifically marked for focusing on this field, there is no doubt that substantial progress has been made in the numbers of schools across the nation implementing programmes. Statistics from the *Australian Schools for Sustainability Initiative* (AuSSI, 2008) show that more than 2,000 schools and 570,000 students across Australia are now participating in AuSSI.

AuSSI involves a holistic approach to education for sustainability with measurable environmental, financial, educational and social outcomes across all states and territories. It implements improvements in a school's management of resources and grounds and integrates this approach into the existing curriculum and daily running of the school. Students participate in an action learning – or learning by doing – process. AuSSI also involves a school's local community through parents, local government and local industry. AuSSI does not replace other environmental education activities in schools; rather it links to and complements existing programmes such as Energy Smart Schools, WasteWise, Waterwatch, Waterwise, Landcare and the Reef Guardian Schools Programme. As part of the Initiative, teachers can receive much needed access to professional development in education for sustainability, delivered through supporting agencies and environmental education centres.

Participating schools have reported reductions in waste collection of up to 80%, reductions in water consumption of up to 60%, and savings on energy consumption of 20% with commensurate reductions in greenhouse gas emissions. Schools are

also achieving financial savings and broader social and educational benefits from increased school pride and interest in learning (AuSSI, 2008).

However, where many schools have explicitly embedded EFS into their school vision and goals, through involvement in AuSSI or other programmes, there is still a great deal of work to be in many schools who are yet to recognize the importance of these initiatives. While some teachers are passionately committed to integrating EFS into existing curricula, others see occasional extra-curricula activities or clubs and special programmes as the way to develop understanding of sustainable development concepts. In some schools, the focus is still more on teaching and learning *about* the environment, whereas others have moved beyond the delivery of information about environmental concerns, to see sustainable development as a transformative tool. These schools are more likely to facilitate the involvement of students in teaching and learning pedagogies that actively involve students in making choices, so they can see tangible evidence of their actions and beliefs making a difference, through, for example, reducing their energy use through monitoring consumption, or becoming involved in community-based programmes such as improving the local environment.

In Australia, the national policy document, the *Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians* (MCEETYA, 2008) also includes several emphases related to EFS in stating that students should be able to:

- act with moral and ethical integrity. . .
- work for the common good, in particular sustaining and improving natural and social environments
- are responsible global and local citizens. (pp. 8–9)

These goals demonstrate a fusion between goals for citizenship, values and environmental concerns.

The *National Environmental Education Statement for Australian Schools* (AGDEH, 2005) emphasizes the need for students to study curriculum with a focus: '*about*, *in* and *for* the environment' (p. 6). This is one way of organizing learning within an environmental education programme. The Statement defines education *about* the environment as focusing on students' understanding of important facts, concepts and theories. Clearly, students do require a strong knowledge base drawing for example on the disciplines of science, geography and politics. Education *in* the environment involves students in direct contact with places such as a beach, forest, street or park, to develop awareness and concern for the environment that is experience based. Education *for* the environment aims to promote a willingness and ability to adopt lifestyles that are compatible with the wise use of environmental resources.

At the national level, AuSSI supports the *Environmental Education for a Sustainable Future: National Action Plan* (AGDEH, 2000) and gives effect to the concepts and actions identified in *Educating for a Sustainable Future: A National Environmental Education Statement for Australian Schools* (AGDEH, 2005). The AuSSI programme recognizes that school leaders and teachers must be able to see how they can develop education for sustainability across different learning areas,

so they offer a range of advice to develop both theme-based and specific discipline applications. In English and Social Education for example, students can begin to understand the complexity of issues and the role of human values in how different people live and how institutions can operate for more sustainable futures. Through English studies, students can analyse contemporary issues to see whether they are complex and wicked or simple, they can be encouraged to consider ethical stances, and can see the importance of community visions that can inspire change. There is also a critical role for EFS in the sciences in helping students to describe the physical world and how it works as well as being the basis for understanding technology. The sciences can help sustainability by understanding the processes that enable us to manage the atmosphere, oceans, agriculture, forestry and cities. Studies in this area also bring into curricula opportunities to study technologies including renewable energy in physics, agricultural issues like salinity and in geography, biodiversity issues in biology, new battery technologies in chemistry and peak oil issues and geothermal power in geology. It is also important that EFS is integrated into personal and social learning and health and human development studies. (For further examples of curriculum links, see AGDEWHA, 2008.)

International Policies and Programmes Promoting Education for Sustainability

There have been many instances world wide of governments and educators taking action to increase education for sustainability, which demonstrate the serious concern educators have about the importance of this field. Henderson and Tilbury's (2004) review of school programmes for sustainability documents international instances of diverse actions. They note, for example, that in Sweden in 2004, the *Learning to change our world* conference involved 350 selected participants including teachers, educators, students, scholars, researchers and education officials from 80 countries working collaboratively to discuss how to shape learning and education for sustainable development in practice. In Sweden, the Schools Act now states that 'all those working in schools shall encourage respect for the intrinsic value of each person, as well as for the environment we all share' (Sweden NCESD, 2004). In Canada, the 'Learning Grounds' programme brings school communities together to transform typically barren school grounds into healthy, natural and creative 'outdoor classrooms', which then provide students with a healthy and safe place to play, learn and develop a genuine respect for nature and each other (Evergreen, 2000). The Scottish *Eco-schools* programme clearly links to the school curriculum, 'especially in relation to kindergarten and primary curricula, and encourages teachers to link subject areas such as health education, enterprise, international, personal and social education, citizenship and sustainable development' (Henderson & Tilbury, 2004, p. 37).

In the UK, there has been a strong shift towards values education with a key emphasis on the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils, but

personal wellbeing is named as the ultimate goal which these aims should serve (Kerr, Cleaver, Ireland, & Blenkinsop, 2003). Also in the UK, concern about sustainable development, and particularly climate change, is high, and set to increase, since a key aim is for all schools to have fulfilled the Department's 'sustainable school' criteria by 2020. The Education Department's National Framework for Sustainable Schools encourages all schools to self-evaluate to ensure that they progress their sustainability agendas (DCSF, 2009a).

The government would like all schools to be models of good corporate citizenship within their local areas, enriching their educational mission with active support for the wellbeing of the local environment and community. The government sees that schools can act as hubs of learning and catalysts for change in their local communities, contributing to the environment and quality of life while strengthening key relationships.

Being involved in community projects that seek to improve the local area can give pupils a sense of empowerment and confidence that they can make a difference to their lives and communities. It also allows them to experience how decisions are made at first hand, and to develop applied skills that complement classroom study. Schools can use the curriculum to cultivate the knowledge, values and skills needed to understand and address local issues and challenges, and reinforce this through positive activities in the school and local area (AuSSI, 2008).

Learning from School Experience: Theorizing Models of Action

Having explicit policies and expectations driving action for sustainability in schools is core to successful implementation of the goals. However, it is how policy is translated into practice at the level of school implementation that is vital. A number of education theorists have described *action competence* as a critical method in teaching students about sustainable development (Jensen & Schnack, 1997; Lundegard & Wickman, 2007). Action implies a set of intentional behaviours, and competence implies being ready, willing, and able to inspire change (Jensen & Schnack, 1997). Rauch (2002) agreed that:

> Action competence aims to promote pupils' readiness and abilities to concern themselves with environmental issues in a democratic manner, by developing their own criteria for decision-making and behaviour, and to prevent pupils from adopting patterns of thinking without reflection. (p. 45)

Teachers' role in action competence is facilitating and motivating students to take positive action in promoting sustainable development. Lundegard and Wickman (2007 as paraphrased in Jaspar, 2008) argue that:

> Action competence goes beyond simply educating students to place their juice boxes in the correct container. That is an act with no opportunity for critical thinking on the students' part. For it to be deemed action competence, students need to have the ability to point out conflicts that underlie environmental problems before they can engage in critical action. (Jaspar, 2008, p. 12)

Barrett (2006) agrees that 'taking action is often not part of the schooling process' (p. 503) yet it is a necessary goal for education for sustainable development. Jensen and Schnack (1997) believe students need opportunities to develop a more sophisticated framework of thinking and acting for their own wellbeing, 'so they are capable of envisioning alternative ways of development, and able to participate in actions according to these objectives' (p. 472). Jensen and Schnack (1997) argue that action competence is directly linked to the empowerment of students. Students in the Dromana cluster of primary and secondary schools involved in the Students for the Biosphere project in Australia (DEEWR, 2008) worked with highly experienced environmental educators to first increase their knowledge about EFS, and were then asked to choose what elements of sustainability are important for their lives now and in the future. They were able to then take ownership of a range of action projects and with the support of their teachers achieved success in activities including a kitchen garden healthy eating programme, a beach clean-up project, a link-up with indigenous communities who share a common interest in the impact of rubbish in the seas, and a buddy programme to increase student wellbeing.

Modelling Sustainable Practices

Higgs and McMillan (2006) argue that schools must model sustainable practices, because inconsistency 'in the practice or culture of schools confuses students' (p. 40). They admit, however, that this is not easy, because:

> Advice is available to schools on incorporating sustainability into their curricula and on greening their facilities, but there is limited concrete guidance on how to shape an entire school community that models sustainability through its systems and actions. (p. 40)

Further research and thinking is necessary to provide advice on how teachers and schools can be living models for sustainable development. Higgs and McMillan (2006) do advise, however, some practical strategies including, for example, driving a hybrid car, using other more energy efficient modes of transportation to and from work, eating locally grown produce, decreasing consumerism, participating in community service projects, composting and recycling, reducing waste, conserving energy, fostering democratic classroom environments, using restorative conflict–resolution, and encouraging opinion sharing' (pp. 41, 43). According to Higgs and McMillan (2006), when students observe their teachers engaging in such actions, they are more likely to think about adopting such practices.

In Australia, service learning has been one sustainable practice which schools have introduced to develop students' responsibility and respect for others and the environment that can be sustained lifelong. Some schools have introduced schemes in which students have assumed responsibility for taking care of plants, gardens or animals. Another school developed an extensive network of 'tribes' who take care of distinct environmental aspects such as water and electricity conservation, litter reduction and keeping the corridors, playground areas and paths neat and uncluttered. Students were able to put the values into practice in functional and purposeful

ways while making a meaningful contribution to the school environment (Lovat et al., 2009).

Whole-School Case Studies of Education for Sustainability: Learning from School Experience

The Lance Holt School in Western Australia provides a case study of a primary school with a strong focus on values and education for sustainability. The Final Report of the Values Education Good Practice Schools Project – Stage 2 (DEEWR, 2008) features the following story about teaching and learning strategies in the school:

> Today, the teacher is working with the Years 4–7 children on a project based around the book 'Dust', written by Colin Thompson and illustrated by a range of well-known authors. The book begins with the shocking line, 'Last night I died' and narrates the circumstances of the life and death of a poor child in drought-stricken Africa. It is the sort of story that could overwhelm children with grief or guilt if it was approached badly. On the other hand, the school would not be offering an adequate education if it ignored global crises of justice and ecology in an effort to protect children from the knowledge of suffering and issues about sustainability. So, Christine has carefully scaffolded this project by fostering in the children an understanding that they are in a position to help other children and to make a difference in the world. In fact, this lesson of empowerment has consistently been part of the children's education: don't be guilty or despairing, be pro-active. Almost before Christine has finished reading the story, the students are, of their own accord, beginning to think about possible fundraisers to help. The process here is important. The older children are by now familiar with the idea of organizing to be effective, so in small groups the older children mentor the younger children on their fundraising ideas. Christine's job now is as a facilitator and guide, helping the children see through their ideas to fruition. She tries not to take over the process but to enable the children as agents of process-building. (Lovat et al., 2009, p. 71)

There is no doubt that young people do need to engage with realities, even when the facts may be confronting and beyond students' normal experience. At Lance Holt School, there are multiple opportunities for students to further develop education for sustainability that increases their wellbeing in relation to their connections with the local and wider communities. Teachers from the school develop multiple integrated learning approaches to using their local beach as a learning resource:

> On the wall of the Year 2/3 classroom is a huge blue mural featuring Bathers Beach. The children have regular excursions to Bathers Beach and the school community has a very special relationship with it. Bathers Beach is a sustainability hotspot with many cultural, social, economic and ecological values. Only a 10 minute walk away, it is the ideal outdoors classroom. Spontaneous or planned projects involve litter collection and analysis, sand sculptures, playing on the sculptural playground, school art exhibitions and viewings at Kidogo Arthouse, botanical drawings, painting, dune revegetation, mapping exercises, snorkelling, intertidal biology, coiling baskets from seaweed, interviewing local shopkeepers, exploring the local fish markets and cafes, and visiting the adjacent Port. The children have been active stewards of Bathers Beach for many years, and were first officially welcomed there by Nyungar Elder Mrs Marie Taylor in 2002. The mural on the wall of the Year 2/3 classroom features a variety of coloured animals swimming in the sea or living adjacent to it, and people on the beach. The children have cut out these figures and stuck them on,

together with little thought bubbles they have created about what the animals need from the people, like unpolluted water, and what the people would like to offer the animals, like care and protection. This type of project fosters children's empathy with the broader ecosystem and helps enable children to think about a world in which other sentient beings are at the centre of the moral sphere.

At the same school, the Year 6/7 teacher, Seth, approaches real world learning from another direction:

Displayed in Seth's classroom are models of passive solar houses, designed and built by the children as part of Seth's now on-going work in sustainability. Previously the children themselves ran a sustainability conference for the school community. The children themselves wanted to take sustainability further into the community. In the process they engaged with their parents about rainwater tanks, organic gardening, worm farming, solar ovens and recycling. Some children encouraged their parents to take on sustainability activities at home; others went on to write to politicians about local developments they were unhappy with; or to join voluntary bushcare groups. (Lovat et al., 2009, pp. 72–23)

What the Lance Holt School demonstrates is that when teachers, parents and students work together across the whole school with clearly defined goals related to education for sustainability, valuable, authentic and purposeful learning can occur.

The Need for Integrated and Whole-School Approaches

Whole-school approaches to sustainability are a recent phenomenon, emerging predominantly during the last decade. These approaches to school development have been in response to global calls for the need to reorient the management and practice of formal education, in order to contribute to addressing inequalities and to building a better world (UNCED, 1992; UNESCO, 2002). In their review of whole-school approaches to sustainability, Henderson and Tilbury (2004) also found that students need opportunities to draw on a range of knowledge so they can understand complex issues. This requires educators to provide opportunities for students to study cross curriculum issues rather than compartmentalizing curriculum into traditional subject disciplines. Many of the most challenging problems facing the world including climate change, dwindling resources, declining ecodiversity and global poverty need to be explored and investigated by students through inquiry methodology and studies of critical questions. Many theorists are now describing these issues as 'wicked problems' that will require responses as they increasingly have impacts on our daily lives (see, for instance, the Australian Public Service Commission's (2007) study, *Tackling Wicked Problems: A Public Policy Perspective*.

For schools to model strategies for dealing positively with wicked issues that also involve shifting students' thinking on their core life values and beliefs, integrated approaches to curriculum are necessary, now and into the future. One of the most important challenges for schools will be to develop authentic and purposeful programmes so that students can enhance their own wellbeing and positive actions in their own communities.

The Lance Holt School case study provides a powerful story of successful education for sustainability. Students anywhere in the world can have authentic learning experiences of civic responsibility in the community through active engagement with local youth programmes, child care, and activities such as Clean up Australia Day. In any local community there are also opportunities for schools to work with local community groups and organizations including the Scouts, Rotary, Lions Club, sporting or environmental groups. This can provide students with a sense of purpose and can enhance their self-esteem. While not all students have opportunities for international travel experiences beyond their own communities, interventions that transmit a vision of the school community as aware and empathetic towards global issues, can lead to enhancement of student tolerance and collective participation, for example, through fundraising for victims of natural disasters, or through involvement in overseas projects such as Round Square and International Baccalaureate schools' commitment to service learning. In one urban Australian school, students finance the staff and buildings for a school in Bangladesh, and when the Delta regularly floods, they start all over again. Students are humbled when they realize how privileged their lives are in comparison with the children in the small village community school, and they realize how well off they are in terms of their life comforts and opportunities. Students' experience can also be broadened through examples of positive action in diverse local communities, for instance, through helping in homework programmes for recently arrived refugees. Student-initiated projects for local community involvement in particular can develop individual responsibility and motivation.

In Australia, the 'Students for the Biosphere' curriculum project that was part of the national government *Values Education Good Practice Schools project* (2007–2008) modelled a whole-school approach to values education. It focused on activities that addressed sustainability improvement in the areas of school operations, curriculum and whole-school engagement as well as through links to the local community. In each of the four schools there was a focus on the themes of Energy, Water, Waste and Biodiversity. Each school explored a range of pedagogical tools and practices that encouraged student to 'be active, self-directed and collaborative learners and ethical and responsible citizens taking action for a sustainable future' (Dromana schools cluster programme goals, DEEWR, 2008).

Learning from Experience: Recommendations for the Future

The policies and programmes discussed in this chapter should encourage schools to develop a vision, goals and pedagogies related to education for sustainability that are values-focused, student-centred and based on authentic and meaningful learning that has the capacity to enhance student wellbeing. In the Final Report of the Values Education Good Practice Schools Project – Stage 2 in Australia, we are reminded that:

> Effective values education uses pedagogies that mirror the values being taught. . . . the most effective learning experiences in values education are generally values-explicit,

> student-centred and open-ended, rather than values-implicit, teacher-centred and closed. The pedagogies engage students in real-life learning, offer opportunity for real practice, provide safe structures for taking risks, and encourage personal reflection and action. (DEEWR, 2008, p. 9)

The report found that these emphases lead to 'observable changes for the student, the teacher and the learning environment. These include calmer classrooms and happier students, who are empowered, engaged, more responsible, confident and positive about their place in the school and wider community' (DEEWR, 2008, p. 10). The report also notes that:

> Values-focused pedagogies are required to support students to live as enabled and resilient individuals in the real world of the twenty-first century: a world beset with climate change, personal and societal insecurities, shifting certainties, rapidly changing forms of social interaction and intensifying intercultural and interglobal realignments... schooling educates for the whole child and must necessarily engage a student's heart, mind and actions, effective values education empowers student decision making, fosters student action and assigns real student responsibility. (pp. 10–11)

Beatley and Newman (2009) argue that education for sustainability can be related to various traditional learning areas, but the challenge of sustainability requires us to approach the curriculum differently. They urge schools to provide students with the chance to work together to explore real-life issues. They cite the Ribbons of Blue Program in Western Australia, which enables students to measure water quality in local streams, combine the data into water sheds with other school data, analyse the problems along with experts, talk to communities about solutions and deliver their report with suggested actions to local politicians (along with how they will contribute themselves). The same kind of approach can be taken to any 'wicked problem', with a local focus and a global context.

A further way for schools to move ahead with education for sustainability is for schools to commit the school community and buildings to a 'sustainability makeover', and from this audit, schools can create a range of projects that can involve all students. This is the basis of the Sustainable Schools Program in Australia, and more recently Carbon Neutral schools are appearing (e.g., South Fremantle High School and a group of schools in the Castlemaine district). In the UK, audits and checklists for sustainability will be an expectation by the year 2020. In *Living Sustainably: The Australian Government's National Action Plan for Education for Sustainability* (AGDEWHA, 2009) there are seven principles that need to be considered:

> 1. 'Transformation and change' – not just skills.
> 2. 'Education for all and lifelong learning' – all need learning spaces for sustainability.
> 3. 'Systems thinking' – to understand the connections involved in the integration.
> 4. 'Envisioning a better future' – this needs to be a shared vision.
> 5. 'Critical thinking and reflection' – both are needed to challenge accepted views.
> 6. 'Participation' – this is a shared task.
> 7. 'Partnerships for change' – new kinds of partnerships are needed. (p. 9)

The Guiding Principles of AuSSI also provide positive recommendations for future action in urging schools to:

- develop a school culture committed to the principles of Sustainable Development;
- go beyond awareness raising to action learning and integration with school curricula;
- encourage the involvement of the whole school;
- encourage the involvement of a school's local community and a shift in the broader community towards more sustainable practices and processes;
- develop relationships with other areas that impact on the organization and management of a school;
- think about the sound basis of theory and practice in schools and school systems, quality teaching and learning, and education for sustainability, and
- [produce] measurable social, environmental, educational and financial outcomes. (AuSSI, 2008, adapted)

Conclusion

The AuSSI schools aim to 'have a caring ethos – care for oneself, for each other (across cultures, distances and generations) and for the environment itself (far and near)' (DCSF, 2009b). This chapter has shown that education for sustainability is high on the world agenda. There are already substantial policies and programmes making a difference to student wellbeing and sustainability, but schools will need to continue to develop more holistic approaches to EFS. Nearly a decade ago, Cogan and Derricott (2000) reported on an international study that identified what knowledge, skills and values young people will need for the future. There is still a synergy between the findings from their research, and the kinds of capacities young people will need to lead more sustainable lives in the future that can be learned though values and citizenship education, along with whole school explicitly planned education for sustainability. Karsten, Kubow, Matrai, and Pityanuwat (2000) recommended that young people will need the following:

- ability to look at and approach problems as a member of a global society;
- ability to work with others in a cooperative way and to take responsibility for one's roles/duties within society;
- ability to understand, accept and tolerate cultural differences;
- capacity to think in a critical and systemic way;
- willingness to resolve conflict in a non-violent manner;
- willingness to change one's lifestyle and consumption habits to protect the environment;
- ability to be sensitive towards and to defend human rights (for example rights of women and ethnic minorities); and
- willingness and ability to participate in politics at local, national and international levels. (p. 97)

To achieve these goals, teachers will require professional learning in the field of EFS, and school leaders will need to support and initiate participatory approaches that engage all members of their communities in purposeful local action. Most importantly, young people in schools will need to be motivated to get involved and

be leaders in education for sustainability, since it is their future, and their wellbeing that it at stake.

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Chapter 45
Translating Values Education into Values Action: Attempts, Obstacles, and Potential for the Future

Jeremy Leeds

Introduction

Why has it been so difficult to create ethics programs that have a lasting effect, and a lasting effect we want, on the lives of our students? There is a great deal of uncertainty about values education and its place in students' lives as they move beyond the school years. Do our classes or programs exert significant influence? As our students move on to different and new social contexts, they experience different relationships, rules, limits and possibilities within which they make their lives. Does their experience in school ethics programs provide reference points for making these new decisions, for living good lives?

Enough questions! Or, perhaps not. The first step in moral education, as we are aware, is raising useful questions (see, for example, Simon, 2001). But it cannot stop there. Questions should lead to new ways of thinking, to answers, and to action. This should be true about the questions we ask *about* ethics programs – and the questions we raise with our students *in* them. It will be my goal here to show that moral educators must aim to raise important questions (1) *in a context that allows us to give our best answers,* (2) *in a manner that calls for connection with our lives, both in the moment and outside the classroom*, and (3) *with a commitment to an ethics based on empathy and interdependence*.

The challenge in transferring education to action is immense. The educators, thinkers, activists, *and institutions* that I think come closest to this ideal have tried, in various inventive ways, to combine thought and action in ethics education. They attempt to address problems for which the possible solutions are many. When solutions are offered, they strive to be both committed and open to revision. They do so in a classroom and institutional context that is committed to open discussion and thought. They are willing to examine the rationale, and possible weaknesses, of the classroom and institutional setup themselves. They also are committed to education having a direct connection to working for better lives and a better world – though

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it is possible, and in fact inevitable, that participants disagree about what this might mean.

This is not the only way to conceive of moral education. As it will guide our evaluation in this chapter, I will provide a summary explanation for each of the three points above.

Context, Connection, Interdependence

Let us start with *context*. The interaction of individual decision and broader social context is the condition through which we learn about what we value and how we should act. For moral educators working in schools, the institutional environment of the school – the most immediate context – should (at the very least) not contradict the spirit and lessons of our moral education. Optimally, it should allow us to imagine our "best selves," and act accordingly.

As to the *connection* to the lives of the students: the ethical concepts and issues we address should be relevant to the lives of the participants. This relevance can be self-evident, but if it is not, it must be demonstrated. Even with the best possible educational contexts, and the most relevant topics, the education is incomplete if it is left in the classroom. Learning about ethical life means trying to live it.

Academic classes can be life-changing and can provide the student with knowledge and insight that they can carry forth well into the future; but whether this is actually the case is far from certain. Education has always been bedeviled by the "transfer of knowledge" question – how particular learning influences general capacities and future experience (see, for example, Hilgard & Bower, 1975, pp. 37–38). Values education is at the cutting edge of this problem. Its goal is to create a profound effect in the way the student thinks and the way she acts in the moment and far into the future.

Finally, we will look at the *values* that the programs attempt to transmit. The vantage point for doing this is the tendency within moral education I call "positive ethics." This tendency includes such thinkers as William James, Spinoza, Dewey, and Vygotsky. Though it stands on its own, this trend is perhaps most clearly seen in contrast to other ways of thinking about ethics education that prioritize other values. Two historical examples will suffice to demonstrate how variable what we call "values education" can be. First, Demos (1997) points out the following:

> In colonial America, child-rearing (and social control, more generally) had been based on a principle of shame – that is, the exposure of wrong doing to the ridicule and contempt of others. (p. 70)

Second, The Character Development League, in a 1909 book prepared by White called *Character Lessons in American Biography for Public Schools and Home Instruction,* lists Traits of Character for instruction. The first such trait was Obedience (White, 1909/2004, p. 1).

Of course, there have been other voices at each of these times, as there are today. And it is clearly true that both shame and knowing whom (and when) to obey play

important if controversial roles in ethical life. But consider William James' advice to teachers:

> Spinoza long ago wrote in his Ethics that anything that a man can avoid under the notion that it is bad he may also avoid under the notion that something else is good. He who habitually acts sub specie mali, under the negative notion, the notion of the bad, is called a slave by Spinoza. To him who acts habitually under the notion of good he gives the name of freeman. See to it now, I beg you, that you make freemen of your pupils by habituating them to act, wherever possible, under the notion of a good. (James, 1899/1992, p. 821)

My own formulation of the overall ethical goal expressed in this tendency is "mature interdependence" (Leeds, 2005; Nussbaum, 2001, p. 224). I will conclude the chapter with some discussion of this as an integrative concept for ethics in action.

We will now look at the attempts to move from values education to values practice through the lens of two important trends in the recent history of values education: Values Clarification and service-learning. These are two different approaches to making values relevant to the current and future lives of the participants. Both go beyond what we generally think of as the conventional educational model – verbal transmission of knowledge from teacher to student – to bring a different level of experience to the educational encounter. Each might be said to take this statement by Soviet psychologist Vygotsky (1926/1992) as a challenge:

> Moral precepts, in and of themselves, will, in the student's mind seem like a collection of purely verbal responses that have absolutely nothing to do with behavior. (p. 8)

Both Values Clarification and service-learning can trace their lineage directly back to Dewey. Almost everyone in education today claims to follow Dewey, so this does not necessarily tell us much. However, what they do share with Dewey is (1) a sense that education, and values education specifically, is about building a democratic public; (2) the conviction that education is about solving problems actively, and doing so in a broader educational context that does not undermine the values that are being discussed and learned. Dewey says in *A Common Faith*:

> The child's moral character must develop in a natural, just, and social atmosphere. The school should provide this environment for its part in the child's moral development. (As cited in Lipe, n.d., p. 3)

In Values Clarification, the student comes face to face with his/her own beliefs about what is important in making decisions. The process involves introspective questioning as a value itself: *What do you believe? How does it translate into who you are?* In service-learning, the school community connects with people, institutions and issues beyond the traditional school bounds and commits to shaping education to broader social imperatives. Education is about creating and using knowledge to act ethically, solve social problems and address social needs, big and small.

These models have had varying degrees of success, at least as measured by adoption by teachers and schools. While their eclipse, when it has happened, may sometimes be deserved, we know from ethical education itself that popularity is not

always the best indicator of value. In fact, one goal of this chapter is to reclaim some of what we are in danger of losing in our current educational environment.

Values Clarification

Values Clarification (VC) is one of the best-known methods of moral education of the past half-century. One book on the subject (Simon, Howe, & Kirschenbaum's, 1972, *Values Clarification: A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students*) sold upwards of 600,000 copies – virtually unique in the education field (Kirschenbaum, 1992, p. 2).

Its meteoric rise, and its equally sudden fall into disfavor, makes it the drosophila fruit fly of moral education. In a brief time, we can see the process of rise, fall, revision, rise and fall again, that in a usually more extended way marks most, if not all, values education programs.

VC might be best seen as a direct response to authoritarianism, both that encountered abroad in the World War II, and at home, in such phenomena as McCarthyism. It originated and thrived in an era when authority appeared particularly hypocritical and illegitimate. To the three educators (Raths, Harmin and Simon) who originated the program, values clarification – which emphasizes critical thinking, rational individual choice, and public affirmation – seemed a sensible and even essential antidote to authoritarian leadership wherever it might appear (Kirschenbaum, 1992, p. 4).

Along with the delegitimation of authority in society as a whole, came a plethora of conflicting points of view (Kirschenbaum, 1992, p. 16), making it difficult, but necessary, for young people to choose between them. The need to make responsible choices between values is always present; "But young people brought up by moralizing adults are not prepared to make their own responsible choices" (Simon et al., 1972, p. 16).

The model involved four main ingredients (Kirschenbam, 1992, p. 2): (1) an issue, (2) a question or activity ("strategy") to work on the topic, (3) a hearing for all points of view, and (4) using the "valuing processes" while considering the topic. These processes follow Raths' view that it is the process of valuing, not the content of the values, that concerns the values educator (Simon et al., 1972, p. 9). There are seven sub-processes:

PRIZING one's beliefs and behaviors

1. prizing and cherishing
2. publicly affirming, when appropriate

CHOOSING one's beliefs and behaviors

3. choosing from alternatives
4. choosing after consideration of consequences
5. choosing freely

ACTING ON ONE'S BELIEFS

6. acting
7. acting with a pattern, consistency, and repetition (pp. 9–10).

With 79 strategies in the major text, VC created accessible opportunities for teachers across ages and across the curriculum to bring values issues into their classrooms.

In my own experience as a values educator in the early 1980s (a drug prevention counselor and a dropout prevention counselor), Values Clarification was a tremendously energizing practice. It created lively and important discussions. Even more, the idea that opinions, even seemingly authoritative ones, express a person's values, and are therefore open to debate and rethinking, brought new engagement to these discussions. Empowerment is now a terribly overused word (Guttmacher & Leeds, 1992), but those discussions and concepts felt ... empowering, for my students and me.

There are two central criticisms leveled at VC: relativism and, ironically, authoritarianism.

The critique of VC's relativism is straightforward. A program that does not privilege any values above any others is insufficient. Neutrality allows any value to be seen as equal to any other. Lockwood (1975) somewhat hyperbolically made the essential point as follows:

> The advocates of values clarification do not seriously entertain such fundamental questions as: assuming Adolph Hitler, Charles Manson, Martin Luther King, and Albert Schweitzer held values which met the seven criteria, are their values equally valid, praiseworthy, and/or good? (p. 9)

Lipe (n.d.), following Lockwood, finds that there is not a direct connection between values and action – that the same value can lead to very different actions. The claim that VC necessitates Acting On One's Beliefs is problematic (p. 14).

Kirschenbam (1992) himself has come to agree that relativism was a weakness in the theory. He finds the (implied) VC position: "that it was better to clarify than to inculcate values and that those who primarily inculcated values were perhaps even harming young people by denying them the decision-making skills for guiding their own lives in a complex world" – to be "theoretically flawed and, as history showed, politically untenable... we overstated our case" (pp. 3–4).

The claim that VC is authoritarian and coercive is of a different kind. It would be very difficult to claim that VC is intentionally either of these. As we saw above, the other major critique, of relativism, if anything alleges the opposite. The criticism here is that in actual practice, the vacuum in objective authority creates the potential for coercion by either a teacher or peer group (Gluck, 1977, pp. 3–4). Gluck also points out that the topics called for in the VC exercises – everything from who should live or die to drug use to premarital sex, are intense and emotionally seductive. But teachers are not counselors; to raise these issues in the "unpredictable and uncontrollable" classroom environment itself raises moral questions. "The integrity

of children and youth is much less likely to be violated if moral questions are handled in a larger, more generalized context of perennial issues and reflective judgment (p. 4)."

Rokeach (1979), himself a theorist of values, strongly criticizes VC along the same lines. He finds that the seven processes are far from value-free, so the claim of value-neutrality is really a cover for a strong set of beliefs:

> Is it not value-obfuscating rather than value-clarifying to teach such values through the back door, and at the same time give the impression of value neutrality through the front door? (p. 266)

While there is much to criticize in VC, much of the criticism itself is flawed.

The accusation of relativism is not entirely valid. Kirschenbaum (1992) asserts that while he and his colleagues were not advocating particular political points of view, their commitment to "freedom, justice, rationality, equality, and other democratic and civic values" was always clear (p. 3). From there, VC theory and practice faced an issue common to all ethics education, and present in ethical philosophy itself: to what extent can particular actions or beliefs be derived from general principles? The idea that many different views, even views we can agree are evil, can stem from one principle is not particularly relativist. Neither is the view that in teaching ethics, one needs to be aware of and respectful toward very different points of view. For example, Nucci (2008), speaking about another program for ethics education, claims:

> By focusing on those universal features of human moral understanding, public schools may engage in fostering children's morality without being accused of promoting a particular religion, and without undercutting the basic moral core of all major religious systems.

Whether or not one agrees with Nucci's view, he is tackling the same issue as the proponents of VC: to what extent can moral educators be advocates, and where is the boundary line? There must – and should – be room for students to draw their own conclusions about right and wrong.

Rokeach (1979) himself lets VC in "through the back door," when he advocates as follows:

> Values education should attempt to provide substantive information about the students' own values and about the values of others in their society in order to encourage students to compare what they find out about others with what they find out about themselves. (p. 269)

He would include people besides other students in this process, and this is a valid point. He also holds that students should know differences in values, where they are shown to exist, between bigots and nonbigots, addicts and nonaddicts, etc., and that such communication of actually preferred values is legitimate. The difference between his view and the VC point of view, however, is one of degree, not of kind.

There is also, however, substance to the criticism.

Like other methods that aspire to some degree of nonjudgmental stance on the part of the facilitator, values clarification is open to the kind of problems that arise from disparities of power and authority between the participants, both recognized

and covert. On the one hand, VC has been applied "erratically" (Kirschenbaum, 1992, p. 3), and manipulations based on the point of view of the adult authority figure are possible, if not likely. But even when it is applied rigorously, there remains an authority figure who must be constantly aware of the effect of her action – or inaction – in providing or withholding ideas and opinions.

I find a variant of Gluck's criticism even more central, from the perspective of the positive approach to ethics discussed at the beginning of this chapter. In my experience, some of the most widely used VC exercises create intensity of discussion by engineering high stakes, emotionally laden and often highly unrealistic scenarios of danger and anxiety. Gluck cites a "cave-in" exercise in which students must each make the case for being saved, and then determine the order of exit. Another common example is the "lifeboat," in which a certain number of demographically diverse survivors are present but there is food for only a smaller number to survive: who will you choose?

It is not clear what is to be learned in these intense exercises. More troubling, they actually undercut the goal of making value-based thinking relevant to everyday life: these situations imply that a person's "real" views, and the need for ethical thinking in general, only appear under extreme duress. This is both destructive and untrue.

What of Gluck's alternative? Her belief is that "a more generalized context of perennial issues" is more conducive to maintaining student integrity. We face a key issue here in bringing values to life. On the one hand, some VC exercises undoubtedly have a level of intensity that will resonate with students, in the classroom and beyond. On the other hand, "generalized context of perennial issues" can be academically important, and less intrusive.

There are potential, but not necessary, problems with either alternative. Values Clarification's intensity can ultimately be artificial and manipulative, created by raising intrusive, emotionally charged questions that end up making it even less likely that students will be drawn to think about ethics in their daily lives. But "perennial issues" can also be sterile, and lack resonance with students' lives. If transfer of knowledge is the goal, abstract discussions often fall short.

In part, whether either approach is effective is a question of the skill and indeed the ethics of the practitioner, not necessarily of the method itself. But it is also a limit faced by classroom ethics programs, and cannot be circumvented by even the most intense discussions or the most knowledgeable presentations. As we will see, this is where service-learning programs can be a powerful addition to ethics education.

Even considering all of these difficult issues, probably the most salient reason for the eclipse of VC is what Kirschenbaum (1992) calls "the nation's changing social and political climate from the 1950s through the 1980s.... The times passed it by" (p. 3). "The times," in this case, include a return in part to authoritarian attitudes that Values Clarification tried to counteract in the first place.

It may be time for a return to a significantly modified form of VC. Making up one's mind on crucial values issues, in a rigorous educational context, can be the

basis for a lifelong habit of doing so. In fact, there are a variety of models and techniques that have carried much of this into present-day classrooms (see, for example, Simon, 2001). Issues of adult authority and teacher expertise need to be more clearly recognized and taken into account. So does the choice of exercise. Student consent to participation is a central ethical requirement.

With these modifications in mind, there are great possibilities, but also still limits to the classroom as a laboratory for intense thought and connection through values discussion. Values Clarification can be an important component to integrated ethics education programs; but more is needed.

As a method of ethics education, the next program considered here, service-learning, holds the promise of moving beyond the limits of VC, as it reimagines the classroom.

Service-Learning

Service-learning is a contemporary path to moral education with both uncommon influence and staying power. It has tapped into many streams of social thought and criticism, and takes many very different forms. Pritchard (2001) cites surveys showing 68% of K-12 public schools and 88% of private schools report participation by at least some of their students in community service or service-learning (p. 5). With this ubiquity comes a conceptual cost: there is not always a clear distinction between community service and service-learning, and there are multiple definitions of both. This creates a problem of “ill-defined boundaries” (Berkowitz, Battistich, & Bier, 2008, p. 415) that plagues this and so many values educational models. It is also a sign of the popularity and relevance of engagement with the wider world: great variation in understanding and implementation is often a byproduct of wide diffusion. But it does make it hard to characterize.

Rationales for service-learning are also diffuse. According to Furco (2001):

> As forms of experiential learning, community service, service-learning, and service-based internship programs are rooted in well-established educational and cognitive theories of constructivism, pragmatism, progressivism, and experiential education. (p. 27)

Billig and Furco (2001) explain as follows:

> Theorists who provide potential explanatory frameworks for service-learning include Erich Fromm, Abraham Maslow, Albert Bandura, and Erik Erikson. (p. 276)

Both the theories and theorists citied are wide-ranging but ill-defined and even sometimes contradictory. Hart, Matsuba, and Atkins (2008) also note that “. . . no consensus has been reached on how to define service learning” (p. 486). While they believe there are “real reasons to be optimistic,” they conclude that “. . . there are too many gaps in theory and research for an accurate appraisal of the value of service-learning to facilitate development” (p. 497).

For this chapter, we will use the service-learning rationale put forward by Harkavy and his colleagues at the University of Pennsylvania (Harkavy & Puckett, 1994; Benson, Harkavy & Puckett, 2007) and in my own work in the Center for

Community Values and Action, at Horace Mann School. These best match the values education objectives, and the potential connection to service-learning, put forward in this chapter.

The vision of partnership between universities, schools, and the wider community is the motivating force behind the Netter Center for Community Partnerships at the University of Pennsylvania. Harkavy and colleagues see this partnership as a necessary goal in the broader quest to create the "democratic, cosmopolitan, neighborly communities" which Dewey envisioned as the basis of participatory democracy (Benson, et al., 2007, p. 53). Service-learning is one component of this larger vision. Through the University-Assisted Community Schools Program, service-learning courses are part of the following:

> . . . an ongoing communal participatory action research project designed to contribute simultaneously to the improvement of West Philadelphia and to Penn's relationship with West Philadelphia, as well as to the advancement of learning and knowledge. (p. 104)

The work of the Center for Community Values and Action at Horace Mann School has the objective of "connecting education, ethics and action." Service-learning is one important way to effect this connection:

> . . . education, and indeed democracy, are impoverished and threatened if schools are not connected to the people who live in the wider communities and to the issues that concern these people; that a thriving democratic culture requires that we create contexts for connection with one another, and for understanding each others' experiences. (Leeds, 2008, p. 2)

These definitions share a particular values orientation: connecting education to life in a democratic community. Benson, Harkavy, and Puckett quote Dewey from his *Ethical Principles Underlying Education*:

> Interest in the community welfare, an interest which is intellectual and practical, as well as emotional. . . is the ultimate ethical habit to which all the special school habits must be related. (Quoted in Benson et al., 2007, p. 23)

This definition of service-learning connects education to the ongoing democratic project. It provides a basis for a comprehensive vision of moral education, including both individual learning and institutional context. This does not eliminate the potential contradictions between education of the individual and institutional priorities, or between different potential visions of good or democratic societies – but it provides a pedagogy through which both can be addressed (Leeds, 1999).

Research on service-learning has not necessarily followed the above definition, either in identifying programs or assessing impact. We have seen that the general definition has not been clear and that there has been overlap with other kinds of service programs. Predominant research on the impact of service-learning has focused on individual student variables, and has shown promising but inconclusive results.

Furco's (2001) study revealed some interesting but not definitive differences between outcomes on a variety of variables for students in service programs, as opposed to those who do not participate (p. 37). Service participants developed more positive attitudes toward schools, themselves, others, the future, and their

community. He did not find significant differences between program types (service-learning, community service, internship). And, he states, effect sizes were small and it was not clear what caused the differences that were present (pp. 37–41). Other studies similarly find modest impact (Melchior & Bailis, 2001, p. 211).

A promising development in understanding the power of service-learning comes from Kuh's (2008) report on "high-impact educational practices," part of the Liberal Education and America's Promise (LEAP) initiative of the Association of American Colleges and Universities. High-impact practices are important because they lead to deep learning and the retention, integration and transfer of information at higher rates (p. 14). Service-learning is among the high-impact activities identified (others include study abroad, student-faculty research, internships, first-year seminars and senior culminating experiences) (pp. 9–11):

> A key element in these programs is the opportunity students have to both apply what they are learning in real-world settings and reflect in a classroom setting on their service experiences. These programs model the idea that giving something back to the community is an important college outcome, and that working with community partners is good preparation for citizenship, work, and life. (p. 11)

The criteria evaluated here do not include moral education, transfer to moral action and ethical context per se. Kuh is looking at student engagement and success. His definition of service-learning is not identical to that we are using. But implicit in the criteria are some of the key concepts we are looking at in this chapter – most notably, effect of the learning on the lives of the students. Kuh claims the high-impact activities are good because they (1) demand that students devote time and effort to purposeful tasks; (2) demand interaction with faculty and peers about substantive matters over extended periods of time; (3) increase the likelihood of experiencing diversity; (4) typically provide students with frequent feedback; (5) provide opportunities to see how what they learn works in different settings, on and off campus; and (6) can be life-changing (pp. 14–17). Certainly, the participatory-democratic goals for students participating in service-learning overlap with these categories.

Community/Institutional Impact

Understanding and research on (1) wider community and (2) institutional (school/university) effects of service-learning have lagged.

Butin (2003) points out as follows:

> ... service learning has promoted much good will among those doing the actual service learning, but here is considerably less evidence that service learning has provided much benefit to the recipients. (p. 3)

He cites Cruz and Giles to the effect that there is no evaluation of community impact from service-learning (p. 6). While "evaluation" is not the only way to recognize impact, the larger point holds: our understanding of goals and possible impact of service-learning must be expansive and inclusive.

Benson, Harkavy, and Hartley (2005) make the same point, in advocating for a "higher, more significant purpose" for service-learning:

> . . . it follows that for us service-learning should work to develop strategies and actions to help fulfill the democratic promise of America's colleges and universities in particular and the democratic promise of American society in general. We should, in our judgment, therefore, evaluate service-learning by the extent to which it actually advances democracy in our classrooms, communities, and society. (p. 190)

The programs created by the Netter Center are important steps toward addressing and meeting these criteria. This remains a challenge to education in general: solving what Benson et al. (2007) call the "Dewey Problem":

> What we mean by the Dewey Problem is, what specifically is to be done beyond theoretical advocacy to transform American society and other developed societies into participatory democracies capable of helping to transform the world into a "Great Community"? (p. xiii)

This brings us to the issue of the within-school institutional context necessary for service-learning to optimize its effect as moral education. Damon (2001) finds that as powerful as service programs are as moral educators, consistency in moral message within the school itself is crucial and often lacking:

> As for moral education programs, by far the most effective are those that engage students directly in action, with subsequent opportunities for reflection: community service, for example, has proven to be one of the most reliable means of triggering positive change in students' values and commitments. . . (p. 141)
>
> Still, in reviewing these programs, I have had to conclude that their effectiveness is undermined by mixed moral messages that students receive in other parts of the school day. (p. 132)

Toole (2001) proffers the following regarding service-learning:

> Quality service-learning therefore asks people to redefine and strengthen a series of relationships at the center of education: student to student, teacher, student to teacher, student to their own learning, and school to community. . . Each of these redefinitions involves risk and therefore requires increased levels of trust. . . . If schools do not become civil societies themselves, then a mismatch develops between the stated goals of service-learning. . . and the organization itself. . . . (pp. 57–58)

What Values Clarification has strived mightily to create, with mixed results – classroom context which itself is based in, and serves, ethical goals – is also the promise of service-learning. But though we can point to promising and important practices, this promise is still a long way from being realized.

The Future: Strengths, Obstacles, Interdependence as an Overarching Rationale

What does current day values education need to make an increasingly effective transition from education to action?

First, it needs more – much more – of the same, as represented in the strengths of these approaches. They represent the potential for positive, substantive ethics education across the variety of activities that constitute education and our schools.

The most important strength represented by two such different programs – when they are at their best – is a positive view of ethics, in line with such thinkers as Dewey, Spinoza, James, and Vygotsky. They both can represent a non-punitive, positive perspective on morality. This contrasts with the shame and obedience trends mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. They do not, in Vygotsky's (1926/1992) words, "turn morality into the internal policeman of the soul" (p. 9).

Both represent "high-impact" educational practices (though VC may not fulfill all of Kuh's criteria). They also can be central components of an institution-wide, many-faceted approach to bringing values education to life in schools.

The place of moral education in our institutions of learning is frequently a marginal one. Education, like life, is not only about morals and ethics. Other things are important as well. But the extent to which we have limited the ethical dimension of education, while prioritizing other goals such as being able to "compete" individually with other people and collectively with other nations, sends a sad message about the commitment of our educational institutions to bring ethics to life. Ethical living does not thrive in a context that ignores or even contradicts it.

Values Clarification and Service-Learning, each of which finds ways to infuse the context with discussions and actions based on ethics, represent important streams in ethics education. They each make a case for moving values to a central place in educating young people. Service-learning, in particular, is a challenge to institutions to deliver on the goal of directly connecting education to "how we ought to live" (Singer, 1994, p. 1).

Both VC and S-L require explicit conceptions and understanding of authority for our present era. Each contains within it issues and challenges around authority that can be productively integrated into the ongoing development of ethics education – or can significantly weaken their effect.

For VC, we have two authority-based questions: (1) where does the authority of belief come from? And (2) what is the role of immediate, living authority – specifically teachers and peer groups – in the exploration of personal values? If handled well, in discussion and in action, each of these can open great avenues for ethics education and its translation to action. If not, they can render the practice largely irrelevant, and at times even destructive.

For service-learning, the creation of an immense ethical context for education raises crucial authority questions: (1) What is the basis of knowledge? (2) What is important to learn, and who decides? (3) Where does power and effectiveness lie in collaborative relationships? And (4) How does commitment to specific social outcomes intersect democratic and effective pedagogy? Again, these can be the basis of significant educational and societal opportunity if addressed directly and continuously. If not, they can lead to further marginalization, and as in the case of the first wave of values clarification, unintentional coercion.

Finally, we need a unifying concept that bridges the spheres of ethics education we have looked at here: individual ethical education; institutional imperatives

to establish caring and just environments; and connecting education to real-world issues and problem solving. Such a concept must be based in the positive sense of ethics described throughout this chapter. I suggest that the concept of *mature interdependence* (Leeds, 2005; Nussbaum, 2001, p. 224) fills this need.

Mature interdependence is central in a hierarchy of goals for ethical development. It is the "recognition of need and connection with others, along with an understanding, and even protection, of their separateness" (Leeds, 2005, p. 54).

Interdependence does not imply equality of power or expertise. What it does suggest as the central ethical lesson for our times is: we are all in this together. Ethics is primarily about our shared life, understanding the connections between each of us as individuals, and the connections between us and the larger social and natural environments we are a part of.

Mature interdependence implies that people can grow into different kinds and qualities of relatedness. This is what ethical education, and perhaps all education, is about.

Mature interdependence is both a description of fact – recognizing the context in which we live – and an assertion of value – the need to learn about, decide, and work on the qualities we wish to bring to this context of relationship. As stated in the Center for Community Values and Action brochure, "Living together is a fact; how we live together is up to all of us."

Values Clarification at its best can be education for mature interdependence in the classroom. The concept of Neighborly Communities, and the educational practices like service-learning that go with it, concretize what mature interdependence can look like – if we continue to work, and learn, in the classroom and beyond.

Conclusion

It is all of our hope that values education can translate into action in our schools and in our students' lives. It is crucial that it also does so in our own work – in taking what is best from the past, refining and working for it in the present. The real promise of turning values education into action is the discovery that it really is about a better way to live. Finding ways to help everyone to discover this is for each of us, as educators, a way of turning education into action.

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Chapter 46
Active Citizenship Education and Critical Pedagogy

Keith Crawford

Introduction

It's the end of the world as we know it and I feel fine. (Michael Stripe, REM)

In many nations social capital is firmly back in business. The re-claiming of public and civic life through a commitment to social interaction and engagement within communities as a way of improving society is now, again, firmly a part of the agenda of many nations (Field, 2003). After the neo-liberal projects of the 1980s and 1990s with their emphasis upon market-based individualism, it appears that there is such a thing as society and that social capital is vitally necessary in making democracies function vigorously, dynamically, and effectively. In encouraging the development of civic participation, the concept of social capital has the potential to, first, enable communities to operate collaboratively toward resolving collective problems in an atmosphere of reciprocated trust and respect; second, can generate a sense of belonging, kinship, and a shared sense of purpose within and between communities; and, third, offers the potential to improve life quality by enabling individuals and their communities to manage the demands that contemporary societies present (Putnam, 2000).

The re-awakening of interest in social capital can be traced to a recognition that in many nations democracy and democratic rights are fundamentally unstable, too often taken for granted and that their security and continuance depends upon the active participation of citizens in the democratic process. This is understood within an international context characterized by a widespread feeling of unease within communities regarding a loss of core values and a cohesive social fabric; national and ethnic tensions; international poverty, injustice, and inequality; a dilution in the values of solidarity; xenophobia, nationalism, racism, discrimination, social exclusion, and an all enveloping sense of a disquieting anxiety and insecurity (Potter, 2002).

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Faced with these deeply troubling perceptions governments have found the appeal of citizenship education as an instrument through which to formally re-build social capital to be profoundly enticing. This is not surprising or original for when the relationship between the State, its values, institutions, and citizens are seemingly rupturing citizenship education is frequently presented as the prescribed remedy for the re-building of civic society (Crick, 1999, p. 338; Kisby, 2006). As a way of rejuvenating a new commitment to social capital the rhetoric of citizenship education is seductive and generates a wide-ranging appeal as policy-makers, social commentators, and educators search for ways of either retaining threatened elements of long established custom and tradition or of manufacturing new forms of community and identity (Osler & Starkey, 2006).

It is well-established that citizenship education is a contested concept where what citizenship education is, or should be, is the subject of incessant debate. Yet, attempts to provide an accepted definition of citizenship education are debilitating if for no other reason than definitions are culturally specific and situationally locked in moments of time. Davies et al., in arguing that too much is expected of citizenship education in schools, provide a useful reminder that the task of citizenship education is to "... promote and encourage individuals with the wherewithal to better play a part in our democracy" (Davies, Gregory, & Riley, 1999, p. 126). Rather than engage in a discussion regarding what citizenship is or is not a more productive and energizing discourse might emerge by focusing upon approaches to the teaching and learning of citizenship education. In the section that follows I argue that this presents citizenship education with both opportunities and problems it has yet to grasp or overcome.

Pedagogy: What Pedagogy?

Although not mutually exclusive, Kerr (1999) identified three broad approaches to the teaching and learning of citizenship education which provide a useful way of articulating some of the tensions that exist when questions regarding a pedagogy for citizenship education are asked:

> 1. Education about citizenship that focuses upon providing students with civic knowledge and understanding in terms of national history, the structures and processes of government and politics etc. Frequently delivered through the formal curriculum, the pedagogic approach tends to be didactic and transmissional.
> 2. Education through citizenship involves students learning by doing, through active, participative experiences in the school and community: it includes service learning; community volunteering; schools councils etc.
> 3. Education for citizenship encompasses the other two stands and involves equipping students with a set of tools (knowledge and understanding, skills and aptitudes, values and dispositions) which enable them to participate actively in the roles and responsibilities they encounter in their adult lives. This strand links citizenship education with the whole education experience of students. (Kerr, 1999, p. 12).

Despite good intentions and islands of good practice teaching citizenship education remains dominated by teaching *about* citizenship. An international study of

citizenship education concluded that "... in most countries, citizenship education teaching still proceeds from the use of the textbook as the predominant teaching resource. Structured teacher exposition of textbook passages and follow up opportunities for student discussion and questioning is a very common teaching approach" (Kerr, 1999, p. 23). Pedagogy that actively encourages an active and critical approach to the study of society is not well understood or well developed and many teachers appear unsure and confused regarding what citizenship education is and how they should teach it (Davies et al., 2000).

In England inspection evidence led the *Office for Standards in Education* (Ofsted) to claim that citizenship education was poorly taught and that schools seldom demonstrated competence and confidence in their work (Bell, 2005). International studies on the teaching and learning of citizenship education have concluded that while support for active citizenship education is robust there is a significant gap between the rhetoric and practice (Kerr & Lasito, 2004; see also Hughes & Sears, 2006) and that active citizenship involving student engagement and participation is rarely practiced in a climate where the teaching of civic knowledge predominates (Nelson & Kerr, 2006). This situation is compounded by the fact that teacher education programs in citizenship education tend not to provide new teachers with the skills to teach active citizenship and that the in-service education of teachers is erratic and inconsistent (Torney-Purta, Schwillw, & Amadeo, 1999).

What this catalog of evidence suggests is that despite the international commitment of introducing active citizenship education into the educational experiences of children and despite a wide variety of admirable curriculum initiatives, high quality research, the development of curriculum materials, and government initiatives, citizenship education still struggles to occupy a significant place in educational practice and discourse as an area that attracts territory, status, and power. Nor do we have sufficient empirical evidence to claim with any degree of confidence that active citizenship education is having a significant and tangible impact upon young people's attitudes, values, and behavior. Why is it that despite formal and structured citizenship education programs, despite activities such as Holocaust Day, Human Rights Day, and a broad and extension range of other projects we still have a world characterized by wholly unacceptable levels of racism, ethnic hatred, inequality, sexism, homophobia, violence, anti-social behavior, and frightening low levels of political and civic participation?

Part of the problem active citizenship education faces has to do with status, territory, and resources and the manner in which it all too frequently has had to compete for all three with dominant educational discourses supported by powerful subject lobbies and allied interest groups seeking to protect their professional interests. Within the context of these historical, structural, and institutionalized issues we are left with the clear and unmistakable conclusion that education *for* and *through* active citizenship requires the adoption of pedagogic principles that many teachers lack. In the following section I want to suggest that one possible way of dealing with this problem is to give serious consideration to the development of a critical pedagogy of active citizenship education.

What Is Critical Pedagogy?

A lot of nonsense is written about critical pedagogy both by those who support it and those who oppose it yet the core idea is uncomplicated and almost commonplace. Critical pedagogy is grounded in the premise that there exists in society deep-seated and underlying injustices, inequality, and prejudices and that as educators we ought not to tolerate such a situation, moreover, we have a moral, ethical, and democratic obligation to challenge inequality, injustice, and discrimination wherever and whenever we come across it. Working toward this goal asks educators to engage with a critical pedagogy inside schools and classrooms through the following:

- engaging in constructive dialogue and debate with themselves and with others in reflecting critically upon the nature of society, their place, and role within it;
- through this dialogue to work toward social transformation in pursuit of greater democracy, social justice, and equality for all through principled, active, and ethical participation in the community.

It is one mark of a democracy that it engages in this process; Apple is surely right when he claims that engaging in socially critical debate is the ultimate act of patriotism (Apple, 2000). Adopting a critical pedagogy in our teaching involves asking important, difficult, and controversial questions. As Giroux (1999) has proffers:

> Critical teaching [is] an indispensable tool for allowing teachers, students, and others to intervene and act strategically to change the contexts that enable or restrict their capacities to be critical agents, to keep alive the hope of pedagogy as an act of critical citizenship and social justice. (p. xi)

Adopting a critical pedagogy has been seen by some as the somewhat pointless pursuit of some utopian ideal (Maxcy, 1999) and by others as being as wildly over-theorized and of failing to address the relationship between articulating goals and ensuring their implementation inside schools (Estes, 2004; Gore, 1993; Usher & Edwards, 1994). The claim is that writing on critical pedagogy is unnecessarily obscure and too busy analyzing the inadequacies of education and schooling rather than suggesting positive educative frameworks toward which schools should aspire. This has been explained thus, "[I]magine having as your central professional message [as a teacher educator] that schools are lousy places to work, young people are alienated, and the curriculum is fundamentally and perhaps fatally flawed!" (Bullough, Jr. & Gitlin, 1995, p. 8). Allied to this claim is the suggestion that use of critical pedagogy inside classrooms is oppressive and undemocratic based more upon dogma than presenting authentic models of social change (Brown, 1999; Filax, 1997).

These are important criticisms that can have significant weight inside schools and classrooms if they generate critical pedagogic practices that fail to acknowledge that in teaching and learning environments power and control operate differentially and that there are important boundaries between what is appropriate and inappropriate professional behavior. Teachers are not engaged in the business of indoctrination and

respecting and valuing another's right to grow and develop within a learning context where alternative views and opinions are discussed in a moral manner is an essential element of ethical practice. Ethical teachers ensure that through a principled critical pedagogy and through their relationships with students they provide authentic opportunities to engage in balanced, critical reflection in order that students may take increasing responsibility for their own learning and grow into mature, ethically just, and thoughtful adults.

Issues of social justice, or the lack of it, face us every day yet discussion of social justice usually emerges when through our ignorance, selfishness, or complacency we have marginalized or ignored it. A commitment to social justice pre-supposes a vision of a society within which all are treated equitably, a society within which individuals act in a just, responsible, and collective manner to tackle all forms of oppression, bigotry, and discrimination, a society within which no individual or group is denied opportunity through social exclusion, poverty, or disadvantage. It is within this context that through active citizenship education teachers have a critical role to play in the promotion of social justice within classrooms, schools, and communities. Part of this process involves understanding that teachers and students enjoy an unequal and problematic power relationship and that professional practice should emphasize the following:

- provision of a safe and secure teaching and learning environment that is based upon equity, rights, and dignity for all;
- an equitable classroom environment within which diversity and difference are valued and celebrated;
- creating a teaching and learning environment that is mutually respectful and just.

Teachers must adopt an ethical approach to respecting the learner while providing contexts within which learners might more adequately critique their perspectives, values, and opinions and move toward the consideration and adoption of alternative viewpoints.

At the heart of this is a commitment to avoid presenting to students through a discourse of critical pedagogy a view of society that generates feelings of cynicism, pessimism, and suspicion when, based upon critique, what should be sought is the generation of optimism, trust, and hope among young people that leads to principled action. Within this framework what is required is an active citizenship education that can provide students with the desire and with the tools to engage positively and ethically in making their society a better place. In the following section I explore the relationship as I see it between critical pedagogy and education for citizenship.

Critical Pedagogy and Citizenship Education

Why critical pedagogy, why not just pedagogy; because in citizenship education pedagogy has proved not to be sufficient if its aspirations for increased democratic participation and social transformation are to be realized. Hinchey (2006) offers a

helpful and constructive view of what is asked of educators seeking to teach active citizenship education through a critical pedagogy where they:

> Engage in an honest and detailed examination of the way existing power structures shape experience, resulting both in unearned privilege for some and unfair disadvantages for others; offer students the respectful treatment, valid voice, and relevant curriculum that is their due as human beings. (p. 128)

This pedagogical approach goes far beyond those employed in teaching about citizenship education.

In the United Kingdom the aim of citizenship education is to provide young people with the knowledge, skills, and understanding that they need in order that they may ". . . play an active, effective part in society as informed, critical citizens who are socially and morally responsible" (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2004, p. 6). Critical pedagogy is well suited to meet these goals in a number of ways.

First, active citizenship education demands a pedagogy that embraces a reasoned critique of contemporary society that goes beyond simplistic and one-dimensional criticisms. The very nature of citizenship education means that it inevitably deals with controversial and difficult issues (Osler & Starkey, 1996, 1998). Learning about society and how to make it better is never a neutral and apolitical matter and while critical pedagogies that offer a narrow and restricted voice dominated by a particular set of political values can be accused of indoctrinatory practice we cannot escape the fact that indoctrination is also the potential result of avoiding critiquing social, cultural, political, and moral questions, avoidance that may serve to perpetuate social injustice and undemocratic behavior. Educators have an ethical duty to tackle these issues in a professional, responsible, and considered manner and to use them to promote a more democratic and just society.

Second, the aims of critical pedagogy resonant strongly with those of active citizenship education particularly those based upon challenging injustice and inequality. As Osler and Starkey have pointed out citizenship education is a means of strengthening democracy and democratic participation in climates where the challenges of anti-democratic and racist movements are severe, particularly in nations where minority groups face institutionalized discrimination and persecution (Osler & Starkey, 2000). Challenging these inequalities is a core concern of critical pedagogy. Here education for active citizenship has an important role to play in the pursuit of social justice and equity.

Third, a theme running through any number of policy documents lauding the principles and practices of citizenship is that civic knowledge and understanding and critical thinking skills are not enough to protect our democracies or to challenge socially unjust and undemocratic behavior. What is required is *action.* Active citizenship education as a route to social transformation is curriculum as "praxis" through which teacher and student think reflectively *and* act critically upon that reflection by transferring learning into action inside and outside the classroom. Reflection, action, and an egalitarian approach to curriculum empowers students

as they critically analyze their social world, ask questions, and act in order to create a more equitable and socially just society.

If citizenship education is to be more than intellectual sightseeing we need to recognize that there is no educational program that will convince students that they have a role to play and that their voice is significant unless there is evidence that this is actually true. Creating a society based upon the principles of democratic and active citizenship means creating schools that offer students genuine opportunities to experience these principles. This has to be far more fundamental than engagement with special events, however worthy, such as a human rights "day." Schools ought to be thinking of themselves as communities within which citizenship is practiced as well as taught. Crick (2002) is right in suggesting that the alternative is undemocratic and un-educational:

> Participatory skills in real situations are the essence of any genuine education for democracy . . .. To believe in democracy and simply to teach outlying constitutional law is to do harm, not good: at best to bore children, at worst to render them perceptively cynical that they are being kept from understanding the real issues of the society they live in and the wider world. (pp. 500–501)

This means acknowledging that students are citizens of the society within which they live and work and as such not only do they have a legitimate and genuine role to play in shaping the community, they are also entitled to recognition, respect, and participation and should be provided with opportunities to engage in that process.

A Pedagogy for Critical Citizenship

Fundamental to the employment of a critical pedagogy is to acknowledge that every aspect of our work as educators is profoundly infused with the political from the structural imperatives of education and schooling manifest in funding, curriculum, and assessment policies to the overt and hidden messages transmitted to students through school and classroom organization, management, rituals, rules, and dialogues. Knowledge and understanding of this offers two possibilities; we can either accept unquestioningly that as educators we are allocated a subordinate role in maintaining the status quo or we can adopt a pedagogy that invites us and our students to question, argue, and to engage in the process of democratic social change. I see merit in Shor's (1993) following claim:

> Education is not reducible to a mechanical method of instruction. Learning is not a quantity of information to be memorized or a package of skills to be transferred to students. Classrooms die as intellectual centers when they become delivery systems for lifeless bodies of knowledge. (p. 25)

Yet, it is not clear that teachers see themselves as individuals and collectives that have a significant role in working with other stakeholders to create democratic social change; why? The idea of employing a critical pedagogy can be daunting and intimidating for teachers because while it should provide opportunities, and the right, to participate by its very nature it also provides opportunities for the right to disagree,

oppose, and resist. Within this context learners are not allocated a docile and compliant position, but are involved with their teachers challenging assumptions, asking questions, and thinking critically about the social, cultural, and political world and their place in it. But critical pedagogy does not just encourage critical thinking, because it encourages action students and teachers may find themselves involved in exploring and acting upon issues critical to the practice of democracy and social justice that have previously been the unchallenged territory of the teacher.

Teaching active citizenship education through a critical pedagogy requires that as educators we move carefully, thoughtfully, and methodically beyond our comfort zone to become educators who "... combine scholarly reflection and practice in the service of educating students to be thoughtful, active citizens" (Giroux, 1998, p. 122). This requires courage, the courage to take risks and to embrace and promote a professional culture of moral and ethical participation focusing upon a commitment to democracy and social justice not only through what we teach, but through who, and what, we are as teachers. This involves accepting that the effective teaching and learning of active citizenship education is profoundly rooted within our personal characteristics, values and belief systems and in the relationships and affiliations that we experience with others.

This raises an important question: how do we teach students the democratic principles of active participation in what are essentially controlled and authoritarian school environments? This is a genuine problem for schools for although many advocate democratic and participatory citizenship they are patently not democratic institutions (Fielding, 2001, 2004). What can schools do to encourage education for active citizenship; I suggest that this requires the following

1. *Curriculum as praxis*: Critical pedagogy is at the nexus between critical reflection and critical, informed, and committed action, that is curriculum as praxis. Education for citizenship using a critical pedagogy ought not to begin, or end, with measuring or with test scores or with pledging allegiance, but with action. This demands a curriculum model that not only invites critical self-reflection on the part of teacher and learner it pre-supposes a commitment to making a difference in society. In a discussion on values education within the context of Habermasian theory regarding critical and self-reflective ways of knowing, Lovat illustrates this point well in arguing that through "communicative action" "... the self-reflective knower takes a step beyond mere tolerance to take a stand both for justice and for onself because one's new found self, one's own integrity, is at stake" (Lovat, 2009, p. 8) Employing a critical pedagogy in pursuit of active citizenship education invites us to move beyond "mere tolerance," beyond acceptance of the status quo and to move in the direction of "taking a stand" on vitally important cultural, social, and political issues.

2. *The creation of a socially just teaching and learning environment*: teaching is a social practice built around relationships and as such is a values-based moral and ethical occupation; if we accept this statement it seems somewhat incongruous that we have to engage in the task of advocating that teachers teach for social justice and that our classrooms ought to be socially just environments. To place the issue on its head, how can we not teach for social justice? Social justice is a fundamental

principle of both education for active citizenship and critical pedagogy. A socially just teaching and learning environment is a community within which students feel valued and respected, it is an environment that at its core demonstrates in a genuine and tangible manner a concern for welfare, for the rights and dignity of all.

In this environment students are provided with opportunities to analyze established customs and rules, to critique underlying assumptions about how society functions in terms of whose voices dominate, are marginalized, or are ignored; where social and political power, authority, and status lies and why and how best to effect democratic change. Many teachers will argue that they work at creating this kind of environment; however, as we saw earlier, the rhetoric of commitment and goodwill has failed to transform the pedagogy of teaching and the learning experiences of many students. Creating a socially just teaching and learning environment requires that this principle is integrated into pedagogy, curriculum, organization, management, resourcing, and assessment of learning and that its impact is visible in terms of values, attitudes, and behaviors.

3. *The creation of* "democratic learning communities" (Alexander, 2001): here students, parents, carers, and the wider community are jointly involved in the formation of an active community of learners who collectively engage in projects designed to ensure that education for active citizenship takes place within authentic and meaningful contexts and where democratic participation is a desired outcome. An example of how this process can work is provided by "student action teams" in Victoria, Australia (Chapman, Cahill, & Holdsworth, 2009). Core issues here included the following:

1. Working towards re-configurating the nature of power and authority in a Frierian manner whereby teachers share elements of power and authority with their students;
2. Dealing with uncertainty by problematizing issues and increasing levels of student autonomy;
3. Achieving congruence between rhetoric and action, involving teachers, in their pedagogy, modeling values and behaviors they expect from their students;
4. Sharing teaching responsibilities with students where student representatives disseminate their learning to their peers;
5. Empowering students to accept responsibility for active citizenship within school and community involving participation in decision-making. (Chapman et al., 2009, pp. 40–41)

4. *Emphasizing the affective domain of learning*. This means emphasizing in our teaching and our students' learning the development of attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values and the changes in judgment and behavior that result (Best, 1998, p. 72). While the cognitive ability to understand, apply, analyze, and evaluate is crucial, enhancing student emotional and social competence is also critically important (Atkinson & Hornby, 2002, pp. 8–9), this is particularly so with citizenship

education because of its emphasis upon values, beliefs, and active participation. Teachers do not change what their students do unless they change what they value, what they believe, and what they think and we do not change what students value, believe, and think unless they see it as relevant, worthwhile, and significant. So it is with citizenship education, for change to happen as critical educators we need to focus upon cognitive development and affective learning ensuring that students see that they have a stake and a voice in society and a genuine and legitimate role in changing that society in a democratic, responsible, and principled manner (Huddleston, 2005).

Conclusion

It is 40 years since in *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* Postman and Weingartner (1976) argued for the need to reform education and the school system in order to challenge undemocratic practices, prejudice, disadvantage and social alienation. In doing so they wrote about a world blighted by the following:

> . . . mental illness . . .crime . . . [adolescent] suicide . . . the most common form of infant mortality in the United States is parental beating . . . misinformation [which] takes many forms, such as lies, clichés, rumour, and implicates almost everybody, including the President of the United States . . . [And] the air pollution problem, the water pollution problem, the garbage disposal problem, the radio-activity problem, the megalopolis problem, the supersonic-jet-noise problem, the traffic problem, the who-am-I problem and the what does it all mean problem. (pp. 12–13)

How much has changed? Alexander (2007) described a world characterized by a widening gap between rich and poor and social changes:

> . . . ranging from increased marital breakdown to precocious consumerism, the loss of intergenerational contact and the poverty of the inner lives of those children whose days outside school are dominated by television, the Internet and battery-driven toys which leave nothing to the imagination. (p. 196)

If we include issues such as religious fundamentalism from left and right, institutionalized racism, sexism, homophobia, the fear of terrorism and ethnic strife, and global economic crises to that list, we cannot help but conclude that now more than ever we need schools and teachers who are prepared to radically embrace the principles and practices of citizenship education as a vehicle for social transformation. Returning to Postman and Weingartner, what we need are schools that ". . . serve as the principal medium for developing in youth the attitudes and skills of social, political and cultural criticism." (Postman & Weingartner, 1976, p. 7)

However, approaches to teaching a form of democratic and active citizenship education that integrate a critical pedagogy and which are participatory and emancipatory are likely to remain patchy and ad hoc as long as the discourse of greater radicalism in education lacks popular appeal and institutionalized support; as Apple and Beane (1999) have observed "the idea of democratic schools has fallen on hard times" (p. 3). Hard times indeed given the fact that critical pedagogy and more democratic forms of education and schooling have been subjected to a withering

discourse of derision and the construction of a powerful moral panic generating intense suspicion, mistrust, and skepticism of their aims. In appropriating the language of democracy, social justice and citizenship neo-conservative and neo-liberal ideologies of education that have dominated discourses since the late 1970s have done their job well.

Yet, and in spite of this context, as educators we really have no choice but to provide students with the knowledge, skills, and opportunities they need in order that they can develop balanced and coherent understandings of their cultural, social, and political world. Creating 21st century communities that are economically prosperous and socially just and equitable within which people engage in positive and principled ways with the democratic process requires providing learners with the knowledge, skills, and understanding that equips them to face the unpredictable challenges and opportunities that this future offers. In employing a critical pedagogy of education for active citizenship teachers should seek to raise the critical consciousness of pupils in a way that opens up for them the thought that as individuals and members of communities they have the potential to make a tangible difference to their society in pursuit of equity and social justice. A critical pedagogy of citizenship education ought to provide young people with the skills and the knowledge to change society, not in some arbitrary anarchistic way in pursuit of some vulgar form of utopian relativism or in support of a specific cultural or political ideology, but in accordance with the principles of informed, democratic participation and social justice.

If we want pupils to engage with the processes of education for participatory and democratic citizenship then we have no alternative but to take these principles seriously and to ensure that they are integrated into classroom organization, into curriculum, and into pedagogy. What is clear is that a pedagogy that focuses primarily upon education about citizenship, a pedagogy that minimizes controversy and critique by concentrating upon what is safe and consensus-based, is unlikely to produce individuals who are critically, actively, and responsibly engaged in their communities. Embracing such a pedagogy will inevitably lead to "... an unreflective socialization into the political and social status quos" (McLaughlin, 1992, p. 238), a process that is un-educational, undemocratic, and unlikely to produce social change.

It is within the grasp of each of us not simply to advocate a rhetorical approach to democratic and active citizenship education, but through a critical pedagogical approach to live democratic participation, equity, and social justice through what we are as teachers and what we do in our classrooms. It can be done, as individuals and as communities of teachers and learners all we need to do is to make the choice for unless as educators we work toward creating a nation of engaged, informed, and active citizens our democracies will not be secure.

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Chapter 47
The Impact of Social Interdependence on Values Education and Student Wellbeing

David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson

Introduction

> We who now live are parts of a humanity that extends into the remote past, a humanity that has interacted with nature. The things in civilization we most prize are not of ourselves. They exist by grace of the doings and sufferings of the continuous human community in which we are a link. Ours is the responsibility of conserving, transmitting, rectifying and expanding the heritage of values we have received that those who come after us may receive it more solid and secure, more widely accessible and more generously shared than we have received it. (John Dewey, *A Common Faith*, etched upon his memorial stone at the University of Vermont)

This chapter focuses on how schools help inculcate values in children, adolescents, and young adults. Schools do so primarily by structuring situations to determine the processes of interaction among students and between students and faculty, which in turn determines the values students (and faculty) adopt and internalize. In order to understand how schools may inculcate values, it is necessary to review the nature of socialization, the need for values in a democracy, the various ways values may be inculcated, and the difficulties in teaching values. A conceptual framework is needed to guide the teaching of values. Social interdependence theory provides such a conceptual framework. The basic premise of social interdependence theory is that the way goals are structured determines how students interact with each other and the faculty, which in turn determines outcomes, including values. An important aspect of social interdependence is the resolution of conflict. Two of the processes used to manage conflicts are constructive controversy and integrative negotiations. Constructive controversy is needed to deliberate with schoolmates about the common good. Integrative negotiations are needed to resolve conflicts to further the common good. Each of these processes result in the inculcation of certain values. The combination of working cooperatively to achieve mutual goals and resolving conflicts constructively results in the adoption and internalization of

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the values needed to be productive citizens of a democratic society. They also have considerable impact on students' wellbeing and psychological health.

Need for Values Education in a Democracy

In 1748 Baron Charles de Montesquieu published *The Spirit of Laws*, in which he explored the relationship between people and different forms of government. He concluded that while dictatorship survives on the fear of the people and monarchy survives on the loyalty of the people, a free republic (the most fragile of the three political systems) survives on the virtue of the people. Virtue is reflected in the way a person balances his or her own needs with the needs of the society as a whole. Motivation to be virtuous comes from a sense of belonging, a concern for the whole, and a moral bond with the community. This moral bond is cultivated by deliberating with fellow citizens about the common good and helping shape the destiny of the political community.

Thomas Jefferson and many other founders of American democracy believed that public schools were indispensable for creating competent, active, and engaged citizens/leaders. Jefferson believed that schools should cultivate "virtue" and patriotism. Samuel Adams believed teachers were responsible for nurturing a "moral sense" in students. Abigail Adams told her son Quincy that learning math, science, and literature is of little value unless the person also develops virtue, honor, truth, and integrity. The primary impetus, in fact, for originally establishing public schools in the USA was the recognition of literacy and citizenship education as critical to the health of democratic society. In his farewell address as president, George Washington stated that since democracy was based on public opinion, it should establish institutions such as public education for the general diffusion of knowledge to ensure that the public opinion was enlightened. To fulfill this vision, the founders of the USA thus created universal, state-supported and locally governed public schooling to (a) instill moral and ethical values in American children and youth (i.e., be virtuous citizens who can balance personal needs with those of the republic as a whole), (b) ensure the American people would be responsible citizens of a democracy (i.e., understand current political, economic, and social issues, their relevance to one's life, and what was needed to improve and sustain democracy, and (c) provide citizens the knowledge they need for national economic development and prosperity (Comer, 2004; Fuhrman & Lazerson, 2005). That vision is now embedded in 40 state constitutions that mention the importance of civic literacy among citizens; 13 of these constitutions state that the central purpose of their educational system is to promote good citizenship, democracy, and free government (Tolo, 1999). A similar emphasis existed in higher education (Boyer, 1987). The colonial college focused on building students' character and preparing them for civic and religious leadership.

The emphasis on citizenship education did not end with the founders of American democracy. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, Colonel Frances

Parker (Campbell, 1965), perhaps the leading American educator of the time, advocated the view that schools were responsible for teaching students an intense devotion to freedom and democracy. He believed that mutual responsibility was the great, central principle of democracy. In the first half of the twentieth century John Dewey (1924) used his famous project method of instruction to stress the citizen aspects of learning and prepare students for problem solving and democratic living. Education's responsibilities to teach democratic values have been consistently emphasized during US history. Citizens of a democracy need to be socialized into the values needed to be productive members of society.

Socialization of Values

A primary purpose of education is to socialize children, adolescents, and young adults into the conventions, values, attitudes, roles, competencies, and ways of perceiving the world that are shared by one's family, community, society, and culture (Johnson, 1970, 1979; Johnson & F. Johnson, 2009). Socialization takes place through group memberships (i.e., family, church, school) and interpersonal relationships (i.e., parents, peers, friends, teachers). A central aspect of socialization is the inculcation of values. *Values* are rules of "right" conduct, reflecting ideals that guide behavior in the person's groups and interpersonal relationships. Values are an internal gyroscope that points toward one set of actions over another (Watson & Johnson, 1972). Values are learned, internalized, and expressed within groups and relationships within a larger community and society context.

In socializing students into the values they need to be productive members of a democratic society, the goal is not to create compliant and obedient individuals, but to create active, principled, and caring members of a democratic society who are advocates of social justice.

In socializing students, it should be remembered that values are dynamic not static. Values are not fixed or permanent; they change continually as a person's circumstances and the environment change. It is also important to remember that individuals are active (not passive) in selecting which values they internalize. Children, adolescents, and young adults are bombarded with appeals to adopt certain values over others, and they quite actively have to sort through all the recommendations in order to derive a coherent set of values that are consistent with each other. One parent may say, "Do not steal," another parent may say, "It is OK to pick a few apples off a neighbor's tree because they will never know." Schools provide a setting in which students may actively sort through the multitude of values being recommended, make sense of what the values (such as honest and patriotism) mean, reflect on how values apply in complex situations, decide on how to proceed when two values are in conflict, and decide what kind of person they wish to be. In this very active process, students decide on which values they wish to internalize.

In socializing students, it is important to remember that values are embedded in cultures, societies, communities, and other types of groups. In inculcating values,

schools should focus on changing groups (especially peer groups), not individuals. Values are typically associated with *reference groups*, that is, groups that people identify with, compare their values to, and use as a means for evaluating their values (Newcomb, 1943). Individuals accept a set of values when they accept or aspire to membership in a reference group (Johnson & F. Johnson, 2009; Watson & Johnson, 1972). If a group decides to adopt new values, the values of members change. If a person changes from one group to another, his or her values tend to change to match the values of the new group. Lewin (1948) recommended that to change an individual's values, the focus should be on changing the values of the groups to which the individual belongs. In a classic series of studies, Lewin demonstrated that values and behavioral patterns were most effectively changed by a combination of group discussion and public commitment to abide by the values (Lewin, 1943; Radke & Caso, 1948; Radke & Klisurich, 1947 as cited in Lewin, 1948). It is in group discussions that individuals (a) clarify and obtain consensual validation of values, and, (b) increase personal commitment to adopt and internalize values. To inculcate values, therefore, schools should try to influence which groups students adopt as reference groups and focus on changing the values of the groups to which students belong, rather than attempting to change the values of each individual student separately (Johnson & F. Johnson, 2009; Watson & Johnson, 1972).

Finally, the adoption and internalization of values is heavily influenced by peer groups (Johnson, 1980; Johnson & Johnson, 1981). Schools should not be adult-centric when thinking about inculcating values, believing that students primarily adopt the values of teachers and administrators. Instead, schools need to take advantage of the power of peers. In their interactions with peers, students directly learn values unobtainable from adults. Peers provide powerful models of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. In their interactions with each other, children, adolescents, and young adults imitate each other's behavior and identify with friends possessing admired competencies. Peer relationships also often fulfill a need for social comparison. If one's conduct is too discrepant with that of peers, one begins to reconsider what one is doing. Comparing experiences with peers may place feelings in perspective. Of course, not all peer influences are constructive, but then neither are all adult influences.

Socialization needs to be continuous because of the dynamic nature of values. During individuals' lifetimes, they actively change and modify their values depending on their circumstances and the situations they find themselves in. While groups and peers are two of the most powerful settings in which values may be inculcated, there are a number of ways schools can teach values.

Ways of Teaching Values

Five of the ways that schools can teach students values are by direct instruction, modeling and identification, the enactment of assigned and voluntary social roles, group influences, and the hidden curriculum existing in the pattern of flow of daily

school life (Johnson & F. Johnson, 2009). First, values can be directly taught. They may be placed in the school's mission statement, posted in every classroom, described in lectures, and highlighted in curriculum materials. This is known as the "telling and compelling" approach. Extra-curricular activities such as clubs, simulations, and service-learning projects, can be added.

Second, values may be inculcated through identification. Faculty can teach students values by (a) building positive, caring, supportive relationships with the students and (b) consistently modeling the values they wish students to adopt. In its simplest form, *identification* occurs when a student tries to be like someone (an adult, fellow student, or mythical figure) that the student likes or admires; a person usually perceived as resourceful, powerful, or competent. A student can admire a teacher's scholarship, for example, and strive to become a scholar, or a student can see a teacher behaving honestly and decide to do likewise. Teachers must model the values and behavior being recommended. Like a ball player who needs to see other players in action in order to learn and improve, students must see other members engage in actions reflecting the community's values in order to understand how to do so themselves.

Third, values may be taught by assigning students social roles. A *social role* is a set of expectations (containing rights and responsibilities) aimed at structuring interactions within a reciprocal relationship. In school, students learn the roles of "student" as well as other roles such as "American," "citizen," "collaborator," and "mediator." Other roles are voluntary, such as "friend."

Fourth, values may be inculcated by emphasizing membership in a group (or community) that holds the desired values. Individuals accept a system of values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns when they accept membership in a reference group.

Fifth, values may be taught through the day-to-day, moment-to-moment instructional and schooling processes students experience during the school day. These processes are a hidden curriculum beneath the surface of school life. The processes experienced create (a) a structure in which certain values are emphasized through the student behavior required and (b) situations in which values can be expressed. Everything faculty do, everything that occurs in schools, teaches values. The assumption is that it is the underlying and intangible curriculum reflected in pedagogical methods and classroom and school procedures inherently inculcates values. The classroom and school's invisible curriculum, and the values it inherently conveys, functions to a large extent without the conscious awareness or intention of educators.

The Difficulties in Teaching Values

There has been opposition to the teaching of values in schools. In the past several decades, a major enemy of traditional American education has been the essentialist view (known as the "back to basics movement" in the 1970s). It states that education should limit itself to basic subject matter (such as reading, math, and science)

that is measurable by standardized tests. Another barrier in the USA is the recent history of neglect. In the USA, the vast bulk of school resources are allocated to literacy, mathematics, science, and vocational education. A third barrier is the conflict among different parts of a society as to which values to teach. Some may wish to emphasize patriotism, others religion, and others civic values. Groups in power may wish to emphasize values that would support the continuation of their power. Many concerned parties just make up an arbitrary list of values that makes sense to them. Others demand that their personal values be taught to everyone. These vested, arbitrary, and egocentric approaches to the teaching of values result in a lack of consensus about what values to teach and no way in which to resolve the conflicts among different advocacy groups.

Need for a Conceptual Framework to Guide the Teaching of Values

In order to overcome these difficulties, it is necessary to have a conceptual framework. First, a conceptual framework serves as a foundation from which values can be derived. A conceptual framework prevents values from being defined arbitrarily or by vested interests. Second, a conceptual framework provides a rationale for deciding whether some values are more important than others. Third, a conceptual framework provides an objective standard for resolving conflicts over which values to teach. When different interest groups advocate conflicting values, a conceptual framework provides a means of resolving the conflict on a rational basis, rather than on which group has the most power. Fourth, a conceptual framework should provide the procedures used to inculcate the values. The methods used to inculcate the values, in other words, should be congruent with the values themselves. Social interdependence theory provides such a conceptual framework.

Social Interdependence Theory

Social interdependence theory has its origins in Gestalt Psychology and Lewin's Field Theory. Kurt Koffka (1935) proposed that similar to psychological fields, groups were dynamic wholes in which the interdependence among members could vary. Kurt Lewin (1935) subsequently proposed that the essence of a group is the interdependence among members which results in the group being a "dynamic whole" so that a change in the state of any member or subgroup changes the state of any other member or subgroup. Group members are made interdependent through common goals. Morton Deutsch (1949) extended Lewin's reasoning and developed a theory of cooperation and competition that serves as the heart of social interdependence theory.

Social interdependence exists when the accomplishment of each individual's goals is affected by the actions of others (Deutsch, 1949, 1962; Johnson, 1970;

Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). There are two types of social interdependence, positive (cooperation) and negative (competition). *Positive interdependence* exists when individuals perceive that they can reach their goals if and only if the other individuals with whom they are cooperatively linked also reach their goals. *Negative interdependence* exists when individuals perceive that they can obtain their goals if and only if the other individuals with whom they are competitively linked fail to obtain their goals. *No interdependence* results in a situation in which individuals perceive that they can reach their goal regardless of whether other individuals in the situation attain or do not attain their goals. Each type of interdependence results in certain psychological processes and interaction patterns which, in turn, determine the outcomes of the situation, including the values inculcated.

Psychological Processes

The psychological processes created by positive interdependence include *substitutability* (i.e., the degree to which actions of one person substitute for the actions of another person), *inducibility* (i.e., openness to being influenced by and to influencing others), and *positive cathexis* (i.e., investment of positive psychological energy in objects outside of oneself) (Deutsch, 1949, 1962). Negative interdependence creates the psychological processes of *non-substitutability* (i.e., the actions of one person do not substitute for the actions of another person), *resistance* to being influenced by others, and *negative cathexis* (i.e., investment of negative psychological energy in objects outside of oneself). No interdependence detaches a person from others, thereby creating non-substitutability, no inducibility or resistance, and cathexis only to one's own actions. Each of these psychological processes has influences on moral education and socialization.

Interaction Patterns

The basic premise of social interdependence theory is that the way in which interdependence is structured determines how individuals interact and the interaction pattern determines the outcomes of the situation (Deutsch, 1949, 1962; Johnson, 1970; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Positive interdependence results in promotive interaction, negative interdependence results in oppositional interaction, and no interdependence results in the absence of interaction. *Promotive interaction* may be defined as individuals encouraging and facilitating each other's efforts to achieve the group's goals. It tends to result in an equalitarian orientation in which all members are viewed as having equal worth. *Oppositional interaction* may be defined as individuals discouraging and obstructing each other's efforts to achieve a goal; individuals focus both on increasing their own achievement and on preventing any other person from achieving more than they do. Oppositional interaction tends to result in an hierarchical orientation in which winners (being at the top of the hierarchy)

are viewed as having more value than losers (not being at the top of the hierarchy). *No interaction* may be defined as individuals acting independently without any interchange with each other while they work to achieve their goals; individuals focus only on increasing their own achievement and ignore as irrelevant the efforts of others. No interaction tends to result in neither an equalitarian nor hierarchical orientation toward relationships with others.

Outcomes

Promotive, oppositional, and no interaction have differential effects on the outcomes of the situation (see Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). The research, over the past 12 decades, has focused on numerous outcomes, which may be subsumed within the broad and interrelated categories of effort to achieve, quality of relationships, and psychological health (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a) (see Table 47.1 and Fig. 47.1). Overall, the evidence is very strong that cooperation (compared with competitive and individualistic efforts) promoted (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a):

1. Greater effort exerted to achieve (e.g., higher achievement and greater productivity, more frequent use of higher-level reasoning, more frequent generation of new ideas and solutions, greater intrinsic and achievement motivation, greater long-term retention, more on-task behavior, and greater transfer of what is learned within one situation to another).
2. Higher quality of relationships among participants (e.g., greater interpersonal attraction, liking, cohesion and esprit-de-corps, valuing of heterogeneity, and greater task-oriented and personal support).

Table 47.1 Meta-analysis of social interdependence studies: Mean effect sizes

Dependent Variable	Cooperative Vs. Competitive	Cooperative Vs. Individualistic	Competitive Vs. Individualistic
Achievement	0.67	0.64	0.30
Interpersonal Attraction	0.67	0.60	0.08
Social Support	0.62	0.70	−0.13
Self-Esteem	0.58	0.44	−0.23
Time On Task	0.76	1.17	0.64
Attitudes Toward Task	0.57	0.42	0.15
Quality Of Reasoning	0.93	0.97	0.13
Perspective Taking	0.61	0.44	−0.13

Source: Johnson and Johnson (1989). Reprinted with permission.

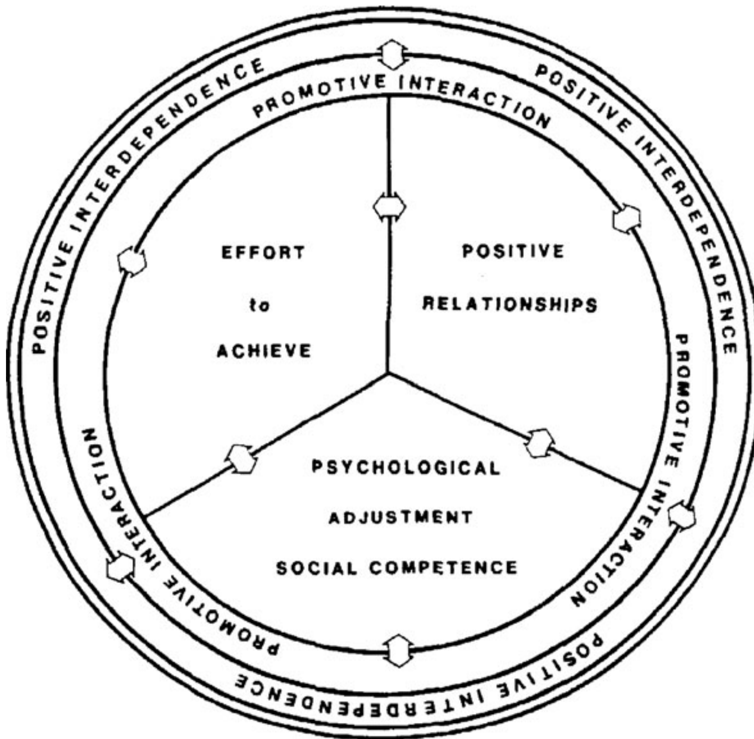

Fig. 47.1 Outcomes of cooperative learning Source: Johnson and Johnson (1989) Reprinted with permission

3. Greater psychological adjustment (e.g., greater psychological health, social competencies, self-esteem, shared identity, and ability to cope with stress and adversity).

These outcomes have been discussed extensively elsewhere (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). This chapter focuses on the outcomes dealing with the inculcation of values. Each type of interdependence has an inherent set of values.

The Values Resulting from Cooperation

Cooperation is working together to accomplish shared goals (Deutsch, 1962; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Within cooperative activities individuals seek outcomes that are beneficial to themselves and beneficial to all other group members. The value orientation in a cooperative situation focuses on self-respect, mutual respect, and equality (Deutsch, 1985). The values inherent in cooperative efforts are:

1. Commitment to the common good. In cooperative situations, individuals' work contributes not only to their own wellbeing, but also to the wellbeing of all other collaborators. There is a built-in concern for the common good and the success of others, as the efforts of others also contribute to one's own wellbeing.
2. Success depends on the joint efforts of everyone to achieve mutual goals. Since cooperators *sink or swim together*, an *all for one and one for all* mentality is appropriate. What is valued is teamwork and civic responsibility. Succeeding depends on everyone doing his or her part. Cooperation teaches the value of working together to achieve mutual goals.
3. Facilitating, promoting, and encouraging the success of others is a natural way of life. Succeeding depends on everyone doing well. There are two ways to succeed—contributing all one can to the joint effort and promoting other cooperators' efforts to contribute. A smart cooperator will always find ways to promote, facilitate, and encourage the efforts of others.
4. The pleasure of succeeding is associated with others' happiness in their success. Cooperators feel great about succeeding and they automatically feel great about other people succeeding. When someone succeeds, it is a source of pleasure and happiness because it means that one's help and assistance has paid off.
5. Other people are potential contributors to one's success. Because smart cooperators will promote and facilitate the work of others, cooperators are to be trusted because their efforts to succeed will promote one's own success. Cooperation casts schoolmates as allies, colleagues, and friends who will contribute to one's success.
6. Other people's worth is unconditional. Because there are so many diverse ways that a person may contribute to a joint effort, everyone has value all the time. This inherent value is reaffirmed by working for the success of all. Cooperation places value on a wide range of diverse qualities that facilitate joint success. Thus, everyone has value.
7. Self-worth is unconditional. Cooperation teaches that self-worth results from contributing whatever resources one has to the joint effort and common good. A person never loses value. Cooperative experiences result in individuals believing in themselves and their worth.
8. Cooperators value intrinsic motivation based on striving to learn, grow, develop, and succeed. Learning is the goal, not winning. The inducement of trying to contribute to the common good, like other intrinsic motivators, increases students' interest in the task itself.
9. People who are different from oneself are to be valued. Other people are perceived to be potential resources for and contributors to one's success. If they are different that means more diverse resources are available for the joint effort and, therefore, the difference is valued. The diverse contributions of members results in the realization that, in the long run, everyone is of equal value and equally deserving, regardless of their gender, ethnic membership, culture, social class, or ability.

10. An equality view of justice prevails. All group members are viewed as having equal value and as being equally deserving of respect, justice, and equality (even though there may be differences in authority, status, and expertise). This egalitarianism implies a definition of injustice as inequalities that are not to the benefit of all (Rawls, 1971).

The Values Resulting from Competition

When a situation is structured competitively, individuals work against each other to achieve a goal that only one or a few can attain (Deutsch, 1962; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Individuals seek an outcome that is personally beneficial but detrimental to all others in the situation. The value orientation in competitive situations is based on inequality and the win–lose struggle to determine who will have superior and who will have inferior outcomes (Deutsch, 1985; Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Kohn, 1992). Inherent in competition are values that are taught whenever a person engages in competition. The values are:

1. Commitment to getting more than others. There is a built-in concern that one is smarter, faster, stronger, more competent, and more successful than others so that one will win and others will lose.
2. Success depends on beating, defeating, and getting more than other people. What is valued is triumphing over others and being Number One. Winning has little to do with excellence and may actually be opposed to excellence. Competition does not teach the value of excellence. Competition teaches the value of winning—doing better and getting more than other participants.
3. Opposing, obstructing, and sabotaging the success of others is a natural way of life. Winning depends on a good offense (doing better than others) and a good defense (not letting anyone do better than you). There are two ways to win—doing better and obstructing other's efforts. A smart competitor will always find ways to oppose, obstruct, and sabotage the work of others in order to win.
4. The pleasure of winning is associated with others' disappointment with losing. Winners feel great about winning and they automatically feel great about other people losing. When someone loses, it is a source of pleasure and happiness because it means that one has a better chance of winning.
5. Other people are a threat to one's success. Because smart competitors will obstruct and sabotage the work of others, competitors are to be distrusted and watched closely because their efforts to win and their efforts to sabotage one's work are threats. Competition casts schoolmates as rivals and threats to one's success.
6. Other people's worth is contingent on their "wins." When a person wins, he or she has value. When a person loses, he or she has no value. The worth of a person is never fixed. It all depends on the latest victory. When a person stops winning he or she no longer has value as an individual. Competition places

value on a limited number of qualities that facilitate winning. Thus, since only a very few people can win, most people have no value. In school, for example, if a person did not score in the top 5 or 10% in math or reading on the last test, they have no or limited value academically. The other 95–90% of students are losers and have no value.

7. Self-worth is conditional and contingent on one's "wins." Competition teaches that self-worth is contingent on victories. When a person stops winning he or she stops having value as a person. Far from helping students to believe in themselves, competition creates perpetual insecurity.
8. Competitors value extrinsic motivation based on striving to win rather than striving to learn. Winning is the goal, not the learning or the achievement. The inducement of trying to beat people, like other extrinsic motivators, has been shown to reduce students' interest in the task itself.
9. People who are different from oneself are to be either feared or held in contempt. Other people are perceived to be potential obstacles to one's success. If they are different in a way that gives them an advantage, the difference is feared. If they are different in a way that gives one an advantage over them, they are to be discounted. High-performing students are often feared because they can win and low-performing students are often held in contempt as losers who are no competition.
10. An equity view of justice prevails—those who perform the highest should get the most rewards (i.e., losers are undeserving of rewards). Thus, competition is associated with less generosity, less willingness to take other people's perspectives, less inclination to trust others, greater aggression toward others, and less willingness to communicate accurately (Deutsch, 1962; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a).

The Values Resulting from Individualistic Efforts

When a situation is structured individualistically, there is no correlation among participants' goal attainments (Deutsch, 1962; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Individuals seek an outcome that is personally beneficial without concern for the outcomes of others. The value orientation in individualistic situations is based on strict self-interest. The values that individualistic experiences teach are:

1. Commitment to one's own self-interest. One's own success is viewed as important. Others' success is considered to be irrelevant. There is a solitary calculation of personal self-interest. There is a built-in self-centeredness while ignoring the plight of others.
2. Success depends on one's own efforts. What is valued is reaching some standard for success. Individualistic work teaches the value of independent efforts to succeed.
3. Other people's success or failure is irrelevant and of no consequence.

4. The pleasure of succeeding is personal and isolated.
5. Other people are irrelevant to one's success. Because their success or failure has no impact on oneself, others are avoided and seen as unrelated to one's success.
6. Other people's worth is nonexistent because they are seen as irrelevant and no value to one's efforts to succeed. When others are evaluated, there is a unidimensional focus on the quality that most affects the success on a task (such as reading or math ability).
7. Self-worth is based on a unidimensional view of oneself. Only the characteristics that help the person succeed are valued. In school, that is primarily reading and math ability.
8. Individualistic experiences result in valuing extrinsic motivation based on achieving criteria and receiving rewards rather than striving to learn. Achieving up to a criterion is the goal, not the learning, practice, or development. The rewards received for success is the underlying motivator of learning.
9. People who are perceived to be different are disliked while people who are perceived to be similar are liked. Other people are perceived to be unnecessary and not relevant to one's success.

Other Related Outcomes

Prosocial Behavior

Prosocial behaviors are actions that benefit other people by helping, supporting, encouraging their goal accomplishment or wellbeing. Cooperative experiences tend to increase the frequency with which participants engage in prosocial behaviors. Choi, Johnson, and Johnson (in press), in a study involving 217 4th and 5th grade students, found that both cooperative learning experiences and cooperative predispositions predicted the frequency with which the students engaged in prosocial behavior. Competitiveness and individualism, on the other hand, did not predict prosocial behavior. There are benefits to being prosocial. Prosocial children tend to build positive relationships with peers (Asher & Rose, 1997) and, compared with schoolmates, are intrinsically motivated to build relationships with classmates, believe they are involved in positive relationships, value relationships, and enjoy positive wellbeing (Hawley, Little, & Pasupathi, 2002). The opposite of prosocial behavior is antisocial behavior. One form of antisocial behavior is bullying. Choi, Johnson, and Johnson (in press) found that the more cooperative a student, the less likely they were to engage in harm-intended aggression. The more competitive the student, the more frequently the student engaged in harm-intended aggression.

Perspective Taking

More frequent and accurate perspective taking was found in cooperative than in competitive (effect size = 0.61) or individualistic (effect size = 0.44) situations

(Johnson & Johnson, 1989). In competitive situations, a person's perceptions and comprehension of others' viewpoints and positions tends to be inaccurate and biased. The opposite of perspective taking is egocentrism and while perspective-taking ability tends to be indicative of psychological health, egocentrism tends to be a sign of psychological pathology (e.g., extreme forms of depression and anxiety result in a self-focus and self-centeredness). The accurate perspective taking in cooperative situations enhances members' ability to respond to others' needs with empathy, compassion, and support.

Level of Cognitive and Moral Reasoning

More frequent use of higher-level cognitive and moral reasoning strategies in cooperative than in competitive (effect size = 0.93) or individualistic (effect size = 0.97) situations (Johnson & Johnson, 1989) (see Table 47.1). There are a number of studies that demonstrate that when participants are placed in a cooperative group with peers who use a higher stage of moral reasoning, and the group is required to make a decision as to how a moral dilemma should be resolved, advances in the students' level of moral reasoning result.

Moral Identity

Identity in a cooperative context defines the person as part of a community that shares a joint identity. Their promotive interaction tends to reflect egalitarianism (i.e., a belief in the equal worth of all members even though there may be differences in authority and status) and characterized by mutual respect. Identity in a competitive context, on the other hand, defines a person as a separate individual striving to win either by outperforming others or preventing them from outperforming him or her. A competitor may have a moral identity involving the virtues of inequality, being a winner, and disdaining losers.

Engaging in prosocial behavior influences how a person thinks of himself or herself (i.e., moral-identity). Midlarsky and Nemeroff (1995) found that the self-esteem and self-view of people who had rescued Jews during the Holocaust were still being elevated 50 years later by the help they provided. Elementary school students who privately agreed to give up their recess time to work for hospitalized children saw themselves as more altruistic immediately and a month later (Cialdini, Eisenberg, Shell, & McCreath, 1987).

Justice and Fairness

An important aspect of moral socialization is to value justice, that is, to ensure that all benefits of membership in one's groups, organizations, and society are distributed justly (i.e., distributive justice), the same procedures are applied fairly to all members (i.e., procedural justice), and everyone is perceived to be part of the same moral community (i.e., moral inclusion) (Deutsch, 2006). Deutsch (1985) defined *distributive justice* as the method used to grant benefits (and sometimes

costs and harms) to group or organizational members. There are three major ways in which benefits may be distributed. The *equity (or merit) view* is a person's rewards should be in proportion to his or her contributions to the group's effort. This view is inherent in competitive situations. The *equality view* is all group members should benefit equally. It is inherent in cooperative situations. The *need view* is group members' benefits should be awarded in proportion to their need. Cooperators typically ensure that all participants receive the social minimum needed for their wellbeing. Whatever system is used, it has to be perceived as *just*. When rewards are distributed unjustly, the group may be characterized by low morale, high conflict, and low productivity (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a).

The research indicates that the more students participated in cooperative learning experiences and the more cooperatively they perceived their classes, the more they believed that everyone who tried had an equal chance to succeed in class, that students got the grades they deserved, and that the grading system was fair (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Even when their task performances were markedly discrepant, members of cooperative groups viewed themselves and their groupmates as being similar in overall ability and deservingness of reward.

The Common Good

The more cooperative the situation and the greater the person's cooperativeness, the more the person will put the long-term wellbeing of the group over immediate self-interest (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Valuing the common good of the group is inherent in every cooperative lesson.

Valuing Self

Participants in cooperative situations tend to see themselves as being of more value and worth than do participants in competitive (effect size = 0.58) or individualistic (effect size = 0.44) situations (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). While contingent self-esteem dominates competitive situations, basic self-acceptance tends to dominate cooperative situations.

Nature of Cooperative Learning

In order to achieve these outcomes in educational organizations, cooperative learning must be used the majority of the time. *Cooperative learning* is the instructional use of small groups so that students work together to maximize their own and each other's learning (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 2002, 2008). Any assignment in any curriculum for any age student can be done cooperatively. There are three types of cooperative learning—formal, informal, and base groups.

Formal cooperative learning consists of students working together, for one class period to several weeks, to achieve shared learning goals and complete jointly

specific tasks and assignments (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 2002). In formal cooperative learning groups teachers:

1. *Make a number of preinstructional decisions.* Teachers specify the objectives for the lesson (both academic and social skills) and decide on the size of groups, the method of assigning students to groups, the roles students will be assigned, the materials needed to conduct the lesson, and the way the room will be arranged.
2. *Explain the task and the positive interdependence.* A teacher clearly defines the assignment, teaches the required concepts and strategies, specifies the positive interdependence and individual accountability, gives the criteria for success, and explains the expected social skills to be used.
3. *Monitor and intervene:* Teachers monitor students' learning and intervene within the groups to provide task assistance or to increase students' interpersonal and group skills.
4. *Assess and process:* Teachers assess students' learning and structure students processing of how well their groups functioned.

Informal cooperative learning consists of having students work together to achieve a joint learning goal in temporary, ad hoc groups that last from a few minutes to one class period (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 2002, 2008). During a lecture, demonstration, or film, informal cooperative learning can be used to focus student attention on the material to be learned, set a mood conducive to learning, help set expectations as to what will be covered in a class session, ensure that students cognitively process and rehearse the material being taught, summarize what was learned and precue the next session, and provide closure to an instructional session. The procedure involves 3–5 minute focused discussions before and after the lecture or demonstration (to set expectations and provide closure) and 2–3 minute pair discussions interspersed every 15 minutes or so throughout the lecture or demonstration (to ensure active cognitive processing of the material being presented).

Cooperative base groups are long-term, heterogeneous cooperative learning groups with stable membership whose primary responsibilities are to provide support, encouragement, and assistance to make academic progress and develop cognitively and socially in healthy ways as well as holding each other accountable for striving to learn (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 2002, 2008). Typically, cooperative base groups (a) are heterogeneous in membership, (b) meet regularly (for example, daily or biweekly), and (c) last for the duration of the semester, year, or until all members are graduated. Base groups typically consist of three to four members, meet at the beginning and end of each class session (or week) to complete academic tasks such as checking each members' homework, routine tasks such as taking attendance, and personal support tasks such as listening sympathetically to personal problems or providing guidance for writing a paper.

These three types of cooperative learning may be used together. A typical class session may begin with a base group meeting, followed by a short lecture in which informal cooperative learning is used. A formal cooperative learning lesson is then

conducted and near the end of the class session another short lecture may be delivered with the use of informal cooperative learning. The class ends with a base group meeting.

Constructive Controversy

One of the central aspects of promotive interaction is disagreement and augmentation (i.e., constructive controversy) among members of cooperative groups when they have to make a decision or come to an agreement. A *controversy* exists when one person's ideas, opinions, information, theories, or conclusions are incompatible with those of another and the two seek to reach an agreement (Johnson & Johnson, 2007). Teaching students how to engage in the controversy process begins with randomly assigning students to heterogeneous cooperative learning groups of four members (Johnson & Johnson, 1979, 1989, 2007). The groups are given an issue on which to write a report and pass a test. Each cooperative group is divided into two pairs. One pair is given the con-position on the issue and the other pair is given the pro-position. Each pair is given the instructional materials needed to define their position and point them toward supporting information. The cooperative goal of reaching a consensus on the issue (by synthesizing the best reasoning from both sides) and writing a quality group report is highlighted. Students then (a) research, learn, and prepare their assigned position, (b) present a persuasive case that their position is correct, (c) engage in an open discussion in which there is spirited disagreement, (d) reverse perspectives and present the best case for the opposing position, and (e) agree on a synthesis or integration of the best reasoning from both sides.

Overall, the research indicates that constructive controversies create higher achievement, greater retention, more creative problem-solving, more frequent use of higher-level reasoning and metacognitive thought, more perspective taking, greater continuing motivation to learn, more positive attitudes toward learning, more positive interpersonal relationships, greater social support, and higher self-esteem (Johnson & Johnson, 1979, 1989, 2007). Engaging in a controversy can also be fun, enjoyable, and exciting.

Participating in the controversy process teaches such values as (see Table 47.2) (a) you have both the right and the responsibility advocate your conclusions, theories, and beliefs, (b) "truth" is derived from the clash of opposing ideas and positions, (c) insight and understanding come from a "disputed passage" where one's ideas and conclusions are advocated and subjected to intellectual challenge, (d) issues must be viewed from all perspectives, and (e) you seek a synthesis that subsumes the seemingly opposed positions. In addition, it teaches hope and confidence in the value of deliberation, respect for the canons of civility, mutual respect, importance of arguing on the basis of factual information, importance of the common purpose of reaching a joint reasoned judgment, and affirmation of democratic political discourse even if it results in outcomes that are contrary to one's own

Table 47.2 Intellectual conflict and values

Teacher As Authority	Controversy
"Truth" is the teachers' conclusions.	"Truth" is derived from the clash of adverse opinions.
Insight and understanding comes from accepting the teacher's conclusions. Never argue with the teacher. Accept what he or she says as the truth.	Insight and understanding comes from a "disputed passage" where one's ideas and conclusions are advocated and subjected to intellectual challenge.
Rigidly adhere to the teacher's perspective, ignoring all others.	Issues must be viewed from all perspectives
Debunk and ignore all views that oppose or disagree with the teacher's conclusions.	Seek a synthesis that subsumes the seemingly opposed positions.
Seek "truth" from outside authorities.	Seek "truth" from own insights and conclusions.

preferences. There are other outcomes related to values. Controversy, compared with concurrence-seeking, debate, and individualistic efforts results in more accurate perspective taking, use of higher levels of cognitive and moral reasoning, greater open-mindedness, greater continuing motivation to learn, more positive relationships with classmates, and greater valuing of oneself and the learning experience.

Conflict Resolution Training: Teaching Students to be Peacemakers

Another important aspect of promotive interaction is the way in which conflicts of interests are resolved. In working together cooperatively, conflicts of interests will frequently occur and how they are resolved has considerable influence on the quality of the cooperation and the long-term survival and health of the cooperative system. *Conflict of interests* exist when the actions of one person attempting to maximize his or her wants and benefits prevents, blocks, or interferes with another person maximizing his or her wants and benefits. The *Teaching Students To Be Peacemakers Program* teaches students to (Johnson, 1970; Johnson & Johnson, 2005b):

1. Recognize what is and is not a conflict and the potential positive outcomes of conflicts.
2. Understand the basic strategies for managing conflicts (e.g., withdrawal, forcing smoothing, compromising, and engaging in problem-solving, integrative negotiations).
3. Engage in problem-solving, integrative negotiations by (a) describing what you want, (b) describing how you feel, (c) describing the reasons for your wants and feeling, (d) taking the other's perspective, (e) inventing three optional plans to resolve the conflict that maximize joint benefits, and (f) choosing one and formalizing the agreement with a hand shake.

4. Mediate schoolmates' conflicts by (a) Ending hostilities by breaking up hostile encounters and cooling off students, (b) ensuring disputants are committed to the mediation process, (c) helping disputants successfully negotiate with each other (the disputants are carefully taken through the problem-solving negotiation steps, and (d) formalizing the agreement into a contract.
5. Implement the peacemaker, peer mediation program. Each day the teacher selects two class members to serve as official mediators. The mediators wear official T-shirts, patrol the playground and lunchroom, and are available to mediate any conflicts that occur in the classroom or school. The role of mediator is rotated so that all students in the class or school serve as mediators an equal amount of time. Initially, students mediate in pairs. This ensures that shy or nonverbal students get the same amount of experience as more extroverted and verbally fluent students.

If peer mediation fails, the teacher mediates the conflict. If teacher mediation fails, the teacher arbitrates by deciding who is right and who is wrong. If that fails, the principal mediates the conflict. If that fails, the principal arbitrates. Teaching all students to mediate properly results in a school-wide discipline program where students are empowered to regulate and control their own and their classmates' actions. Teachers and administrators are then freed to spend more of their energies on instruction:

Problem-solving negotiations and peer mediation are closely related to cooperation (Johnson & Johnson, 2003, 2005b). They inherently teach all the values associated with cooperation. In addition, problem-solving negotiations and mediation teach such values as being open and honest about what one wants and how one feels, understanding the other person's wants and feelings, striving to see the situation from all perspectives, being concerned with the other person's outcomes as well as one's own, seeking to reach agreements that are satisfying to all disputants, and maintaining effective and caring long-term relationships. In addition, students who received the peacemaker training developed more positive attitudes toward conflict (effect size = 1.07).

Psychological Wellbeing

The same instructional processes that contribute to the development of healthy and constructive values also tend to increase psychological health and wellbeing. Several studies have directly measured the relationship between social interdependence and psychological health (Crandall, 1982; Hayes, 1976; James & Johnson, 1983; James & Johnson, 1988; Johnson, Johnson, & Krotee, 1986; Johnson & Norem-Heibeisen, 1977; Norem-Hebeisen, Johnson, Anderson, & Johnson, 1984; Tjosvold, XueHuang, Johnson, & Johnson, 2008). The samples studied included university students, older adults, suburban high school seniors, juvenile and adult prisoners, step-couples, Olympic hockey players, and Chinese Business mangers. The measures of psychological heath used include the MMPI, CPI, Profile of Mood States,

Jesness Inventory, Inmate Personality Inventory, Adolescent Alienation Scale, Life Experiences Survey, Marital Satisfaction Inventory, Life Satisfactory Scale, and Life Orientation Scale. The results indicate that working cooperatively with peers compared with competing with peers or working independently results in ego-strength, self-confidence, independence, autonomy, and other similar outcomes. Valuing cooperation results in greater psychological health than does competing with peers or working independently, as well as emotional maturity, well-adjusted social relations, strong personal identity, ability to cope with adversity, social competencies, and basic trust in and optimism about people. Valuing competition, on the other hand, tends to be related to a mixture of healthy and unhealthy characteristics. Finally, valuing individualistic efforts tends to be related to a number of indices of psychological pathology, such as emotional immaturity, social maladjustment, delinquency, self-alienation, and self-rejection. The values inherent in cooperation are not a luxury that occasionally comes in handy. They are absolutely necessary for a person's wellbeing and psychological health.

Conclusion

Some historians claim that the decline and fall of Rome was set in motion by corruption from within rather than by conquest from without. Rome fell, they argue, because Romans lost their civic virtue. *Civic virtue* exists when individuals meet both the letter and spirit of their public obligations. For a community to exist and sustain itself, members must share common goals and values aimed at defining appropriate behavior and increasing the quality of life within the community (Johnson & Johnson, 1996, 2000).

Civic virtue and the internalization of constructive values primarily result from the processes of instruction and schooling. These processes determine the day-to-day and moment-to-moment ebb and flow of school life. However, instruction is structure, the process of engaging in the learning activities inherently teaches values. To inculcate constructive values that prepare students to be productive citizens of society instructional should include and promote the presence of overlapping and interdependent components. The first is membership in a moral community that shares common goals, values, and culture. The common goals (i.e., positive interdependence) indicate that members have a common fate—what happens to one member will happen to all members. The second component of positive socialization is involvement in two-way positive, personal, and caring relationships. These relationships set the stage for identifying with members who exemplify the society's values, adopting and supporting the society's norms and values, and adopting the roles individuals will play in the society. A third component is mutual openness to influencing and being influenced. In order for moral values to be transferred from the community to the individual, members of the community must be able to influence each other. A fourth component is exposure to models who engage in behavior reflecting the values being inculcated. A fifth component is the opportunity to engage in prosocial and moral behavior over and over again dozens and even

hundreds of times (not just once or twice a year) so that the behaviors become automatic habit patterns. A sixth component is the engagement in discussions about values in which community members disagree and challenge each other's reasoning and conclusions. The inculcation of values may largely depend on constructive controversy, that is, discussions in which students challenge the level of each other's reasoning. A seventh component is the resolution of conflicts in which one's interests are in conflict with the interests of other community members. Resolving such conflicts justly and fairly requires the use of integrative negotiations and provides tests of the morals and values of the community members, revealing whether they will follow the community's values under duress and adversity. Finally, the same instructional processes that promote constructive values also promote psychological health and wellbeing.

Values are as the oxygen we breathe. We are often unconscious of their presence, but they are a necessity for our life. They guide our actions and influence the quality of our group memberships and relationships. There is no greater responsibility of schools than to ensure that students internalize the moral and ethical values to be virtuous citizens who can balance personal needs with those of the republic as a whole, responsible citizens, and the work ethics they need for national economic development and prosperity.

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Chapter 48
Students Leading in Investigating and Enacting Values in School Communities

Roger Holdsworth

Effective values education used pedagogies that mirror the value being taught. (DEEWR, 2008, p. 8)

Introduction

The inter-relationship between effective values education and quality learning and teaching is now well documented (Lovat & Toomey, 2009) and has been reinforced in the practice and experience of schools throughout Australia. Traditional approaches to values education, which position young people as passive recipients of teaching rather than as active participants in querying and developing their own and social values, are less effective than approaches that are 'values-explicit, student-centred and open-ended' (DEEWR, 2008, p. 8). Moreover, such traditional forms of values education remain simply a way of attempting to do things to young people, rather than acknowledging that students are already active in forming and shaping their individual and shared community values.

Where schools have taken a Student Action Team (SAT) approach to values education, they have done more than adopt pedagogies that are 'student-centred'; they have opened up possibilities for purposeful and participatory approaches to learning about values. Through Student Action Teams, students go beyond simple inquiry about values, to define and take action that is based on their emerging own personal values frameworks, and that contributes to establishing a recognition of shared values within their communities.

Students' development of a considered, active and applied values framework relies upon their active engagement with these issues. Further, such approaches recognize that the nature and application of values within our society is both fluid and contentious, and therefore welcome education in which students question and

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examine the very meaning of values, including what values are abiding, what values are shared, and what values are actively enacted.

How do schools provide those opportunities for young people to develop their own values and contribute to their community values? And what do students learn about values from the ways in which they learn about them?

The basic ideas about Student Action Teams are fairly simple – but with profound implications for schools and communities. A Student Action Team (SAT) is defined as follows:

> a group of students who identify and work, preferably as part of their curriculum, on a real issue of community interest. The students carry out research on the issue and develop solutions – either proposals for action by others or action that they themselves then take. (Holdsworth, 2006, p. 8)

Two groups of schools in Melbourne, Australia – a cluster of government primary and secondary schools in the multicultural, working-class northern suburbs, and a smaller cluster of Catholic primary schools in the more affluent north-eastern suburban area – recently initiated such approaches to values education, and schools in other areas are also beginning to explore similar possibilities. This chapter outlines the experience of the two clusters and reflects on the lessons being learnt.

Why Student Action Teams (SATs)?

While the role of young people in society has changed dramatically, schools have remained relatively fixed in the assumptions they make about young people and society, and about the responsibilities of schools. The collapse of the full-time job market for young people and the accelerated demands of training have meant that greater numbers of young people are staying within schools through to the senior years. Economic and social futures have become less assured; change and risk characterize the world which young people face (Beck, 1992). Yet, the roles of young people in schools remain basically passive, with learning oriented to future use (including possible future entry to further education and jobs).

This is not a new analysis. For example, in the early 1970s, Coleman noted the enlarged student role as many young people were excluded from significant economic and social roles:

> But the student role is not a role of taking action and experiencing consequences . . . It is a relatively passive role, always in preparation for action, but never acting. . . The consequence of the expansion of the student role, and the action poverty it implies for the young, has been an increased restiveness among the young. They are shielded from responsibility, and they become irresponsible; they are held in a dependent status, and they come to act as dependents; they are kept away from productive work, and they become unproductive. (Coleman, 1972, pp. 5–8)

In Australia, Wyn specifically links such marginalization of young people's participation – the deferral of roles of value to an uncertain future – to ways in which we regard their citizenship:

> Young people are seen as 'non-adults', a group who are in deficit. They are citizens of the future, rather than citizens in the present. (Wyn, 1995, p. 52)

When we hold young people in passive roles, in which they are perceived (by themselves and others) to have no value except in terms of what they will become, then they learn powerful messages about their on-going self worth and about their contributions, as citizens, to collective roles within society. When we shield young people from responsibility for the real development of their communities, we leave them no space except to unquestioningly accept 'adult values' or, alternatively, to resist the impositions of such external concepts. Their learning about 'respect' or 'freedom' or 'honesty' (and so on) is phrased in terms of their passive compliance rather than as an active role in the formation of such values (Cawsey, 2002).

At the same time, there has been general agreement about what constitutes good educational practice. For example, Walker and Kelly (2002) suggest that student motivation to learn depends on three key student needs:

- to feel in *control* of their learning (having significant input to rules and procedures, establishing learning goals and tasks, deciding how to work);
- to feel *competent* (investigating and responding to issues of survival and quality of life, solving real problems, creating real products); and
- to feel *connected* with others (cooperative and collaborative learning, peer support, community linkages, mutual respect).

Earlier, Newmann, Wehlage and Lamborn (1992) similarly said – in terms that reflect current explicit use of value-laden language – that learners need to have a clear purpose, be valued and be treated with respect and fairness. Phillips (1990) summarizes health research that points to three central and inter-related factors in the development of a strong self-concept for young people: 'sense of control' (i.e., decision making), 'sense of bonding' (i.e., working collaboratively with others) and 'sense of purpose/meaning' (i.e., doing things that make a difference). The importance of these factors was also endorsed in the initial evaluation of the operation of Student Action Teams (Holdsworth, Cahill, & Smith, 2003).

Development of Student Action Teams

As one response to such research, examples of Student Action Teams have been developed in and by primary and secondary schools around Australia. They have addressed many areas: community safety, traffic safety, the environment, school engagement, police relations, school transition and so on. While some of these topics have been generated by students themselves, taking initiative in defining issues that are of primary importance to them, other topics have been taken up and further developed by students in response to challenges or 'commissions' from others – either from within schools or from their broader communities (Holdsworth, Stafford, Stokes, & Tyler, 2001). For example, the work of Student Action Teams in Melbourne's Darebin local government area around traffic safety came about as a result of a challenge from the Darebin City Council and the Department of Education's Traffic Safety Educators (Holdsworth, 2006). The current work of

Student Action Teams in two primary schools around school engagement came about as a result of a challenge to students from a philanthropic trust that was concerned about disengagement at this level (Jackson & Smith, 2007, p. 3).

The documentation and evaluation of an initial statewide program of Student Action Teams around ‘community safety’ (sponsored and funded by the Victorian Department of Justice through the Department of Education and Training) is included in two reports from The University of Melbourne (Holdsworth et al., 2001, 2003) and a ‘How To’ Manual (VDET, 2003).

Subsequently, this approach was adopted by a cluster of primary schools in Melbourne’s Manningham local government area to investigate the topic of ‘values’, and here the ‘challenge’ to students came from the Australian Government through its Values Education Good Practice Schools Program Grants (Chapman, Cahill, & Holdsworth, 2009). It continued with this approach in the second round of this program under the title *Listening to the Student Voice in improving teaching, learning and school culture in Values Education*, at which time it was joined by the Darebin cluster of schools using a similar approach.

Such a challenge or ‘commission’ around values raises specific questions for students and teachers, and presents individual, school and community values as problematized:

- What *are* values?
- What values are *held* within our school(s) and wider communities?
- What values are *shared* by our school(s) and wider communities?
- How well do we *enact* these values?

These questions become the subject of students’ investigation, and the outcomes of that research are then transformed into the basis for action by students, through further questions:

- What values *should* be held and shared within our school and wider communities?
- What *should* be the enactment of these values?
- What *action* can and should we take to achieve this?

The School Clusters

The Manningham Cluster

The Manningham Cluster consisted of six Catholic primary schools that initially came together for a one-off training session for Junior School Councils. These schools shared many characteristics: they were united by an assumption and expression of ‘gospel values’, and were located in a largely mono-cultural and affluent area in the north-eastern suburbs of Melbourne. Their project operated in two phases in 2005–2006 and in 2007, initially to investigate the nature of values within

their school communities and then to concentrate on student leadership of schools' responses to those findings. Student Action Teams were established in both phases, with the overall aim of identifying where the teaching, learning and school culture in their schools could be improved and further embedded with values:

> The schools are using a Student Action Team approach to make what could be abstract ideas into a concrete and practical area for student investigation and action. The students are working in their individual schools, and then meeting as a cluster at inter-school Student Forums to look at what values are held to be important by families, schools and the wider community, seeing what these values mean and how important people think they are, observing what people do based on these values (or lack of them) and then designing action to make sure that improvements happen. (Cahill, 2006, p. 6)

The Darebin Cluster

There has been an active network of government primary and secondary schools in the Darebin local government area for many years. These schools share some characteristics: their student populations are largely from working-class homes, and are culturally and linguistically diverse. There are significant numbers of recently arrived families, including refugees; there are relatively low numbers of families with higher education. That has meant that these schools express a common concern about educational aspirations and outcomes, but also share a commitment to innovative approaches to engagement and success.

Eleven of the Darebin schools (nine primary schools and two secondary colleges) participated in Round 2 of the national Values Education Good Practice Schools Project, using a Student Action Team approach in which students led investigations and action around the nature and implementation of values (and values education) within their schools and communities.

The project co-ordinator of the Darebin Cluster described the project's motivation:

> We are implementing a Student Action Team approach in order to engage students, teachers and parents in investigating, constructing, articulating and enacting the operation of values – including the nine national Values for Australian Schooling – in their school, local and wider communities. The Student Action Team (SAT) approach will involve the establishment and training of teams of students from the eleven primary and secondary schools in the cluster, who will then take on the responsibility for:
>
> - researching the nature and operation of values within their communities;
> - auditing school-community values against these values and the National Values;
> - identifying priority areas for action;
> - designing and implementing action plans;
> - mobilising parents, staff and students around proposed actions. (Jones, 2007a, p. 6)

The schools within this cluster had a mixed history of involvement with values education; while some had little prior experience, others were already conducting coherent programs across their schools. Some of these schools were also sceptical and suspicious of the introduction of a national values education program within the context of attacks on 'value free' Government schools.

The Student Action Team approach

Student Action Team approaches have been adopted both within individual schools and within school clusters – including previously within the Darebin Cluster. In each case, while there is no prescriptive 'program' to be followed, there have been common elements emerging from practice (Holdsworth, 2006).

First, some form of engagement activity introduces a possible topic, or the broad area of Student Action Teams. This 'student forum' presents possibilities and challenges and invites students to begin considering what is known and what is possible: *'Is this an issue of concern?'; 'Is this something you wish to pursue?'* If students accept this challenge, these forums then begin to pose research questions to the students: *'What do we know?'; 'What do we want to find out?'* Students are challenged about the need for data, and the importance of making decisions based on evidence and logic is emphasized.

This leads naturally into a research phase in which students define research questions, develop research methodologies, collect and collate information, analyse results and, finally, develop a report on what they have found. This phase may be supported with specific skills workshops.

The research phase culminates in a presentation of outcomes in a public arena. This can be a second student forum, where the Student Action Team meets with others (other students, or the commissioning agency) and talks about their research and findings. The forum then begins the process of developing action around the topic, based on the research evidence. In some cases, there have been 'visioning' exercises here, to engage students' imaginations and concerns and to generate ideas about possible futures.

The action phase involves student teams in developing proposals to address their research findings: *'What needs to change?'; 'What can we do?'; 'What do we want others to do?'* The nature of action that is possible by students is not pre-defined: students are encouraged be imaginative and bold in defining what they think would be effective action. When students' plans are constrained by their past experiences of what they could do (and hence where they restrict themselves to solutions that they call on others to implement, but in which they have no powerful role themselves), students are challenged to broaden their action ideas.[1] This phase includes the planning and implementation of action (including the identification of strategies, timelines and action plans to achieve outcomes.

Finally, at a third student forum, the Student Action Teams again meet (with other students, or the commissioning agency) to report on their actions and their outcomes. This forum is also an opportunity to review progress in meeting objectives, to celebrate achievements and to re-plan the next investigations and actions.

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[1] In considering traffic safety, for example, it was useful for students to characterize action possibilities as 'Engineering', 'Enforcement', 'Encouragement' or 'Education'; these concepts are broadly applicable to other topics and extend possibilities for students' action beyond proposals to build roundabouts, for example.

For schools working in clusters, the Student Forums have been crucial elements in the Student Action Team approach. They:

- create an opportunity for student teams to come together to plan, report and share;
- provide action teams with public validation and feedback on their work;
- challenge students to explore and practise a wide range of interpersonal, communication, public speaking and leadership skills; and
- form an accountability framework within which school teams have to meet agreed timelines, targets and commitments. (Holdsworth, 2006, pp. 16–17)

Student Action Teams on Values

In both the Manningham and Darebin Clusters, the application of the Student Action Team approach to values education followed the above broad direction.

Teacher Planning and Reflection

Within each cluster, a group including the school co-ordinators, the cluster's University Associates, a cluster consultant and the cluster co-ordinator drove the approach. This group met regularly to plan the project's progress and:

> to support and learn from each other, and to use their professional learning to go back to the individual schools to listen to and work alongside the Student Action Teams. (Cahill, 2007a, p. 5).

This group also reflected on and documented particular issues relating to the progress of the project within their specific school communities:

> The project team is operating as a professional learning team, to drive and support teacher professional learning and collaboration within their own schools and across the Network. Teachers participate in work-based action research and ongoing professional development to deepen skills and understandings, and to develop a shared vision of and approach to values education. They are developing, evaluating and documenting explicit school and classroom policies, programs and practices that integrate effective values education, productive pedagogies and student leadership, social competencies and well-being. (Jones, 2007a, p. 6)

Setting Up

Within the schools, there was an initial establishment phase as each school planned its own school-based project elements. They considered how their Student Action Teams would be selected and constructed within each school setting. How might students within specific schools be 'switched on' to values themes and to being interested to tackle this? Jones and Davies (2007) note that this was:

> . . . an important logistical question, given that an essential tenet of Student Action Teams involves young people generating their own inquiry and action plans. To what extent should teachers be taking a directive role at this point? And what might a values focus look like for a specific school community? (p. 7)

The Student Action Team approach firstly involved each school setting up a team of students who were interested to address the project focus. The schools identified students and set up teams in very different ways, responding to their own organizational structures, teacher enthusiasms and pre-conceptions as to how the project might work best. Some schools formed student teams from their Junior School Councils (JSCs) and Student Representative Councils (SRCs), or drew students from classes across all or part of the school. These teams then met with the co-ordinating teacher during lunch breaks or were withdrawn from classes during class time.

In other cases, schools identified their Student Action Team within their existing teaching and learning structures – within a particular subject class or grade. Within some primary schools, a whole grade or a group within the grade formed the Student Action Team to work on the topic, and representatives from the grade attended the Student Forums. Some grades formed into several smaller Student Action Teams on various aspects of the topic, with representatives drawn from each team, or 'rotating' to give all students a chance to attend at some stage during the year. Within a secondary school, the teacher worked with a class within an appropriate subject – Social Science, English, Science and so on – and devoted some or all of the class time to the project for an extended period of time. In all of these cases, curriculum involvement in the topic, through a Student Action Team approach, was seen to meet (or exceed) school- or system-mandated requirements. Such arrangements also enabled both students and teachers to devote time to the topic as a 'legitimate' part of their studies or teaching allotment.

The Manningham Cluster Co-ordinator described the different curriculum models that were used in each of the cluster's schools:

> The Student Action Team at St Charles Borromeo consists of 10 students from grades 5 and 6; at St. Kevins the team is 14 students from grades 5 and 6; at Our Lady of the Pines, all students in three grade 5s make up the team; at St Gregory the Great, all students in four grade 5s are the team; at Saints Peter and Paul's, all grade 6s are the team; and at St Clement of Rome, the team is all of the grade 5 students. All these teams meet with their Values School Coordinator fortnightly in a formal meeting format and informally between these meetings as required. (Cahill, 2007a, p. 10)

Finding a Way into Values

Once formed, schools' early work supported the initial development of the SATs at the school level, skilling individuals, developing team processes and reinforcing the important roles they had:

> I endeavoured, from the beginning of the project, to instil in the SAT the feeling that they were in a position where what they did could have a real influence on how our school

> community could improve in its living of positive values. I felt this was important to the students and that many of them really saw themselves as influential leaders in the school, not in a 'power-play' way, but in their ability to make a difference. (Judy Harris, quoted in Cahill, 2007a, p. 10)

Specific school-based strategies to introduce the idea of values to the teams were sometimes driven by the requirements for the first Student Forum:

> The lead up to the first student forum was rather rushed but we did do a brainstorm activity with the two grade 5/6 classes about the definition of 'values'. The teachers stipulated that they were not to include the names of the seven values we already have at school or any of the main vocabulary that is on the Values charts around the room. This made it more challenging but very productive. Our joint list was very extensive but did illustrate that they had a common understanding of the meaning of values. (Jenny Deeble, quoted in Jones, 2007b, p. 13)

Another primary school dedicated a significant proportion of its establishment phase to defining concepts and building a shared values vocabulary:

> Our first sessions involving values education provided a few surprises. Firstly, although the students understood the meaning of the term 'value', they had difficulty in applying it to more than monetary value or usefulness. The students used a variety of sources including dictionaries, internet etc to explore other meanings of values. We used Venn diagrams to visually represent students' findings and promote further discussion. This led to long lists of values, which were then clarified, into classroom, school, home and finally community values. (Sidony Menz, quoted in Jones and Davies, 2007, pp. 8–9)

Variations on this process occurred in all schools across both clusters, with the imperative for agreed school definitions reinforced by the demands of the first cluster-wide forums: schools were required to workshop their definitions and bring these to the forums. The definition building and engagement with the vocabulary of values served as strong learning activities, and built values discussions with young people that were respectful of persons and ideas. It engaged and 'sparked' interest in students, partly because it was directed towards the purposeful and shared outcome of the Student Forums.

It was further decided that school groups would bring objects that illustrated these 'values' to the first Student Forum. Students discussed the values and their meanings and explored ways of demonstrating their understanding in concrete ways. Reflecting on the outcomes of this process, the Darebin Cluster Co-ordinator wrote:

> Their artifacts were inventive, creative, often witty. Their offerings included a gorgeously wrapped gift, a water bottle, a flag, a globe, a large key, a set of scales, an intricately prepared diorama depicting two figures, a first aid box and a school song. What could all these objects tell us?
>
> The use of real objects to build metaphors for values is one that seems to work for students at this middle years level. Some were more literal than others and it is interesting – and understandable – to see how the secondary school students used a more sophisticated set of images to highlight their values. But the engagement of all students was an important precondition for the next phase of this exercise which involved groups of students selecting key artifacts to build their mini table exhibitions. The exercise generated great discussion across age groupings and school groups. (Jones, 2007b, p. 13)

Forum One: The Engagement Event

The purposes of this forum and hence the nature of activities were slightly different in each cluster because of their previous experiences and familiarities with ideas about values. However, in both clusters, the activities required students to construct shared meanings between schools about values.

For example, in the Manningham Cluster, each school's team had previously explored ideas about their school's values, but needed to re-orient themselves to these issues and to share their learnings with others. Each was asked to bring some definitions of values to the forum, along with some cards listing value terms and non-value terms. Teams were also asked: '*Here are some definitions from books, but these are all written for adults; challenge: can we write a simple definition for students?*' Each school team was then asked to develop a poster with a simple definition of what a value was. Teams then discussed the names of some values they knew about, and: *What are some things that aren't values?*(*But are close?*) *What and why is the difference?* Each school then decided on 10 cards with a value word (or phrase) on each and 10 cards with a similar type of word/phrase that wasn't a value. They discussed why. These cards were brought to the forum and schools challenged others to work out which was a value and which wasn't and why.

In the Darebin Cluster, the first forum was to introduce SATs to and engage them with issues about values education and to set directions and provide impetus for the research stage of the project. SATs were asked to prepare several items for the forum: a poster of the SAT's definition of 'what is a value?' and three artefacts or objects (each with an explanatory card) to donate to a 'Museum of Values'. Each object was to be chosen to symbolize or represent a different value. (Each school was allocated one value from the nine National Values and was able to choose two of their own.) SATs also brought three cards with value words or phrases of the SAT's choice.

This Student Forum was structured around three main activities:

- *Why are values important?* A local theatre group (of parents) dramatized several value-laden scenarios; students were invited to resolve the scenes, choose endings, discuss and clarify the values being displayed.
- *A Museum of Values.* Students were asked to examine the other schools' 'What is a Value?' posters on display around the room. Each school team then contributed their museum artefacts and cards to a central display table, giving a brief explanation of them. Mixed school groups were each allocated a National Value and challenged to construct ('curate') a museum display around that value using contributed objects and cards. Finally, all students were taken on a guided tour of the nine museum displays, listening to a brief explanation by each group of 'curators'.
- *Planning Research – CSI approach.* Each SAT was asked if they would accept a commission to investigate and work on values issues in their own schools. As each team accepted, they were handed a 'Letter of Charge', which set down the purposes of, and their obligations to, the project. Students were then challenged

to think about how they might go about the task of researching values in their schools, using a CSI (Crime Scene Investigation) model: what values they might begin by investigating; what questions they might have; what evidence they might look for; how they might collect such evidence. SATs in their school groups then worked through some Research Planner *proformas* to begin planning the research stage of the project.

Student Decision Making

The Student Action Team approach builds in a strong commitment to student decision making: both about whether to undertake the investigation and action, and about how they will do that. At the first forum, teams are specifically asked if they wished to commit to work on the topic.

This commitment to decision making on the topic sometimes raised concerns in schools where there were already strong student initiatives using Student Action Teams. Jones and Davies (2007) report how one school incorporated the more 'abstract' topic of values in students' concrete issues, while still preserving their commitment to active student decision making:

> One of the strongest concerns expressed by teachers at early meetings involved the need to build an authentic spirit of inquiry in the Student Action Teams. Because this cluster is investigating the use of SATs in underpinning effective values education in schools, it was clearly imperative that projects be 'owned' by students at the individual school level. Teachers accordingly spent considerable time exploring strategies to tap into their students' concerns and to engage them in values conversations and investigations.
>
> In earlier projects students had worked with questions concerning more tangible or more immediate focus questions – regarding environmental sustainability, for example, or traffic safety. Building student engagement or involvement had not necessarily been an issue in such contexts. Values Education posed some challenges however. Students were not necessarily 'grabbed' by the theme initially and one primary school reported real difficulties in arriving at a project direction that teachers felt could be true to students' concerns and to the needs of the project. The Student Action Team in this case initially outlined where they felt their research interests lay – and to the concern of teachers, values education did not figure in their Top 5 preferred subjects for investigation. To what extent then could and should the school influence the students in refocusing their interest?
>
> How was the impasse resolved? The teacher employed a range of thinking tools to assist students to identify values underpinning some of their key concerns. In this way the team was able to build an authentically based research topic that reflected students' concerns, maintained the energy and enthusiasm of their initial motivations and accommodated the demands of the Values project. (pp. 7–8)

The Research or Investigation Phase

The first Student Forum led directly into school-based research around the chosen area of values. Students investigated these questions through surveys and questionnaires, interviews and observations, using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. They also ran discussions in classes, supported students' art and drama

work and so on. The activities from the forum provided an immediate impetus for continued discussion back at school, as the representatives were encouraged to teach other students in their teams or grades about the ideas encountered:

> After the forum, we returned to school and the students immediately wanted to try some of the new ideas they had seen at the forum and were very keen to launch into the research. I actually had to calm down the enthusiasm so as to get some concrete ideas and achievable tasks in place over the following weeks. They have decided to do a role-play activity at assembly to help deliver the Value of the Week and to make it 'more real' for the younger students. Considering the reserved nature of many in the group, this is a big deal! (Jenny Deeble, quoted in Jones, 2007b, p. 13)

In some schools, the research phase merged into the taking of immediate action. For example, one Student Action Team examined the school's official documents – curriculum plans, school policies and procedures documents – to see what explicit values were mentioned. They then began revising these documents to make them values-laden: they worked with staff in auditing curriculum-planning documents to highlight where values could be explicitly named and implicitly recognized (Cahill, 2007b, p. 15).

Forum 2: Sharing Research

The second Student Forum, held to mark the end of the research phase, had similar purposes in each cluster: to give SATs an opportunity to report on the results of their research; to give SATs further validation, recognition and encouragement; and to initiate the action phase of the project by asking students to think about what could and should be. It linked the research to the action.

Again, each SAT was asked to bring along posters outlining what they had done: the nature of the research carried out, the findings from the research and, in the Manningham Cluster, what action was already being taken. The sharing of this information was directed towards an authentic task: challenging student teams to provide summary advice to the project about which examples to highlight in its formal project reports – around seven key questions such as 'the most interesting research approach' and 'the most surprising finding'.

The second activity at this forum was a 'guided visioning' in which students were taken on three imaginary journeys (the first: back to a time when they felt powerful in doing something important; the second: into the current world to explore what their research on values showed – what was seen/heard/felt; the third: into a future world that they could powerfully create – around what 'should be' on these values). Following each 'journey', students individually developed summaries of their visions of the current situation and what their ideal world might look like, and some of these individual visions were shared in school groups, leading to 'vision/mission' statements and then to 'what needs to change' lists. Finally, in these school groups, students began to brainstorm possibilities for action that they could take to bring about these changes (to schools and communities).

Some formal action planning steps were introduced, but were largely to be followed up with and in individual schools.

Action Phase

Following this forum, Student Action Teams further developed actions within their individual schools, based on their research findings and on school needs. Some successful examples from the Darebin Cluster included student proposals for changes to a school's policies (the introduction of 'new' values to existing statements), instigation of student-led assemblies and student-led awards, student proposals to staff for the introduction of 'circle time' within all grades, the development of curriculum and wellbeing programs (such as a 'buddy' program) and so on.

The Manningham Cluster Co-ordinator described student-led outcomes within those six schools:

> The SAT process has already led to a number of approaches to embedding values into school practice. In all schools, the explicit teaching of values is carried out in each classroom, every week. The Student Action Teams have put the identified values into a priority order, and the same value is taught in every class for three to four weeks. The staff uses the same teaching resources as their main support and a pack of material is made up of other supporting resources and a list of picture storybooks that pertain to the particular value. A key focus of the project is to enable classroom teachers and students 'to establish respectful relationships between staff and students'.
>
> The Student Action Teams also lead the explicit teaching of values through whole school assemblies. In many of the schools, students organize and lead these assemblies to promote the value being highlighted at the moment in their school. Sometimes a story is read, a role-play performed, observations shared of where, when and by whom a certain value has been seen in action. Examples of work done in the values classes is shared and values certificates are distributed to staff, students (and at one school, to parents) who have displayed values in action. Silent reflection is a part of each assembly.
>
> The explicit embedding of values is further strengthened by visual displays in all classrooms, in the foyer and hallways of the schools.
>
> The Student Action Teams also produce a Values Newsletter in all schools to introduce a 'new' value as the program progresses. This is distributed to all members of the school community.
>
> The students have also been instrumental in introducing various curriculum projects. In one school, the Student Action Team process has led to the school being designated a 'No Put Down Zone' in an attempt to foster respect of self and others. All students assigned themselves to a classroom and teacher to become the Values representative whose responsibility was to share information and to discuss any questions or concerns.
>
> The Student Action Team process in another school produced a whole school 'buddy program' where all students and staff are buddied up with another member of the school community. This program was extended by the Student Action Team to the residents of a local retirement village. The residents and students spent time together at both school and the village to share stories about the resident's childhood, workplace and life. The students spent time talking about their lives, interests and today's world. This 'service learning' allowed 'head, hands and hearts' to be involved in a values based partnership. (Cahill, 2007b, p. 15)

Forum 3: Action Reporting

The third Student Forum provided an opportunity for students to celebrate the project's conclusion and outcomes and to report and reflect on their achievements. They were explicitly asked: *'What difference have you made?'*

With the larger Darebin Cluster, the forum included a 'jigsaw' activity, in which students at each school were asked to brainstorm and present their own outcomes under three headings: *'Impact on members of the SAT'*, *'Impact on other students'* and *'Impact on the school'* – and to provide examples of evidence for each of these areas. The information provided by all schools under each of these three headings was then re-distributed to students from other participating schools who were asked to summarize the cluster-wide outcomes.

In the smaller Manningham cluster, a 'game show' approach ('Where's the evidence?!?') was used. Representatives from each of the Student Action Teams formed a panel and received the three challenges above; these representatives then met with their school groups to produce the evidence for values-based changes to individuals and schools. In some cases, students presented 'before' and 'after' role-plays; in other cases, the representatives brought their school's Principal to the panel to attest to on-going changes within the schools.

In many cases, students were able to articulate, through this final Student Forum, ways in which values concepts, discussions, language and (in some cases) structures were now a 'normalized' part of the school.

Implications

There are many strengths of a Student Action Team approach to learning – and to ideas of student leadership – both generally, and specifically as applied to values education.

- SATs address issues that are important, both to students and to the wider community. Despite initial unfamiliarity with the formal language of values, the ideas resonated strongly with students' interests and concerns;
- There is a high degree of student decision making, both around whether to accept a commission or not, and also around how to carry out investigations and action. This reinforced personal and social responsibility for students' views and actions;
- Students were provided with a structure to engage deeply with the topic of values, through focused research that had clear purposes in public presentations and in meaningful action;
- From this, students developed a strong sense of belonging to a community and also of them being able to create change within that community. One teacher articulated this as:

> There is a willingness on the part of the students to seek change in this area. Students are now far more aware of the need and place of responsibility in life. (Madeleine Fernandes, quoted in Cahill, 2007b, p. 16)

- The operation of SATs can be targeted to involve students with particular interests and needs. In fact, the work of Student Action Teams argues that students may be 'experts' by being disengaged, truants, 'at risk' and so on. Hence a broader range of students may have their voices heard and be involved in participatory roles;
- SATs can be developed as part of the school's program – as a way of learning and teaching that involves serious research and action planning. They can operate within a specific class as a way in which that class learns about a topic or can work on a school-wide basis.

In previous examples of Student Action Teams (e.g., Holdsworth, 2006), the following issues have been recognized as crucial to their successful development and implementation:

- *The nature of the topic*: It must be something that students choose to do, but also must have a wider importance in the community. Such activities meet genuine needs (i.e., are about real things), have an impact or consequence that extends beyond the participants (i.e., outside the classroom), are challenging to participants, and provide the opportunity for planning, acting and reflecting.
- *Ideas of student agency*: While ideas of 'inquiry learning', of 'student-centred classrooms' and of 'creative teaching' are inherent in these approaches, what is described goes beyond this to address the central ideas of what is worth learning and doing in schools. Student Action Teams strongly assert that students can take action as active members of their communities, with the skills and motivation to make a difference;
- *Positioning of students in relation to community*: Student Action Teams locate students as 'shapers' of community rather than its 'servants' – and this has strong links to ideas of active citizenship; these approaches enhance the recognition of the present, active citizenship of young people – as they are given substantive and important roles within their communities;
- *Challenge and collaboration*: An external challenge to students not only makes the topic 'real', provides an interested audience for student outcomes, and creates a real timeline – it also changes the relationship between students and teacher to one of 'collaborators in learning', as they work together to meet that challenge;
- *Uncertainty around real issues*: Finally, Student Action Teams are not simulated exercises, dealing with hypothetical situations or designed to produce already known outcomes. They deal with real issues, with uncertain outcomes.

The experience of the operation of Student Action Teams within these two clusters has shown that these general aspects are strongly present within this approach to values education:

- *Values as an important topic*: The students were deeply concerned with issues of values – of right and wrong – as they established their own self-identities. They were also strongly motivated by their perception of the enactment of values within their communities – moved both by social justice concerns and also by issues of integrity and hypocrisy;

- *An active approach to values*: The students naturally saw their investigations as being embedded within their learning, and developed action that was also located within their curriculum;
- *Values within communities*: The students saw themselves as both reflecting on the values of their communities and forging leadership roles in enacting values. They were strongly motivated to lead on action within their school and wider communities around these values;
- *Co-learning about values*: Students and teachers became co-researchers and co-actors around values within their communities. The approach enabled collaboration within the team and within the classroom, with strong shared ownership by students of learning approaches and whole school actions;
- *Values and uncertainty*: Both students and teachers recognized that the nature and enactment of values within their school and communities were best regarded as 'open questions' to be investigated, rather than closed topics to be 'taught'. Even where there were on-going assumptions maintained about the schools' values, substantial aspects remained open questions, subject to uncertainty and investigation: e.g., the degree to which schools implemented these values, and the degree to which community members enacted these stated values.

Conclusion

The Student Action Team approach has resulted in the deeper engagement of both students and teachers with concepts and application of values within their school and communities. As is also recognized in the Final Report of the Values Education Good Practice Schools Project – Stage 2 (DEEWR, 2008), these approaches have resulted in the following:

- Common and shared values language across the schools;
- Recognition of the central role of engaged students in establishing personal and shared values;
- Alignment of pedagogical approaches with values – specifically around respectful and responsible roles for students within curriculum;
- Engagement of schools with broader values questions within their wider communities. (pp. 8–9)

In the discussions of curriculum negotiation by Garth Boomer (1988; Boomer, Lester, Onore, & Cook, 1992), it was possible to distinguish between meanings of 'Negotiation' and 'negotiation': the formal and structured processes of 'Negotiation' against the everyday and informal processes of 'negotiation' between learners and teachers. A similar comparison emerges here, with a contrast able to be drawn between 'Values Education' and 'values education' – a contrast that goes beyond ideas of 'explicit' or 'implicit' learning and teaching. Schools may be explicit in adopting both approaches, but the process of 'values education' is seen

as underpinning and dominating all aspects of school life, rather than being located within an often separated formalized area.

Student Action Teams, as a way of learning and teaching, are heavily value-laden – whatever their explicit topic. As well as requiring students to consider the values inherent in their investigations, visions and actions, they also require schools to respect the capacities of young people and to consciously encourage and support their responsibility for authentic initiatives within their communities.

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Chapter 49
Values Implicit in Vocational Education and Training: The Challenge for Wider Issues of Personal and Social Engagement

Richard G. Bagnall

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on the teaching and learning of values in vocational education as a sector of educational provision and engagement. The contemporary construction of that sector is distinctive, particularly when viewed from the more mainstream – primary, secondary, and tertiary – sectors of education.

Accordingly, the first substantive section here examines the nature of the vocational education sector, and the following paints a picture of the sites of values learning in it. Brief mention is then made of the place of values learning in vocational teacher education. Since values education in vocational education is directed largely to the cultivation of particular workplace values, the subsequent section examines the nature of workplace values, developing a typology of key features through which contemporary trends in the teaching and learning of workplace values may be explored. The next section examines the trends in the teaching and learning of workplace values that are judged to be evident in the scholarly literature of the field. The trends identified both raise and highlight a number of tensions in the teaching and learning of values in vocational education, these being the focus of the following section. Finally here, by way of a forward-looking agenda, attention is focused on important challenges raised by the tensions and other points noted in the chapter.

For my purpose, a general conception of values has been used to guide the selection of material used in the chapter. In that conception, values are understood as culturally contingent norms or qualitative standards identifying the extent to which an entity or state of affairs is or should be sought after or evidenced in dispositions to act (or commitments to acting) in particular ways, in the actions themselves, or in their outcomes. Those norms and standards, in other words, *constrain* our intentions, actions, and their outcomes. The notion of a constraint here is thus that of a guide *to* think particular thoughts, *to* act in particular ways, or *to* work towards

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particular ends, as distinct from a *restraint*, which is a guide *not* to think particular thoughts, *not* to act in particular ways, or *not* to work towards particular ends. The outcomes of our actions, whether those of our particular selves or of others, may variously be material objects, constructs, or states of affairs of any pertinent type. Individual and cultural value sets are recognized as being heterogeneous fields of value, from which we artificially recognize and articulate particular values, through critical reflection, discourse, and scholarly analysis (Gergen, 2001).

The Nature of Vocational Education

Vocational education as a sector of educational provision and engagement is variously labelled internationally. 'Vocational education and training' is the standard phrase used in Australia and increasingly internationally, most commonly through its acronym 'VET' (Moodie, 2002). The shorter, 'vocational education', is used in this chapter – accepting the contemporary erosion of the difference between education and training (Meister, 1998). Other equivalent labels for the sector include: 'technical and vocational education and training' (TVET), the official UNESCO term (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2006); 'technical and vocational education' (TVE), the earlier UNESCO term (UNESCO, 1999); 'vocational and technical education and training' (VTET) used by the South-East Asian Ministers of Education Organization Regional Centre for Vocational and Technical Education and Training (SEAMEO VOCTECH) and a number of jurisdictions in the region (Omar & Paryono, 2008); 'technical education and vocational training' (TEVT), used by the Asian Development Bank (2004); and 'career and technical education' (CTE), used especially in the USA (Silverberg,Warner, Fong, & Goodwin 2004). In Australia, the primary provider institution – that of technical and further education (TAFE), is often used as a synonym for the field of vocational education (Goozee, 1995). More recently, 'technical and vocational skills development' (TVSD) has been suggested as a term to 'capture both the older sense of technical and vocational expertise, as well [as] the newer and more general term, skills development' (King, 2009, p. 175).

Traditionally, the vocational education sector has been identified with educational provision that is directed to occupational learning for types of work that are seen as requiring only lower-level skills, commonly 'manual' rather than 'intellectual' skills, and which may be taught, because of that, through focused 'training', rather than through a more expansive engagement in 'education' (Moodie, 2002). The types of work involved include particularly those known as the 'trades' – construction, metal working, manufacturing, and such like. The initial education for such occupations has traditionally occurred in the workplace itself, with, increasingly, supporting formal provision in 'technical' or 'further' colleges.

Other forms of educational provision directed to occupational learning have been excluded from the field of vocational education as requiring proper 'education', rather than just training, and as being therefore the province of the higher

education sector (Boshuizen, Bromme & Gruber, 2004). The types of work involved in this latter category include the professions such as dentistry, medicine, law, veterinary medicine, engineering, and architecture. Straddling these two sectors have been occupations such as nursing, school teaching, and laboratory technicians. These occupations have tended to become progressively more professionalized and university-based for their initial education, as the higher education (university) sector has expanded to embrace them (Brennan, 1990). In many educational jurisdictions, though, they remain marginal to varying degrees within the vocational education sector.

The nature of the occupations served by the vocational education sector, though, has been evolving progressively in recent decades into one more demanding of intellectual, higher-order skills commonly associated with traditional professions. The rise of business, communications, and service industries, and the evolution of economies into knowledge-based societies have transformed vocational education, especially in the more economically developed countries, into a sector more focused on 'education' than on 'training'. This sector is of much greater significance economically and socially, increasingly located in tertiary educational institutions rather than in workplaces, and less clearly demarcated from occupational learning in higher education (Hyland, 2002).

Nevertheless, the traditional sector distinctions continue, often with government responsibility vested in separate ministries, operating under separate legislative acts, and evidencing distinctive funding and career profiles (Elias, 1995). The traditionally strong status differentials between the vocational and higher education sectors also largely remain, as they do for the occupations that the sectors serve (Barnett & Ryan, 2005; Grollmann & Rauner, 2007). It thus makes sense, still, to recognize the vocational education sector, albeit much changed and less clearly demarcated.

It is with the teaching and learning of values in this sector, then, that we are here concerned. Like more professional forms of occupational teaching and learning, it includes both initial pre-service and continuing in-service education, both work-based learning and learning through formal educational provision (Clarke & Winch, 2007).

Vocational education has traditionally involved a strong focus on work-based learning in initial forms of education and training such as apprenticeships, but also in less formal situations, through 'on-the-job' learning (Ainley & Rainbird, 1999). Work-based learning for professional occupations has traditionally *followed* initial occupational education, or has come later in the initial block of educational engagements – in the form of mentorships or internships (Houle, 1989). Although that distinction is increasingly being eroded – both through earlier programs of work-based learning in the professions and through increasingly formal initial educational engagement in vocational education (Boud & Symes, 2000) – it remains the case that work-based learning is *recognized* – in policy, practice, and research – as being a more important feature of vocational education than it is of occupational learning for the professions. As well as programs of an apprenticeship or traineeship type, structured work-based learning and informal work-based learning are both seen as being of major importance to vocational learning in vocational education. The

consideration of values teaching and learning here, accordingly, embraces work-based learning as well as more formal vocational educational provision.

Values Teaching and Learning in Vocational Education

Returning to the teaching and learning of values in vocational education, we may note, first, a degree of attention to the formal teaching of workplace values through programs of vocational education. This is strongest in occupational fields like business studies and social services, where there is a considerable volume of literature devoted to programmatic innovations and evaluations in values education. Apostolou and Apostolou (1997), for example, argued and illustrated the case for using personal heroes in professional ethics courses for accountancy students. They presented an approach that 'requests that a student identify his or her personal hero and document the reasons, including how the hero influences his or her own behaviour' (p. 124). However, the study by Cole and Smith (1995) into the ethical import of formal courses of ethics within business studies programs confirmed the findings of a number of previous studies that identified no ethical impact of such courses.

Nevertheless, in vocational education, Hill (2003) has argued a case for including the teaching of ethics in technology education courses and Hyland (1995) argued for what he presented as a Deweyan approach to values learning in vocational education. On the basis of their case study, Leone and Howell (1995) argued for the following smorgasbord of approaches to the learning of workplace ethics in vocational education: 'indoctrinational/democratic pedagogy, classroom structures, predesigned curriculum, vocational student organizations, cooperative education, apprenticeships and character development' (p. 31). In a similar vein, Miller and Coady (1989) argued for role-playing, modelling, and case discussion as approaches to the teaching of workplace ethics in vocational education. Consistent with such advocacy, Wells (1998) reported an effective experimental use of formal vocational education for teaching workplace ethics in a class of high school medical technologies students. Lawlor's (2000) paper includes a brief review of working models or guides to decision-making in the use of ethical dilemmas in continuing professional education, and Martin and Stout (1989) have presented a more comprehensive set of guidelines for using ethical dilemmas in the teaching of ethics in vocational education. As the third in its series of 'sourcebooks for educators' inspired by the four pillars of education (learning to know, to do, to be and to live together) articulated in the Delors' (1996) report of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, the Asia-Pacific Network for International Education and Values Education (UNESCO-APNIEVE) has developed a curriculum framework, supported by extensive curricular material, for incorporating values learning into vocational education (Quisumbing & de Leo, 2005). The study by James (2005) examined the ethical responses to contemporary cultural influences in the construction industry, in Queensland, Australia. From the data, a range of vocational

education curricular implications were drawn out and presented in the form of principles of educational intervention in the learning of ethics in that context.

More generally, the learning of values in and through vocational education must be acknowledged as an activity that occurs in *all* vocational education engagements, regardless of whether or not there is any conscious and articulated *intent* on the part of the vocational education providers to guide such learning in any given case. As has been repeatedly recognized in values learning theory and research, educational participants learn values – or have existing values either challenged or reinforced – from the cultural context of the educational events in which they participate (Quick, 2004). The manner in which an educational event is conducted and the values demonstrated by fellow participants are powerful drivers of values learning. Participants in such events find themselves in a social situation in which expressions of values and evaluative feedback on those expressions are strongly contextualized in a learning culture and are experienced as such. As in all values learning, the values demonstrated by respected others – especially in this case those involved with the teaching – whether through their own actions or their evaluations of the actions of others, are especially influential (Ozar, 1993). This modelling and critiquing of values on the part of vocational education teachers in general is surely an important – and arguably *the* most important – mode of values learning through formal vocational education. It has, though, received scant attention in research into the provision of vocational education and the professional development of vocational educators. The contemporarily predominant, educationally impoverished, structural-functionalist view of formal vocational education provision, in which vocational teaching and learning are constructed as the value-neutral development of workplace skills, may be seen as the dominant factor in generating this neglect (Blunden, 1999; Hyland, 1995), but the lack of understanding of values learning and teaching on the part of vocational teachers is arguably also important.

Contrastingly, the learning of workplace values through work-based learning is more generally and traditionally accepted as an important mode of workplace values learning. Much of the advocacy and support for work placement programs for youth is premised on the belief that involvement in actual work in actual workplaces instils work values such as dependability, reliability, and diligence – what Predmore (2005, p. 52) and others have termed a ‘positive work ethic’. These values, while being developed, refined, or reinforced in particular workplaces, are understood as being quite general, or ‘generic’ across workplaces (Williams, 2005).

Research into work-based learning placements undertaken by youth supports these beliefs. For example, the longitudinal study of young post-apprenticeship workers undertaken by Lempert (1994) concluded that ‘Occupational experiences appeared to have contributed considerably to moral development in most respondents’ (p. 451) and that ‘Since the most convincing moral lessons are taught by real life experiences, “moral” workers are not only required, but also produced by “moral” work’ (p. 467). More generally, from their extensive review of Australian school-based vocational education, Barnett and Ryan (2005) noted the importance of work-based learning in the development of workplace values.

Teacher Education

Vocational teacher education directed to values learning through vocational education is limited both by the general weakness of statutory requirements for teacher education in this field and by the commonly limited conceptualizations of values learning through vocational education – as pertaining just to the above-noted kinds of generic workplace values (Cornford, 2000; Grootings & Nielsen, 2005). In consequence, the most common requirement or expectation imposed on vocational educators is, not that they have engaged in formal teacher education programs where an understanding and working knowledge of values teaching and learning might be included, but that they have high levels of contemporarily pertinent immersion in *work* and *workplaces* (Cornford, 1999a, 1999b). In other words, work experience is seen, quite generally, as being the most important – and, with vocational qualifications, not uncommonly the only – prerequisite for vocational teaching or training. An implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) important component of the learning from such experience is that of the values associated with what is taken to be good workplace practice. Vocational teachers are thus seen as being prepared through their workplace *experience* to plan, oversee, facilitate, and assess the learning of workplace values in their educational roles.

More formal programs of vocational teacher education certainly exist. They range from relatively non-formal, short-cycle, skills-based, often in-house programs, to full bachelor degree and postgraduate programs. Internationally, the former clearly predominate. Increasingly, though, those vocational teachers and trainers who are making a career through the field are seeking, and are being encouraged to seek, more in-depth degree-level or postgraduate study in education appropriate to their role. Insofar as information is available, these latter programs would seem to parallel the sort of attention to values education shown in the field of vocational education itself. They tend to exhibit, in other words, an emphasis on instrumentally useful workplace values and on experiential learning in the workplace (Yunos, Ahmad, Kaprawi, & Razzaly, 2006).

Dimensions of Workplace Values

Given the overwhelming focus on *workplace* values in the teaching and learning of values through vocational education, I now focus attention on the nature of those values – in order to establish a foundation on which we may examine evidence of shifts and differences in value emphasis, and tensions arising across value emphases. To that end, we may usefully focus attention on two common qualities or dimensions of value: what I will here term its 'epistemology' and its 'object domain'.

By the epistemology of workplace value, I mean the normative nature of the value: the sort of imperatives that ground, inform, and drive the value. From that perspective, each of our values may be conceptualized as being, to a greater or lesser extent, instrumental, aesthetic, egoistic, and altruistic in nature. By 'instrumental', I am referring to the extent to which a value is *informed* by rational instrumentality

(Hyland, 2007). By 'aesthetic', I mean the extent to which the value focus is on the *form* of the action, activity, or product that is the object of the value (Bagnall, 1998). In egoism, the focus of the value is on its *self-regarding* nature (Regis, 1980) or the prudential advantage that it accords over others (Wringe, 2006). In altruism, the focus of the value is on its *other-regarding* nature (Scott & Seglow, 2007). Altruism and egoism may be understood as different aspects of the *ethical* nature of values, in that they focus specifically on the welfare or wellbeing of persons, whether oneself or others (Bagnall, 2006).

By way of an example, I am arguing that a workplace value – such as a commitment to achieving excellence in one's work outputs – may be, to varying degrees, instrumental, aesthetic, egoistic, and altruistic in any given situation. It may be instrumental to the extent to which it is grounded in an understanding of the place and importance of high quality work output in maintaining and strengthening the social and economic fabric of society and the family. It may be aesthetic to the extent to which it is grounded in an appreciation of the beauty and harmony in good quality products and in one's relationship to their production. It may be egoistic to the extent to which it is grounded in a belief that, through high-quality work, one may preserve one's economic wellbeing and attain respect from others. Finally, it may be altruistic to the extent to which it is grounded in a desire to do one's best for the organization and for the occupation through ensuring the high quality of its products.

As this illustration clearly shows, these qualities of workplace values are not mutually exclusive; they are not zero-sum in nature. Any one situation may be informed by each of them, in varying degrees, more or less independently of the others, just as an individual's actions in any given situation may be so informed. The relative epistemic emphases in common workplace values will vary across situations and over time. Such variations are arguably of cultural importance, because different cultural consequences will follow from actions informed by values of differing epistemic profiles. Although those different consequences are not the subject of this chapter, variations in epistemic emphasis are the subject.

In returning to the discussion of the *object domain* of a value, I am recognizing for our purpose here four categories: the economic, the environmental, the democratic, and the accountability. The concept here of the object domain is that of the domain of human activity and achievement that is targeted by the value. Clearly, different object domains are not mutually exclusive in any important sense, and values of note here have application in each object domain. The significance, rather, of identifying different object domains is, on the one hand, that we demonstrably *do* exercise different values differentially across object domains and, on the other hand, that the object domains to which greater or lesser values attention is paid say something of importance in virtue *of* those differences.

The concept of the economic domain is that of *productivity* and achievement through work (White, 1997). The concept of the environmental domain is that of *sustainability* in and through work (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2006). The concept of the democratic domain is that of individual, social, and political *emancipation* in and through work (Willis, 2007). Finally, the concept of the accountability domain is that

of the individualization (to organizations or collectivities, as well as to individuals per se) of *responsibility* and, correspondingly, of ownership (Griffin, 1999). Any given value may emphasize any or all of these object domains to varying degrees.

Returning, illustratively, to the earlier example of a commitment to achieving excellence in one's work outputs, the economic object domain may be emphasized to the extent that the value targets enhance quality of work productivity, which this value at face value straightforwardly does, at least from an employer's perspective. The environmental domain may be emphasized to the extent that the value targets sustainability in the world of work, which this value may do to the extent that higher quality output is understood as reducing wastage. The democratic domain may be emphasized to the extent to which the value targets individual independence, self-efficacy, and agency, which this value may do from the perspective of the individual worker. The accountability domain may be emphasized in the extent to which the value targets enhanced individual responsibility for the quality of one's work. Important in this dimension is the *perspective* from which the value judgement is being made. The same value in the same situation may show quite different object domain profiles from different perspectives.

Trends in the Teaching and Learning of Workplace Values

Values shifts on these two dimensions in vocational education may be understood as expressions of shifts in values within the broader cultural contexts in which vocational education is situated and of which it is part. Important among those broader cultural value shifts is the heightened valuing of performance, contingency, and ownership.

The heightened valuing of performance is expressed in such trends as the vocationalization of general education, in the growth of outcomes-based approaches to education, and in the educational accountability movement. The vocationalization of general education involves the infusion of vocational teaching and learning into general education curricula. It is a feature of reforms in both senior secondary schooling (Lauglo & Maclean, 2005) and higher education (Barnett, 1994). The contemporary trend towards funding, designing, and evaluating education on the basis of the intended outcomes has gained most ground in the vocational education sector, where the outcomes are commonly constructed largely or entirely in terms of predetermined 'skills' or 'competencies' in systems of outcomes-based or competence-based education (Mulder, Weigel & Collins, 2007). Relatedly, the trend to the sector-wide specification of educational standards, accountabilities, and qualifications is also strongly evidenced in such developments as the requirement for generic skills formation, the imposition of standard qualifications frameworks and, again, the specification of workplace competencies as outcomes (Cornford, 2001; Tobias, 1999).

The heightened valuing of contingency is expressed, for example, in the emphasis on education (especially vocational education) for *flexible employment* (Crowther, 2004). More broadly, it is evidenced in the *responsiveness* of (vocational)

educational systems and curricula to changes in workplace demands (Bauman, 1995). That responsiveness is itself grounded in a heightened awareness of and attention the *cultural context* in which educational provision is located and which it serves (Bagnall, 1999). An important correlate of the contingency of vocational education systems is their attention to the *management of risk* in educational provision (Giddens, 1990). These trends lead both to a focus on the more immediate or proximate, rather than the more distant or longer term, and to a focus on the environmental impact of workplace practices (Bagnall, 1999). This shift is thus enhancing the focus on aesthetic (including creative) and environmental values in vocational education.

The heightened valuing of ownership is expressed in the individualization of educational responsibility, benefit, and cost (Bauman, 1993). It is evidenced in the increased public expectations that individual learners will directly carry not only a share of the costs of their education, but also the responsibility for any failure on their part to succeed in their endeavours (Bellah, 2000). It carries also, though, an acceptance that what is learned is then available to the individual learner to market as a commodity in the workplace. The public good is thus increasingly discounted, incidental, and consequential to the private (Rizvi, 2007).

The heightened valuing of contingency and ownership is also leading to a proliferation of codes of conduct in workplaces. These codes, though, are generally more instrumental and prudentially egoistic than they are altruistic in their epistemic emphasis. We see here a shift in the construction of value, away from one of *individual moral character* as defining ethical workplace and professional conduct to one of *formal frameworks* (whether ethical or instrumental) that serve as quasi-legal structures within which one can push the boundaries, but with progressively increasing occupational risk (Sennett, 1998). Whether these codes serve to enhance ethical values and knowledge in the workplace is therefore questionable (Carasco & Singh, 2003). They do, though, clearly encourage both a heightened awareness of individual and collective responsibility and heightened egoistic attention to ensuring that one's 'duty of care' and one's 'accountabilities' are given due consideration (Hatcher & Storberg-Walker, 2003). In these latter respects, we can trace a shift to more egoistic value emphases, both in the workplace and in values learning through vocational education. As noted earlier in this chapter, heightened attention to the learning of ethics in business studies is a good example of this shift.

Conversely, ethical altruism as an epistemic emphasis in workplace values (and values learning in vocational education) is essentially sidelined by the contemporary cultural trends noted above. Any role that it plays in workplace learning would seem to be generally minor and diminishing, except, of course, in special cases, such as volunteer service agencies.

The democratic object domain in contemporary workplace values has been totally overwhelmed by the clamour for the other value emphases. It has also been commonly confused with the accountability object domain, wherein heightened individual responsibility in the workplace has been (mis)constructed as individually liberating and emancipating (Crowther, 2004; Griffin, 1999). Trade union education and the work of workers' educational associations, once a major contributor to

workplace learning in many developed countries (Holford, 2009), has been radically diminished and totally gutted in most cases by these cultural trends. Such education was, traditionally, the primary (and commonly the sole) source of any democratic emphasis in workplace values education. The emphasis on this object domain may, therefore, be seen unambiguously as small and greatly diminished by recent cultural trends.

While contemporary value shifts are further enhancing the already high importance of instrumental and prudentially egoistic value emphases in values learning through vocational education, the traditionally overwhelming importance of the economic object domain should not be overlooked. It remains unchallenged for supremacy in this context. An epistemic emphasis on the instrumental and egoistic and an economic object emphasis dwarf attention to the other aspects of workplace values noted here, including the environmental, which struggles for serious attention in most vocational education (Anderson, 2009).

Some Tensions in the Teaching and Learning of Workplace Values

Analyses of contemporary shifts in workplace values may often be read as implying a coherent and unidirectional force for change – most commonly in recent times, one frequently articulated as ‘neo-liberal’, ‘capitalist’, and ‘economistic’ (Crowther, 2004; Sennett, 1998). In reality, the forces and directions of change are more fragmented and conflicting than they are united and uniform. They are characterized as much (or more) by tensions as they are by congruities. Those tensions carry over into the teaching and learning of values in vocational education where, as I have argued already, the pattern of values emphases is a strong reflection of the values emphases in the societal – especially the workplace – context.

From the foregoing analysis, a number of such tensions emerge. Here I mention three that I believe to be importantly illustrative. First, the strong focus on educational *outcomes* – captured here in the emphasis on instrumental value emphases – may be seen as compromising the opportunity or the capacity of vocational education to encompass aesthetic, including creative, value emphases. While an outcomes emphasis typically focuses on enhancing or maintaining the *efficacy* of the educational activities, it tends strongly to their formalization and standardization, qualities generally inimical to the aesthetic. Correspondingly, although much is made in contemporary workplace theory of the importance of aesthetic value (Florida, 2005), vocational education clearly struggles on the whole to see such value recognized to any extent.

Second, much has been written of the contemporary workplace focus on realities and goals that are contingent and immediate – proximate and short-term – at the expense of longer term and broader realities and goals (Hyland, 2007). This aspect of the contemporary value emphasis on the instrumental is strongly in tension with the coeval contingent focus on more general – commonly global – and longer

term, contingent environmental realities that are extrapolated from contemporary contingent ones. The corresponding emphasis on the environmental object domain in vocational education thus struggles for recognition against the overwhelming dominance of the immediate. Environmental value emphases feature very weakly in contemporary values teaching and learning in vocational education, in spite of their importance in the wider cultural context and in spite of the evident potential of vocational education to play a major part in achieving sustainability in and through work (Pavlova, 2009). That potential for vocational education to contribute significantly to the United Nations agenda for the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2006) is simply not being realized.

Third, we might note the tension between the contemporarily heightened concern for *ethical* value in workplace practice and the *formalizing* of ethical value in vocational practice, with the concomitant shift to more instrumental value emphases. Carasco and Singh (2003), for example, have argued that globalization has heightened the pressure on international corporations to develop universal codes of ethical conduct. The factors impelling that development, though, are identified as being essentially those of instrumentalism and accountability, including enhancing corporate reputation and brand image, protecting the company against accusations of unethical behaviour, creating a cohesive company culture, and avoiding fines, sanctions, and litigation. There is thus a tension between the primary organizational purpose of codes of conduct – that of bolstering the image and security of the organization – and the ethical principles that are articulated in and through the codes. Ethical principles here serve essentially prudential ends. Rafalko's (2003) analysis of United States' sentencing guidelines for organizations presents another aspect of this tension, in its focus on the ethical idealism that is argued as driving the guidelines and codification, and the instrumentally punitive nature of the frameworks and procedures developed to operationalize that idealism. He argued that 'the monitoring and verification procedures proposed . . . might well diminish or destroy the moral worth of the intentions behind establishing ethics compliance programs in the workplace, as well as the moral worth of the conduct of the personnel in the workplace ' (p. 124). Van Meijl (2000) has argued that professional codes of ethics run counter to the prevailing post-modern culture impacting on the workplace: 'Whereas ethical codes are founded on the proposition that morality is non-ambivalent and universal, in post-modern ethics it is argued that the condition of morality is essentially ambivalent and not universalizable. The institutionalization of moral rules and regulations in an ethical code . . . is therefore exposed as . . . allowing the substitution of a code of ethics for the moral self' (p. 65).

Each of these tensions presents a major challenge to the teaching of desired values in vocational education – both formally in programs of vocational education and informally through structured workplace learning. Each presents a situation where the sorts of value emphases that are argued to be desirable for good workplace practice are contra-indicated by contemporary trends impacting on the nature of workplace values. Effective pedagogy to develop and strengthen the desired values is thus compromised or frustrated by the countervailing trends.

Outstanding Challenges

What, then, remains to be done in the practice of values teaching and learning in vocational education and in advancing our knowledge of it as a field of educational practice? The answer, in a sense, is almost everything, but let me focus here on just five particular suggestions.

First, in both research and practice, we might usefully focus attention on the sort of tensions that I have identified above – on articulating their nature and impact and on developing and testing approaches to addressing concerns that they present.

Second, and related, I would argue that particular attention might be paid to those areas of values education in which vocational education is evidently performing poorly – especially in the environmental and democratic object domains. The potential of vocational education in these areas is clearly high – as the history of trade union education clearly shows in the case of democratic learning and as argument clearly suggests in the case of the learning of values in support of environmental sustainability. Aesthetic value emphases also clearly should be included here. For each of these three value emphases, there are strong and clear contextual pressures for values teaching and learning in vocational education to play a major role, which is not now happening.

I avoid here expressing any concern for the lack of attention in vocational education to an altruistic value emphasis, since it may be argued – with Taylor (1997) and Wain (2004) – that contemporary post-modern culture, especially workplace culture, unavoidably emphasizes egoistic ethical value, and that our best chance for a fruitful ethic is, therefore, one of a more egoistic 'care for the self' than an altruistic sort. Nevertheless, there is clearly a need for more reflective research on that point.

Third, I suggest that much research, theorization, and development might usefully be focused on enriching our practical knowledge of that which values teaching and learning in vocational education has done so well to date – values learning in the workplace context. Such learning has traditionally been used to instil conservative workplace values of obedience, discipline, and conformity (Hill, 2003; Leone & Howell, 1995). What contemporary society would seem to be increasingly demanding are different value emphases focusing on informed respect, creativity, and responsiveness (Florida, 2005; Hyland, 2007). Much work needs to be done on achieving that sort of a shift in values teaching and learning in vocational education.

Fourth, I suggest that there is an overarching need to theorize the whole field of values teaching and learning in vocational education, in a manner that adequately captures the various aspects of value that have been brought out in this chapter as being important. Without doubt, values education in this sector is effectively stuck in traditional conceptualizations of value and traditional pedagogical frameworks of values education. Neither of these is adequate to the task of advancing values learning in vocational education within the contemporary cultural context.

Finally, then, I suggest that further attention in research and development, and in theorization, might valuably be committed to developing that strong line of research and theory which points to the importance of *situational* influences on ethical action in the workplace (Bagnall, 2007; Bauman, 1993; Jones & Kavanagh, 1996). This is a position that flows strongly from post-modern views of ethics. It challenges values education to respond to the situational contingencies in ethics, rather than seeking to build essentially ethical character. It constructs ethics more as a set of skills, the exercise of which is influenced by the immediate cultural (including the workplace) context. Enhancing the likelihood of ethical action in any given context depends, then, as much on the management of the contextual contingencies as it does on skill development, and perhaps less on character development (Bagnall, 2004). The task, then, of values education in such a situation is perhaps less grand than we might like to think, and than we have traditionally thought it to be. Its nature and form might also be quite different.

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Chapter 50
Integrating the Personal with the Public: Values, Virtues and Learning and the Challenges of Assessment

Ruth Deakin Crick

Introduction

Values are a contested, but increasingly important aspect of learning and teaching in the information age. During the industrial era of the 20th century, in western schooling systems, values were understood as separate entities from rationally justified forms of knowledge (Hirst, 1974) which formed the bedrock and focus of the curriculum. Stimulated by economic imperatives, the latter part of the century saw a burgeoning of high stakes summative testing and assessments, such as the state-mandated tests in the United States, the national examination systems for 16–19-year-olds in the United Kingdom and in many other countries, and the national curriculum tests in England and Wales. There was a widely held view that such testing would actually increase educational standards – or the quality of the learning outcomes required by the curriculum and defined in terms of knowledge, skills and understanding. Kellaghan, Madaus, & Raczek (1996) suggested that part of the rationale for this view was that the tests themselves exemplified to students what they have to learn, that they indicate standards and that high (‘world class’) standards can be demanded of students, who would put effort into school work in order to pass the tests.

In this context values education – that is learning and teaching that attends to the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of students and the formation of virtue and character – was understood, practised and resourced separately from the core business of schooling which was about the acquisition of knowledge in the form of testable learning outcomes. The popular idea of the ‘values neutral’ school and curriculum was upheld as an ideal way to deal with the increasingly complex multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-faith society. At best values were an ‘add on’ to the central task of schooling – relevant to people’s private lives, traditions and communities but of little significance in the public world of the curriculum, and beyond in the world of work. Although espousing ‘neutrality’ in terms of values, the ‘lived’

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value of this form of 20th century schooling was evident in Hirst's description of liberal education as follows:

> . . . a form of education knowing no limits other than those necessarily imposed by the nature of rational knowledge and thereby itself developing in man the final court of appeal in all human affairs. (Hirst 1974, p. 43)

The basic metaphor within this paradigm is of the teacher as expert, facilitator or conduit for knowledge, and the chief orchestrator of the curriculum (Haste, 2009). The teacher facilitates and channels information to students, in ways designed to maximize the students' ability to process and absorb it. Knowledge is transmitted from the 'top down' and the primary target of teaching and learning is the individual student's performance.

However the impact of the information age has profoundly challenged, if not terminally wounded, this educational paradigm. It has changed forever the ways in which human beings relate to things, to each other, to knowledge and to the natural and the material world. In this new context, values, attitudes and dispositions and identity are integral components of learning, teaching and curriculum which require professional attention, planning, resourcing and assessment.

There are three aspects of pedagogy which are particularly brought to the fore by this paradigm shift – and which demonstrate the ways in which values education can no longer be ignored. These are first, the ways in which knowledge is now encountered and constructed; second, the related need to focus on the processes of learning how to learn, and go on learning in novel situations throughout life and third the pedagogical imperative to negotiate and identify a locally owned and shared language of values for learning within a particular community and place.

Knowledge Management and Meaning Making

Knowledge, as information and data, is widely available on the internet both as information and as pre-packaged systems of ideas. Young people turn to the internet in order to find out about anything from complex philosophical ideas to knowing how to mend cars. The challenge for educators is no longer in instructing students to memorize and repeat 'pre-packaged' ideas and concepts in a prescribed and abstract curriculum, separated by the walls of the classroom from the places and contexts in which that knowledge has been constructed. This latter is a model of knowledge acquisition consistent with the Cartesian dualism of subject–object and mechanical modes of production that have dominated Western thinking for the past few centuries.

In contemporary society, students' experiences of reality unfold in terms of interrogations of rapidly changing, overlapping systems of spatialized knowledge (Jaros & Deakin Crick, 2007). In practice, technology has become almost 'body invasive', providing tools (such as mobile phones) which mediate between people, and between people and things, providing new 'networked structures' for communication, exchange and development. These mediators literally blur the distinctions

between image and reality, between 'Self' as an abstraction and 'Self' as embodied in a particular place, and furthermore between experiential and propositional knowing. Signs, symbols and imagery take on new epistemological significance, and the capacity of the Self to make meaning from these data and experiences (Moor & Bynum, 2002; Lovink, 2004; Goldberg, 2001). Their impact on an individual's sense of identity is a key aspect of values education which requires renewed attention from theorists and practitioners because signs, symbols and images are major ways of communicating meaning and mediating values in contemporary society (Gruhska, 2009).

The pedagogical challenge of this 'new technological paradigm' characterized by 'information generation, processing and transmission' as the core means of production and source of power (Castells, 2000, p. 21), is in enabling students to select, make meaning of and creatively use that information in a manner that connects with their own life purpose and is applicable to the world beyond the classroom. That is not to say that traditional didactic teaching and rote learning of some aspects of knowledge and skills is not worthwhile, but that the ability to generate and manage knowledge and information must increasingly form part of a learner's 'tool box' of capabilities which can be used for negotiating personally meaningful pathways through the otherwise overwhelming amount of data which is 'out there'. As Bauman (2000) argues:

> . . .educational philosophy and theory face the unfamiliar task of *theorising* a formative process which is not guided from the start by the target form designed in advance. (p. 139).

In summarizing a substantial review for Futurelab which looked at the impact of technology on learning and schooling for the 21st century, particularly focusing on the formation of identity and citizenship, Haste (2009) argued as follows:

> . . . interactive technologies are inherently 'bottom up' driven by the agent who is acting on the information . . . in order to take advantage of new technologies, and to bring into formal education what are increasingly the routine and taken for granted practices and skills of the rest of the student's world, schools will need to rethink the top-down model of education, and find ways to facilitate, and orchestrate, these bottom-up, often collaborative, practices productively (p. 23).

This 'bottom up' approach to the co-generation of knowledge is inherently values-laden. The metaphor is no longer curriculum as prescription, but curriculum as narration (Goodson, Biesta, Tedder, & Addair, 2010) as the student as learning agent negotiates a personally meaningful pathway through the 'plethora' of information and opportunities available and then projects forwards towards a negotiated, publicly assessable learning outcome. The student's encounter with values is integral to the process of knowledge construction and use because a 'bottom up', or archaeological, approach begins with understanding how humans relate to, use or perceive the information/knowledge/data in question in a context which is meaningful to the learner. In a word, human activity is always values-laden. Values are foregrounded from the moment that the student uncovers the narratives embedded in how humans have related to the object of inquiry and continues as the learner compares how these stories critically intersect with his or her own life narrative, as

well as the narratives of the particular learning community in which he or she is situated. This is an inescapable part of the process of meaning making, relevance and engagement in authentic pedagogy.

Learning How to Learn

The second, interconnected aspect of pedagogy which requires a rigorous application of values education, is the process of learning how to learn. Bentley argues that in future the key resources for the generation of wealth will be ideas, knowledge and creativity, not the land, labour and physical materials as in the past. In the light of this Bentley (1998) argues that the goal of education ' . . . should be the development of understanding which can be applied and extended by taking it into the spheres of thought and action which, in the real world, demand intelligent behaviour' (p. 19). He proposes two tests of education as follows:

> . . . how well students can apply what they learn in situations beyond the bounds of their formal educational experience, and how well prepared they are to continue learning and solving problems throughout the rest of their lives. (p. 1).

Such findings are supported by research carried out by Quality in Higher Education which identifies four underlying reasons for the employment of graduates: knowledge and ideas; ability to learn; capacity to deal with change; problem solving, logical and analytic skills (Harvey & Mason, 1996).

Learning how to learn has been the focus of a plethora of initiatives since the turn of the century, at school and policy level (see for example the Teaching and Learning Research Project of the Economic and Social Research Council of the United Kingdom; the Campaign for Learning; The Assessment Reform Group). The European Commission set up a Learning to Learn expert group in order to develop indicators for learning to learn, which was one of the key competencies identified by the Lisbon Agreement (Hoskins & Deakin Crick, 2008). Common to all of these initiatives has been the quest for an approach to learning and teaching which stimulates the student to take responsibility for their own learning over time, in other words, to become 'intentional learners' (Black, Mccormick, James, & Pedder, 2006).

Intentional learning implies a novel sense of agency and choice on the part of the learner and involves self-awareness, ownership and responsibility. Black et al. (2006) are reluctant to reduce the concept of 'learning to learn' either to an individual quality or to a set of strategies. They argue that it is impossible to separate learning to learn from the process of learning itself, focusing on the term 'learning practices' that incorporate intra- and inter-personal processes. Likewise, Bereiter and Scardamalia (1989) argue that intentional learning goes beyond the acquisition of study skills and strategies and requires practices which invoke the need for the learner to take responsibility for their own learning, and to do this in a way that involves peers. This requires students to be motivated to learn, to be intentional,

to be aware of themselves and others as learners and to regulate their own learning. Hautamaki et al. (2002) also emphasize the importance of learner agency and self-regulation.

When pedagogy focuses on the development of student awareness and ownership of learning, and the capacity to take responsibility for learning choices in a curriculum designed to stimulate inquiry, the question of value becomes a local, personal one, concerned with its relevance to a context and the purpose brought to it by a learner. What I learn cannot be separated from what matters to me – it is a product of intention and desire (Zembylas, 2007). Knowledge is no longer simply what I learn, but also how and why I learn and how I apply that learning in my life. Intentional learning begins with desire, which is autogenic and personal but the outcomes of formal learning are mostly assessable by publicly agreed criteria set by a particular community of practice and are thus formal, external and publicly valued. The journey from personal choice in learning to a formal and assessable outcome is a dynamic process in which critical attention to values is an integral and inescapable part of the process.

Furthermore, learning to learn as a 'competence' or 'as the ability to successfully meet complex demands in a particular context through the mobilization of psychosocial prerequisites (including cognitive and non-cognitive aspects)', includes dimensions of knowledge, cognitive skills, practical skills, attitudes, emotions, values and ethics and motivation (Rychen & Salganik 2003, p. 44). Research into 'learning power' suggests that there are clusters of values, attitudes and dispositions which are necessary for effective learning. These have been identified as the seven dimensions of learning power: changing and learning; critical curiosity; meaning making; creativity; learning relationships; strategic awareness and resilience (Deakin Crick, Broadfoot, & Claxton, 2004a; Deakin Crick & Yu, 2008). In an Aristotelian sense, people have the capacity to act in a certain way by virtue of possessing the disposition to do so. People become strong or brave by doing strong or brave things and, by consistently choosing such actions, they become better able to act with strength or courage (Ackrill, 1973). Aristotle described a disposition as a habit (hexis), which is produced by similar acts and inclines to similar acts. Aristotle was primarily concerned with the development of character and its relationship to moral behaviour, although he applied the same ideas to bodies of knowledge – for example, one who has trained as a scientist is disposed to act in a scientific way (Hope, 1960).

In terms of learning how to learn, people become better able to ask questions by virtue of possessing the curiosity to do so; they become better able to make sense out of their learning by possessing the capacity for meaning making, more able to respond to novel situations by possessing the creativity to do so and so on. These personal qualities of learning power in this sense are similar to Aristotelian 'virtues' which, when practised over time, lead to the 'telos' of competence as a lifelong learner who is able to engage profitably with new situations and able to manage the tension between innovation and continuity (Haste, 2001). By practising strategies and thought patterns which enable a learner to become strategically aware of their own learning identity and processes, they actually become more self aware and

more able to identify, select and negotiate a range of formal and informal learning opportunities.

These so-called soft skills, or virtues, are an integral part of values education in contemporary learning communities as entities in themselves (values) or as behaviours (virtues). As ‘virtues’, they provide the scaffolding, or the framework, which guides the process of knowledge construction – whether that is the scaffolding required to support the selection of an object or artefact of personal interest for inquiry, the formulation of a problem, the process of devising a novel solution or negotiating and presenting a ‘product’ for formal assessment. At the same time, they provide a framework for personal reflection, and mentored conversations, which move between the Self or identity of the learner and the ‘texts’ of the curriculum, and for critical engagement with questions of values. When there is dissonance between the learner’s personal experience, the values of their community, and the values implicit in the narratives uncovered in knowledge construction, then learning to learn dispositions or ‘virtues’ (such as creativity, curiosity, etc.) act as vehicles for personal development and the formation of personally chosen value judgments, enabling the student to identify and articulate their own values set.

A Language for Values Education

One of the practical challenges for educators who wish to engage with values education has been the relative absence of a rich language for naming and describing the ‘soft’ aspects of pedagogy. Without a language with which to name an experience, it is difficult to engage with that experience in a learning context. More significantly, it is impossible to assess because assessment requires the identification of something to be assessed and criteria with which to assess it. Since assessment is a driver of education policy, this is an important political issue and itself a question of value.

Research studies, practice in learning how to learn and citizenship education have begun to provide a rich language and increasingly sophisticated concepts and practices for assessment. The development and refinement of the concepts and assessment technologies for this aspect of pedagogy, or values education, is a pressing concern.

Negotiating a Locally Owned Language for Values

One of the historical problems associated with values education has been the question of ‘whose values’ should be promoted and espoused in any learning community. When coupled with the ‘myth of values neutrality’ beloved of modernity, the language and practice of values education became obsolescent. The idea that the government, or church, could ‘prescribe’ a particular set of core moral values ran counter to the ideal of learner autonomy and democracy. However, spurred on by moral panic and anxieties about breakdown in behaviour in schools and morality

in society, governments did begin to identify sets of core values (for example, the UK NCC, 1993; Australian Government http://www.curriculum.edu.au/values/) and recommended that they inform national curricula. In the United Kingdom, the introduction of citizenship education in the National Curriculum included an even bolder attempt to identify shared values, recommended as learning outcomes for students (Crick, 1998; McLaughlin, 2000).

The justifications for these strategies were that societies can identify certain core values which are essential for healthy community and society – and much of this was translated from the world of business. For example, Macdonald, Burke and Steward (2006), in a book on systems leadership, define a value as 'that which has worth to a person or members of a social group' and argue that there are six universal values which are *properties of constructive relationships*. These are 'love, honesty, trust, respect for human dignity, courage and fairness' (p. 17). They suggest that each of these can be adjectives describing behaviour (as the virtues described above) or abstract nouns, constituting an ideal state to be aspired to. Whether or not it is the case that these values are *universal* is not the point – that may be the topic of further theoretical or empirical study. In the context of a learning community, it is the *particular* set of shared values which are important.

When it comes to pedagogy for values education within a *particular* learning community, it is the underlying shared 'myths' or belief systems which inform both the language and *the identification of behaviours which manifest these values,* that is, they form a crucial element of the pedagogical task. The term 'justice' may mean nothing to a 7- year-old – however, most 7- year-olds are keenly attuned to the expectation of 'fairness'. Making the connections between the lived values of the particular community and a set of 'universal values' that can inform pedagogy is a discursive task of educators which can only be undertaken by careful dialogue and mutual purpose. Where unfairness, or lack of dignity for example, has been structured into particular communities and societies – such as the colonization of indigenous communities, or the structural discrimination against particular groups, the process of engaging with the 'lived experiences' and stories of individual learners and their communities becomes a pedagogical imperative of values education, and an important aspect of assessment. The 'lived experiences' of the learner, their affective, cognitive and conative resources and stock of memories and experiences is an under developed, but crucial aspect of Vygotsky's (1934/1962, 1978) legacy which he described using the term 'perezhivanie' (Mahn & John-Steiner, 2002).

When *particular* communities are genuinely engaged in the task of identifying 'what really is of worth to *us here*, in *our* learning community, in this *particular* place, in the light of our *particular story/s*' there is a much richer, more authentic context for the assessment of values education. In the light of what Bauman (2001) describes as the disembeddedness of post-modernity (p. 144), this pedagogical task takes on more significance. Each community will have gone through a different discursive process to arrive at shared values. Those values are likely to change over time, and the language and their re-presentation will be unique to each community, even though there may be evidence to suggest that the same 'universal values' will reappear across communities and cultures, albeit 'dressed' differently.

Pedagogy for Values Education: The Challenges of Assessment

Having identified three key aspects of pedagogy for values education we are now in a position to address the challenges that these bring for assessment. To summarize, values education requires a complex, embedded pedagogy which critically holds a creative tension between the personal, idiosyncratic, local and particular on the one hand and the public, consensual, universal and global on the other hand. The learner is a person embedded in a socio-cultural, historical and ethical trajectory, with a capacity for agency, intention and capability in real life contexts of achievement, lifelong learning and citizenship. Values education is part of a complex process of sustainable human learning and change over time. The telos of the process is a person who is competent in a particular domain – for example, a competent mathematician, designer or carpenter – and able to negotiate and renegotiate their identity, values, attitudes and dispositions over time whilst engaging with the world as a competent lifelong learner and citizen. In other words, the overarching purpose is that of human fulfilment and wellbeing in society. The focus is on learning as a dynamic process in the following way:

> . . . intelligence/thinking/learning is a single, dynamic, multi-faceted, functional capacity that is inherent in human consciousness [which] may be expressed in a variety of modes. (Clark, 1997, p. 29)

The following diagram outlines the distinct elements in the process of learning which require pedagogical attention – and thus assessment, in the context of values education.

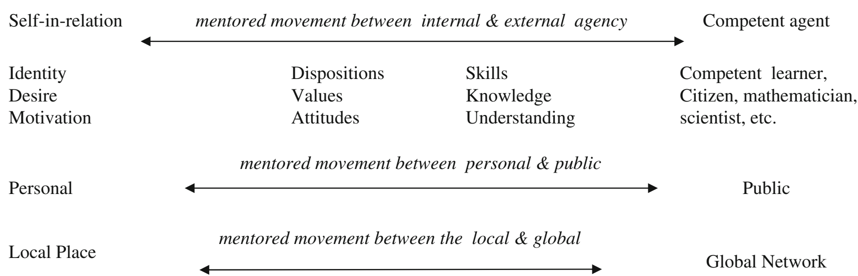

Fig. 50.1 Key elements in a pedagogy for values education

Issues in the Assessment of Values and Dispositions

Assessment for values education raises important challenges and opens up space for a wider range of approaches to formative assessment and self-evaluation than pedagogy which primarily focuses on cognitive learning outcomes. How can what we value, such as truthfulness and the virtue of critical curiosity, be identified and assessed within each stage of the movement from personal identity and desire to public competence, rather than only via set pieces of performance at the end? If we

are to try to summatively assess a person's capacity to engage with, and articulate a set of core values, how can that be done in a manner which honours difference and diversity?

Values, as virtues, are personal qualities which are constructed by a person in the context of relationships and communities over time. On the spectrum of personal to public, they are located at the personal end of the spectrum, inextricably linked with a person's sense of identity and desire. On the other hand, shared values as 'ideals to which we aspire' are located at the public end of the spectrum. One important assessment question in relation to the personal has to do with authority. The most valid form of assessment for virtues or dispositions is *self*-assessment because desire and dispositions are embodied and unique to each person. The person is literally the author of his or her own unique set of values and aspirations, and these shape their dispositions. What *can* be done 'from the outside' is to suggest criteria for what good choosing might look like, or how curiosity might manifest itself[1] (Deakin Crick, 2009a, 2009b).

The identification of a personal set of values to aspire to and the formation of the virtues which serve them are articulated through narrative. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) suggest that narrative attends to a 'three-dimensional inquiry space' – the temporal, the spatial and the personal-social (p. 50). They argue that human lives are woven of stories, and individuals construct their identity through their own and others' stories. They experience daily encounters and interactions as stories. Every present moment has a storied past and a storied future possibility. Social phenomena become a converging point for individual, collective and cultural stories. Values education is most potent when a personal narrative intersects with narratives uncovered in the process of inquiry, and the narratives 'lived' within the particular, local community (Deakin Crick , Coates, Taylor, & Ritchie, 2004b, Deakin Crick et al., 2005, Deakin Crick, 2002). Where there is dissonance between these narratives, there is potential for deep learning and change, and this is also a site for the negotiation of values and for social transformation. When learning is 'bottom up', narratives are an integral part of the process of knowledge construction. The negotiation of value, and the formation, articulation and defence of value judgments, is a stepping stone in the inquiry.

Assessment events which use narrative thus provide a link between the personal and the public, between the autogenic and the formal. Describing, or 'telling', a learning process as a story enables the construction of a learning identity and the formation of learning dispositions through meaning making and identification. Criteria for the assessment of narratives include technical and aesthetic considerations such as appropriateness of form and language, breadth and depth of view, continuity and consistency of 'style', range and coherence of narrative or 'plot' between 'arousal' or surprise at the new and 'resolution', or satisfaction in its relationship with the known. In the process of telling the story, the learner is embodying

[1] For a more detailed technical discussion of the assessment of dispositions see Deakin Crick Assessment in Schools: Dispositions, The International Elsevier Encyclopaedia of Education 3rd Edn. Amsterdam, Elsevier.

the virtue of 'reflectiveness' in the context of an even stronger emphasis on learning relationships, and thus engaging in self-evaluation (Carr & Claxton, 2002).

The critical questions for the learner in values education are 'what really matters to me?' 'why is it important?' and 'what do I really want to know about it?' The readiness with which a learner takes up the challenge and identifies the object of a new inquiry, the energy aroused by curiosity, the acuteness of discrimination and engagement with values might all be ultimately reflected in the quality and quantity of learning and its outcomes. The strength and salience of these dispositions can be observed by a mentor or a teacher but can only be validated by the learner herself, perhaps using criteria such as 'strength of engagement', 'extent of commitment', 'degree of critical curiosity', 'quality of self-awareness' and 'potentiality of relationship' between the self and the object of interest (Small, 1990).

Values and dispositions are enacted in the process of learning and any summative assessment of values or dispositions at the end of the process can only engage with what the learner describes has been achieved or what the teacher has observed to be the case, either directly or deductively on the basis of the evidence presented in the product of learning. Such evidence may be identified in learners' narrative accounts of the 'real life' issues they have explored in the formulation of their learning outcome, or in the metacognitive reflection on the process of learning. Polanyi (1967; Polanyi & Ignotus 1961) argues that criteria for validating knowledge can be subjective whilst offering a valid basis for objective judgment, criteria such as *beauty*, *simplicity* and *coherence*. Assessment criteria for summative purposes, at the end of a process, need not only be technical and subject-specific, but also ethical and aesthetic, taking account of ephemeral evidence of the process as well as tangible evidence in its more durable products.

Validity and Reliability – or Authenticity and Trustworthiness

At the heart of the challenges of assessing values and dispositions is the question of the reliability of the judgments. Traditionally, this means a judgment that is consistent through independent observations, which are intended as interchangeable, and measured quantitatively. Thus, the measurements can be standardized and generalized across populations. Reliability is considered as a necessary condition for validity (American Educational Research Association, 1985; Feldt & Brennan, 1989). Important though such reliability is for some purposes of assessment, such as comparing standards or performances using pre-determined criteria across particular populations, it is only one alternative criterion of quality for assessment. Values education, especially the formation of virtues or dispositions and the ability to engage with questions of value, is not served easily by such concepts of reliability and validity. Moss (1994) suggests that the purpose of assessment should be to improve learning, and for this we should adopt an interpretive approach which would honour the purposes and lived experiences of students and the collaborative judgments and discernment of teachers.

When it comes to assessing values and dispositions, people and communities are not the same and nor should they be. Thus, there is no ethical or educational purpose

to be served by seeking a standardized, summative assessment measure of students' values and dispositions, even it were possible to do so. The purpose of the assessment for values and dispositions is to enable and strengthen the individual learner, and to provide teachers and mentors with diagnostic information so that they can target their pedagogical practices more precisely. Authenticity and trustworthiness, not reliability, are necessary conditions for validity. Does this particular assessment represent an authentic picture of the individual at a particular point in time and in a particular domain? While there may be public agreement that curiosity or courage is manifest in certain behaviours, such as asking questions or standing up for one's beliefs, their actual manifestation in situ cannot be generalized, nor can they be quantitatively compared across individuals or across cultures because of the presence of so many confounding variables, both internal and external to the learners. At most, a range of possible criteria for 'curiosity' might be drawn upon in making judgments in relation to an individual and a context. Then, ultimately, the 'face validity' of the assessment for the individual must be the final arbiter.

Modes of Assessment for Values and Dispositions

There are at least three modes of assessment which may be relevant to values and dispositions. They include self-assessment by the learner; the analysis of self-report questionnaires or interviews; and observation of behaviour by teachers, mentors or peers. Information from these assessments for values and dispositions may be used formatively, in order to stimulate awareness, ownership and responsibility or, summatively, in order to summarize learners' achievements at a particular point in time. Classroom assessments for dispositions and values need to recognize the complexity of the development of values and dispositions and should use appropriate criteria. Facer and Pykett (2007) suggest depth – quality of contribution in an identified context, and range – diversity of context, whereas Carr and Claxton (2002) refer to 'robustness' and 'sophistication'.

Assessment events for values and dispositions also need to be valid and authentic: do they measure what they claim to measure, and include the learner as well as the teacher in their validation? They need to be flexible and pedagogically useful: can learners and their teachers adapt them to particular contexts and domains and to particular learners? They also need to be relational – since there is an implicit movement within the assessment of dispositions between the self of the learner and the formal 'text' of what is being learned, requiring trust in pedagogical relationship(s) which affirm and challenge the learner to take responsibility for his or here own journey.

Conclusion

Values and dispositions have been described as contested but important aspects of education in the information age which require serious theoretical and empirical attention. The new technologies profoundly challenge educational paradigms

devised in modernity and bring to the fore the challenges of integrating the personal and the idiosyncratic with the public and the consensual. This challenge, or tension, is evident in the changes in the way learners encounter and construct knowledge, and in the pedagogical imperative for students to engage with learning how to learn and go on learning throughout life. Both of these themes bring with them a tension between the local and the global and both require the re-development of a rich language for learning which can underpin and provide a framework for values education. I have argued that such a language should be locally negotiated in order that it can connect with the 'lived experiences' of learners in a rich, archaeological approach to learning.

The worldwide focus on the need for formal schooling to produce 'competencies' which enable successful functioning in real world situations also requires a more complex, elaborated pedagogy which locates values, attitudes and dispositions as part of an embedded and embodied journey over time, from personal identity, desire and motivation to the achievement of 'competence' in a particular public domain.

Dispositions, values and attitudes for citizenship and learning to learn are widely accepted as educational outcomes. Contemporary learning communities need to be identity enhancers which invite and encourage the formation of values, attitudes and dispositions for learning and engagement in a manner which is integrated with the acquisition of traditional, formal learning outcomes. The challenge of assessing dispositions is rooted in their relationship both to the learning self, the deeply personal and to the achievement of publicly recognized and validated outcomes. This entails validation of story and roots as well as contemporary cultural meanings.

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Chapter 51
Transmitting Social and National Values Through Education in Singapore: Tensions in a Globalized Era

Jasmine B.-Y. Sim and Li-Ching Ho

Introduction

Everywhere, governments are concerned about the development of young people as members of society (Taylor, 2006). While the family, media and peer group are key influences on the developing values of young people, and thus society at large (Halstead, 1996), schooling remains a main source of formal values education for young people. Lee Kuan Yew (1966), the patriarch of Singapore once said:

> The two factors in the formative influences of a young man or a young woman's life are the home and the school. We cannot do very much about the home, *but we can do something about the school* [Italics added]. (p. 1)

The task of socializing the next generation to the directions of the nation-state is so important that schools, directed by many governments, have been specifically assigned that duty. Formal values education is seen as the one avenue over which many governments, in particular those with highly centralized systems like Singapore, assume they can maintain high levels of control and accountability (Le Métais, 1997). This chapter explores the transmission of national values through Social Studies at the secondary school level in Singapore through an analysis of the curriculum. We examine how a set of prescribed national values is addressed and identify the tensions and challenges that surface in the context of globalization. In doing so, we problematize the conception of values education in Singapore. In the sections that follow, we set out the context for values education in Singapore. Next, we identify three important recurring themes in the Social Studies curriculum, namely social cohesion and consensus, meritocracy and economic pragmatism. We suggest that the values promoted by the state are essentially instrumental in nature and are governed by the ideology of national survival.

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The Singapore State

Singapore is a tightly controlled nation-state regulating schooling through a highly controlled educational system. The mission of the education service in Singapore is *Moulding the Future of the Nation* (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2009a); the purpose of schooling is to prepare the next generation to continue the nation. Like all post-colonial countries, the People's Action Party (PAP) which has formed the government since Singapore attained independence in 1965 is single-minded in the pursuit of values education. Most immediately, the concern is to foster a sense of national identity and solidarity among the citizens and inculcate a set of national values and common moral sentiments in students. Following Ho Wing Meng (1989), national values in this chapter is defined as "a set of values, principles, and conventions, which may conveniently be described as common to the nationals of a particular country" (p. 674).

The Singapore government lays great emphasis on values such as pragmatism, social cohesion and consensus and meritocracy (Mauzy & Milne, 2002). These values were described by then Deputy Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong (1997) as "the right instincts. . .and attitudes" that must form "part of the cultural DNA which makes us Singaporeans". The purpose is to help Singaporeans "bond together as one nation" and "thrive beyond the founder generation". As Singapore is a young country, Lee argues that it was essential to "make a concerted effort to imbue the right values and instincts in the psyche of our young", so that these "national instincts" can be passed on from generation to generation. Close attention has therefore been given to values education at the very top echelons of Singapore's political hierarchy, where no less than the survival of the nation is seen as riding on its success (Chan, 1971; Gopinathan, 1988; Lee, K.Y., 1966; Lee, H. L., 1997). We argue, however, that values education in Singapore is instrumental; the underlying intention is to sustain the economy as the source of political legitimacy for the state (Castells, 1992; Chua, 1995).

Singapore achieved independence when it suddenly separated from Malaysia in 1965. Faced with severe, multiple challenges, its existence was threatened from the very beginning. A tiny island at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, Singapore is without natural resources and was initially an undeveloped economy with high unemployment. Demographically it has a multi-ethnic population with a Chinese majority in a region surrounded by Muslim countries. The early years witnessed racial tensions and social unrest brought about by struggles against communists, communalists and labour unrest. The Japanese Occupation and the racial riots reiterated this extreme vulnerability, emphasizing to the governing elite that for Singapore to survive, the challenges of developing a shared national identity, and modernizing the economy were urgent (Chua & Kuo, 1991).

The Singapore government consolidated the country's independence through the politics of survival, emphasizing pragmatism, built on multi-racialism, meritocracy and multilingualism. The goal of pragmatism is to ensure continuous economic growth, perceived to be inextricably linked to national survival. Very early on, the government turned to schools as allies in this nation-building cause. The education system was centralized and brought under government

control, putting into its hands an important ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 2006).

Clearly, Singapore was not meant to be politically and economically viable. Yet in three decades or so, the government propelled Singapore out of the material difficulties of a Third World ex-colony to a First World economy (Boisot, 1997). The ability to promote and sustain high rates of economic growth is arguably the source of the ruling party's political legitimacy (Castells, 1992). In governing Singapore, their philosophy is that the citizens favour the right to a better life over political ideology. Accordingly, a strong economy is the basis to a good life for Singaporeans. So long as the ruling party can provide for Singaporeans jobs, homes and security, citizens will continue to accept its rule (Low, 2001; Singh, 2007).

Not surprisingly, the state feels a profound sense of vulnerability, recognizing that its achievements are always transient. Hence, it develops a siege mentality that views the country as being under constant threat. There is a need to constantly push Singapore forward in every aspect, in which there is no room for failure, otherwise it risks oblivion (Singh, 2007). Consequently, the state has developed a tight system of political control that allowed few opportunities for dissent to maintain social order (Ho, 2000; Tamney, 1996; Tremewan, 1994). The population had to be transformed into a tightly organized and highly disciplined citizenry, all pulling in the same direction with a sense of public spiritedness and self-sacrifice in the national interest, and adopting the moral attitude of putting the national community above oneself (Chua, 1995; Green, 1997; Quah, 1990; Yao, 2007).

The impact of globalization however has made the ruling elite anxious about their ability to sustain prosperity and to engage young Singaporeans. Growing up amidst affluence in the cosmopolitan city, the well educated, technologically savvy and highly mobile young Singaporeans greatly value freedom and individual choice. Former Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong (2001) expressed his concern that many of them "will pack their bags and take flight when our country runs into a little storm", especially when the national newspaper reported that as many as 53 per cent of Singaporean teens would consider emigrating (*Straits Times*, 2006, p. 4). The state viewed with concern the values-transformation of young Singaporeans primarily because values are perceived to determine national competitiveness, prosperity and survival of the nation (Quah, 1990). As the Minister of State for Education exhorted:

> In this rapidly changing tomorrow's world. . .let us also remember our basics. Without a strong body frame and a strong engine, an aircraft cannot fly higher and travel safely. We are ultimately a small city-state, made up of different communities, located in a potentially turbulent region. We must therefore, remember to retain all our good moral values and ethics. Our people must be united, our families must be cohesive, and our communities must be strong as we try to fly higher and faster. (Chan, 2005)

Ideology and Education

Education is concerned with matters of ideology; education systems have long been used to promote, manufacture or legitimize national historical traditions, symbols and values (Hobsbawm, 1994; Smith, 1991). Schools are deliberately created

institutions nested within particular social, political and economic realities. The school has historically been a site where individuals "come to understand themselves as having a national identity and 'citizenship'" (Popkewitz, 2003, p. 267). Formal schooling, Apple (2003) argues, "by and large is organized and controlled by the government" (p. 1). Schools can control meaning through the distribution of "legitimate knowledge" and give recognition to the cultural legitimacy of particular groups (Apple, 2004). Consequently, schooling is about the construction of knowledge and truth from what is included and excluded in the curriculum, so as to maintain social control and sustain the established order (Apple, 1993).

Schools in Singapore closely reflect the state's priorities and ideals (Tan & Chew, 2004). Curriculum development in the centralized education system begins at the highest level of government. Political leaders wield direct influence over curriculum policy and implementation, where all curricula are developed by the Ministry of Education (MoE) to ensure that the curricular objectives and content are congruent with national goals. Within the public school system, the subjects of history and Social Studies have traditionally been used for identity building and the creation of a sense of historical consciousness. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the governing elite has chosen to utilize these subjects to promote a particular vision of the nation-state.

Students as captive audience in the schools, spend a major portion of their life experiencing a high degree of methodical exposure to subjects and activities. The effect is a saturation of the consciousness with ideas and values that reflect the established order (Apple, 2004; Lovat & Smith, 2006). Such an attempt, Clammer (1993) explained, is to bring "real reality" and the governing elite's version of it together so that they appear identical. As former Prime Minister Goh noted, Singapore's "leaders and the people must share the same broad ideas, the same core values, the same vision of what they want their society to be" (as cited in Chong 1991, p. 110). These ideas and values are portrayed as natural and commonsensical, manifested in the reality of everyday actions, decisions and practices. Once accepted, the ideological order will be sustained through the production and reproduction of these "common-sense" practices, providing the ruling elite with the power to shape the political and social system (Chua, 1995; Kong & Yeoh, 2003).

Values Education in Singapore

This section gives an historical overview of values education in Singapore. The purpose is to situate the development of Social Studies at the secondary level within the chronology and ideological trajectory of values education in Singapore. Since Singapore attained self-government in 1959, there has been a co-ordinated and sustained effort to transmit relevant knowledge and desirable values to meet perceived social and national needs.

The transmission of knowledge and values has taken many forms. In the initial years of self-governance and independence between 1959 and 1973, the state's

primary concern was developing the right conduct, perceived by the ruling elite as essential to good citizenship. Values such as politeness, honesty and kindness were inculcated through the subject of Ethics, to "lay the foundation for character development in young children so that they would develop into self-respecting individuals and good citizens" (Ong, 1979, p. 2). Shortly after independence, Ethics was revised and renamed Civics in 1967 to focus on nation building. Civics aimed at fostering in Singaporean pupils a sense of social and civic responsibility (Chew, 1998; Gopinathan, 1974, 1988), and "a love for their country and its people" (Ong, 1979, p. 3). The concern was to develop a sense of national identity, and to inculcate values of patriotism, loyalty and civic consciousness in children. The nation-building focus was reinforced by the quick replacement of Civics by Education for Living (EFL) in 1973. EFL integrated history and geography into civics, to "enable pupils to obtain a better understanding of how (Singapore) developed and of (its) geographical environment" (p. 3).

The rapid industrialization in the 1970s and 1980s raised concerns that the adoption of science and technology and the increasing use of English were causing young Singaporeans to become too westernized. The state perceived values in dichotomous terms. Western values appeared to emphasize individualism while Asian values emphasized communitarianism and the associated values of hard work, thrift and sacrifice (Quah, 1990). This shift in values, according to the state, caused a moral decline because it was perceived to have deculturized and individualized society (Hill & Lian, 1995). The state saw this as a threat to social cohesion and national competitiveness (Quah, 1990). Consequently, the state emphasized the acquisition of "cultural ballast" through the learning of the culture and values of one's ethnic group, also through the use of the mother tongue. Though contestable, the belief was that Asian values such as closeness in family ties, filial duties and loyalty would be more effectively conveyed in the mother tongues.

To counteract the growing influence of Westernization among the young and strengthen moral education, two new programmes, Being and Becoming in secondary schools and Good Citizens in primary schools, replaced Civics and EFL by mid-1980s. In addition, Religious Knowledge and Confucian Ethics were also introduced in 1982 to supplement the teaching of moral values. The latter two, however, were soon abandoned by the end of the decade as they were found to heighten religious fervour, thereby threatening racial and religious harmony, and social cohesion (Hill & Lian, 1995; Tan, 1997).

Interestingly, Being and Becoming employed a deliberative pedagogical strategy instead of the usual transmission and didactic approach and encouraged pupils to reflect on value issues, debate and arrive at their own judgment. Notably, the deliberative approach, which is grounded in the liberal belief that individuals should select and pursue their notion of the good life, conflicted with the view that certain Asian values were right and appropriate for students. The MoE revised both the Being and Becoming and Good Citizens programmes in 1992. The former was renamed Civics and Moral Education (CME) in 1992 to focus on moral and political socialization. Both curricula were further revised after 1997 to strengthen the nation-building focus.

Framed by the government's latest nation-building initiative, National Education (NE), Social Studies was introduced to 15- or 16-year-old upper secondary school students in 2001. NE was launched in 1997 because of increasing government apprehension about young Singaporeans' lack of knowledge and interest in their country's recent history and the central issues key to national survival. This was a matter of serious concern to the government (Goh, 1996; Lee, 1997). Then Deputy Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong claimed that young Singaporeans might take peace and prosperity for granted, thus he argued that young people required adequate historical knowledge so that they would be committed to the nation and to the state-defined shared values such as pragmatism, social cohesion and consensus, and meritocracy.

National Education is therefore aimed at developing and shaping positive knowledge, values and attitudes of its young citizenry towards the community and the nation. The purpose is to develop national cohesion, the instinct for survival and confidence in the future by: (1) Fostering a sense of identity, pride and self-respect in being a Singaporean; (2) Relating the Singapore story: how Singapore succeeded against the odds to become a nation; (3) Understanding Singapore's unique challenges, constraints and vulnerabilities, which make us different from other countries; (4) Instilling the core values of our way of life and the will to prevail, all of which to ensure our continued success and wellbeing (MoE, 2009b). The purpose is systematically translated into six key messages to facilitate understanding and implementation in schools. The six messages are: (1) Singapore is our homeland; this is where we belong; (2) We must preserve racial and religious harmony; (3) We must uphold meritocracy and incorruptibility; (4) We must ourselves defend Singapore; (5) No one owes Singapore a living; (6) We have confidence in our future (MoE, 2008). In essence, Social Studies is a vehicle for NE that reflects the government's continuous pursuit of values education to meet perceived national needs.

Notably, the state initiated NE in the absence of any real crisis by which the citizenry is often tested and nations are built. From time to time, states engender crisis in the citizenry so that leaders can present themselves as possessing means to solve people's crises, reinforcing the ideological consensus (Benjamin, 1988). Crisis construction and management is a strategy used openly and consciously to enhance a sense of dependence on the state, thereby maintaining the nation (Hill & Lian, 1995). Given that the timing of the launch of NE coincided with an intense worldwide interest in citizenship education in response to globalization, a critical interpretation suggests that NE is an attempt by the governing elite to maintain power in contexts in which that power is increasingly challenged by forces of globalization.

Regardless of the forms values education has taken over the years in Singapore, the focus has consistently been one of inculcation. The concern is not about helping children develop skills to think independently about social and political issues (Chew, 1998). Instead, the purpose is to instil the state-defined national values in students and their acceptance of the status quo. Even for Social Studies introduced with the aim to "develop thinking and process skills which are essential for lifelong and independent learning" (MoE, 2008, p. 3), the nature of thinking is depoliticized and closely linked to economic development. The purpose is to develop the worker-citizen, specifically an innovative workforce who are creative problem-solvers and

possess a mastery of skills, processes, procedures and practice in the context of an intensively global, competitive economy (Goh, 1996; Koh, 2002; Sim & Print, 2005).

The Singapore Social Studies Curriculum

Social Studies is an integrated subject that includes elements of history, economics, political science and human geography. Social Studies is a required 2- or 3-year programme for all 15–17-year-old upper secondary students in the Express and Normal (Academic) tracks that culminates in a high stakes national exam – the Singapore–Cambridge GCE "O" Levels. The centralized nature of the Singapore education system results in the Curriculum Planning and Development Division (CPDD) of the MoE creating the national curriculum framework, producing the detailed syllabus for use in all secondary schools and also authoring the Social Studies textbooks used by all students in Singapore. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) argue that curricula materials and textbooks signify "particular constructions of reality" and they participate in "creating what society has recognized as legitimate and truthful" (p. 4). Not surprisingly, there is a close relationship between state ideology, government policies and the Social Studies curriculum.

The Social Studies curriculum is organized around the two core ideas – "Being Rooted" and "Living Global", and requires students to:

- understand issues that affect the socio-economic development, the governance and the future of Singapore;
- learn from the experiences of other countries to build and sustain a politically viable, socially cohesive and economically vibrant Singapore;
- develop thinking and process skills which are essential for lifelong and independent learning;
- develop into responsible citizens with a global perspective (MoE, 2008, p. 3).

The curriculum is divided into six thematic units. Table 51.1 summarizes the six themes, with their corresponding guiding questions and values.

The Social Studies curriculum frequently utilizes national myths (Woodward, 2003) to promote "a deep sense of shared destiny and national identity" (MoE, 2008). For example, the Social Studies syllabus regularly highlights certain key traumatic episodes such as the racial riots of the 1950s and 1960s between the Chinese and the Malays. Stories of national achievement, such as the rapid development of the Singapore economy, are also given prominence. As Goh and Gopinathan (2005) provocatively state:

> . . . though NE deals with issues such as loyalty and religious harmony, the key thrust centers around the ongoing construction of a politically expedient narrative of the past. The key message relates to the successful transformation of an island engulfed by ethnic and religious strife into an independent city-state that enjoys unprecedented and sustainable economic and social progress. The quality of leadership, vision and incompatibility of the PAP is portrayed as having been indispensable to this transformation. (p. 221)

Table 51.1 Themes, Guiding questions and Values in the Social Studies curriculum

Theme	Guiding question	Values/attitudes
Singapore as a nation in the world	How do nations come into being and what challenges do they face?	• Commitment • Loyalty • Resilience • Interdependence
Understanding governance	Why is governance important?	• Self-reliance • Resourcefulness • Adaptability • Responsibility • Accountability • Integrity • Prudence
Conflict and harmony in multi-ethnic societies	Why is harmony in a multi-ethnic society important to the development and viability of a nation?	• Respect • Empathy • Appreciation of differences • Commitment • Harmony
Managing international relations	How important is deterrence and diplomacy in maintaining international relations among nations?	• Trust • Commitment • Reciprocation • Patriotism • Peaceful co-existence • Vigilance
Sustaining economic development	How do nations sustain their economic development in a globalized world?	• Enterprising spirit • Risk-taking • Pro-activeness • Self-reliance • Life-long learning • Adaptability
Facing challenges and change	What can nations learn from the rise and fall of Venice as a city-state?	• Rootedness • Commitment

To better understand the official curriculum, we reviewed and analysed the Social Studies syllabus and texts which were current in 2007–2009. We highlight three important recurring themes that reiterate and reinforce the national values promoted by the government – social cohesion and consensus, meritocracy and economic pragmatism.

Social Cohesion and Consensus

A key element of Singapore's national ideology, the education system, is portrayed as the "cradle of multi-racialism" because of its promotion of inter-racial harmony and understanding (Barr, 2006, p. 15). The Singapore government has consistently emphasized the importance of racial and religious consensus, and this is

unambiguously reflected in one of the six NE messages that states, "We must preserve racial and religious harmony: Though many races, religions, languages and cultures, we pursue one destiny" (MoE, 2007a, p. 7). The recently revised version of NE in 2007 continues this emphasis on social cohesion and consensus, "We must preserve racial and religious harmony: We value our diversity, are determined to remain a united people" (p. 7).

The importance of social harmony and integration to Singapore is further reinforced by the challenges and impact of globalization and changing global realities. The Parliamentary Secretary of Education, Hawazi Daipi, said:

> With globalization, we will invariably have foreign talents and we cannot insulate ourselves from the outside world. Foreigners and foreign talents will continue to come here to work, study, set up businesses . . . the equilibrium will invariably change as these foreigners bring with them their own lifestyles and values. (2002)

Likewise, Dr Aline Wong (2000), the Senior Minister of State for Education argued that Singapore's future as a country depends on national cohesion and stability. The education system is thus a key linchpin in the government's push to promote economic progress and preserve social cohesion. Educators should, according to Dr Wong, inculcate in students "the core national values and social instincts so that they will remain committed to the country while being members of the global community". Similarly, Mr Hawazi reiterated, "A strong national identity, healthy values and racial and religious harmony are needed to withstand the divisive impact of globalization and the attractions of imitating the West" (2002).

Predictably, the Social Studies curriculum also calls attention to these national ideals. The Secondary Three textbook begins by defining the key characteristics of a nation and emphasizing the importance of a common national identity, particularly in the diverse Singapore context:

> A nation is formed when a group of people accept one another and see themselves as having something in common. This sense of identity can come from common lineage, culture and historical experiences. It can also be built on common experiences. Therefore, a nation is formed when the people think and feel that they share a common bond. (MoE, 2007b, p. 4)

This national identity, built on shared cultural and historical experiences, consequently serves to enhance social cohesion:

> As there are many different ethnic groups in most states, national identity must be built to bring about social cohesion. With cohesion, there will be unity among the people and peace in the country. (MoE, 2007b, p. 5)

This extract demonstrates a clear link between the development of national identity and social cohesion. Without this, the text implies, the nation will descend into chaos and conflict, thus affecting the long-term viability of the nation-state. Several disturbing photographs of destruction to businesses and properties caused by racial and religious conflicts such as the IRA bombing at Omagh (p. 129), the race riots in the city of Paris in October 2005 (p. 139), and the 2005 conflict in Lebanon (p. 141), visually reiterate the severity of the consequences. This message is further

reinforced by raising, yet again, the spectre of past instances of ethnic and religious conflict in Singapore that appeared to threaten the very survival of the nation:

> After experiencing the Indonesian Confrontation and race riots, tension remained among the different ethnic groups ... Thus, the challenge was to create a bond among the people and develop a national identity. The people must also have the confidence and belief that Singapore could survive as a nation. (MoE, 2007b, p. 21)

In summary, both the official syllabus and the textbooks highlight the importance of building a common national identity in order to enhance social cohesion and consensus in a diverse nation-state. Both constantly remind students about the negative consequences of inter-ethnic conflict, thus the need to be "vigilant against the forces of divisiveness that cause conflict and disintegration of societies" (MoE, 2008, p. 11). Without social stability and cohesion, the nation's economic development and progress will be disrupted and this poses a threat to the state's survival. The final section of the theme, Conflict and Harmony in Multi-Ethnic Societies, posed this question: "Why is it important to manage ethnic diversity?" (MoE, 2007b, pp. 154–155) and concluded that the primary purpose is to ensure "Security and Peace" and "Economic Progress", the former as means to the latter end. "Harmony in Singapore", the textbook asserts, "has made progress possible ... with peace and stability comes economic progress. Foreign investors invest and set up their companies in Singapore because their investments would be protected" (p. 154). In essence, the state perceives social cohesion and stability as a means of ensuring a "better life", largely defined in economic terms.

This instrumental understanding of the need for social cohesion and consensus continues throughout the curriculum. Chapter Four from the Secondary Three textbook, for example, is devoted to examining the causes and consequences of conflict in multi-ethnic societies. Two case studies are highlighted: the Tamil–Sinhalese Sri Lankan conflict and the Protestant–Catholic divide in Northern Ireland.

The chapter begins with this cautionary statement, "Differences among people can also cause a society to fall apart" (MoE, 2007b, p. 93). Again, the spectre of the potential disastrous consequences of racial and religious divisions, including the disintegration of society, dominates the chapter. In both case studies, the text highlights the lack of a common national identity and the issue of divided loyalties. This absence of a unitary national identity, the text argues, prevents building of common understanding and cohesion among racial and religious groups, thus resulting in high levels of tension. This division is further exacerbated by the segregated housing and education systems. This extract is particularly instructive:

> In the public schools, Protestant children are taught British history and play British sports such as rugby, hockey and cricket. They are very loyal to the British. For example, they would sing the British national anthem. On the other hand, Catholic children learn Irish history, take up Irish sports such as hurling, and are taught the Irish language and culture. They tend to regard Britain as a foreign country. (MoE, 2007b, p. 119)

In an explicit repudiation of the divisive policies of the Sri Lankan and Northern Ireland governments, the textbook, in the next chapter, carefully emphasizes the neutrality and equality of state policies in Singapore:

> The policy of multi-racialism promotes equality among the races, with no special rights granted to any particular racial or religious group . . . Favouring a certain group of people because of their race or religion is prohibited by the Constitution. (MoE, 2007b, p. 145)

The textbook makes it abundantly clear that the Singapore government's policies, unlike that of Northern Ireland, are based on racially and religiously neutral meritocratic criteria. Notably, the notion of meritocracy is not problematized. "Every Singaporean", contends the text, "has an opportunity to succeed regardless of their background". The textbook, in addition, also highlights other measures introduced by the state to promote a common national identity and reduce ethnic divisions, including the daily national flag raising ceremony in schools, the policy of bilingualism, safeguarding the interests of minority groups, and developing common space through activities organized by grassroots organizations and schools.

Meritocracy

Meritocracy is perceived to be one of the founding principles of post-colonial Singapore and is also a key governmental strategy for ensuring social consensus and cohesion. Simply put, meritocracy is rule by the most able, and is perceived to be "highly compatible with the multiracial model of society" (Wong, 2000). The emphasis on multi-racialism and meritocracy, argued Dr Aline Wong, then Senior Minister of State, "has helped to build multiracial harmony out of diversity in Singapore and fuelled our economic development in the past three decades" (Wong, 2000). Featured prominently in the national pledge, written by Singapore's first Foreign Minister, S. Rajaratnam, the national goal is to build a society that, "regardless of race, language or religion", is based on the twin concepts of "justice and equality" (MoE, 2007b, p. 134). In other words, as Tharman Shanmugaratnam, Senior Minister of State for Education said, ". . .we have to work hard to preserve a sense of mobility in Singapore society, especially through education. Every citizen must know he is getting an equal chance to improve himself and develop his talents" (Tharman, 2002).

The concept of meritocracy is also constantly promoted in public discourse and in numerous ministerial speeches. Professor Kishore Mahbubani, Singapore's former Permanent Representative to the United Nations and currently the dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy spoke of the "virtue of meritocracy" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008) at length. In it, he pointed out that the four Asian tigers, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore shared the same goal of ensuring that the "fruits and opportunities of development were shared between all classes, from the top to the bottom". This was, according to Professor Mahbubani, a win–win situation for both the governing elite and the population:

> The main point here is that it is in the interest of the ruling elites to introduce meritocracy. When hundreds of millions of new brains enter the marketplace, the economy becomes bigger and the society more socially and politically stable. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008)

Notably, the raison d'être of the principle of meritocracy is couched primarily in terms of national economic development and the survival of the governing elite. This particularly pragmatic viewpoint is encapsulated in a quote, attributed to Deng Xiao Ping, that is frequently used by members of the governing elite, "It does not matter whether a cat is black or white; if it catches mice, it is a good cat" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008).

It is unsurprising, therefore, to find that this theme is also central to the Social Studies narrative. The second chapter of the Secondary Three textbook, titled "Governance in Singapore", clearly articulates the government's definition of meritocracy:

> Meritocracy is a key part of the principle 'Reward for work and Work for reward'. Meritocracy means a system that rewards hard work and talent. When people are rewarded based on their abilities and hard work, they are encouraged to do well . . . Meritocracy helps to give everybody in society an equal opportunity to achieve their best and be rewarded for their performance, regardless of race, religion and socio-economic background. (MoE, 2007b, p. 37)

It is apparent from this definition that the Singapore government is anxious to emphasize the equitable nature of the Singapore system. The problematic subtext of this message, however, particularly the segment that speaks of reward for hard work and talent, implies that if a person is not rewarded adequately, it is because of his or her own lack of ability and effort. The authors, like the government, ignore the possibility of the existence of structural or institutional impediments and implicitly place the blame on the individual.

To reinforce the importance of meritocracy and the dangers of not adopting this national value, the Social Studies textbook describes two case studies of societies that have experienced inter-ethnic conflict, Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland. The text places great emphasis on the discrimination faced by the Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Catholics in Northern Ireland. In the section titled "Why are the Sinhalese and Tamils in conflict?" the textbook highlights numerous examples of policies that appeared to discriminate against the Tamil minority:

> After 1970, the government introduced new university admission criteria. Tamil students had to score higher marks than the Sinhalese students to enter the same courses in the universities. A fixed number of places in the university were also reserved for the Sinhalese. Admission was no longer based solely on academic results. The system is still in place today. (MoE, 2007b, p. 100)

Similarly, in the case study of Northern Ireland, the textbook remarks upon the absence of a meritocratic system of employment:

> Another cause of conflict between the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland is the competition for jobs. It is generally more difficult for Catholics in Northern Ireland to find jobs, especially government jobs. The Catholics feel that although they may be as academically qualified as the Protestants, they do not have the same opportunities in getting the jobs that they want. (MoE, 2007b, p. 118)

The Social Studies textbook thus draws a sharp contrast between the Singaporean meritocratic system and the ethnically or religiously based policies of these two

societies. The latter examples are seen to contribute to deep-rooted unhappiness and friction between the different ethnic and religious groups, consequently hindering the country's economic progress and development. The text makes the implicit argument that Singapore cannot afford the same ethnic or religious discord and the subsequent, inevitable economic problems. Ergo, in order to ensure the nation's survival, this apparently fair meritocratic system is necessary to achieve the stated objectives of economic growth and continued prosperity.

Economic Pragmatism

Despite the prevalence of the themes of social cohesion and meritocracy in the Social Studies curriculum described in the previous two sections, these issues, we contend, are clearly subordinate to the national ideology of economic pragmatism, development and modernization. The key national goal, as perceived by the government, is survival. As Tharman Shanmugaratnam, the Senior Minister of State for Education in 2002 explained:

> We have to recognize our limitations as a small country. . .Can we afford a complete free for all. . . Small countries like Singapore are in a less privileged position. Left entirely to the market, there is no guarantee of winners emerging in Singapore and being able to provide continued growth, investment and employment for the majority of our people. (Tharman, 2002)

This philosophy is neatly encapsulated in a speech given by Raymond Lim, the Minister for Transport in 2006:

> Singapore does not have the luxury of pursuing a foreign policy of abstract ideals. Like that of other countries, ours is a servant to the national goals of survival and prosperity. The guiding principle is national interest. (Lim, 2006)

In the next section, we make the case for economic development and survival as being the most important theme in the grand narrative of the Social Studies curriculum as we argue that the ideals of meritocracy and social cohesion are, in fact, perceived by the government in a very instrumental and pragmatic light.

Economic Development and National Survival

The primacy of the capitalist economic paradigm is evident. For example, in the unit addressing the challenges of globalization, economic development and national survival remain the primary focus. The guiding question, "How do nations sustain their economic development in a globalized world?" (MoE, 2008, p. 14) sets the tone for Unit 5, titled "Sustaining Economic Development". Areas of focus include the impact of globalization on national and world economies and increased competition for investment markets and labour. Even the need to manage the environment in a sustainable way is couched in economic terms. For instance, one of the learning outcomes described in the course syllabus states, "Students will

be able to ... understand how environmental management is necessary to ensure economic growth" (p. 14).

This philosophy is also clearly articulated in other units. In Unit 2, titled "Understanding Governance", for example, students explore a case study of the public opposition to the setting up of a casino in a new resort in Singapore. The textbook states that "more opportunities have been created to involve the people in decision making" (MoE, 2007b, p. 38) and cites the example of the government "consulting" the people on the issue of having a casino as part of a new resort. Despite objections on the part of many religious organizations and the public who were concerned about the social impact of a casino, the government ultimately decided that the economic benefits accruing from having a casino outweighed its social costs. Here, we see how hard-headed, pragmatic economic arguments take precedence over moral concerns, as it is explicitly stated in the textbook, "Policy decisions are made to serve the needs of the nation" (p. 39).

The textbook also places great emphasis on the economic impact and consequences of almost all the issues examined in the text. Even issues such as population change, housing, education and healthcare are overtly linked to the overarching theme of national economic development. On managing healthcare, the British welfare system was used as a contrasting case. The message is clear: the welfare state is financially burdensome for the government, saps the will of the people to be self-reliant, so that they become "a give-it-to-me...sit-back-and-wait Britain" (MoE, 2007b, p. 85). Former Prime Minister Goh warned that it "will affect people's incentive to work" (p. 68), thereby threatening the economic viability of the country. Similarly, the use of the case study of Venice in the Middle Ages in "Challenge and Change" (Unit 6) provides a warning to all students that Singapore cannot afford to ignore and be resistant to changes if growth and prosperity are to be maintained. Students are told in apocalyptic tones that "the failure to respond to the changing global landscape over time may result in a nation fading into obscurity" (MoE, 2008, p. 15).

The dominance of the theme of economic development and survival within the curricula is inevitable when one considers the key characteristics of the national ideology of Singapore. As Wee (2004) has pointed out, Singapore is a society "subjugated to the needs of capital" (p. 5). This has resulted in the ascendancy of industrial and commercial understanding of culture in which "manufacturing and productive institutions as the collective basis of social life became the new cultural system" (p. 2). Singapore's headlong rush to modernize and 'Westernize', development has provided the universal rationality for nation-building and consequently, this is similarly reflected in the Social Studies curriculum.

Meritocracy and Social Cohesion Viewed Through Economic Pragmatism

As described earlier in the chapter, the state's emphasis on meritocracy and social cohesion is primarily based on the principle of economic pragmatism. Meritocracy is necessary in order to ensure social cohesion and harmony. Social cohesion is

also desirable, according to the government, because it is a necessary precondition for economic development and, ultimately, for the survival of the nation-state. The official school curriculum, state documents and government ministers reflect this particularly instrumental understanding of these national values. According to Dr Aline Wong, the former Senior Minister of State for Education, meritocracy is a tool for enhancing social cohesion in a diverse society:

> Meritocracy is highly compatible with the multiracial model of society, as its very essence lies in allowing all races to advance in whatever field, solely on the basis of achievement, merit and hard work ... Indeed, under this system, the minority groups have made big strides in social mobility through their own efforts. (Wong, 2000)

While cultural, racial and religious issues and themes permeate almost all areas of the Social Studies curriculum in Singapore secondary schools, a closer reading of the text reveals that the rationale behind the emphasis on ethnic and religious harmony is primarily driven by pragmatic concerns. Evidence for this instrumental perspective of culture can be found in the unit titled "Conflict and harmony in multicultural societies." This unit emphasizes the importance of racial and religious harmony for the continuing economic success of Singapore and the dire consequences of not preventing ethnic conflict are constantly repeated. The question, "Why is harmony in a multi-ethnic society important to the development and viability of a nation?" (p. 11), provides a framework for the unit and is a clear indication of the priorities of the state. This theme is echoed later in the unit by this statement, "When bonds among the people are strong and stable, there will be happiness, prosperity and progress" (p. 133). Apart from emphasizing the negative consequences of not having peace and harmony between the different racial and religious groups, the text also pragmatically points out the economic benefits that would accrue to Singaporeans from having a multi-ethnic population because "the multi-ethnic characteristics of Singapore's population attract tourists from all over the world" (p. 155).

The instrumental view of the values of society found in both texts is unsurprising largely because values such as multi-racialism have been used as a means of social control by the state (Clammer, 1985; Chua, 2003). The Singapore state has, for example, cynically and selectively used the concept of Asian values in international and national politics (Wee, 2004). In the 1990s, for example, political leaders in Singapore such as the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and the Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Kishore Mahbubani, suggested that "Asian values", based largely on Confucian values that subordinated the rights of individuals to those of the community, were key factors that helped promote the extraordinary economic growth in East Asian countries. The valorization of these cultural identities (e.g., Chinese-Singaporeans) also allowed the state to make links to a perceived Asian capitalist modernity spearheaded by the Asian economic powerhouses like Japan. The 'Asian values' discourse too, served both as an ingredient for successful economic development and as "a 'cultural ballast' against the 'corruption' of western, liberal individualism" (Chua, 2003, p. 67). Scholars, in addition, have also suggested that this discourse was used to suppress dissent and political pluralism (Wee, 2004).

The national ideal of economic pragmatism becomes particularly apparent at the end of Chapter 5 when students are asked this question, “Why is it important to manage ethnic diversity?” (MoE, 2007b, p. 154). The answer provided by the text again reinforces the idea that social stability and cohesion is valued for its contribution to the economic development of the country:

> One of the benefits of living harmoniously in a multi-ethnic society is the security and peace that all Singaporeans enjoy. . . With peace and stability comes economic progress. Foreign investors invest and set up their companies in Singapore because their investments would be protected. (MoE, 2007b, p. 154)

As seen in the extract above, the authors abandon all pretence of speaking of a broader concept of “progress” and instead focus their attention on one particular dimension – economic progress. This is further reinforced by yet another example of how Singapore would experience economic dislocation if the country was beset by internal strife. The textbook states that this would negatively impact tourist arrivals because “tourists generally avoid visiting countries that are caught in violence and conflict” (p. 154). This explicitly draws the student’s attention to the situation in Sri Lanka and the impact of the violence on tourism:

> Tourism, one of Sri Lanka’s major income earners, was seriously affected by the violence and internal conflict. Tourist arrivals steadily decreased after the July 1983 riots. The decrease resulted in a loss of jobs and a fall in earnings. This in turn affected the economy adversely. (MoE, 2007b, p. 108)

The chapter, in addition, emphasized the economic consequences of internal conflict and the lack of social cohesion in the international case studies, including Northern Ireland, by highlighting how both foreign and domestic investors were discouraged from investing in the country. Likewise, the text also chose to draw attention to the high levels of unemployment faced by the Sri Lankans as a consequence of ethnic conflict, describing how thousands of factory and plantation workers lost their jobs as a result of the Sri Lankan riots in July 1983. The widespread looting and vandalism that resulted also contributed to the economic malaise experienced by the country. In the words of the authors, “all parties suffered in the conflict” (MoE, 2007b, p. 107). The chapter concludes with this statement that clearly reiterates this philosophy of economic pragmatism:

> The case studies of Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland show us that it is important for people of different races and religions to live in harmony. Conflict between people of different races and religions destroys lives, homes and property. Everyone suffers. (MoE, 2007b, pp. 130–131)

In summary, a close reading of the text reveals that the rationale behind the emphasis on meritocracy, social cohesion and consensus is driven by the functionalist need to maintain economic growth and sustain development. These national ideals are not cherished for their intrinsic value but are prized for their economic worth, both to the state and to the survival of the governing elite. As a result, according to Chua (2003), this has resulted in the “inculcation of intense individualistic competition in both the production and consumption and . . . the valuing of secular, technological knowledge over the sacred and religious” (p. 67).

Conclusion

It is hard not to arrive at the conclusion that in Singapore, economic pragmatism is "political ideology par excellence" (Yao, 2007, p. 186). In this chapter, we argued that Social Studies is designed with the very pragmatist motivations of the nation achieving economic success. We showed how for a state that presumably cares so much about values, "it seems remarkably lacking in moral magnitude" (p. 187). Economic pragmatism is promoted as the only viable vision for the nation. Values are simply "pragmatically valuable" (Tan, 1994, p. 61). And when economic pragmatism operates as ideology, it reduces intrinsically desirable values such as social cohesion, consensus and meritocracy to commodities that can be exchanged. In other words, these values are important because they are first and foremost instrumental to economic development. Consequently, Tan and Chew (2004, p. 598) argued that what is practised in Singapore is essentially citizenship training and not values education, with the former as an instrument of statecraft that "has no respect for moral truths *per se*". Instead through Social Studies, "students are held to be disciplining themselves. . .acquiring knowledge and attitudes for citizenship at a later time" (Shermis & Barth, 1982, p. 27).

Since pragmatic policies have brought about substantial benefits and visible abundance to Singapore, it explains the government's ideological currency. But therein lies the danger, for in the government's scheme of things, economic usefulness is undoubtedly the most crucial. With globalization however, the state can no longer guarantee sustained prosperity, as evidenced by the current global recession. A Singaporean's loyalty is presumably shallow (Chang, 2003), given that it is based on the exchange of support for the provision of economic welfare. Consequently, the social, political and economic pressures, brought about by the forces of globalization could cause an erosion of the state power (Mutalib, 2000). Pragmatic policies have also led to an increasingly cynical, materialistic, consumerist and individualistic citizenry. Well travelled and spoiled by the freedom of the internet where alternative views are easily accessible, what is stopping the young from emigrating to countries that may be more free or prosperous than Singapore? We do not deny that there are countries freer and more prosperous than Singapore. Ironically, this is the very situation that the ruling elite wants to avoid. Singapore is a small country with limited resources and if the young generation does not feel rooted to the nation, there may be severe economic repercussions in the future.

While the transmission approach to values education underlined by economic pragmatism may have worked in the past, they cannot work now in this age of globalization. Indeed globalization is characterized by rapid changes and unpredictability, where the "government can no longer pick winners in the economy" (Gopinathan, 2007, p. 68). Students are now more individualistic, and have easy access to alternative points of view. In such a context, traditional methods of getting students to unquestioningly accept values from authority are no longer tenable. Values education must necessarily take a new form. The position we take is that values ought to be taught but not as dogma or indoctrination. Here we are suggesting that students view themselves as participants in the social world of which

they are part, rather than being mere observers and passive recipients of the values. Therefore, what should constitute the desirable values shared by the Singaporean community ought to be deliberated by citizens at all levels, starting from the school. In the schools, values recommendations should be deliberately discussed in an open manner, where teachers encourage students to seek out the reasons behind them. Multiple perspectives on the recommendations should be raised, and students encouraged to understand, respect and critically evaluate them. The hope is that providing opportunities for students to voice their views will subtly increase the stake they have in their own nation (Fraenkel, 1977; Hirshberg, 2006). Finally, it has been argued that most Singaporeans have internalized the anxieties of living in Singapore particularly in the global context (Velayutham, 2007). It therefore is no longer sufficient to only provide opportunities for citizens to benefit from the nation's economic success. Of greater importance is to provide citizens with the opportunities to exercise their citizenship that will lead to affective commitment to the nation.

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Chapter 52
Values in Motion: From Confident Learners to Responsible Citizens

Tim Small

Introduction

As a former teacher and secondary school leader in the UK, I represent a practitioner's perspective in exploring the connection between a particular programme of research with which I have been engaged and potential and actual developments in the practice of values education. This research into learning, values and citizenship education at the University of Bristol, in partnership with other universities and researcher-practitioners in the last decade, has fore-grounded a complex set of interconnecting factors and processes, driven by emancipatory values, that combine to form what is best described as an optimum 'ecology' for learning and achievement. The purposes of this chapter are, first, to review aspects of a group of studies selected for their commonality in illuminating some unifying principles, showing how closely these five principles relate to the values of character formation, virtue and good citizenship and, second, to explore the implications of these principles for pedagogy: offering, in other words, a strategic application of the research findings that not only addresses economic and political imperatives, but enhances humanity.

The five linked, emerging principles, between them, encompass and interconnect the concepts of personal growth, learning and achievement. The first is about intrinsic motivation to learn and change over time and its manifestation in the expressed values of young people. The second is about the value of self-awareness in optimizing and harnessing motivation. The third concerns the impact of learning relationships on self-efficacy and the sort of context in which it is most likely to be encouraged and enhanced. The fourth principle is about the teacher's role in the facilitation and support of learners' developing autonomy and responsibility. The fifth and last is concerned with a dynamic and integrating relationship between personal and social development and curricular, or 'public' achievement.

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The chapter ends on a practical note by using the aforementioned principles as the basis for a pedagogy for values (or citizenship) education, offering a set of suggestions for teachers to use in self-evaluation: what we might do more of, and less of, if our purpose is to develop effective learners who are learning both to be good citizens and high achievers.

Intrinsic Motivation to Grow and Change Over Time

The first piece of research I want to refer to is an in-depth case study of three Sixth Form centres in Bristol, led by Christ Church Canterbury University between 2004 and 2006. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected from 551 students as part of a four-phase investigation of how 16–19-year-old students understood the concept of virtues and values and what they perceived to be the main influences on the formation of their own characters (Arthur, Deakin Crick, Samuel, Wilson & McGettrick, 2006). One of the overall findings of this study was that these young people ' . . . have a strong sense of themselves as 'moral agents' in society with clear ideas about what virtues and values matter (and) a sense of their own growth and change over time.' (pp. 110–111)

Following a preliminary theory building stage, an 81-item character questionnaire was designed and administered to the entire population and a factor analytic study selected as the most appropriate means of exploring whether there were any coherent underlying themes or factors that could be understood as dimensions of character formation. This enabled new scales to be created for each of the factors, which were tested for reliability. Fifteen key dimensions of character emerged from the study, which were then scored according to the questionnaire responses (see Table 52.1, below). The mean scores indicate the strength of the students' self-report on each factor.

The factors I want to focus on here are those ranked second, third and fifth in the table: *Critical learning and becoming; Ambition, meaning and purpose; Challenge and responsibility*. It is worth 'unpacking' these, with these extracts from the first-person descriptions in the Report:

'*Critical learning and becoming*' is characterized thus:

> I know how to become a better person, am continually changing and growing as a person, and I have overcome lots of difficulties in my life, which have helped make me the person I am today. Current events make me think about the meaning and purpose of life and I know that there is sometimes a gap between what I do and what I know is right. . . .I often change as a result of my learning and I usually take responsibility. (Arthur et al., 2006, p. 58)

'*Ambition, meaning and purpose*' includes:

> I have a strong sense of my own purpose and meaning in life and what I would like to be doing in the future. I am ambitious to do well in life and my exams. (Arthur et al., 2006, p. 57)

Table 52.1 Rank of mean scores for dimensions of character (Arthur et al., 2006, pp. 58–59)

Character factor	Mean	Std. deviation
Living my virtues and values	76.1630	10.70520
Critical learning and becoming	74.0045	11.15371
Ambition, meaning and purpose	73.4795	15.63086
Critical social justice	73.2164	14.35784
Challenge and responsibility	71.7809	14.83962
Family influence	70.7899	20.42706
Teachers respect for students	70.7193	15.18821
Identity in relationship	69.9858	13.39381
Influence of peers	62.2942	17.90240
Critical values and school	58.9110	14.38256
Community engagement	51.1586	25.63368
Wider family influences	49.8936	25.85417
Political engagement	43.5029	20.94131
Media and community influences	35.0149	22.92697
Spiritual and religious engagement	34.3845	32.49014

'*Challenge and responsibility*' is as follows:

> When I struggle with something I will persevere with it, I challenge others' opinions and am open to being challenged myself and I am able to take full responsibility for my own learning. (Arthur et al., 2006, p. 58)

The fact that the mean scores in these three dimensions are relatively high suggests that a large majority of these young people think of themselves as 'continually changing and growing', having a sense of 'meaning and purpose' in life and identifying and desiring in time to close this 'gap' between how they behave and how they aspire to behave. This appears to be linked to an openness to challenge and acceptance of 'full responsibility' for their own learning.

This willingness to accept responsibility and the desire to change for the better can be seen as a deep-seated 'learning energy' that one would hope teachers are in a position to identify and foster. The most important implication for teachers, though, and the first of the five principles that I am proposing for a values-based pedagogy, is that the drive to learn and improve is intrinsic to the human condition and does not need to be somehow 'implanted' or seen as the teacher's responsibility to engender. A skilled and experienced teacher will spot it, know it, value it, exploit it and refuse to blame anyone else for their failure to do so. Any apparent weakness, or indeed absence of such motivation must be interpreted as being as much or more a contextual factor than a reflection of the personality or temperament or innate capacity of the individual learner. The context is the teacher's responsibility. Given that, motivation is the responsibility of the learner!

Self-Awareness and Learning How to Learn and Change

Perhaps the research most important and relevant to the notion of self-motivated personal growth and change over time is the Effective Lifelong Learning Inventory (ELLI) research at the University of Bristol's Graduate School of Education (Deakin Crick, Broadfoot & Claxton, 2004). Its core aims were to identify and define the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour characteristic of the effective lifelong learner and to construct an assessment instrument to measure them through self-report and assist their development. Seven dimensions of 'learning power' emerged, via factor analytic studies, each with cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects, representing a holistic view of the learner as a 'thinking, feeling and doing' human being:

changing and learning – a sense of myself as someone who learns and changes over time;
critical curiosity – an orientation to want to 'get beneath the surface';
meaning making – making connections and seeing that learning 'matters to me';
creativity – risk-taking, playfulness, imagination and intuition;
learning relationships – learning with and from others and also able to manage without them;
strategic awareness – being aware of my thoughts, feelings and actions as a learner and able to use that awareness to manage learning processes;
resilience – the readiness to persevere in the development of my own learning power.

A 72-item questionnaire was created and later validated through further research (Deakin Crick & Yu, 2008) in order to measure the strength of these 'learning dispositions' in any individual, through self-report. Administered online, this produces feedback for each learner, in the form of a seven-spoked spider diagram. A frequency chart is also produced for the whole class. This feedback then becomes the starting point for mentoring conversations and strategies for developing learning power, individually and collectively.

One of the most widely reported benefits is of learners and teachers becoming confident with a whole new language of learning. Individuals often report particularly significant change in the dimensions they target and work on (Millner, Small & Deakin Crick, 2006). If a second survey is taken, the tool superimposes a new profile on the original, so any gains made can be seen graphically (see Fig. 52.1).

An important element of the ELLI survey tool, from the researchers' point of view, is that it generates comparable data about the different levels of self-reported learning power, of different groups of learners, in different contexts, pre- and post-interventions which can change both learners' behaviour and contexts, by changing the way learning is managed.

Through a programme of Research and Development from 2004 to 2008, for the leadership of which I had some responsibility, these ideas have been applied and tested in practice in a series of collaborative action enquiries in which a researcher/practitioner facilitated partner practitioners in schools, universities and

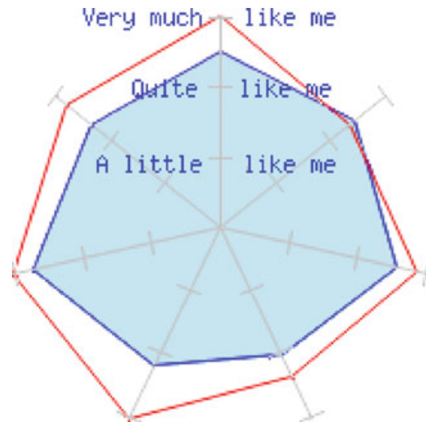

Fig. 52.1 An ELLI profile, pre- and post-intervention

other formal learning contexts in administering the ELLI Inventory and using the data reflectively, diagnostically and formatively with individual learners. Qualitative data about impact, response and perceived change were collected from students and staff and analysed alongside the quantitative data generated by the ELLI inventory. Sample sizes ranged from nine 'NEET' Learners (not in education, employment or training) on a state-funded training course to improve access to employment, to 1,897 learners of all ages from 18 to 70, across 14 Higher Education institutions.

One of the most significant and immediate benefits reported by learners was the positive impact of the visual characterization of their own self-report. Given an understanding of the seven learning power dimensions, they now saw themselves as learners in a way they had never done before and had a language with which to communicate about it. In one study in a secondary school in the North-west of England, for instance (which had used professional actors to personify the seven dimensions), an 11-year-old student reported that, on noticing that her strategic awareness was relatively weak and before even discussing her feedback with a teacher, she had started doing her homework on the day it was set, instead of leaving it 'until some other time' (Small, 2008). This echoed a male student of the same age in a study in a school in the South of England the previous year, of a sample of 199 students in their first year of secondary education in the UK:

> I used to leave homework till the last minute, now I do a piece every day and plan ahead. (Small, 2007, p. 14)

Quotations from other students in this latter school context reveal the impact of the ideas on their sense of identity and efficacy as learners:

> I have clear targets and I can set myself ones now.
> Even if teachers don't tell you to, you can still use it (ELLI) to help with your work. (Small, 2007, p. 13)

Further benefits and insights were widely and consistently reported, including an increase in confidence, reduced dependency on teachers and enhanced capacity

to manage transitions, such as between cultures, between work and formal learning and between one learning institution and another. The Higher Education study found, for instance, that the population reporting the highest levels of learning power were mature adult, part-time learners who were engaging with formal learning in a work-related context, with a clear, vocational purpose. One might assume that these mature students had naturally attained a higher level of self-awareness than younger, full-time students and, sure enough, it was the traditional, full-time, 18–22-year-old students just out of school who reported the lowest levels of learning power (Small & Deakin Crick, 2008). The clearest finding of this study was of improved engagement in reflection upon self and learning, the cultivation of which tutors reported as previously problematic, especially with this youngest section of the university student population.

One of the most interesting interventions using these ideas involved three quite small, disparate sub-samples of young learners: a dozen 15-year-old high achieving students in a state comprehensive school, the nine 16-year-old NEET learners ('not in education, employment or training') and sub-sample of 6 out of 32 young offenders convicted of serious offences and locked up between the ages of 12 and 18 (Millner, Small, & Deakin Crick, 2006 and reported in Deakin Crick, 2009). The self-assessment of learning power through the ELLI tool was used to 'scaffold' their engagement with a personalized enquiry, so that they became aware, for instance, of the value of *critical curiosity* in finding out more about a chosen and cherished object or place, or strategic *awareness* in planning ahead, *learning relationships* in linking with experts, tutors, each other and, of course, *resilience* when they were 'overwhelmed' by the scope of their enquiries. In response to their feedback, they each selected two dimensions of learning power to focus on during their enquiries. The overall purpose of the study was to see how far it was possible for learners from these very different backgrounds to achieve objectively assessable, publicly valued outcomes through a learning process which begins with and is grounded in personal choice, a methodology pioneered with undergraduates by Professor Milan Jaros at the University of Newcastle (Jaros & Deakin Crick., 2007). The sample was small, but the results were extremely positive and the students' evaluations contained material both profoundly revealing, as here in one high achieving student's insight into the role of personal narrative in learning and achieving:

> Learning how to tell your own story would make it easier to do all the other things you have to do – learn subjects, get grades etc. (Deakin Crick, 2009, p. 12)

and encouraging, as here with the words of Danny, one of the previously most disengaged and disaffected NEET learners, who said:

> It's changed what I think I can do! (Millner et al., 2006, p. 24)

These two quotations sum up most eloquently the second principle I am seeking to illuminate here: that self-awareness is a powerful element in motivation to learn and change. The link with the first principle is clear: that if that motivation is intrinsic, then becoming more aware of their 'learning identity' and a 'learning journey' or 'story', can help learners to find and release their intrinsic motivation. The ELLI

tool is reported to be a factor in increasing self-awareness, particularly in relation to learning and personal change. Unlike most measuring and assessment undergone by students in formal education, this is not a test by which they are being judged as successes or failures. The ELLI tool 'holds a mirror' up to learners, with no judgement implied other than that contained within their own interpretation of the feedback. With the help of a skilled mentor, their response is most often found to endorse the face-validity of the feedback, embrace the possibility of self-motivated change and anticipate the continuation, or resumption, of a 'learning journey'.

The Nature and Importance of Effective Learning Relationships

Having and utilizing effective learning relationships is identified by the ELLI research as one of the seven key 'dimensions' of learning power and is characterized thus:

> Effective learners are good at managing the balance between being sociable and being private in their learning. They are not completely independent, nor are they dependent. They like to learn with and from others and to share their difficulties, when it is appropriate. They acknowledge that there are important other people in their lives who help them learn, though they may vary in who those people are, e.g., family, friends or teachers. They know the value of learning by watching and emulating other people, including their peers. They make use of others as resources, as partners and as sources of emotional support. They also know that effective learning may also require times of studying – or 'dreaming' – on their own. (Deakin Crick, 2007, p. 141)

This important balance between collaborative and solitary learning often appears to get lost in the pursuit of either 'independent learning' on one hand, or 'social and group learning' on the other. The implication is that the 'use of others as a resource', the sharing, watching and emulation that are all part of this dimension of effective lifelong learning can either increase a learner's capacity for autonomy or create a dependency upon the external sources of support. The learning relationships found to be most beneficial to the development of learning power were summed up by practitioners involved in the original ELLI research as being 'characterised by trust, affirmation and challenge' (Deakin Crick, 2007, p. 147).

Although the term 'learning relationships' in the ELLI research covers all the 'social resources' available to a learner, it is the student–teacher relationship that I want to focus on here, since the research suggests that it can be a key influence in the decision-making involved in personal change. The students in the Bristol study investigating their attitudes to values, virtues and character formation, described above, reported that 'the most important feature of school is that their teachers respect them, like them and value them as individuals'. They reported that they respond most readily to teachers who encourage and lead by example and that they 'perceive a relationship between good relationships with their teachers and their learning' (Arthur et al., 2006, p. 113). It is important to note, here, that these teachers were not necessarily those with responsibility in a 'pastoral' role for the students'

character formation or wellbeing; they might be teaching them anywhere in the curriculum.

This relates to evidence that where mentoring support is designed and implemented strategically and appropriately, it appears to be a significant factor in the power of the ELLI tool to inspire and inform personal change. In another quasi-experimental study involving 199 students and their form tutors in their first year at a secondary school in the South of England, students and tutors alike reported the single most powerful intervention to be the use of mentoring conversations, framed by the ELLI feedback:

> tutors placed a high value on the mentoring conversations as a context for guidance and target-setting using the ELLI profiles to inform and differentiate their advice, though their success depended upon the promptness and enthusiasm with which such conversations were followed through and sustained.
>
> Especially in the context of the mentoring conversations, students appeared to find their ELLI profiles particularly helpful in prompting choices and focussing their target-setting.

The tutors' feedback included such phrases as:

> Mentoring is key!

and students said such things as:

> (My mentor) explained the profiles which was very useful. . .
> They (mentoring sessions) were the starting point for talking about our profiles. . .
> (We) talked about it with mentors and (had) written targets to improve our weaker points...
> One-to-one talks made the intentions clear. (Small, 2007, p.11)

In a survey conducted by the school, 88% of students reported that they had discussed their ELLI profiles or Dimensions in mentoring and found it helpful.

The principle that is emerging here is about the value and power of a professionally intended and skilfully managed relationship between the learner and someone in a position to offer structured, mentoring support for increasing self-awareness and experimenting with strategies for improving learning effectiveness. The evidence suggests that it is a key environmental variable in a context where young people are most likely to be motivated to accept the risk of learning characterized by personal growth and change.

The Teacher/Mentor's Role in Supporting Autonomy

These findings raise important questions for the classroom teacher. How far is it possible within a normal timetable for teachers to adopt and provide this kind of mentoring role in relation to individual students? How far is it challenged by the conventions of authority, control and curriculum coverage? In short, what would a 'values-education pedagogy' actually look and feel like that combines the goals of personal and social development with those of curricular achievement? The research suggests that a teacher cannot accomplish this in isolation. It needs to be part of a 'learner-centred' culture.

The role of the teacher as motivator and facilitator is illuminated by McCombs and Whisler (1997) whose principles of ‘learner-centred practice’ were tested and assessed as a co-variable with ELLI learning power data in a piece of research in Bristol (Deakin Crick, McCombs, Haddon, Broadfoot, & Tew, 2007) from which the notion of an optimum ‘ecology’ for learning and citizenship was developed. The purposes of this study were to explore the relationships between the seven ELLI variables and other constructs known or presumed to be key features of an effective learning environment. These were teacher beliefs and practices, students’ perceptions of their teachers’ practices; student motivational variables, organizational emotional climate and student attainment outcomes. The findings suggested strongly, perhaps predictably, that students who report themselves as having the highest levels of learning power, on the seven ELLI dimensions, also report their teachers as having the highest levels of ‘learner-centred practices’. These include, as four core ‘domains’, the teacher:

> Creat(ing) positive interpersonal relationships/climate; honour(ing) student voice and encourage(ing) perspective taking; encourag(ing) higher-order thinking and self-regulation; adapt(ing) to individual differences and provid(ing) developmentally appropriate challenges. (Deakin Crick et al., 2007, pp. 276–277)

According to McCombs, the learner-centred teacher also shows high levels of self-efficacy, or ‘self-concept of ability’ (McCombs & Whisler, 1997, p. 30), believes unconditionally in the learning potential of her students and gives structure and support for students’ autonomy, rather than seeking simply to retain ‘control’ of her class: in short, treating them as ‘co-creators in the teaching and learning process’ (p. 33). Again, optimal characterizing of the relationship between learners and their teacher is seen as amongst the most important contextual conditions for effective learning.

In the study with disaffected and disengaged learners and high achievers already referred to, a key idea to emerge concerned the relationship between the learner and teacher, or rather, in this case, the nature of the researcher’s role as ‘learning guide’, rather than ‘teacher’ in the conventional sense. A ‘learning guide’ was found to be as essential to success, especially of the fragile and disaffected learners, as their own motivation. The role as proposed by the researcher has two main aspects. The first is that of making critical professional judgements about the ‘elasticising’ of scaffolding and support, sometimes in the form of rules and limits, recognizing on one the hand, in the words of one of the high achievers, that ‘limits make you more creative’ and on the other hand that freedom enables and requires the learner to take responsibility. These judgements had to take account of learner, context and task, and might change from one day to the next as confidence waned and grew. A second, essential aspect of the role reported unsurprisingly, therefore, by the researcher, was a ‘commitment to the life narrative of the learner rather than to a set of learning objectives devised on her behalf’ (Millner et al., 2006, p. 35).

The fourth principle, then, is the necessity of a progressive, responsible and well-judged ‘handing over’ of power and control to learners, through involving them as ‘authors’ of their own learning journeys, co-creating knowledge, curriculum

pathways and criteria for evaluation and developing a culture of responsibility and partnership based upon the values of humanity and learning, rather than on compliance or complicity in narrowing the task to one of meeting external objectives or targets invented by 'the system'.

The Lessons from Citizenship Education

The last two studies I want to refer to are systematic reviews of all available empirical research, worldwide, into the impact of citizenship education on the provision of schooling and on learning and achievement (Deakin Crick, Tew, Taylor, & Ritchie, 2004; Deakin Crick et al., 2005). The purpose of the first of these Reviews was to address, through a synthesis of the evidence from research, the relationships between citizenship education and the activities, processes and structures of schooling. The purpose of the second was to build on the first, to explore in particular the impact of citizenship education on student learning and achievement. It was my task to summarize both of these Reviews into pamphlets for professionals in teaching and teacher education (Small, 2004, 2005).

What is clear from both reviews is a sense of the essential and integral relationship between education for personal and social development and education for lifelong learning and achievement by publicly agreed standards. It was also clear that, if it is to mean anything, citizenship education must be understood to be about everything that happens (in schools), rather than just about what happens in a particular 'Citizenship' curriculum 'slot' designated for that purpose. In this sense, it is synonymous with values education. Here is an extract of some of the findings of the first Review in respect of the impact of Citizenship Education upon teaching and learning:

- The quality of dialogue and discourse is central to learning in citizenship education.
- Transformative, dialogical and participatory pedagogies complement and sustain achievement rather than divert attention from it.
- Students should be empowered to voice their views and name and make meaning from their life experiences.
- Listening to the voice of the student leads to positive relationships, an atmosphere of trust and increases participation. It may require many teachers to 'let go of control'.
- A facilitative, conversational pedagogy may challenge existing power/authority structures.
- Such pedagogies require a quality of teacher–pupil relationships that are inclusive and respectful. (Deakin Crick et al., 2004, p. 2)

The principles of a pedagogy for enhancing both humanity *and* achievement shine clearly through these findings: the implication is of near-equal power

relationship, where listening and influence work in both directions between teacher and student and knowledge is co-constructed, so the student is fully *engaged* in the learning. The finding that acknowledges the challenge this represents to more conventional views of authority and instruction should not be lightly dismissed. The experience of *trust* and *affirmation*, as well as *challenge*, in the relationship means that confidence, on both sides, is developed as a foundation ultimately more reliable and self-sustaining that control can ever be.

The findings of the second Review make an even clearer link between 'a pedagogy for citizenship education' and raised academic and educational achievement, in terms of cognitive and affective, as well as social and personal outcomes. Here are some of them:

> [A] pedagogy appropriate for citizenship education:
>
> - can engage students to seek cognitive understanding of the meaning of their personal stories and experiences when learning about lesson content and gaining awareness of others' situations
> - may lead to greater participation when lesson content is pertinent to student experiences
> - can enhance students' higher order cognitive and intellectual development
> - can result in statistically significant positive changes in formal operations of movement from concrete literal thinking to abstract and scientific thinking, resulting in higher levels of reflection
> - may empower students, leading to increased self-confidence, more positive self-concept and greater self-reliance
> - can impact on affective outcomes as well as cognitive growth in areas, such as the development of self-concept increased self-confidence and more positive behaviour. (Deakin Crick et al., 2005, pp. 3–4)

Just as with the 'ELLI' research into learning power, the power of this Review's findings is in its holistic view of the learner as a 'thinking, feeling and behaving' human being. For too long, educators have concentrated on *either* cognitive *or* personal and social functions and created schooling systems where the two are managed separately.

What these Reviews are asking, between them, as summed up in the pamphlets, are fundamental questions about the educational culture in which children are expected to grow into effective citizens. Is it to be a culture characterized by control and accountability, or one based on trust and responsibility? Is it to be a culture in which students are generally treated as anonymous, passive consumers, or one in which they are known and valued as contributors to, and partners in, the learning process?

It is clear from the findings of both Reviews that effective education for citizenship requires a shift in emphasis towards the latter kind of culture: where learning experiences are progressively shaped and 'owned' by the learners themselves, rather than prescribed and determined, in both content and delivery, by those in positions

of power. It is a culture in which interactions and processes are given at least as much attention as content and outcomes. Citizenship, again in common with values education, is as much about *how* things are done, as what is done. It is about habits of daily life, demonstrated and experienced in practice, not just in theory. Where experience is most valued, it is generally lived, not handed down from on high.

If we wish to encourage young learners to make sense of the world of which they are a part, then we must make *increasing personal and institutional coherence* the fifth and last of our principles for strategic change in the pursuit of a values education pedagogy. It is about recognizing the intricate and interconnected relationship between 'personal growth' and 'academic achievement'. It is about creating an environment and learning experience where everything hangs together, for the learner. Schools struggle with the behaviour of their students at times yet overlook inconsistencies in the behaviour of adults towards them. Citizenship education requires the values of justice, equity and democracy to be part of the currency of the classroom and intrinsic to decision-making at every level in a school and schooling system. If we expect young people one day to take an active interest in improving the world, perhaps they should all now be democratically involved in improving their schools.

Equally, if schools are expected to make space in the curriculum and trust learners to help shape their learning and their schools, then school leaders, too, need to be given space and trust by legislators and policy-makers, through easing the pressures of curriculum coverage, assessment and testing, performance management and accountability, that tend to promote standardization, routine and uniformity at the expense of creativity, flexibility and diversity.

Suggestions for the Self-Reflecting Practitioner

Lastly, since this chapter is written from a practitioner's point of view, I want to end it with even more specific interpretation of these five principles into action and practice. In summarizing these two Reviews and their findings, and interpreting their implications to professionals, it was included in my task to compile, for each, a list of suggestions of what teachers might do more of, and less of, if their purpose was to enhance the citizenship of their students – wherever in the curriculum they might be teaching (Small, 2004, 2005).

In the light of the research and its practical applications reviewed in this chapter, and in support of the integration of professional and organizational self-evaluation into our culture of accountability, I thought I would end the chapter by offering a condensed version of these lists as a framework for professional self-evaluation and review of practice. If they help to support personal and professional change, they may represent another step towards enabling professionals to shape a pedagogy not only for values education, but for integrating the core educational goals of raising academic standards and enhancing the human potential of all learners, including teachers.

I have used these lists, adapted for the purpose, in workshops with practitioners who have found them useful, if challenging (as intended), as a means of evaluating their practice against many of the principles which I have attempted to extract from selected studies referred to in this chapter. The adaptation simply involved adding a 'Lickert scale' type scoring system on which we could score ourselves from 1 to 4 on each line of the lists of positive practice, according to whether we practise this 'All or most of the time; Some of the time; Occasionally; or Rarely or Never'.

It would have been contrary to the spirit of the Reviews' findings simply to tell teachers what to do. Nevertheless, the evidence was very clear that some approaches enhance citizenship, or values education, whilst others are likely to hinder or obscure it. The intention was to encourage teacher educators to encourage teachers to experiment with these approaches, reflect on them and build their practice *both* on this sort of research evidence and their own experience of success. With the help and support of those responsible for our training, supervision and continuing professional development, those of us working with values in education might, therefore, consider the following.

How Often and Well Do I Do This?

- listen to students, as individuals as well as groups
- encourage them to pose questions of their own rather than simply answer those posed for them
- coach them in asking 'why?' and 'how?' questions and refusing to accept propositions at face value
- admit to 'not knowing' but suggest how to find out
- take time out to get to know individuals in their own right
- create opportunities for sharing personal 'stories and journeys' and relating programmes of work to them
- seek and use opportunities to help students link the content of the curriculum to their personal stories and experiences
- take a genuine interest in the lives, feelings, preoccupations and views of students, beyond classroom and school, and allow space for their growth as 'whole people'
- ask open questions, such as enquiring what students really think and feel about things, giving time for reflection and listening intently to the answers
- ensure that all students are included and involved in ways that suit their learning needs
- model and encourage relationships characterized by trust, affirmation and challenge
- see quality of relationships, between teacher and students and students and each other, as a prime responsibility and hallmark of good teaching
- make a feature of co-operation and collaboration, to build trust and enable all students to risk being heard

- anticipate and welcome the participation of more and more students in dialogue and discussion as they see the relevance of the learning to their own lives
- make judgements about the degree of responsibility that can confidently be expected of each individual at every stage
- make use of students' ability to teach each other whilst relating what they know to what they need to find out
- progressively and safely 'let go' of the need or desire to control things single-handedly and make explicit everyone's personal and collective responsibility for respectful, orderly conduct and collaboration
- involve students in formulating the expectations and 'ground rules' which create the conditions for respectful dialogue and discourse
- take responsibility for upholding these and periodically renewing commitment to them
- confront and clarify any apparently deliberate attempt to undermine or subvert such agreed 'ground rules' and take appropriate and predictable action
- organize and (with the students' help) continually reorganize the classroom so as to indicate the equal value of every voice and facilitate face-to-face dialogue between pairs, in groups and in the whole class forum
- build in time for reflection, for myself and my students
- reflect back to individuals and groups the learning about values that I am demonstrating through collaborative processes as well as content and output
- include these intended learning outcomes in the objectives I plan for and make them explicit at the start of sessions
- involve learners in structured self-evaluation and inform my own assessment judgements by this means
- inform myself about the rights and responsibilities of good citizenship, including matters of justice, ethics, equity and equality, lawful and unlawful discrimination, social formation, economic awareness, democratic accountability and participation, public and private finance and accountability, political pressures and processes of government, civic and human rights
- practise articulating my own social vision and values whilst encouraging a critical, questioning response
- coach students in the same skills
- encourage learners to develop criteria for the validation of opinions, attitudes and beliefs
- make the *processes* of learning an explicit part of the curriculum and its assessment
- in particular, foreground, develop and assess communication skills as channels of learning
- take responsibility for structures and processes that allow students to take responsibility for their own learning
- understand and remember that academic achievement is enhanced by attention to personal and social development
- plan lessons and set objectives to allow for unpredicted, as well as intended learning outcomes

- seek and use opportunities for students to engage in higher-order, cognitive activities, such as asking 'Why?' questions, thinking about thinking (meta-cognition) and learning about learning
- notice and reflect back to students their increasing ability to move between concrete or literal thinking and abstract, figurative or scientific thinking
- encourage and make time for reflection, to embed cognitive development and higher-order thinking skills
- reflect back to students their progress towards 'deeper meanings' and their development as 'interpreters'
- remember that thinking, feeling and action are closely inter-related and avoid seeming to place intellectual development in a realm of its own
- practise reflective self-evaluation, with the help of professional 'critical friends' and monitor the extent to which my teaching models and expresses (non-verbally as well as verbally) the values I seek to promote
- be ready to ask for help, ideas and examples, including the chance to see this kind of teaching in action in other classrooms.

and how well do I avoid these things?

- asking more questions than my students
- saying more than all the class put together
- asking questions to which I already know the answers
- seeing myself as the main repository of knowledge or wisdom
- using the content and knowledge-base of the curriculum as the sole organizing principle for my planning
- arranging students permanently in rows of desks facing the front
- using my power to suggest an unequal right to opinions, attitudes and beliefs
- suggesting that there are simple, right and wrong answers or 'quick fix' solutions to matters of personal and social morality
- assuming that learners understand why they are there and what they are intended to learn
- keeping criteria for assessment judgements to myself and impose those judgements summarily and without explanation
- stopping people talking just to get some 'peace and quiet'
- thinking that academic success can be achieved simply by accumulating knowledge
- dismissing feelings, ideas, personal connections and anecdotes as irrelevant, however 'wacky'
- limiting the development of thinking skills by restricting discussion to what is already known or strictly relevant
- seeing myself as the prime decision-maker and controller of learning
- being suspicious of digression and reflection
- controlling behaviour by denying opportunities for interaction
- stimulating negative behaviour by naming or spot-lighting it and so 'feeding' it with attention

- thinking that the way something 'has always been taught', however well, will always be the best way
- seeing intellectual or academic development as somehow separate from feelings, relationships and personal growth.

Conclusion

The message is as clear for leaders and policy-makers as it is for students and teachers: that improved academic performance is not best accomplished by being made the single, main or ultimate goal of learning. It would seem, though, that it is the virtually inevitable by-product of meaningful, integrated programmes founded upon the five principles that I have framed out of the research reviewed above:

- first, that desire and motivation to learn are intrinsic to the learner and need to be fostered, rather than usurped by the system;
- second, that self-awareness and the capacity for interpreting and telling our own stories can 'move' us to accept responsibility for our lives and purpose;
- third, that this is greatly helped – and may only be possible for most of us – in the context of learning relationships characterized by trust, affirmation and challenge;
- fourth, that the challenge, on both sides of the teacher–student relationship, includes giving power to the learner and recognizing that no one can truly exercise responsibility without it;
- fifth and last, that learning to learn, grow and change is inseparable from learning to meet curricular goals: the strategy needs to be holistic and the experience to make coherent sense, if humanity is to be enhanced by what we achieve.

Classrooms and learning environments informed by these principles are characterized by learners' own enquiry, rich interaction and effective two-way communication, attention to personal and social development, self-assessment and the encouragement of reflective self-awareness in learners and their learning teachers. They are alive with a sense of wonder, purpose, community and discovery. When change occurs and guidance, resources or support suddenly become unavailable, or when tests have to be passed and grades to be got, people take these things in their stride as part of what it means to be effective lifelong learners. In short, values education pedagogy, done well, moves people to close the gap between what they value and how they live out their stories: mapping the journey of learning *and* achievement for everyone.

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Chapter 53
Using a New Body/Mind Place-Based Narrative Pedagogy to Teach Values Education in the Age of Sustainability

Ron Tooth

Introduction

We live in an age where there is growing interest in how the natural world might become more of a focus for education, particularly as questions relating to sustainability are given greater prominence, and new eco-centric thinking and values enter into classrooms and schools. Richard Louv (2005) suggests that because of a general devaluing of the natural world our children are in danger of developing a 'nature deficit disorder' that threatens their very ability to live full and productive lives, and argues that this must be seen as a critical pedagogical issue. We endorse this view and have for many years worked to support students and teachers in developing personal connections to nature by working inside and outside classrooms using story, drama, attentiveness and deep reflection. We have found that these experiences give students a different encounter with the natural world that opens them up to an expanded sense of self, place and community that is well suited to developing more sustainable ways of thinking, valuing and living.

Wattchow, Burke, and Cuter-Mackenzie (2008) suggest that one reason for the widespread devaluing of the 'natural environment' in our society, and in education, could be as simple as a failure to distinguish between the ideas of 'space' and 'place'. He wants educators to move beyond the idea of 'space' as an empty abstraction, into a new imaginative appreciation of 'place' as something vital and real that is lived in through the 'body' as part of a much larger system of ethical and custodial relationships. This is the kind of place-based values connection that we are promoting: one that is common to many indigenous societies around the world (Bookchin, 1982, 1993; Chatwin, 1987). It is this reconnecting to place through the body, where knowledge and values are 'embodied' experientially, physically and sensually over time, particularly in natural places, that underpins a new kind of emergent 'outdoor' body/mind doing and meaning making pedagogy (Wattchow et al., 2008; Ballantyne & Packer, 2008) that we argue should drive education in the age of sustainability.

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To understand what such a pedagogy might look like in practice we need concrete examples of how educators have attempted to apply this kind of teaching with students. This chapter focuses on insights drawn from the Storythread Values Project, one of a number of cluster initiatives across Australia that were funded through the National Values Education Initiative by the Federal Government (VEGPS Stage 2 – 2006 to 2008). This project enabled teachers from eight schools to take students on a values journey using environmental narrative and educational drama in a range of natural settings and places. Our core purpose was to give students and teachers a deeper experience of nature by expanding their vision of their 'values community' well beyond traditional boundaries of 'self' and 'others' to incorporate the 'wider world of nature' through a revitalized experience of 'place'. We used the Storythread approach, as a proven pedagogy, to offer students a different kind of values experience based on a transformative ethic of people and place.

The 'Storythread' Approach

Storythread is a form of the 'environmental narrative genre' (Slicer, 2003) that was iteratively designed during the 1980s at Pullenvale Environmental Education Centre (PEEC) and within a few years generated interest both nationally (Tooth, Wager, & Proellocks, 1988) and internationally (Robottom, 1993). While *Storythread* is still delivered in its traditional excursion or destination format at PEEC, over the last decade its principles and core practices have been deployed to change classroom pedagogy and schooling practices more generally (Tooth, 2007). At the PEEC students and teachers are both audience and participants in stories about characters – real and fictional – living in harmony and in conflict with their environment. The choices and dilemmas they face, their knowledge and actions, their motivations and interests, and the impact of their choices and actions, are played out for the students and teachers to appreciate in real places and natural settings, to predict and partly influence, and subsequently to reflect upon and reconsider in scaffolded dialogues.

At a deeper level, Storythread's focus is on the personal narratives of people, fictional and real, who because of the deep impact of nature on their lives, have been persuaded that natural systems must be respected and protected at all cost. Slicer (2003) describes environmental narrative as a particular category of story that focuses on how people listen attentively to the land and how in turn it shapes them. Narrative, in this sense, refers to stories that connect individuals through the body and mind to particular places within systems of moral and ethical responsibility. This kind of thinking is central to most, if not all, indigenous cultures. The 'song lines' used by Aboriginal people in central Australia are powerful examples of this (Chatwin, 1987).

The significance of story as an educational methodology is well documented. Bruner (1986) described story as one of the two main ways that human beings learn about reality. Kieran Egan (1988) describes story as a cultural universal that allows us to make sense of our experience in the world and to infuse it with meaning.

The 'Storythread' Values Project

The purpose of the Storythread Values Project was to provide opportunities for teams of teachers from eight schools to work with PEEC to explore how Storythread might be used to develop quality values education for students and teachers that focused on 'connecting to nature' as a central experience. We wanted to use this engagement with nature to expand how students thought about and defined their community so that the natural world would be included as part of their values dialogue and activity. To focus this experience we defined a 'sustainable values community' as one where people speak and act with respect towards themselves, other people and the natural places around them. To support this idea we asked teachers to present their community as a series of inter-connected nesting systems. The model was simple and provided a common reference point for talking about values in action. By focusing on the three dimensions of self, others and place a new way of talking about values within a sustainability framework began to emerge both inside and outside classrooms. We called this the *Nesting Systems Model* (Fig. 53.1).

Through applying Storythread's unique mix of story, drama and deep attentive listening in natural settings, we found that students started to develop a sense that they were part of a much bigger ethical, emotional and physical web of relationships. In particular, we used Storythread to model how students might 'slow down' and enter what Senge, Laur, Schley, and Smith (2006) call the inner work of sustainability, which involves generating new kinds of embodied values, knowledge and actions through deeply reflective engagements between people and place (Tooth, 2007). Conclusions drawn in this chapter about the effectiveness of Storythread to generate meaningful values dialogue are based on an extended history of professional engagement with teachers and students through the Pullenvale Environmental Education Centre and the Storythread approach (Tooth et al., 1988; Tooth, 1995), as well as scholarly inquiry into the forms of narrative and place-based pedagogy that emerged from this prolonged professional engagement (Tooth, 2007). Evidence was collected in 16 classrooms through teachers' engagement in action research, interview and direct observation.

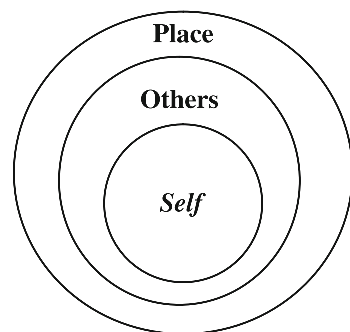

Fig. 53.1 Values nesting systems model

Conversations: What We Saw and What Teachers Found

The Storythread Values Project gave us access to the inner workings of classrooms and took us into the private world of teachers. We developed strong bonds of trust that placed us in a privileged position where teachers willingly shared their experiences, successes and failures. As we considered the many conversations, interview transcripts, case writing and curriculum units that were generated, we gained insight into how teachers saw Storythread, and what they valued about the way it connected students to nature and generated values thinking and dialogue. Teacher responses have been classified under three 'organizing ideas' that capture the essence of our journey together:

> The Story and drama dimension of Storythread allowed students to explore and test out the 'nesting systems idea' through values dialogue.

In this project students used 'story' and 'educational drama' to step into the lives of story characters who were themselves trying to show respect for other people, themselves and the natural places around them. This is why we created characters who loved life, and while they took values seriously, knew that they would never have all the answers. These characters were never presented as 'perfect ethical beings'. This would have made our narratives nothing more than moral tales. Rather, we wanted students to identify with the struggles and adventures of these diverse characters as they used the story and drama experience to develop their own understanding of how caring for themselves, other people and the natural world would enrich their lives. Students were invited to join with characters as part of an exciting story journey full of adventure and challenge, with the 'narratives' carrying the ideas and values that we wanted students to think about, dissect and analyse as part of a self-reflective values process along the way:

> Through a story, the children became involved in situations where the values came through in the characters ... that the children could identify with and it became a self awareness thing as they started to relate to self, place and others. (Year 5 Teacher)

But the story/drama partnership did more than just carry key ideas about a new social and ecological vision of community. It also allowed teachers to generate dialogue in classrooms that made values conversations more concrete and real for students. Teachers reported that through the story and drama experience many children were able to find their own voice and seemed more willing to enter into values discussions about relationships. It was through these discussions that personal narratives about people and place began to emerge where the values expressed by individual characters became part of an authentic dialogue between students and teachers. These personal narratives created an expanded sense of community in many classrooms that gave students a different kind of values experience: one where the ritual, myth and poetry of the 'environmental narrative' experience invested their thinking and action with a new affective and emotional power because it was an amalgamation of multiple experiential points of view:

> Yeah! – because kids ... would share information and stories (about their connection to nature). It's not just one Storythread – it is thirty children's Storythreads running at the same time that makes the difference. (Year 4 Teacher)

There were, however, some cases where students who had decided, for various reasons, that they were not interested in a particular experience, but the power of a combined story and drama approach hooked them in and allowed them to take charge of the narrative for themselves in ways that generated significant new learning. Imagination and creativity won these children over, even when they were resistant, and allowed them to enter into the excitement of the narrative. The narrative experience carried them along and almost compelled them to engage with the social and ecological ideas about community being carried by the story. This ability of narrative and drama to take individuals into creative spaces where they might otherwise not venture is one of the most compelling arguments for using story and drama more widely in education, particularly in values education:

> I thought they'd have ... 'attitude' and think 'Oh I'm not going to be in this' but then they forgot who they were because they wanted to discover and find out what was going on in the story. They loved that. (Year 6/7 Teacher)

Considering the central purpose of the Storythread Values Project, which was to hook children into an appreciation of a broad social and ecological vision of community, the story/drama partnership did have another important role. It was our way of introducing students to the idea of 'attentiveness' that we wanted them to engage with during their environmental narrative adventure. In every Storythread characters use 'attentiveness' to solve problems, gain new knowledge, survive danger and connect to the mystery and beauty of nature. 'Attentiveness' is what allows them to slow down and observe what is actually going on around them in minute and fascinating detail. This is how they make the discoveries that change their lives. By using characters in this way students are able to think about attentiveness at a distance and consider what they might get from trying it themselves. By seeing how characters slowly developed an ability to see the 'extra' in the 'ordinary', and by discussing the kind of deep insights that they had, students were asked to consider what kind of fascinating and valuable unnoticed details might exist at their doorstep:

> Attentiveness allows students to engage with the 'nesting systems idea' in an embodied mind/body way through focused sensory experiences in natural places and settings

While story and drama were powerful pedagogical devices for exploring an expanded vision of community, and introducing the idea of attentiveness, it was using 'attentiveness' that made a real difference to how students understood the nesting idea and whether they finally saw it as something really valuable for them. It was important to us that they experienced places that resembled or were even the same as those described in the stories because we wanted them to imagine the characters in the place that they were now enjoying for themselves. But we also wanted them to simultaneously give students the 'eye' of an artist, scientist, historian, anthropologist, writer, author or researcher. We hoped that with a specific perspective they would immerse themselves in their own attentiveness journey that

we hoped would open them up to the power of the nesting model in a very personal way. Even with these expectations we were, however, still surprised at just how effective these combined story, drama and attentiveness experiences were in achieving this for some children:

> One child wrote – 'I thought I was going to hate it in the bush and now by coming over here this term it has opened up a whole new world for me' That was quite good considering in the beginning he said 'I don't do environmental stuff, I don't care what happens to the forest or any forest in the world'. That is such a transformation. (Year 6 Teacher – School 4 – Interview 10.9.07)

Developing the skill of attentiveness also allowed students to experience the power of 'stillness' and to see the world differently by noticing many minute details that they might otherwise have missed. In the Storythread Values Project we used the term 'deep listening' to describe this kind of close attentive observation where students and teachers sat silently and listened with their ears, eyes, skin and heart. Grace Sarra (2007) found that when she used a similar approach that she called 'silent sitting' with Indigenous children they became calmer and their relationships improved. We saw similar results when deep listening was applied as part of an environmental narrative nature-based experience:

> Something did happen in going down there, when the one kid that I thought I would have to sit beside . . . the whole time, said 'Can we do it tomorrow?' That's when I had to rethink. (Year 3 Teacher – School 5 – Interview – 17.10.07)

It seems that attentiveness to nature underpins a particular kind of authentic learning. Deep connections to natural places, when experienced as part of a broader narrative and drama experience, and when guided by a teacher who has a supportive and caring relationship with students, can generate unexpected improvements in the way students engage with values and learning. A number of teachers reported that as students built on the story by practising deep attentive listening in their 'special places', that they entered into a different frame of mind that allowed them to sit for longer and become more deeply engaged with the experience. This kind of deep contemplation brought unexpected benefits. It was as if attentiveness generated its own ethic of care that grew up out of the experience. There was a calmness that many students exhibited that carried over into how they behaved in classrooms:

> There are kids like (Tom) who . . . is taking more pride in his work – it's just like he's transformed . . . there is (Craig) who never gets his work finished . . . (and Zeth) who gets distracted easily . . . and (John) who had the . . . boys in there at lunchtime . . . to get a head start . . . and they were happy to be there. This has never happened before. (Year 7 Teacher)

> It's important to move past the story, drama & attentiveness used in an environmental narrative approach into deep personal reflection.

While story, drama and attentiveness allowed students to experience the reality of values in action it was reflection that opened them up to the kind of ethical imagination and intellectual rigour that Christie (2005) talks about. The narrative and drama experiences of place were useful in encouraging an expanded ethic of

care and in generating a heightened sense of civic responsibility, but it was reflection that took values discussions to a higher level of meta-cognitive analysis, that in many cases has only just begun. Story and drama allowed values to be embodied in real and fictional characters as they struggled to make sense of the humour, tragedy and ordinariness of life. Reflection provided opportunities for students to understand how relationships work and why this new knowledge might be important for them. It allowed them to see more clearly what was going on. Reflecting on story characters helped students think about their own values as they began to understand more about their own internal thinking, something that is not easy for anyone to achieve.

Giving teachers time to reflect as researchers was also very beneficial because they found that by having time to talk with each other, and reflect on their practice, that they had professional conversations that rarely occurred because of the pressure of school life. Having the rare opportunity to delve into themselves as professionals allowed them to make new connections to students, other teachers and to the places around them that would otherwise probably not have happened. What is clear from the teacher interviews is that when they were given the time to reflect deeply on their own practice that this revitalized their teaching because it connected them back into their core values and reminded many of them why they had become teachers in the first place. They found the process of the reflective values journey invigorating because it allowed them to see themselves more clearly as co-learners and researchers with their students and with other teachers. Reflection gave them a heightened sense of their own agency and why their professional journey and growth as a teacher was so important in achieving quality values education with their students (Lovat, 2006).

Conclusion

The Storythread Values Project demonstrated how an 'environmental narrative' approach to values education, with its mix of story, drama and attentiveness to nature, can help students experience and value for themselves the entwined connections that exist between people and place, as opposed to 'space' (Wattchow et al., 2008). Our experience suggests that the development of 'place dependence' and 'place identity' in students also results in significantly improved responsible behaviour as described by Vaske & Kobrin (2001). We believe this happens because place-based education offers an expanded vision of where students sit within a much bigger social and ecological reality. This is what we mean by connection to place, an idea supported by other contemporary researchers (Giuliani & Feldman, 1993; Nabhan & Trimble, 1994; Noddings, 2003). Suzuki suggests that a deep connection to nature and place mirrors a deeper ethic that grows out of the biological reality of 'biophilia' – the innate tendency of all living things, including humans, to connect with other life (Suzuki, 1997; Suzuki & Dressel, 1999). This idea underpins all place-based education, especially its key notion of attentive listening to the land as a basis for building deep relationships (Woodhouse & Knapp, 2000).

This focus on 'attentiveness' is well supported in the broader educational literature. Gardner (1999) believes that the primary purpose of schools is to develop citizens who have studied the world most carefully and lived in it most thoughtfully (Gardner, 1999). Simone Weil (1950, 2002) claims that *attention*is the real object of education because only when human beings make the effort to connect to reality, do they grasp truth and gain deep understanding (Weil, 1950). Similarly, the *Ngangikurungkurr* people of far northern Australia refer to *dadirri*, an inner deep listening or quiet, still awareness as a basis for life and culture (McNeill, Macklin, Wasunna, & Komesaroff, 2004). This thoughtful connection to reality is what the biologist Mary Clark (2002) calls 'profound attentiveness', which for her resides at the heart of all great science and art. What Clark means by 'profound attentiveness' is allowing our emotions as well as our intellect to influence the way we see and value the world and each other. In each instance, we are dealing with a notion of full human engagement with reality as the basis for purposeful, reflective and ethical knowing. We have seen first hand that when students and teachers practise attentive and reflective listening in natural settings as part of a powerful environmental narrative experience, this encourages a new expanded sense of civic responsibility and respect for other people, and for the cultural and natural places around them.

What we would argue, therefore, is that the teaching of values should not be attempted in isolation from authentic experiences that connect students to people and the natural world through deep reflection. We see this reflection arising from emotionally engaging and imaginatively charged experiences of *place*. Tooth (2007) can attest from his experience across two decades of engagement with teachers and students at the PEEC, that first-hand encounters with the natural world provoke vividness and sensuality and heightened responsiveness that cannot be simulated in the classroom (Tooth & Renshaw, 2009). We suggest that it is these raw experiences, recollected, discussed, shared and reflected upon deeply that provide the basis for a new kind of learning that brings together conceptual knowledge, emotional responsiveness and positive values regarding sustainability. We suggest that this kind of reflective realignment and connection between *people and the environment* is the defining feature of the new place-based pedagogy described by Wattchow et al. (2008) and Ballantyne & Packer (2008) that offers exciting possibilities for values education. Values need to be taught explicitly, but in ways that allow students to see their relevance to their lives as part of a new social and ecological vision of reality.

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Chapter 54
Facilitating a Moral Journey in a University Setting for Managing an Age-Old Conflict in the Abrahamic Holy Land

Zehavit Gross

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse how combating exclusion and discrimination is constructed as a moral endeavour within a university setting. It presents the reactions of Israeli Jewish and Arab students to a specific incident that occurred during a university workshop and how management of the conflict can be perceived as a moral journey. The principal aim of the workshop is to encourage coexistence among the various groups comprising Israeli society in an atmosphere of cooperation, mutual understanding and social tolerance. It enables Israeli students to reflect productively on their role in a diverse society in an educational environment that respects difference. The three-part programme, designed for small groups of 20–25 students, consists of 12 weekly 1½-hour sessions offering hands-on learning, based on the personal experiences of its participants. It provides students with skills and techniques to enable them to operate within a multicultural context and to function within it as agents of change. Exercises are derived from the Anti Defamation League's "A World of Difference" programme, adapted to the needs of students experiencing the complex realities of the state of Israel.

This chapter describes and analyses one case study and shows how the process operates in practice. A case study can be used to investigate complex phenomena not yet theoretically described. It contributes to our knowledge of individuals, groups and uncharted phenomena (Yin, 2003). Yin argues that the case study method is appropriate when the goal is to uncover contextual conditions of a contemporary phenomenon and when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not evident (Yin, 2003, 2004). The goal is to produce an integrated, holistic description of real life events and to establish a framework for discussion and debate (Lovat, 2003). The workshop used what Sergiovanni (1984) calls reflective practice. In order to make students more aware of the inner processes they were undergoing in the classroom, they were asked to keep a reflective journal and describe and

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analyse their feelings after every lesson. The analysis below is based on students' journal descriptions ($n = 40$) of what occurred in class as well as 18 semi-structured interviews held with students a year after the workshop ended.

The point of departure of this chapter is that a university course can serve as a venue for experiential learning where civic engagement and moral education is studied and practised.

Experiential Learning in a University Setting

The workshop is an experiential learning programme, which provides students with the opportunity for cross-cultural interaction while learning first-hand about the Israeli–Palestine conflict. Each lesson begins with a trigger or a challenging question that enables the students to cope in real time with existential aspects of the conflict and to sense and experience the challenges that the conflict imposes upon the individual in real life. Learning through experience is a "process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience" (Kolb, 1984, p. 41). According to Jacobs (1999), experiential learning is "a process through which a learner constructs knowledge, skills, and value from direct experiences" (p. 51).

In his book *Experience and Education*, John Dewey (1939) analyses the importance of experience to the learning process. Experiential learning provides opportunities for students to be actively engaged in the learning process. Students can thus move away from being recipients of information. However, Dewey distinguishes between experiences that are worthwhile educationally and those that are not. He posits that "the belief that all genuine education comes about through experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative. Experience and education cannot be directly equated to each other. For some experiences are mis-educative. Any experience that has the effect of arresting or distorting the growth of further experience is mis-educative. An experience may be such as to engender callousness; it may produce lack of sensitivity and of responsiveness" (p. 13). Dewey relates to an "experiential continuum", through which one experience generates another experience (p. 17). He concludes that "the central problem of an education based upon experience is to select the kind of present experiences that live fruitfully and creatively in subsequent experiences" (p. 45). From this point of view, "every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after" (p. 27). Hence, every experience can be seen as a "moving force", whose "value can be judged only on the ground of what it moves towards and into" (p. 31).

A primary responsibility of educators is not only to be aware of the general principle of the shaping of actual experience, but also to recognize that experience should lead to growth. According to Dewey, experiences are pre-planned educational devices that consciously and intentionally utilize the potential embedded

within the social and physical surroundings of the individual to enhance specific educational ends meant to construct and deconstruct the individual's worldview, value system and moral code.

Cultivating Civic Education and Civic Awareness in a University Setting

One of the tasks of higher education is to take a leadership role and define the main challenges with which society has to cope. "All universities of the 21 century ... have to redefine their missions to include the needs and problems of the communities and society of which they are part" (Ladner, 1996, p. 22). Hollister, Wilson and Levine (2008) note that in the United States, there is a growing civic engagement movement in higher education, which is apparent in new programmes on civic engagement in university curricula.

Once, higher education was open mainly to the elite and high society. However, liberal concepts that stress equal opportunities and the right to education have opened the universities to diverse students from different backgrounds. Thus, the university has become a setting where diverse worldviews can meet on an equal footing. This enables university students to be considered agents of change, especially in the civic arena. Civic education (Ichilov, 2003) relates to the transmission of universalistic and democratic values such as tolerance, equality and freedom, along with particularistic national values (e.g., Jewish values, Islamic values). The university is a venue to enhance civic engagement through experiential learning and the cultivation of civic awareness.

Citizenship education is defined as including three distinct strands (Deakin Crick, 2008): moral and social responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. It is linked to the school ethos and organization, to values education and to the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of students. It should include key concepts, values and dispositions, skill and aptitudes, and knowledge and understanding. The skills in particular relate to cognitive and social learning processes while the values and dispositions relate to moral concerns.

Arnot (2009) claims that citizenship education today is torn between two contrasting tensions: what she calls the "disciplinary" and the "emancipatory". The initial disciplinary (sociological) stage concentrates mainly on relationships between society and education. At this stage, research focused mainly on the analysis of structures, processes and the multiplicities of culture and cultural identities. It concentrated mainly on relationships between schooling and national social structures, which Beck (2000) termed "methodological nationalism" (p. 64). This narrowed and confined the analysis to a specific territory that is run by a specific governance and politics. However, today we are in a different era where "national boundaries are challenged by international organizations and agendas". This has changed the frame of the discussion about "what education is and what it should be" (Arnot, 2009, p. 223).

The role of education on all levels is being transformed. Education systems in general and higher education specifically are expected to play a crucial role in the shaping of citizens in a national context (Cogan & Derricott, 2000). Arnot (2009) claims that "national concepts of citizenship are based on a concept of belonging that is fundamentally exclusionary". Therefore there is a threat that "citizenship education can become the political device with which social hierarchies and differentiations and power relations" are masked. Hence, there is a need for more "mature" citizenship education which is broader. Globalization breaks the boundaries of macro and micro and the categories of time and space, and "challenges existing classification and stratifications whilst generating new ones... The link between education and society has been reframed into the so-called North–South axis, linking each society to a new network of countries and hemispheres" (p. 224). Bauman (1998) posits that globalization is rapidly changing "the categories of national citizenship". This implies a promise for a better world based on the principle of human rights. Arnot (2009) claims that "in this reconceptualization, global citizens would be entitled to protection against violence, entitled to free expression about how the world society should be run, entitled to a cultural identity and a livelihood through employment" (p. 227). The new global citizen will have the opportunity to move to new locations outside the national political framework and engage with new responsibilities. Global citizenship education requires revised moral education as this process will entail a struggle against the destructive effects of individualization and reconstruct a new moral code based on common global values that enhance a universal notion of humanity and human rights. People will be "bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 295). Global citizenship is a concept that implies awareness of social diversity. Education for global citizenship will radically change worldviews and values that should be enhanced through education. Global citizenship education has the potential to serve as an option to overcome marginalization and exclusion and will cultivate caring for basic human rights of men and women.

Educational practices and school curricula reflect political and social processes (Apple, 2004). According to Foucault (1981), "any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledge and powers which they carry" (p. 64). Among its other functions, the education system, schools and in particular the curriculum, are powerful sites in which competing bodies of knowledge, identities and discourses are negotiated (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; Middleton, 1998; Mills, 1997). More specifically, education is a site in which conflicts are conceptualized and interpreted and thus in itself is a site for conflict. School realities reflect, materially and symbolically, many of the conflicts and power relations that are played out in the larger society, thus preparing the next generation for participation in these relations. The main tool to construct and deconstruct conflict experiences is through language. In the classroom, we need to pause and pay attention to the language we are using.

Language, according to Foucault, is the "direction of meaning". Thus, language hypothesizes a direct correspondence between signifier and signified; it pretends

itself to be mimetic of the world. In *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, Foucault (1977) continues his definition of discourse in terms of its effect. More than being merely a simple speech-act, he interprets discursive practices as both verbal and non-verbal means of manipulating and defining the hierarchy of power within a society. They are both tools and weapons. In Foucault's view, discursive practices are not purely and simply ways of producing discourse. They are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behaviour, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms, which, at once, impose and maintain them.

The Case

After a lesson (which is an integral part of the programme) in which, together with the students, I analysed the danger of stereotypes and prejudice (Gross, 2008), I told my students that I would like to continue to discuss the experience of exclusion, concentrating on its emotional aspect. I asked them if anyone in the class could give me an example of an incident where he or she was excluded.

After a long silence, one of my Arab students, Reem, started talking. She told us that she was looking for a part-time job and that last week she went to a big mall in the north of Israel and asked to work in a cosmetic shop. "When I entered the shop, the owner of the shop was very nice and even smiled at me" she said, "and asked how he could help me. I told him I was looking for a part-time job". Reem is a beautiful girl. Every shop selling cosmetics would be happy to have such an employee. But Reem continued, "When the owner of the shop heard my Arabic accent [which is very easy to identify], he immediately shook his head and said, 'I will tell you openly, I cannot employ Arabs here in my shop. After the last terrorist attack in this mall, whenever I employ Arabs I have problems: customers come to me complaining that I employed Arab terrorists'".

Tears came into Reem's eyes as she continued her story. "I told him 'Listen, I did national service for a year in a hospital in this area. I'm an Israeli citizen. I'm a student at the university. I need the money. This is racism, this is discrimination'. The shopkeeper shouted at me angrily, 'You are rude. Get out of my shop'. I was afraid he would hit me so I ran away. I was disappointed".

"Why are you so disappointed?" asked Yussuf, a tall Arab student in the class. "We will never be part of this country. I told you this last time as well. They resent us – we are all terrorists in their eyes".

Ronit, a Jewish, right-wing student, said, "Yes, they are right. Until you prove to us that you are loyal and reliable, you cannot be employed in our society. Your people – not you of course, we know you – are all terrorists or potential terrorists".

"This is rude", shouted Yael, a left-wing Jewish student in the class. "How can you confront Reem so brutally? Insulting someone is immoral. You are immoral, all the rightists are immoral and brutal. It's a pity you are in this country at all, you are a threat to our existence. I wish I didn't know you at all".

Ronit answered angrily, “Do you think you can leave an Arab alone in a shop in a mall? Would you like to be stuck with an Arab in an elevator?”

Reem was shocked. She said, “I can see that I’m excluded in this class as well. How can people talk that way in a university setting? If we don’t have a future in this country, there is no future for this country”.

The discussion came to a dead end. As a facilitator, I knew that it was better to stop one step before a catastrophe. I didn’t want them to experience, in Dewey’s terminology, an “uneducative experience” because it had the potential to create an uneducative succession or continuum of experiences. I asked Ron, the soldier, if he thought Reem had a future in our country. He said, “Honestly? The answer is no. They have many Arab countries and they should go there”. Hagit, a leftist student with a sense of humour, said to Reem, “Go on the internet and choose a new place for yourself”.

I thought this was an important point as it opened a new channel after we had come to a dead end. I told Hagit that this was an excellent point. To the class I said that I thought that they were old fashioned and limited, and thinking in old categories:

> Nowadays, new horizons are available to all of us, through the internet for instance. We are in an era of globalization. In the literature, we now talk about globalized citizenship: a person is not bound to a specific place and he can easily communicate with other locations throughout the world. The notion of space has changed and this has an impact on our perceptions. Reem is a very capable woman. She can easily find her way to another place where she will be respected as a human being and not treated as rudely as you are treating her here in this class. She is telling you about her grief and no one expressed any feeling of sorrow or compassion. Globalization opens new territories and new opportunities for us, perhaps even better opportunities with more decent people.

“What do you mean”, asked Ron, “that we are not decent?” I felt that for the Arab students the concept of global citizenship opened up new opportunities for hope and I thought that as a university teacher I should explicitly advocate for this concept. This came out of the blue. Through my gestures and expressions, the students could see that I was very angry. Usually I sit during the lessons, but this time I stood. I felt like a preacher. I felt I had to throw the concept into the air and in a way impose it upon them. “They have to understand that there are today more options”, I thought to myself. I was too emotional but very determined. The class was not prepared for this kind of conduct. Usually I’m very rational and analytical with them, but as they pushed the discussion to a dead end I felt I had to do something.

I could see in the eyes of the Arab students that they were relieved, though they didn’t say a word. I could see from their facial expressions that the religious Jewish students didn’t like this notion (two of them openly made faces) as it threatened their sense of “ownership”: “What do you mean?” asked Rachel. “We own this land.” The lesson ended without reaching agreement but I felt I had succeeded in suggesting a new path that we could return to in future lessons.

After this incident, the notion of exclusion was not raised again in the classroom in any form. This hadn’t happened to me in previous years. Usually, the students kept raising exclusionary suggestions until the end of the course (sometimes even in the last lesson), whereas in this group, after I raised the notion of global citizenship,

something in the classroom atmosphere changed. I don't know if this was the result of my anger, the determination I conveyed, my "preaching" at them, or the new concept of global citizenship which I threw out, or perhaps all these components together. The fact that I validated the concept from the literature also strengthened the "authority" of the message.

For me, this concept was a new direction. I didn't have enough time to elaborate on it and I thought to do so later, if another opportunity arose. The concept hinted at a new horizon. I think that my tone set a certain atmosphere and conveyed the message of "enough" to the students. In retrospect, I don't like the idea that I was preaching in a didactive manner rather than constructing this concept together with the students. But it gave me an idea for future facilitation, which I plan to employ systematically with future groups.

As facilitators, we experience ups and downs in the classroom and when we reach a dead end, we seek verbal solutions. We don't have any real guidelines as to what to do or say when we are pushed towards a dead end in an intercultural dialogue with conflict groups. We have to be spontaneous, use our knowledge and common sense. As a university teacher, I think we have a great opportunity to expose our students to new concepts, even concepts that have visionary messages rather than empirical proofs.

Understanding the Context

It is well known that learning is always situated in specific cultural and social contexts. Accordingly, learning should never be isolated, something that takes place only within an individual, because learning is inherent in ongoing interaction with a social, cultural and physical environment. Bruner (1996) stresses that learning is a "complex pursuit of fitting a culture to the needs of its members and of fitting its members and their ways of knowing to the needs of the culture" (p. 42). "Therefore, learning is not an island but the continent of culture" (p. 12). This story cannot be simply analysed as a story of exclusion and the result of stereotypes ("all Arabs are terrorists"). It should be understood within the unique Israeli context in which there is a constant violent conflict between Arabs and Jews (see also Sagy, 2006). Specific contexts shape the conditions for the kind of learning that can take place. In a way, the workshop is a form of situated learning where what we study in the classroom can be understood only in this specific setting. The Israeli setting, where stereotypes are learned, serves as a venue for the cultural and social situatedness of learning. Lave and Wagner (1991) claim that "learning must not be seen simply as the acquisition of knowledge by individuals but as a process of social participation in a community of practice" (p. 98). Most researchers view learning as an activity that involves objective abstract knowledge acquisition. However, Lave and Wagner describe learning as a function of the activity, context and culture in which it occurs. The workshop discussed here is constructed as a community of practice where students study how to become part of a multicultural society.

Challenging the Students' Frame of Reference

In their reflective journals, the students referred to stereotypes in three different modes: social, behavioural and moral. They viewed the elimination of stereotypes as a social issue, i.e., "If they want to become effective citizens they should avoid stereotypes" or "Anti-racist behaviour is crucial for the maintenance of civic society". Regarding the behavioural aspect, they wrote, "How can you behave in such a rude manner and call all the Arabs terrorists?" or "Using stereotypes is not aesthetic. It is inappropriate behaviour, like throwing mud in your friend's face". On the moral level, the students responded on a very personal level and said explicitly that the use of stereotypes was immoral: "How can you blame all of them and lump them in one category? This is shameful and immoral". Some of them also mentioned the "need to cultivate awareness of basic values of human dignity".

During the sessions, the moral aspect was the dominant factor; however, in their journals, the behavioural aspect was more prominent. This stems from the fact that the fear of a public display of racism can lead to aggressive racism. The public declaration is an integral part of the clarification (Raths, Harmin, & Simon, 1966; Simon, 1976). The transition from the individual choice towards the implementation of the value starts when the individual is willing to affirm the choice publicly.

The Course as a Moral Journey

Towards the end of the workshop, the students attested that their willingness to implement the messages of the workshop was a moral decision rather than the product of cognitive knowledge. This is what makes the learning process a moral endeavour:

> I must admit that at the beginning of the year I was very skeptical about this course and its effectiveness. I firmly believe that there is no solution to the Israeli–Arab conflict yet I think something has to be changed in our attitude to the Arabs. It is very easy to see all of them as killers as if all of them are hiding a big knife in their pocket, yet after the meetings we had in this course, and I attended all the meetings, when I saw the Arab students' human side where they told us their personal stories as human beings, I feel pity for them and I feel that I have to treat them differently. It is not moral to generalize and see all of them as the .... We must be more tolerant and more attentive to their needs as a minority, which, like us, is trapped on the same piece of land. We are the sons of Abraham. Only now have I realized this.

In the reactions of the students (both Arabs and Jews), three distinct groups could be identified: the racists, the politically correct and the humanists. The racists made comments such as "all Arabs are terrorists"; "all Arabs are liars – you can't believe a word they say"; "all the Jews are killers and oppressors." The second group, the politically correct, were afraid to expose their deeper racist feelings for fear of public rebuke (this was the largest group which showed a discrepancy between what they said in class and what they later wrote in their reflective journals). The third group

was extremely human and tried not to insult or offend because of a humanistic ethic. Their consideration was concern for the future of society:

> At the end of the day, we are human beings. Once I met Fatima at the gate of the university. She didn't have a car and neither did I. She needed a lift – it was getting dark she lived very close to where I live. "Can we get on the same lift?" I asked myself. She knew she could not so she said she would try the other entrance to the university. It was getting cold and dark. I pitied her on a very human basis. She is a woman like me and both of us needed help.

The infusion of anti-racist education and an anti-racist atmosphere in the classroom provides a venue in which diversity is structurally incorporated into the curriculum and the natural discourse. The more racist students made particularistic and sometimes selfish and childish statements, whereas the less racist students responded on a higher level and related to society or humanity. These groups can perhaps be examined in light of Kohlberg's (1971) pre-conventional (the racists), conventional (politically correct) and post-conventional (the humanists) dimensions but this needs further investigation in future research.

Transformational Change Within a University Setting

After the lesson described above, I felt that if I wanted it to have any impact on the students, I would have to think in terms of a transformational change. The focus of transformational change in citizenship education is "the creation of a powerful vision and the deep-seated reshaping of the mindset, values and behaviour of professional and lay leaders" (Bidol Padva, 2008, p. 473) about how citizenship education functions and how it relates to lifelong learning. I felt that I had to invest effort in this direction. Itin (1999) believes that in order for the universities to be more influential in preparing future leadership, there has to be an educational system and educational approaches that model and support new visions (p. 94).

Transformation only occurs if a new reality is created for relating to substantive issues and engagement (Bidol Padva, 2008, p. 473). Transformative change processes must respond to emerging challenges and opportunities with carefully thought-out corrections for both the action goals and implementation steps (ibid.). Therefore, I think that experiential learning was a very important method in this setting as the students were confronted with real life challenges. Evans (1994) relates to the importance of experiential learning: "Part of its significance lies at the point where the activities in the world of formal education and the work-a-day world of employment meet" (p. 3). If it has an educative message, this experience can cultivate what Dewey calls a "continuum (of positive) experiences" thus having transformative power.

According to Bidol Padva (2008), transformational change initiatives must address three factors:

> (1) substantive areas to be changed (e.g. curriculum, organizational design, staffing patterns); (2) people (mindset, behaviors, cultural changes required to achieve the desired

> substantive changes); and (3) processes (actions used to plan, design, and implement) . . . a set of concepts and approaches that mobilize organizations and communities. (p. 474)

In this course, I concentrated mainly on the second factor. As a facilitator, I found the concept of globalized citizenship very useful as a means to create a new vision and open up the discussion in new moral directions. The multiplicity of perspectives expressed by the students shows that perhaps the employment of what Yuval-Davis (1999) calls transversal citizenship that recognizes other identities alongside the preservation of a group's uniqueness and particularistic needs and, at the same time, negotiates and engages in dialogue with other competing identities that exist around them, is one of the main challenges that can foster this transformational change. In this way, the participants will be able to maintain and preserve their own identity while opening up to new horizons.

Conclusion

I don't think that I succeeded in creating a transformational change – this is too ambitious for a one-semester university course – yet I think that this case suggests how to try and lead a discussion that came to a dead end into new paths. I think that in my next conflict resolution group, this will be my starting point when exclusionary or racist discourse begins (and, unfortunately, I am sure this will occur).

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Chapter 55
Theorizing Social Wellbeing: Subjective Mental States, Preference Satisfaction or Mitsein?

Stephen Webb

Introduction

> Human happiness never remains long in the same place. (Herodotus, 1998, Book I, v)

How do we locate values education in a wider social, cultural and political milieu? What designated or latent mechanisms, ideologies and aspirations feed into the values education perspective? In this chapter an argument is made for positioning the concept of wellbeing as a central construct that shapes many of the assumptions that underpin values education. Indeed, more strongly, it is suggested that for values education to have any conceptual integrity or operational veracity it necessarily requires a formal engagement with the strictures of wellbeing as a multi-dimensional configuration. In *Happiness and Education,* Nel Noddings (2003) goes some way to forging this connection in arguing that happiness and education should co-exist and be taken seriously by values educationalists.

The standard definition of wellbeing refers to the condition or state of being well, contented and satisfied with life. As an interdisciplinary concept it is theoretically complex, but nonetheless has much to offer as a potential indicator of the strength and values of modern societies. Wellbeing offers a comparative base from which to contrast different geo-political, economic contexts and social trends. Empirical studies on wellbeing as happiness, changing values and life satisfaction are also helpful in countering some of the common myths and assumptions we hold about our contemporary state of affairs. A warmly persuasive concept it is likely that wellbeing will become more and more embedded in both public policy and everyday talk.[1] On both left and right political spectrums it is recognized

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[1]The Australia Institute recently produced ‘A manifesto for wellbeing’ that takes as its starting point “the belief that governments in Australia should be devoted to improving our individual and social wellbeing.” http://www.wellbeingmanifesto.net/index.htm

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as a term that resonates with what people care about, aspire to and reflect upon. Unlike other concepts that are wholly negative or set within limit type expectations wellbeing has the capacity to inspire transformational agendas. Nevertheless, as an adaptive and mimetic concept it is in need of close theoretical and methodological scrutiny in order to ascertain its leverage for public policy and understanding its potential for values education. At a theoretical level because it is a multi-dimensional concept rather than just talking about wellbeing in every case, for instance, we need to specify its objects, as they relate to time, space and structure. Marilyn Strathern (1991) has described the "integratory capacity" (p. 15) of summary concepts such as wellbeing in having a tendency to evoke an image of integration which nonetheless fails to encompass the diversity of possible experiences. Wellbeing is no more speculative than any other multi-dimensional concept, but neither is it something that is empirically given. Thus, at a methodological level we need to examine the reliability and validity of the different approaches in explaining its determining and determinate features. A focus on the notion of "subjective wellbeing" used in social indicator research can be particularly instructive in this endeavour.

The chapter addresses three interrelated elements in theorizing wellbeing. The first are diagnostic; how far have different formulations of wellbeing HAVE taken us in providing an adequate theorization that is supported by reliable methods and empirical data. In developing this ground clearing it is argued that the *two* central perspectives that attempt to explain subjective wellbeing as either (i) a construct of mental states or (ii) a case of preference satisfaction are one-sided and should be treated with caution. Against both the psychometric approach of social indicator research *and* the measurement-theoretic of economic science a more grounded sociological approach is advanced that draws on phenomenology. It is for this reason that wellbeing is prefaced with the adjective "social" in the title of this chapter. The second is *analytical*; what does the cultural turn in wellbeing research and policy tell us about the changing nature of social values in advanced modern societies. In sketching out this analytical terrain two very different variants of postmodernism are set against each other; those of Ronald Inglehart and Jean Baudrillard. If we take the significance of the cultural dimension as a given for such societies this permits the juxtaposition of two potentially tense perspectives of wellbeing; the postmaterialist cultural values of Inglehart *against* the postmodern cultural semiotic approach of Baudrillard. In setting up this tension important insights can be gleaned about mutually reinforcing elements of academic research and popular culture. The third and final element is *reconstructive*; in identifying theoretic and methodological weakness, especially those associated with the subjective wellbeing paradigm, an alternative mode of thinking is offered. This reconstructive exercise produces on the argument for a "social turn" in wellbeing studies against the prevailing cultural preoccupations. Concomitant to this is a principled foregrounding of "we-relationships" or *Mitsein* for any adequate articulation of social wellbeing. From this vantage point it is claimed that ontologically, social wellbeing is simultaneously both singular and plural.

Postmaterialist Culture Shift and Subjective Mental States

World-wide interest in social indicators of life quality, including citizens' perceptions of their own wellbeing, has inspired a number of major sample surveys over the past 20 years. There is an immense amount of data generated about the effects of demographic variables of age, sex, education, occupation and the rest which are normally included as the causes and correlates of wellbeing in social surveys. Over 10,000 articles have now been published on the concept of happiness and/or subjective wellbeing (Johns & Ormerod, 2008). To measure levels of subjective wellbeing, happiness and the level of satisfaction with life are used as a whole scale to create a "Subjective Wellbeing Index" (Inglehart, 1997). This comparatively new kind of standard psychometric indicator – regular measures of a population's subjective wellbeing – is often referred to as "life satisfaction" or "happiness" rating scales. Subjective wellbeing is a measure of internal mental states and is only indirectly social. As a modality of self-affirmation or otherwise subjective measures of wellbeing have subsequently been incorporated into international academic research programmes, and have generated a large and distinguished literature, linking the work of sociologists, cognitive psychologists, political scientists, neuroscientists and economists.

One of the most significant social indicator research tools is the World Values Survey (http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/). A growing body of evidence indicates that sustainable and deep-rooted changes in world views are taking place. These changes seem to be reshaping economic, political and social life in societies around the world. The most important body of evidence comes from the World Values Surveys (WVS), which have measured the values and beliefs of the publics on all six inhabited continents in 1981, 1990, 1995, 2001 and 2007. WVS was designed under the umbrella of "intergenerational value change" theory (Inglehart, 1997) to explore changes in mass belief systems in a multination context. The WVS includes questions on happiness and satisfaction with life as a whole (Rojas, 2007). In 1981 the WVS was made possible by more than 60,000 participants in 43 societies, mirroring 70% of the world's population. On the surface the wellbeing evidence generated by these indicator surveys is robust and significant. Inglehart, Foa, Peterson, and Welzel (2008) note the following:

> During the past 26 years, the World Values Surveys have asked more than 350,000 people how happy they are. Across scores of countries, 97% of the people have answered the question. This is an exceptionally high response rate, which suggests that people understand the question and can readily answer it (p. 264).

Following on the development of WVS a corresponding European Social Survey (the ESS) was launched in 2003 (www.europeansocialsurvey.org). This is an academically driven social survey designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of its diverse populations.

What is the theoretical basis for the huge upsurge of research and policy interest in subjective wellbeing? To a large extent much of this rests on what is called

the postmaterialist turn which emphasizes an ongoing transformation of individual values in society which gradually frees them from the stress of basic acquisitive or materialistic needs. Postmaterialism adopts an explicit value orientation that emphasizes self-expression and quality of life over economic and material security.[2] Ronald Inglehart's (1997) classic studies are important precursors to this theorization of wellbeing as cultural value. In a series of highly influential writings, Inglehart argued that postmaterialism would replace the political cleavages of class, ethnicity and religion. In coining the term postmaterialist human development he focused on two stages of development; (i) the modernization and (ii) the postmodernization period. A central claim of his developmental thesis is that all societies will reach a point of diminishing returns, which initiates a culture shift. Rising educational levels, occupational specialization, urbanization and bureaucratization marked the industrialization phase. "These are core elements of a trajectory that is generally called Modernization" (p. 7). In addition, certain advancements and sociopolitical and technical changes in industrialized societies, coupled with the safety net of the modern welfare state, are contained in his theory of Modernization. The modernization process in a society is reckoned to increase the economic and political capabilities of nations. In the materially affluent industrial societies of the 1970s, the marginal utility of further material accumulation was declining and postmaterial interest preferences were gaining in relative significance. Inglehart tracks the development of this postmodernization phase over the past 25 years. This new phase signals a focus away from maximizing economic gain to new personal values, such as maximizing individual wellbeing, and is made possible because the need of security and economic stability is generally fulfilled in advanced modern societies. With this culture shift the main orientation and focus in the postmodernization stage is the "shift away from both religion and state to the individual, with increasing focus on individual concern such as friends and leisure" (p. 74), quality of life and the importance of individual self-expression. Inglehart writes as follows:

> In the Postmodernization phase of development, emphasis shifts from maximizing economic gains to maximizing subjective well-being. This gives rise to another major dimension of cross-cultural variation, on which a wide range of orientations are structured. Postmaterialist values are a central element in this broader Postmodern syndrome (As cited in Norris, 1999, p. 238).

In this account, both modernization and postmodernization are linked with economic development. A large body of survey evidence showed that economic and technological change tends to bring about coherent patterns of social and political change, but also crucially a cultural change that had previously been ignored

[2] Amartya Sen's capability approach was influential in bringing discussions of wellbeing back into economics. "Instead of looking just at whether people get pleasure from their consumption choices, it directs us to look at whether societies, and societal consumption patterns, would permit people to live healthy lives, in harmony with each other and nature." (Neva, Nelson, Ackerman, & Weisskopf, 2007) In *Development as Freedom* (1999), Sen included freedom as an essential ingredient of wellbeing, but in later work also conceived of wellbeing *as* freedom: freedom to lead a life that one has reason to value, actualized as achievement.

in social indicator research. A key finding in the subjective wellbeing index is that increases in income in developed countries have not lead to increases in measured happiness, and thus governments should concentrate on redistribution and improving the quality of life, rather than on allowing people to benefit from economic growth (Inglehart, 1997; Easterlin, 2002). Nations do not get happier over time as they get richer. This does not mean that income growth has become irrelevant to subjective wellbeing. Rather people in advanced capitalist economies have become so used to growing incomes that such growth is now a necessary condition for their wellbeing even to remain constant, rather than to fall. Hence cultural values, as reflexive mental states, have increasingly come to the fore given that material wealth is no longer the key indicator of the health of a person. Inglehart argued that cultural patterns had been neglected and found coherent differences between the belief and value systems of rich and poor countries. He also identified a significant shift in orientations towards authority and the legitimacy accorded to different types of authority structure. If modernization brings a shift from traditional-religious authority towards rational-bureaucratic authority and the modern state, then postmodernization represents a shift away from both traditional and state authority.

The postmaterialist worldview emphasizes self-expression, rather than deference to authority (Norris, 1999). Inglehart says this is "linked with declining acceptance of rigid religious norms concerning sex and reproduction, and a diminishing need for absolute rules. It also reflects a growing rejection of bureaucratic authority" (as cited in Norris, 1999, p. 239). Attenuation to aspects of subjective wellbeing, according to Inglehart, is part and parcel of broad democratization processes, and particularly the ability to exercise free choice, at work in modern societies (Inglehart et al., 2008, p. 276). Increasingly wellbeing is considered a more important subjective variable in measuring quality of life than economic factors. Easterlin (2005) argues that research on happiness should not just focus on economic growth, but also on noneconomic aspects of wellbeing. By noneconomic he means subjective mental states that relate to a sense of wellbeing and personal worth. Economic growth does make a positive contribution to subjective wellbeing but it is the weakest of the four main factors. While economic factors almost certainly have a strong impact on wellbeing in low-income countries at higher levels of development cultural factors come into play. Here people increasingly emphasize; (i) freedom of choice, (ii) opportunities for self-expression, (iii) individual autonomy and (iv) the extent to which they live in a tolerant society (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Furthermore, "societies in which people report high levels of happiness and life satisfaction have less corrupt governments and higher levels of gender equality" (Inglehart et al., 279).[3]

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[3]Butovsky (2002) argues that post-materialism is historically contingent. "Post-materialism did not become a major force in European and North American politics in terms of the structuring of citizens' beliefs or in driving the issues agenda. Butovsky uses the case of contemporary Canada to show that post-materialism had little lasting impact in at least one major Western democracy.

Given the huge volume of research outputs that examine the nature and impact of the postmaterialist culture shift thesis it would be impossible to do justice to the range and scope of this material. The above discussion draws attention to the centrality of subjective wellbeing and the relation between culture and values, initiated by Inglehart's postmaterialist theory and highlights the major approaches to the universal value orientation frameworks. It gives a flavour to the massive cross-national evidence generated, the central tenets of postmaterialism and the changing value trends by way of setting the scene for critical engagement in the sections that follow. The next section begins this in identifying various methodological weaknesses associated with subjective wellbeing measures.

Methodological Problems Associated with Subjective Wellbeing Measures

The two main approaches to measuring wellbeing are (1) the subjective wellbeing index, which utilizes psychometric techniques, as discussed above and (2) the measurement-theoretic perspective in economic science that measures preference satisfaction. Both make very different conceptual and methodological claims about the nature of wellbeing. Erik Angner (2005a, 2005b) shows that the most common argument against subjective measures of wellbeing comes from the measurement-theoretic perspective, with its emphasis on observable orderings and representation theorems. It claims the degree to which people are happy or satisfied cannot be measured, whereas preference satisfaction can. The adoption of a preference satisfaction account of wellbeing was part of the economists' project of showing that references to mental states were unnecessary. The main argument against subjective measures, "rests on an empirical premise, viz. that people's choices in fact satisfy the axioms of rational choice theory" (2005b, p. 3). Angner shows that both approaches have significant flaws in their ability to measure wellbeing. For the purpose of this chapter we shall stay with the methodological issues relating to subjective wellbeing given it is the dominant perspective. Angner (2005b) says that if the measurement-theoretic "argument is sound and mental states do not permit the development of adequate measures, the whole 'science of happiness' would suffer a devastating blow. That is, it would seem that subjective measures could not legitimately be used to identify the determinants and distribution of well-being" (p. 4). Angner (2005b) outlines the measurement-theoretic argument against subjective wellbeing measures as follows:

(1) Measurement requires the existence of an observable ordering.
(2) The (observable) choices of economic agents constitute such an ordering.

Since Canada ranks high in the correlates of post-materialism – it has an educated and affluent population – the salience of post-materialism in Canada should also be high." (2002, p. 15)

(3) The (observable) choices of economic agents reflect their preferences, in the sense that A is chosen over B just in case A is preferred over B.
(4) There is no corresponding ordering in the case of the measurement of happiness, *satisfaction, and* so on (pp. 25–26).

Claims (1) and (4) together imply that degrees of happiness cannot be measured. Meanwhile, claims (1) through (3) imply that degrees of preference satisfaction can, given that measurement requires the existence of observable ordering. Researchers on subjective wellbeing themselves acknowledge there are serious shortcomings in providing measures that can be adequately validated. Schwarz and Strack (1999) write: "Reports of subjective well-being (SWB) do not reflect a stable inner state of well-being. Rather, they are judgments that individuals form on the spot, based on information that is chronically or temporarily accessible at that point in time, resulting in pronounced context effects" (p. 61). Angner suggests that choice preferences are a much more reliable indicator of wellbeing than subjective mental states reports.

Johns and Ormerod's (2008) polemic against happiness studies pushes the methodological critique further. They note that:

> . . .there is no correlation in time series data between reported happiness levels and a whole series of factors which might reasonably be thought to affect well-being: income, public spending, longevity, gender equality, and income inequality – even the incidence of depression in a population (p. 141).

Time series happiness data is in general indistinguishable from a purely random series. This leads Johns and Ormerod to conclude that "The autocorrelation function is flat and has no statistically significant individual values. In turn, this implies that it not possible to carry out systematically accurate forecasts of this variable" (p. 142). With regard to the properties of the surveys as they are constructed (e.g., 1 not happy, 2 fairly happy), they suggest that:

> . . .people have to undergo large discrete change in their happiness in order for this to be registered by the indicator; and once they have reached the top category they officially can't experience any further increase in their happiness. As a consequence, noticeable changes in average happiness can only come about through substantial numbers of people moving *category* (p. 141).

Johns and Ormerod (2008) reach the bleak conclusion that from the lack of correlation over time between aggregate happiness and almost any other socio-economic variable of interest we are left with one or two outcomes: (1) Either that attempting to improve the human lot through economic or social policy is futile or (2) that happiness data over time is an extremely insensitive measure of wellbeing (p. 145). Tranter and Western (2004) take a different methodological tack in focusing on Inglehart's subjective wellbeing measure as an indicator of postmaterial value change. As part of a growing body of critical analyses on the value shift thesis, they take issue with Inglehart on methodological grounds, arguing that a question ordering problem of how much culture shift has occurred is extant in Inglehart's

longer (12-item) values index. They found that in Australia "the proportion of post-materialists relative to materialists tends to be overstated using the longer values index. Our findings suggest that Inglehart's strategy of comparing values estimates based upon the short and long indexes is an unreliable method of measuring the shift in value orientations, and leads to incorrect claims about the rate of value change over time" (p. 2). In revealing problems of question ordering effects in the survey design, Tranter and Western's single case study suggests that the WVS data misrepresents the magnitude of any values shift that may be occurring. The authors recommend that subjective wellbeing measures should not be based on aggregate happiness data over time, but on longitudinal data, which tracks specific individuals over time.[4]

In the light of these methodological concerns relating to subjective wellbeing the section that follows broadens the discussion to identify an even looser set of rhetorical devices that are at play in the construction of wellbeing. By taking the methodological considerations in tandem with overlapping intellectual and popular registers we can situate the overarching parameters of wellbeing in the contemporary mix.

Individualism, New Age Psychology and Cultural Semiotics

Much of popular talk about wellbeing is self-indulgent. With this claim I wish to draw out two separate but related lines of critique as a means of locating both theoretic and popular articulations of wellbeing within what is referred to as the "philosophy of desire" (Butler, 1999).

First, as a defining feature of a solipsistic self, wellbeing is a search for attainment that satisfies the production of desire. In this sense wellbeing is not just a static measure that refers to the condition or state of being well as satisfied with life but is also anticipatory. This reflexive, desiring subject tries incessantly to track down through various sources of the self missing object(s) that will fill one's lack and turn one into a whole human being. The impossibility of fulfilling this desire leads to ever increasing demands for new sources of satisfaction and a spiralling escalation of reflective wants. Much of this is carried on in terms of rights claims with the celebration of diversity and difference as its key postmodern leitmotif (Webb, 2009). However, with wellbeing, by definition, you never have all of it. Inevitably, something will be lacking and there is always something more to be had. In "Happiness after 9/11", Žižek (2002) points out that happiness is predicated on a lack of something – if happiness is the cessation (or "betrayal" as he puts it) of desire, then the desire for something constantly undermines the possibility of happiness. Here desire can be understood as the discrepancy between need and

[4] From a similar angle based on a case study on Germany from 1973 to 1992, Klein (1995) criticizes the one-dimensional way of measuring value change. He concluded that there is only a relative change in value orientation and no general linear trend in absolute value changes towards Postmaterialism.

demand. In this vogue Jacques Lacan insists upon the psychoanalytic inevitability of dissatisfaction.

Research bears this out showing that our expectations always rise as fast as our situations improve, with satisfaction afterwards quickly levelling out. After a period of adjustment, individuals return to their baseline levels of wellbeing, leaving humanity on a "hedonic treadmill" (Brickman & Campbell, 1981; Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999; Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwartz, & Stone, 2004). Inglehart (1990) confirms the philosophy of lack in defining subjective wellbeing "what is valued is related to what is scarce – and one is motivated to seek it by a sense of dissatisfaction" (p. 212). In economic terms a person's idea of the minimum satisfactory level keeps on growing (in a growing economy?) so that one is forever chasing a receding target. Thus, desire comes to signify the impossibility of a coherent subject, where the subject is understood as insatiably self-determining. Partly in response to this psychoanalytic nihilism much of the wellbeing literature increasingly reflects a positive accentuation with happiness, fulfilment or satisfaction by connecting it to democratic freedoms and choices. "Make me happy" becomes the consumptive mantra. In this sense the benchmark of wellbeing is not only counterfactual but also necessarily has a "fictitious character", rooted in hopes, dreams and aspirations until such time as wellbeing is actually realized. The desiring self fastens on to aspirations of wellbeing as part of an accumulative process that never quite happens. Increasingly, with these philosophies of desire (from Hegel to Freud, Lacan and Levinas) the foregrounding of the self has come to assume a general ontological status whereby not only the "unity" or "internal integrity" of the consuming subject is conditioned, but the unity and integrity of any human being. In such cases the unified subject has come to be a theoretical requirement, not only for the wellbeing of an individual but for the more ambitious attempts to secure a preestablished metaphysical location for *the wellbeing of the human subject*. That "the self of being is well" establishes the universal marker to be attained. Increasingly, every product of self has its own imagined wellbeing involved as part of a personal journey.

The second line connects the relationship between wellbeing and the negative trends in societal individualism. Modern individualism is what Charles Taylor (1991) refers to as one of the significant components in the malaise of modernity, with the primacy of instrumental reason; and the danger of "soft despotism" as the second and third. Taylor writes that "the individual lost something important along with the larger social and cosmic horizons of action" – as mere individuals no longer part of anything greater, we "no longer have a sense of purpose, of something worth dying for" (p. 3). Individualism causes "a centring on the self, which both flattens and narrows our lives, making them poorer in meaning, and less concerned with others or society" (p. 4). With individualism relationships are instrumentally approached more in terms of profit and loss – what they might yield to the individual – rather than as part of living. Typically, individualistic societies are ones in which people live in nuclear or one-parent families, children are supposed to take care of themselves as soon as possible, privacy is normal, there are weak family ties, children learn to think in terms of "I", marriages are supposed to be love based, there are more divorces, media is the main source of information

and the self-concept is idiocentric. The wellbeing literature, particularly psychometric versions is indicative of the individualism which Taylor refers to as "soft relativism". This is based on the principle that perceptions are based on a real substratum and that there is a correspondence between inner mental states and external needs. It rests on the notion that since we are all self-determining individuals, "one ought not to challenge another's values. That is their concern, their life choice, and it ought to be respected" (pp. 13–14). The slogan "I have a right to my wellbeing" is symptomatic, whereby individuals are called upon to be "true to their selves" and to progressively seek their own self-fulfilment. "What matters most in my life, is my life", and my subjective wellbeing through the fulfilment of personal aspirations.

At this juncture it is appropriate to initiate the discussion of the postmodern cultural semiotics of the French sociologist Jean Baudrillard as both a critical explication of the cult of wellbeing and a counterpoint to the postmodern ethics of Inglehart and postmaterialism. Before outlining his thesis on the relationship between happiness and the logic of exchange value in consumer societies it is worth taking a quick glimpse at some of the pop psychology material that proliferates. As we shall see the fact that wellbeing trades so successfully on deeply philosophical concepts such as being (*Dasein*) and being-with (*Mitsein*) is an ironic indicator of the way that high culture is overturned by what Adorno called the culture industry in advanced modern societies.[5]

There has been an explosion of New Age psychology "self-help" manuals to feed the culture of narcissism (Lasch, 1979). Anything from "happiness tips", "personal growth plans", "overcoming personal debt", "emotional wellbeing", "dealing with depression", "ecosystems", "diet for true wellbeing", "spirituality and spa tourism", "colonic wellbeing and neuroscience" and "manicured inspired wellbeing" give a flavour of what can be found at your local book store. Women, in particular, appear to be a prime target audience for the health and diet wellbeing DIY self-help manuals.[6] In *The Goddess Guide to Chakra Vitality,* Anita Ryan-Revel (2006) says:

> A woman who is connected with her inner goddess is one who truly loves every aspect of herself in all senses – physically, mentally and emotionally. She never concedes her values, and chooses only to honour that which is *right for her well-being* and for the greatest good of all (p. 4. Italics added).

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[5] Adorno in *The Culture Industry* (2001) analysed the commodification of popular cultural forms under capitalist production. High culture, like any other form, loses its critical capacity, because it is treated like simply any other object, devoid of any oppositional tendencies to capitalism. Adorno is unswervingly critical of the banality, docility and superficiality of mass culture.

[6] The gender differences in WVS type surveys do not unravel the minutiae of constitutive social practices of wellbeing. If you ask working class males between the ages of 15–35 living in Newcastle in the north of England what is the single defining variable that contributes most to their sense of wellbeing they will probably tell you that it is the success of their local football team.

For Ryan-Revel "goddess energy empowers" every major aspect of wellbeing for women. Close to where I live there is a company called "Bien Etre Beauty Salon" which advertises that "'Bien Etre', which is French for wellbeing, is committed to providing services and treatments of the highest standard in a professional and nurturing way. 'Bien-Etre' offers Hawaiian Kahuna Bodywork, AVEDA Beauty Treatments and Cosmetic Well-Being Products." You can buy pamphlets like "The Body is the Barometer of the Soul: So be your own Doctor" at these places. Government agencies are not immune from this sort of wellbeing hype. The Australian Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (*CSIRO*) developed the 12 week "Total Wellbeing Diet" (Noakes & Clifton, 2005) marketed as "How many diets have you tried that haven't worked for you? The Total Wellbeing Diet is not just another diet, but a long-term eating plan that can make you feel good." The Cartesian logic at work here is that if you look good outside you will feel good inside. Wellbeing as a semiotic category of the good life is increasingly mass-produced and mass-marketed like any other industrial product. In some instances it is the *actual products* of wellbeing that become a sign of one's happiness, success or affluence. By digging deep into the postmodern "economy of signs" in *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign* (1981); *America* (1988); *Cool Memories* (1990); and *The Vital Illusion* (2000), Baudrillard explodes the hyper-reality behind the cult of wellbeing.

Baudrillard (1998) caustically notes in *The Consumer Society* that the whole discourse on happiness is based on "naïve anthropology of the natural propensity towards happiness which in present day parlance is the absolute reference for consumption" (p. 49). His central premise is that the logic of exchange value in consumption has rendered all activities equal. Distinction through goods is impossible because they all essentially signify the same thing – simply as "objects to be consumed".[7] You are never consuming the object itself but always manipulating objects as a means of semiotically distinguishing yourself in a status group, affiliation or ideal reference point. Self-construction, self-expression and self-fulfilment have, to an unprecedented extent, become a matter of product choices and acts of consumption. It is very easy to discern the bubble economics of global recession and credit crunch as figuring centrally in all of this. Baudrillard goes on to claim that the ideology of wellbeing is a vehicle for the myth of formal equality thus "the complementary myth of wellbeing and needs have a powerful ideological function of reducing, of eliminating the objective, social and historical determinations of inequality" (p. 51). By emphasizing choice and denying interpersonal comparisons, discussion of wealth and poverty fades away. In discussing the "Revolution of Well-Being" Baudrillard is particularly scathing about happiness research studies, underpinned, ironically, by a type of calculating reason. Happiness has to be measurable. "It has to be well-being measurable in terms of objects and signs; it

[7] This reminds of incident that took place on the first meeting between Jacques Lacan and Martin Heidegger in 1950, where upon being invited to dinner at Heidegger's house in Freiburg, they were just finishing up on dessert when Heidegger turned to Lacan and ironically said "Eat up your Dasein". Clearly this was an injunction for Lacan to consume his "being-there".

has to be a comfort as Tocqueville put it" (p. 49). The state of inner happiness actually experienced by people is not susceptible to external measurement. "Real happiness" as inner joy is the sort of happiness which is "independent of the signs which could manifest it to others ... which has no need of *evidence* is excluded from the outset from the consumer ideal in which happiness is first and foremost, the demand for equality (or distinction, of course), and must always signify with "regard" to visible criteria" (p. 49). This hyper-real happiness built out of consumption is "based on individualistic principles, fortified by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen which explicitly recognize the right to Happiness of everyone (of each individual)" (p. 49). As Marx (1844) pointed out none of the rights of man go beyond the egoistic man, "a man separated from the community, withdrawn into himself and wholly preoccupied with his private interest and caprice" (p. 12). For Baudrillard, wellbeing as consumption is a class institution. "Not only is there inequality before object in the economic sense ... but more deeply, there is radical discrimination in the sense that only some people achieve mastery of an autonomous, rational logic of the elements of the environment" (p. 59). He agrees it is not about a shortage of goods to consume, but *knowing how to* consume that is a chief marker of class distinction. Thus there are reflexive winners and losers in the personal growth, autonomy and fulfilment game of subjective wellbeing. The self-help manuals universally ignore social class and inequality, but their interpolation of wellbeing as a horizontally flat marker of distinction is reflexive of the extent to which it mimetically operates on everyday aspirations in entirely individualistic ways.

Baudrillard's political economy of wellbeing refutes the postmaterialist argument that a culture shift in values occurs because we are gradually freed from stresses of basic acquisitive and materialistic needs. Class distinctions remain with novel forms of anomic distinction arising – increased working hours, short-term contracts, social isolation, homelessness, shortages of space and time, fresh air, greenery and silence – replacing shortages of food and shelter. Postmaterialists fail to examine how consumption impacts on wellbeing, but also the extent to which modern individuals are "subject-effects" produced by the simulacra of consumer society (Dant, 2003). Indeed, we can turn the positions of both Lacan and Inglehart on their head by suggesting that theorizing wellbeing – as a counterfactual to individual dissatisfaction – may in itself be a significant indicator of the malaise of modernity. Here we can detect the mutually reinforcing elements of academic research and popular culture on individualistic accounts of wellbeing. Under Baudrillard's critical lens subjective wellbeing, as a desperate attempt to reinstall notions of "authenticity", fails because it is a chronically unstable productivity, brought situationally to the exchange value of a semiotic simulation. Moreover, as shown in the section that follows social indicator research on subjective wellbeing rests on a Cartesian model of the subject, and thereby ignores the ontology of intersubjectivity as coexistence or "being-with". It also neglects higher order constructions of wellbeing, such as friendship, joy and peace, which throw into sharp relief the over inflated status of happiness studies.

Mitsein, Intersubjectivity and Dwelling

In enlarging and deepening the conception of wellbeing, as "social wellbeing", this final section draws on the seminal writings of important phenomenologists such as Karl Löwith, Jean Luc Nancy and Gaston Bachelard. In emphasizing the significance of "Mitsein" (as being-with or coexistence), as an intersubjective condition, we should be emboldened to install a strong conception of "social wellbeing" in wellbeing measures. Such a move also enables us to consider higher order constructions of wellbeing, such as friendship, joy and peace, as well as environmental variables such as place, dwelling and homefulness, all of which are currently absent in current social indicators of wellbeing. Moreover, the more expansive notion of social wellbeing, as shared social practices, permits a concentrated focus on related aspects of societal wellbeing and institutions for social wellbeing (Costabile, 2008). We must also acknowledge the temporal and sometimes violent counterfactual nature of wellbeing; wellbeing that is secure only to be lost (Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib Prison) or more optimistically lost to be found. *Mitsein* can be the pathway to both the inauguration and dissolution of community as the simultaneous folding of both into each other[8] (Caygill, 1997).

Such a realignment as "social wellbeing" can afford a devastating critique of the dominant individualistic approaches that are found in both academic research and popular culture. As we have seen it reveals the secret solidarity between these two genres. A social conception reinstalls "being" as a deeply meaningful philosophical concept against the banality and caprice of popular cultural treatments. Here is the central claim. The wellbeing of the person is fundamentally determined in its mode of being through the relationships in which it stands to other people. If this is correct then language and communication rather than mental perception is the locus of wellbeing. The good life is necessarily dependent on socially proximal relations and dialogue with other people. Genuine wellbeing will only become possible in a community which responds to the intrinsic nature of what Heidegger (1962) called "being-in-the-world".

Before examining the explanatory force of *Mitsein*, as a binding principle of community, I want to draw attention to a significant methodological problem associated with the subjective wellbeing indicators that is exposed by phenomenological inquiry. These indicators rest on a flawed ontological conception of explicitness. This stipulates that human activity (preferences and satisfactions) is conducted on the basis of implicit principles (wellbeing) that can be made explicit on reflection. While reflection on subjective mental states is necessary, it is always secondary and derivative to the primary mode of being-in-the-world which is an immersed

[8] In torture states of exception such as Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib an inseparable experience can simultaneously be the dividing from (US Army personnel) and the joining with others (fellow inmates) whereby violence does not inflict the community from without, but is ever implicated within (Caygill, 1997, p. 21).

engagement.[9] On this reading, wellbeing is primarily non-deliberative, or "unthought" rather than explicit. (Dreyfus & Dreyfus, 1991) Wellbeing is not conceived in terms of relation between a self-contained individual with mental content and an independent object of preference satisfaction. It is much more likely to be a substrate of a pre-cognitive immersion in everyday life-worlds. Wellbeing takes places on a background understanding that presupposes it. Karl Löwith[10] (1989) takes aim at Cartesian notions of the self-contained individual arguing that the identity and formation of the self is the product of intersubjective relatedness. Thus the emphasis on *Mitsein* signals a move away from thinking of wellbeing as substance to one that thinks of wellbeing as act. The act is motivated by the in-between-ness of self and other, generating a movement or dynamic moment of sharing (Sorial, 2005).

Sociologically, the meaning of wellbeing is defined by a network of social relationships: lovers, friends, family, colleagues, neighbours and community members[11] (Wolin, 2001, p. 81). That we are deeply social beings goes without saying. The intimacy, belonging and support provided by close relationships are enormously important to our wellbeing. Given the primacy of such relatedness, the concept of subjective wellbeing, as expressed by Inglehart, ceases to be sociologically intelligible or philosophically meaningful. As a phenomenological construct subjective wellbeing is always mediated by pre-existing historical and social structures of intersubjectivity. For Löwith the human world is a "Mitwelt", a shared world in which we co-exist in our fundamental relatedness. As Wolin (2001) notes "Identity formation occurs nonsolipsistically, via a complex process of "reflection": by the individual seeing herself in the other, and by the other seeing himself in her" (p. 81). In *The Experience of Freedom* Jean Luc Nancy (1993) also takes up this argument for an ontology of being-with-one-another, one that precedes any analysis of individual ego or subject. Most radical of all, Nancy reinscribes within the concept of *Mitsein* a strong notion of relational sharing by opening up its "being-in-common". For Nancy (2000) my uniqueness and singularity as a subject is only expressed and revealed in my being-with many. Singularity refers to the uniqueness of the subject that arises through the "we-ness", or being-with, but is never entirely subsumed in the "we". It is this open-ness that lies at the heart of our singularity that propels us into relations with others. "This is why, despite the radical differences expressed by singularity, there is something common and universal in its dispersal" (Sorial, 2005,

[9] Attachment theory in psychoanalysis points to "being-with" as fundamental characteristic of the human condition, especially in formative relations between mother and child.

[10] Löwith was a student of Heidegger. In 1928 he presented his habilitation study which was a polemical response to Heidegger's *Being and Time* and particularly his interpretation of 'being-with' in this seminal text (Wolin, 2001, p. 80).

[11] Hans Georg Gadamer (1999) elevates friendship as the highest form of *Mitsein.* For Gadamer "Friendship reaches far beyond the pleasure experienced when an individual who gives himself to the other in *eros* and *philia* rises above the narrow sphere of self-concern; it points to that ultimate dimension of things that we share, on which social life as a whole depends and without which no institutional system of communal life is able to fulfill its function" (Vessey, 2005).

p. 89). It is for this reason we are fundamentally both singular (as distinct from individuality) and plural.[12] Against the "philosophers of desire", Nancy (1993) installs the principle of shared being as an essential element of the relational quality of existence:

> If being is sharing, our sharing, then "to be" (to exist) is to share. This is relation: not a tendential relation, need, or drive of portions of being that are oriented toward their own re-union (this would not be relation, but a self-presence mediated by our desire or will), but existence delivered to the incommensurability of being-in-common. (pp. 72–73)

Being-as-shared is the commonality of all existence in its incommensurability. This being-in-common is not a question of owning or possessing a common substance, but just the opposite, it is that existence always exists in the plural; it is the being-in-common with the many (Schwarzmantel, 2007).

We have seen that *Mitsein* or being-with is essential for any understanding of wellbeing and that it obtains a foundational ontological standing that is constitutive. As Nancy (2000) says "the question of what we still see as "a question of social being" should in fact constitute *the* ontological question" (p. 78). It is with this ontology question in mind that Gaston Bachelard makes the tantalizing claim that in its germinal form all of life is wellbeing. Life begins well, Bachelard (1969) says that:

> From the phenomenologist's view-point, the conscious metaphysics that starts from the moment when being is "cast into the world" is a secondary metaphysics. It passes over preliminaries, when being is being-well, when the human is deposited in a being-well, in the well-being originally associated with being . . .Within the being, in the being of within, an enveloping warmth welcomes being. Being reigns in a sort of earthly paradise of matter, dissolved in the comforts of an adequate matter. (p. 7)

The pre-cognitive housed-ness of being well has implications for theorizing wellbeing, well beyond the stricture of subjective wellbeing. This is because dwelling is not primarily situated in the either the internal or external world, but the external world situates itself in relation to my earthly dwelling. It is not just a matter of "where we dwell", although this is terribly important, but also about "how we dwell". How we dwell in a reciprocal fashion, "stay with things" and care for and cherish them, is fundamental to our sense of wellbeing. The richness of Bachelard's formulation is that it stretches *Mitsein* beyond the being-in-common with people to extend to places, homes and dwellings. Being-with places become a marker of value. It is this sort of undertaking that Bachelard pursues in *The Poetics of Space* (1969). Here space is the abode of lived consciousness, and the problem for the phenomenologist is to study how it accommodates being-with, or the half-dreaming consciousness Bachelard calls reverie. Alternating between poetic description and

[12] Nancy (1991) uses the example of 'being-towards-death' to demonstrate that we are all alike insofar as each of us is exposed to death, but it is not the same for each of us. He uses the concept to show that singularity exposes the logical impossibility of solipsism, given that the singular can only exist in relation to the plural and the way in which singularity can only be expressed in community (Sorial, ibid. 94).

spatial analogy to consider the attic, the cellar, drawers and the like, he points to the pregnant possibilities for the shared aura of being-with that suffuses the poetics of dwelling (Casey, 1993). D(welling) points to the fullness of wellbeing in the round and towards its most intimate and joyful sensibilities.

Conclusion

The contribution of *Mitsein* to considerations of wellbeing is one that not only provides for a more expansive and richer social dimension but most importantly is a foundation for meaning and ethics. We have seen that as an expression of meaning wellbeing can only emerge in the context of being-with-others or community. This meaning/signification that being-with expresses by virtue of its singularity and plurality is what creates a circuit of connections in shared places, it is the thread that connects person to person; person to community, community to person. Bringing the concept of sharing forward to articulate a dynamic community of wellbeing is a strong indictment against the closed state of exception torture spaces of Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib. In paraphrasing Nancy, Howard Caygill (1997) notes "The *share* forms the locus for freedom and relation and, with the claim that "freedom withdraws being and gives relation", it becomes clear that freedom is the dissolution of being as substance, the substitution of relation for identity" (p. 23).

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