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Special Issue

Progressive Education:
Educating for Democracy and the Process of Authority

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Editorial for Progressive Education: Educating for Democracy and the Process of Authority

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Reconstruction is a persistent keynote of John Dewey's method and his philosophical program (Dewey, 1920/1988), but more than this, he saw it as the essential activity of education and social renewal (Dewey, 1897/1972, 1916/2008). As with so many notions in Dewey, more and more nuances and implications of this term appear throughout his oeuvre. One can say that he sees it as a kind of inquiry which like all inquiries originates in disequilibrium, a recognition that some aspect of one's situation is puzzling or problematic. In this number of the Special Issue, the "situations" are various, but reconstructive inquiry is common to them all.

Once an object of inquiry has been identified, Dewey writes, the investigation to be productive must be problematized — his term is "intellectualization" (Dewey, 1933/1989, 1938/2008a). The task and opportunity are to understand What in fact is the problem here? What are the systematic connections (consequences and dependencies)? In exploring and making explicit some answers to these questions, one has laid groundwork for the meaning-making that may be possible in the final solution, when the new equilibrium includes an accounting of the implications for the system (or some elements of it).

All this sounds very cerebral, but in any inquiry of real value to the inquirer, she has some stake in the search, and this personal interest plays a central role throughout the inquiry as part of its purposefulness. Energy and engagement come from a recognition of and grappling with the questions and process of value, the identification of the human implications of the investigation. Indeed, these implications form part of the problem space, and play a fundamental role in the emergence of the problematic qualities of the situation (Dewey, 1929/2008). When the inquiry is concerned with a social issue, in which the importance of the outcome is related to human betterment, needs and desires, the "stakes" are intensified by the desire to implement a solution that satisfies these needs and desires.

It is these questions of value that make education such a favorite and necessary arena for political and social struggle. Within that arena, education also functions as a tool for reconstruction (or the prevention of it). In a sense, social change or control inevitably gets expressed in educational terms. The articles in this issue illustrate this in a fascinating variety of settings, and it is worth noting that the majority of them are not "school based" at all. They are examples of progressive method applied to social reconstruction with the goal of a broader and more meaningful life, and in each case the educational work involved a re-visioning of the situations described.

In most cases, too, the outcomes are not yet evident. The maturity of democracy (whether of a nation or some other community) can be measured by the extent to which all voices are seen as both welcome and indeed necessary parts of the "process of authority," (Democracy and Education in the world of today, Dewey, 1938/2008b) — and part of the progress comes precisely in the recognition of voices not yet heard. As Clark says,

if the political function of an ethical discourse of community is to constitute and maintain a democratic collectivity, then participation in that discourse must be guided by an ethics that directs people to value their differences because that is what enables their cooperation as equals (Clark, 1994, p. 62).
The social group enacts its debate by experiment as well as rhetoric. Often a postulated solution to a social problem is embodied in a test, a proof-of-concept, of the solution proposed by a particular contending voice. In so doing, it gives that voice a tactical success, which can create momentum towards a strategic victory by way of "facts on the ground," whose outcomes or consequences can provide evidence for or against the new idea.

But the process of hearing the voices in a diverse group can be strenuous and frustrating, for those whose agenda or desired outcome is already well defined, from their point of view. We can see this at work for example in the development and implementation of educational policy when the "situation" is defined at the national level, for example, and the diversity of voices is very great. At such a scale, it is rare for such experiments not to be defined in terms of a mandated, pseudo-consensus, which if supported forcefully enough and long enough can turn into a conventional wisdom — and no longer seen as the next step of an inquiry, to be evaluated and perhaps abandoned.

A good example of this is the remarkable emergence in recent decades of a rhetoric of "educational reform" in the USA and many other countries. This rhetoric is largely espoused by important ideological and economic interests which severely constrain and interdict an authentically participatory process. The educational debates are proxies for other debates about what shall be valued and indeed part of the struggle is centered upon what is to be valued, and what consequences are to be taken seriously.

Therefore, it is almost always at the smaller scale that we can see experimental educational processes that enable an attempt, at least, at a democratic social inquiry, which is reconstructive in terms of critique, of problematization, of experiment with solutions, and of evaluation of the outcome with reference to many critical dimensions of the setting, including the indeterminate and determinative matters of desire, liking, and disliking.

This is one exciting thing about the articles in this issue: They share this powerful theme of participatory reconstruction. In the specific cases, the actual educational activity or enterprise plays different roles in the reconstructive inquiry — and in each case we see the imaginative blending of "progressive ideas" with the complex ingredients of the concrete situation. On this view, the variety of tone, setting, and method exhibited in these papers is truly thought-provoking, and the editors believe the work of the writing, as a useful growth experience and inquiry for the authors, has added value to the various fields of work in which they are engaged.

One final note: This introduction has been cast very much in Deweyan terms. It may therefore serve to emphasize by contrast the diversity of new theoretical resources that the authors have brought to bear, to enrich and make possible their inquiries in a world that is richer than any one system can encompass. Each new situation requires resources and insights particularly well-suited to the problems and people involved. It is therefore a source of delightful challenge to encounter, in company with these authors, the people with whom they have been in dialogue, from Gandhi or Collins to Habermas and Hawkins, experts on communities of all kinds, and students of individual growth. In each case, the diversity of questions, of resources, and of possible futures have been focused and tested, in good Deweyan fashion, by the goal of the inquiry, and the progress being explored along a particular path of growth.

In Progressive Education in Georgia: Tradition or Reality?, Bella Kopaliani, Delwyn L. Harnisch, and Nana Doliashvili describe a program that is literally education for democracy: a civics education course in the new state of Georgia. An international team of educators supports a course that is designed to provide its students with concepts as well as practices to uphold the growth of a democratic civic process. This combination seems to have transformational effects — and the conceptual changes give prospect of being the most far-reaching, as they undergird critical dialogue in a society actively negotiating its values.
Chaebong Nam’s paper, *When New Media Meet the Strong Web of Connected Learning Environments: A New Vision of Progressive Education in the Digital Age*, uses Jane Addams’ “socialized education” as a lens with which to examine aspects of a campaign against underage drinking, conducted by urban youth of color. “Socialized education” is conceived as furthering social melioration in action grounded in the lives and concerns of the people involved, using relevant and available tools. A "blended" approach employing social networks and the affordances and excitement of new media enriched the developmental and reflective possibilities of the social ecology of the community.

In her paper *Progressive Education as Continuing Education for the Developmentally Disabled*, Boedicker draws on Gandhi’s principles of Basic Education, as well as Dewey’s, to reflect programmatically upon the education of a marginalized group: developmentally disabled adults. Gandhi’s social thinking, permeated with the principle of *swaraj* ("self rule" in its many dimensions) demands that education for the disenfranchised be rooted practically in their most basic social and physical needs. Within this framework, modified by Kitahara’s Daily Life Therapy for the education of the autistic, Boedicker brings a challenging critique of an institution in which she works, and begins to envision an approach to educating for these adults’ fuller participation in the wider society.

Leo Casey, in *Learning Beyond Competence to Participation*, uses the sociocultural view of learning as change in participation to examine the pathways of learning taken by adults in a basic computer course. Participation — in social and workplace communication — is a prime motivator for the learners and increased freedom and range of participation is the key metric of success for them. Casey suggests a shift in the focus of progressive education: "from the individual to the participant, and from competence to participation as the ultimate goal of learning.”

Delywn L. Harnisch, Timothy C. Guetterman, Olga Samofalova, and Yelena Kussis, *Progressive Educational Actions in a Post-Soviet Republic: Meaningful Collaborations and Empowerment*, report on an international education program for health educators in the emerging republic of Kazakhstan. Amidst the turmoil and promise that has ensued as the state has taken shape, health educators used this technology-enhanced program to reach out for new pedagogical methods, as they developed a vision for professional standards and aims for health education. Collaborative investigation in the initial workshop both modeled new pedagogy, and provided the basis for continued reflection and learning amongst themselves, and with their foreign partners. In this case, the participatory frame for learning represents also a prototype for learning and development in other sectors in Kazakhstan, going forward.

A progressive approach to education implies an intelligent and fresh engagement with educational ends, and the appropriate means for achieving them. John Dewey saw that museums and other settings now called "informal education" were a powerful mechanism for supporting a learning that was connected to live social needs, aspirations, problems, and possibilities — and engaged with addressing them. In *Progressive Museum Education: Examples from the 1960s*, George E. Hein shows how the progressive ideal shaped experiments in reconstruction in two iconic museums (the Exploratorium in San Francisco, and the Boston Children's Museum). Movements in "formal" and "informal" education were linked by common ideals, but also by individuals concerned with, and active in, both venues, constituting a movement that continues to have significant influence.

*Progressive education in New Zealand: a revered past, a contested present and an uncertain future*. Carol Mutch discusses the status of progressive education in New Zealand, at a time of struggle. The mainstream of education "reform" policy in New Zealand, is not compatible with the progressive stance that has been widely influential in the past, and remains popular with teachers and the electorate more broadly. As a focus for her narrative of innovation and change across 150 years Mutch examines early childhood education and schooling as an enterprise that became deeply rooted in community values and efforts for
social improvement, but is now under pressure from standardizing, market-driven policies. The progressive stance has considerable resilience, perhaps precisely because of its close ties with the needs, intentions, and resources of the community.

The next article moves policy into the background while exploring a teacher's practice across a lifetime of students and policy climates. In *Voicing a mindful pedagogy: A teacher-artist in action*, Amanda R. Morales and Jory Samkoff use an interpretive interview of one remarkable educator to address issues of teacher agency and professional growth. As the teacher reflects on her many decades of experience, Morales and Samkoff identify in her narrative a praxis that is defined by what Aristotle called *phronesis*, an informed and reflective mindfulness about the students as well as the curriculum. The imperatives of student growth and condition take precedence over the imperatives of curriculum, or modulate those imperatives as the teacher creates the learning context for her students. In this creative and mindful stance we see teaching as an art with intellectual, aesthetic, and emotional dimensions, which the teacher integrates into a praxis that is not dictated by policy, but interprets and critiques it.

The final article, by Susan Matoba Adler and Jeanne Marie Iorio, addresses *Progressive Teachers of Young Children: Creating Contemporary Agents of Change*. While Morales and Samkoff portray a teacher's praxis that maintains its integrity despite changes in policy weather, Adler and Iorio show us teachers who, in addition, have come to see their work to include the improvement and progress of their field, early childhood education. The authors describe how the teacher education program builds the sense of teacher agency for change, and equips them with theoretical tools to support their active critique of policy mandates as they affect both teachers and children. As with all the previous articles, this one shows us educators as active participants in the reshaping of society as they encounter it — claiming for themselves a share in the "process of authority."

References


Progressive Education in Georgia: Tradition or Reality?

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Abstract

Despite differences among progressive educators, they share the conviction that democracy means active participation by all citizens in the social, political, and economic decisions of their countries. The aim of this paper is to explore how Georgia is meeting goals and perspectives of progressive education by widely implementing civic education programs in schools and how its schools are developing a civic society. The paper highlights the 2010 inaugural national needs assessment, which studied conditions and attitudes towards civic education. The qualitative and quantitative results revealed the importance of civic education to diverse stakeholders. Civic education develops civic understanding founded on liberal and democratic values and helps students to comprehend their rights and responsibilities for their family, community, and state. Civic education developments in Georgia include adopting the diversity principle, empowering teachers to select and implement educational process, and using modern educational technologies and foreign pedagogical innovations.

Keywords: civic education, educational innovations, Republic of Georgia, democratic society, international development.

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Progressive Education in Georgia: Tradition or Reality?

The Hebrew poet of Ecclesiastes sang the words, “To everything there is a season, and a time for every purpose under the heaven.” As we move into new century, it is now a time to weave the fabric of our communities.

Georgia is a relatively new independent republic and just celebrated its 20\textsuperscript{th} year in this process. A key component in Georgia’s progress is social capital, which is a characteristic of social organizations that enables efficiency and gains in resources through connections among its members (Putnam, Leonardi, Nanetti, 1993). Problems and dilemmas that arise in democracies are often collective and require collective action to reach a solution. Studying democratic development in Italy, Putnam et al. (1993) found that social capital is critical to a high performance in government institutions and maintenance of democracy. Nevertheless, creating social capital is no simple task. In this new country a Progressive Era is being shaped as it creates new structures and policies (public and private) to facilitate civic engagement. Leaders and activists of Georgian life must seek innovative ways to shape this nation with collective action. Many Georgians would prefer a more vibrant community, a goal not accomplished on one’s own power or initiative. Actions by individuals are not sufficient to restore community, but they are necessary.

The challenge Georgia faces for the 21\textsuperscript{st} century requires both collective and individual initiatives. During a Fulbright stay at University of Georgia from Jan-May, 2012 in Tbilisi, one of the authors (Delwyn Harnisch) observed a concerted nationwide conversation modeled on the intensive interchange among scholars and practitioners to be civically creative in working together. Harnisch saw deliberations or Civic Engagement in Georgian schools and with youth that brought together thinkers and doers from many diverse Georgian communities to shape questions and to seek answers. The civic clubs in Georgian schools sparked the civic imaginations of Georgian citizens to discover and invent new ways of connecting socially in their school communities that fit their changed lives. The civic clubs seek to develop the civic potential (Chow, 2012) of youth to influence their civic participation into adulthood.

Philosophers including Aristotle, Rousseau, James, and Dewey have discussed civic education of youth. Nation building understands this process of pondering the essential virtues and skills and knowledge and habits of democratic citizens and how to instill them. It is clearly the obligation of all Georgians of all ages to help rekindle civic engagement among the generation that come of age in the early part of the 21\textsuperscript{st} Century.

One of the authors (Harnisch) observed a challenge being set forward by Georgian parents, educators, and the youth to find ways to increase the level of civic engagement among Georgians in a meaningful and purposeful manner. The nation had an election on October 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2012. The strong, 61\% election turnout is an indicator of their engagement (Georgian Central Election Commission, 2012). The goal of the project is to increase participation and engagement in more substantive and fine-grained ways from team sports, to choirs and performing art groups and from organized altruism to grassroots social movements.

Some action programs are already in place both in national school curriculum and in clubs that focus on community service projects (Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia, 2010). The lessons learned from the early civics clubs in Georgia confirms that community service programs really do strengthen the civic muscles of participants, especially if the service is meaningful, regular, and woven into the fabric of the school curriculum.
Well-designed service learning programs improve civic knowledge, enhance citizen efficacy, increase social responsibility and self-esteem, and teach skills of cooperation and leadership (Putnam, 2000). Another key element of such programs is having youth volunteer for these meaningful activities and this has been shown to be the strongest predictor of adult volunteering. Another factor observed was intergenerational mentoring serving these civic ends as adult volunteers were working with youth on tangible after-school projects and summer camps like website building and informational mapping skill development.

What we need to move forward is something that is like an updated Scouting—a combination of values and fun with our new engaging approaches. We need to have powerful and enticing ways of increasing civic engagement for younger brothers and sisters of our current school-age community. New social technology may help: for example, an iPhone application or suite of tools to grow networked communities of learners and engaged circles of difference makers, and connected service learning teams that act locally and think globally.

**Historical Educational Themes in Georgia**

During the most of the 20th century the term “progressive education” was used to describe ideas and practices that claim to make schools more effective agencies of a democratic society (Bruce & Pecore, 2013; Hansen, 2007). The word “progressive” was synonymous with “new” or “good” education. Although there are numerous differences of style and emphasis among progressive educators, they share the conviction that democracy means active participation by all citizens in social, political, and economic decisions of their countries.

Georgia has a long and profound history of education – whether considering ancient times, the Middle Ages, Soviet Georgia, or the modern day. Naturally, the system of education in Georgia has changed many times. The present status of education in Georgia is characterized as searching for new approaches. The shift into the past of an ideological monopoly, created a strong need of educational institutions to form self-sustainable educational systems. The education system in Georgia is evolving, as additional educational institutions are founded on different organizational and conceptual principles. The diversity principle now leads in modern education, giving teachers the ability to choose and build any model of educational process. A particular interest of teachers is the use of modern educational technologies. Georgian teachers have sought international perspectives on education. They have embraced the use of foreign pedagogical innovations. In Georgia, pedagogical innovation in general is a comparatively new practice, as educators have started talking about it only in the late 1990s. Today, pedagogical innovation as such and its methodology is in the process of its scientific adaptation and formation (Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia, 2011b).

**Purpose and Research Questions**

The current period of educational evolution in Georgia presents unique opportunities for scholarly inquiry. The aim of this paper is to explore the civic education movement in Georgia through a framework of progressive education. It seeks to answer two research questions: (a) How is Georgia meeting goals and perspectives of progressive education by widely implementing civic education programs in schools and (b) How schools are developing a civic society? We sought to answer these questions through an overall theoretical framework of progressive education with a particular consideration of Dewey’s philosophy that education constitutes a gift to learn from experiences (Hansen, 2007).
Progressive Education

Progressive education was a far-flung array of ideas and practices designed to enliven teaching and learning. As with other amorphous constructs, the meaning of Progressivism varied from person to person, place to place, and era to era. At its most diffuse, the word was synonymous with "new" or "good" education. Even so, there were several core ideas in this heterogeneous and influential movement that took shape in the late nineteenth century, spread rapidly and widely in the early twentieth century, and receded by the 1950s.

The most influential theorist of Progressivism, the philosopher John Dewey, regretted the anti-intellectual misinterpretations of his ideas. He never doubted the importance of a challenging academic curriculum. Dewey envisioned Progressive pedagogy as a means to, not an avoidance of, intellectual exertion. The curiosity of children and the flexibility of teachers should enhance, not diminish, the life of the mind. However, Dewey's prose was frequently so convoluted that his admirers misconstrued his ideas. The most egregious misrepresentations downplayed the ability and motivation of average students. Pseudo-Progressives claimed that most students could not, would not, or need not undertake serious academic work (Dewey, 1916).

Present Educational Themes in Georgia

At the beginning of the 21st century, Georgia started a new reform in the existing system of education. Today, the reform in the system of general education is developing in different directions. Besides the system transparency, its democratization and education accessibility for everybody, the education quality improvement became one of the priorities. There are many problems to solve if we consider the improvement of education quality in Georgia. For most people, the fundamental reason to choose, or offer, a progressive education is a function of their basic values: a sincere commitment to democracy; a belief that meeting children’s needs should take precedence over preparing future employees; and a desire to nourish curiosity, creativity, compassion, skepticism, and other virtues.

Traditional education refers to long-established customs found in schools that society has traditionally deemed appropriate. Some forms of education reform promote the adoption of progressive education practices, a more holistic approach that focuses on individual students’ needs and self-expression. In the eyes of reformers, traditional teacher-centered methods focused on rote learning and memorization must be replaced with student-centered and task-based approaches to learning. However, many parents and conservative citizens are concerned with the maintenance of objective educational standards based on testing, which favors a more traditional approach.

Nearly all Progressives knew what they opposed and thus identified themselves by what they were not. Traditional education was the enemy. Students were required to memorize endless facts and formulas from a dreary academic curriculum remote from their own youthful interests. Most teachers defined good pedagogy as drill and practice; their job was to hear recitations, not lead discussions. Classroom life was austere. Teachers established unilaterally the rules and regulations, and they punished misconduct harshly.

Fortunately, what may have begun with values (for any of us as individuals, and also for education itself, historically speaking) has turned out to be supported by scientific research. An impressive collection of research has demonstrated that when students are able to spend more time thinking about ideas than memorizing facts and practicing skills — and when they are invited to help direct their own learning — they are not only more likely to enjoy what they’re doing but to do it better (Bruce & Bishop, 2008; Dewey, 1977; Schwab, 1978). Progressive education is not just more appealing; it is also more productive.
Educational Goals

Facts and skills do matter, but only in context and for a purpose. That is why progressive education tends to be organized around problems, projects, and questions rather than around lists of facts, skills, and separate disciplines. The teaching is typically interdisciplinary, the assessment rarely focuses on rote memorization, and excellence is not confused with “rigor.” The point is not merely to challenge students — after all, harder is not necessarily better — but to invite them to think deeply about issues that matter and help them understand ideas from the inside out.

In support of this philosophical shift, Georgia has established goals for general education. The system of general education aims at creating acceptable conditions for the formation of a free personality with national and common to all mankind values. Besides, the educational system develops in youth necessary mental and physical skills, gives timely knowledge, promotes to a healthy lifestyle. It forms in youth civic understanding founded on liberal and democratic values and helps them to comprehend better their rights and responsibilities for their family, community and state in a whole. Active participation of students and parents, teachers and school administration, as well as of an outside community - creates positive conditions for qualified and successful implementation of set goals (Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia, 2004).

National Needs Assessment

In 2010 the first national needs assessment was carried out by Evaluation Association of Georgia. The assessment aimed at studying the conditions and existing attitudes towards Civic Education at schools in Georgia. The framework for this research work was the Civic Education and Teachers Training Program implemented by PH-International and funded by USAID. Data collection occurred from September 27, 2010, to October, 15 2010.

The methods of the national needs assessment were both qualitative and quantitative. The results of the assessment demonstrate that the frequency of use of civic education class knowledge at school is not high. For instance, only one third of the tested students think that the school environment gives them the opportunity to apply the civic class knowledge they had obtained.

Another domain assessed was the attitudes of school grade students, teachers, parents, and NGO and local administration representatives towards civic education class. Students from grade 4 through grade 12 (n = 1633) from 51 schools across nine regions in Georgia completed the questionnaires. Within the qualitative strand, the evaluators selected four categories of respondents:

- Civic Education class teachers
- NGO representatives
- Local Governance body representatives
- Students parents

Qualitative research was conducted using a focus group method. The evaluators held 33 focus groups throughout Georgia, including 11 teachers groups, 9 local administration groups, and 6 parent groups for a total of 272 respondents.

Half of the respondents were satisfied with the quality of teaching in the Civic Education class in Georgia. One finding of the qualitative research is that respondents could
not evaluate the effectiveness of the teaching in the Civic Education class. It is a comparatively new class in the National Education Plan, as civic education became an obligatory class starting in 2006-2007 academic years. As respondents explained, the time elapsed is not enough to draw conclusions. The qualitative assessment findings suggest that civic education in Georgia has room for improvement. Primarily, such attitudes relate to the fact that the mentioned subject is not included in the National Exams program.

Judging by the results of the needs assessment, a large majority of the students questioned (79.1%) agreed that teaching civic education classes in Georgia is necessary and timely. As explained by students and other respondents in the qualitative assessment, civic education classes promote students’ formation into decent and active citizens. Furthermore, a majority of students consider civic education an interesting subject. However, relative to other Caucasus nationals, civic participation in Georgia is relatively low (Caucasus Research Resource Centers, 2008). The low participation coupled with the evident interest in civic education suggested Georgia was prime for intervention. An important consideration is the challenges that may arise in this community of learners. Notably, performance on the PISA measures used in Europe reveals that the 15-year olds in this study have scores on reading literacy measures below their counterparts in OECD countries (Walker, 2011).

To address these concerns in Georgia, various models of education are undergoing active study or application. The new approaches include constructive methods of teaching, the use of psychology in pedagogical practice, and empowerment of teachers. For example, the recent Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) assessment showed that Georgians teachers are among the most educated and most satisfied teachers relative to other nations (Mullis, Martin, Kennedy, & Foy, 2007). Georgia is striving to build on its strengths to implement a progressive model of education through experience.

A Georgian Civic Education Program

Program Overview

This movement is evident in a recent civic education program in Georgia. The Applied Civic Education and Teachers Training (ACETT) Program is implemented in Georgia by PH International (formerly Project Harmony). ACETT receives its funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), with support from the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia. ACETT works with 740 schools across Georgia, representing 30% of schools in the country. The 2010 nationwide civic education needs assessment provided a framework for program activities. Since then, supplemental civics textbooks have been produced and are being distributed to all ACETT partner schools in response to new and growing needs in the civic education sector. A sense of community and responsibility for others is not confined to the classroom; indeed, students are helped to locate themselves in widening circles of care that extend beyond themselves, beyond their friends, beyond their own ethnic group, and beyond their own country. Opportunities are offered not only to learn about, but also to put into action, a commitment to diversity and to improving the lives of others.

ACETT Program Goals

The primary goal of the ACETT program is to improve the quality and scope of school-based civic education as a means to positively influence the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors of youth (and, through their example, those of the broader community) as active participants in Georgia’s democratic society. The expected outcomes of ACETT’s efforts over a multi-year plan of four years are to be shown in the following ways:
Georgian schools are equipped to better prepare students as knowledgeable, active and engaged citizens

Increased citizen participation in democratic processes

The program is impacting youth and communities in all 11 regions of Georgia: Tbilisi, Adjara, Guria, Imereti, Kakheti, Kvemo Kartli, Mtskheta-Mtianeti, Racha-Lechkhumi, Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti, Samtskhe-Javakheti and Shida Kartli.

Notable ACETT Outcomes

The program has already achieved a number of important successes, including development of a 50-hour accredited training course for civic teachers. By spring 2012, ACETT led to teaching resources, the training of civic teachers and school leaders, a national teacher’s forum, the funding of grants and professional internships and numerous web-based resources. The products of ACETT have reached educational leaders and learners throughout the nation.

**Instructional resources.** Four sets of supplemental civics textbooks, each comprised of student book and teacher manual, were developed and successfully introduced to 672 Georgian sector partner schools of ACETT nationwide. Civics teachers were trained on how to use the textbooks to increase teaching outcomes during the lessons utilizing the teacher’s manual authored by Kopaliani (2006). Textbooks emphasize four priority areas that were identified in an assessment of civics curriculum and textbooks for grades 9 through 12. Priority areas for the modules include cooperation for social benefit, how to become an active citizen, participation in school governance, and collaboration with local government for meeting community needs. Each module includes practical assignments for student team work, teaches students how to identify and target problems in schools and communities, how to establish partnerships, and how to mobilize resources to solve the problems. In reaching out to the ethnic diverse schools of Georgia the following items were shared to grow civic-minded learners that included Azeri and Armenian versions of the four sets of ACETT’s civics supplemental textbooks (each set comprised of a student book and a teacher manual) distributed to schools with Armenian and Azeri ethnic minority students.

**Professional development program for teachers.** Nearly 600 civics teachers were trained this past year by the use of ACETT’s accredited teacher training program “Teaching Democratic Citizenship.” These trainings helped teachers to master basic international concepts of civic education and efficient planning of lessons, develop learning goals and objectives, practice techniques for obtaining additional teaching materials and promote applied learning opportunities for students outside the classroom. Since the inception of the program, 703 civics teachers received training.

**Professional development for school leaders.** Efforts were made to provide academic leaders with practical steps in teaching democratic citizenship to learners across the country by offering an expert trainer’s workshop to nearly two dozen selected experts. Professional training was targeted to school principals, reaching over 600 this past year in various workshops. The focus of the workshops was to increase their understanding and support of civic education in order to facilitate the development of an enabling environment for civic education in Georgian schools. Since the inception of ACETT, 679 principles received training.

**Annual professional civics teachers forum for Georgia.** Student and school posters along with club updates were shared with over 200 in attendance at the first National
Civics conference. The number of civics teachers currently enrolled in the National Forum is well over 500 at this time with nearly 40% in attendance at the first national conference.

Student inquiry and competitions in civics education and democratic citizenship. Nearly 300 such grants have been awarded for promotion of civic participation by students, teachers, and school leaders. In addition, over 500 students and teachers have been trained in use of social media for collaboration and reporting. Professional internships were also provided to over 300 students for applying civic education knowledge into practice at local government offices as well as at different state and NGOs and other business and media organizations.

Web resource sharing with students, teachers and school administration. Continuous updates regarding new print material and opportunities in civics education were shared at the civics and citizenship education website (PH International, 2010) the civic initiatives web portal (PH International, 2012a). These online resources were actively used by students, teachers and school administration officials throughout the duration of the program. Additionally these websites featured news about student civic initiatives from the different regions of Georgia and provided resources and information for students, parents, and teachers, such as books, textbooks and publications about democracy and citizenship. The e-library on the website was widely used by teachers and students. Furthermore, the Facebook page “Civic Initiatives” (PH International, 2012b) continued to connect civics club students from different regions of Georgia and facilitate exchange of information about civic initiatives by students. Over 1000 learners have connected with ACETT via its social network and thus allowing parents and teachers to share information and get involved in educational activities related to civic engagement (M. Ushveridze, personal communication, Sept 4, 2012).

Other Activities. To support professional development for civic education teachers in Georgia, ACETT established civics Resource Libraries within Education Resource Centers. One such library already exists at Teachers’ House in Tbilisi. The program also developed a National Forum for Civics Teachers, which supports teachers’ professional development through trainings, conferences, online discussions, and regional meetings. Other ACETT-led trainings included debate skills and public speaking for students.

Impressions of Students and Teacher-Participants of the Program

"A lot changed in my life after I became the leader of our school civics club. A new chapter of active citizenship began for me. I was able to bring new ideas to life with the support of the club. I realize now that as active members of society, we can solve problems that help make the world a better place” (Student, 14 years old).

" My participation in our civics club has changed my life. Trainings, events, advocacy campaigns, meetings with influential people, interesting discussions, small grants, participation in TV and radio programs - all these activities provide incredible opportunities for me and for all students seeking to find their role in democratic society” (Student, 15 years old).

"ACETT really helped to improve the depth and breadth of civic education in our school, making the courses more effective and interesting for students, and not only. It helped personally me to obtain new knowledge and experience, gave me a chance to be actively involved in my community life” (School civics teacher).
Conclusion

Georgia has exemplified progressive approaches to education through its investment in civic education. The national has poured tremendous energy into civics education projects, reaching students, teachers, education leaders, and schools. The efforts are increasing citizen participation in democratic processes of Georgia. The transformations occurring in Georgia are evident in the outcomes of the ACETT program. Namely, the program has disseminated instructional resources throughout Georgia to grow a community of civic-minded learners. Focusing on the professional development of teachers and educational leaders further facilitated the process. Finally, ACETT directly assisted students through internships, training, and grants for civic projects. ACETT’s outcomes reach multiple levels of the learning community, helping to develop the current generation’s civic mindedness while also ensuring a sustainable process for generations to come. Additional research is needed to examine the extent to which civics education is active in Georgia. Understanding the engagement of the next generation of learners is critical to Georgian civics education.

References


Appendix

Caption. Images from Georgia’s civics education project. Bella Kopaliani (author) at center, project in action at edges.
When New Media Meet the Strong Web of Connected Learning Environments: A New Vision of Progressive Education in the Digital Age

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Abstract
This paper shows how the legacy of Jane Addams’ socialized education can live on in today’s progressive education, especially in the digital age. Discussion is drawn from a case study of an anti-underage drinking campaign conducted by urban youth of color in an afterschool program. The media ecology environment in the campaign—the integrated usage of new and traditional media—enriched the way the youth made sense of experience and communicated with the world. The campaign led youth to learn more about other important issues, culture, and community history. Another critical element of the campaign’s success was the active participatory culture of local community organizations and businesses, which formed an extensive support network for the youth’s engagement. This case suggests that the synergistic relationship between new media ecology and connected learning environments can make progressive education more promising in the digital age.

Keywords: socialized education, connected learning, transformative learning, new media, media ecology.

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Introduction

In 1889, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr built Hull House on the west side of Chicago in order to help community residents, mostly new immigrants from European countries, acclimate to their new social environment. Over the decades, Hull House residents provided services to meet the needs of the community residents and also conducted many grassroots projects to improve the living conditions of the community. They investigated pressing issues in the community, including sanitation, sweatshops, child labor, infant mortality, tuberculosis, cocaine distribution, and more, which afterwards led to the amendment of related laws in Chicago and the nation. Hull House also opened the first public playground in Chicago, the first kindergarten, the first college extension class, and a labor museum.

Although her work on social innovation influenced John Dewey’s ideas on education (and vice versa), Addams’ philosophy on education has received little attention. Like John Dewey, Addams (1910/1999) highlighted the significance of connected learning in ordinary life experiences, where children naturally learn and practice democratic social values. Her view of education, which she called “socialized education” (a term which also serves as the title of the last chapter of her book, Twenty Years at Hull House), is based on these communal efforts integrated with social investigation and action for the sake of social improvement. I identify two features—connected learning in ordinary lives and transformative action for social change—as key elements in Addams’ socialized education. I then discuss how the legacy of Jane Addams’ socialized education can live on in today’s progressive education, especially in the digital age.

Hull House, Socialized Education, and New Media

Connected inquiry in ordinary lives. Addams observed that public schools did not connect students’ everyday experiences to their learning. She criticized public schools for assuming that “the ordinary experience of life is worth little and that all knowledge and interest must be brought to the children through the medium of books” (1902/2002, p. 81). In such an environment far detached from students’ ordinary lives, students from recently immigrated families were prone to becoming uninterested in learning and disenfranchised in schools.

Addams suggested the Hull House educational activities as an alternative to such a limited view of education. She noted, “It is needless to say that a Settlement is a protest against a restricted view of education” (1910/1999, p. 253). People at Hull House learned from each other’s different cultural heritages, skills, and knowledge, as well as collaborating on the examination of important issues of the community. Their learning was not limited to a certain location (e.g., classroom) or content (e.g., textbook/curriculum) but took place in the whole community surrounding an array of local issues.

Among many examples that represent connected learning in Hull House was the Labor Museum. Addams purposely chose the word “museum” in preference to “school,” remarking “The latter [school] is distasteful to grown-up people from its association with childish tasks, and … the former [museum] still retains some of the fascinations of the show” (Addams, 1900, p. 3). The Labor Museum valued ordinary people’s experienced and resources. For example, various methods of spinning from Syria to Norway were collected from the neighborhood itself. In the Labor Museum, people taught their cultural heritage to others: not only spinning skills, but also cooking and languages, in a reciprocal relationship. This kind of connected learning space largely influenced her vision of a learning center for the neighborhood. She briefly illustrates that vision below:
A glimpse of the Hull House shops on a busy evening incites the imagination as to what the ideal public school might offer during the long winter nights, if it becomes really a “center” for the neighborhood. We could imagine the business man teaching the immigrant his much needed English and arithmetic and receiving in return lessons in the handling of tools and materials so that they should assume in his mind a totally different significance from that the factory gives them (1904/2002, p. 120).

This vision became the foundation of Addams’s thoughts on how education is connected with life in the community:

If we admit that in education it is necessary to begin with the experiences which the child already has and to use his spontaneous and social activity, then the city streets begin this education for him in a more natural way than does the school (1902/2002, p. 83).

Although her critiques of school-centered education cannot be applied directly to today’s school education, they still have implications for what education in a democratic society ought to be about. Democratic education encourages a critical view of the world and an active engagement in promoting public good and standing against social injustice. Diverse perspectives and ordinary experiences must be respected in democratic educational practices, so that everyone in the society is able to freely participate in knowledge production without any fear of judgment or prejudice.

**Transformative action.** The ultimate purpose of socialized education expressed at Hull House was social transformation. Profoundly concerned with the social injustice resulting from laissez-faire capitalism, Addams declared, “The educational activities of a Settlement, as well its philanthropic, civic, and social undertakings, are but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the very existence of the Settlement itself” (1910/2002, p. 85). Indeed, the investigation of issues including child labor, public health, sanitation, and more manifested grassroots inquiry and action for social change. Her emphasis on the collective effort to improve social equity constituted the foundation of her thoughts of social ethics in a democratic society, as stated in *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902/2002):

> We are learning that a standard of social ethics is not attained by travelling a sequestered byway, but by mixing on the thronged and common road where all must turn out for one another, and at least see the size of one another’s burdens (p. 7).

She also undergirded the democratic spirit with a practice of social morality among people who owned different experiences and dispositions. She said:

> To follow the path of social morality results perforce in the temper if not the practice of the democratic spirit, for it implies that diversified human experience and resultant sympathy which are the foundation and guarantee of Democracy” (p. 7).

The democratic principle of respect for differences and diversities is implanted in her educational ideals for democracy as well: “The democratic ideal demands of the school that it shall give the child’s own experience a social value; that it shall teach him to direct his own activities and adjust them to those of other people” (1902/2002, p. 81). In her era, granting the social value of students’ own experiences was a revolutionary argument for education, given the role of the public school system emphasizing the efficient production of industrial workers concentrating solely on reading and writing from textbooks.
Against the restricted view of education, the Hull House projects embodied such a radical educational perspective embedded in the social ethic of equity through the amalgamation of service, research, and social activism (Daynes & Longo, 2004).

It is worth noting that the two main features of socialized education—connected and transformative inquiry and action—work together inseparably to generate a dynamic democratic society. Even a hundred years later, many forms of social injustice are still mirrored in the school system, and a lot of youth experiences are undervalued or overlooked in many educational settings, because of their race, ethnicity, economic status, gender, and other factors. Seeing that Addams’ critique still holds true, I focus on her thoughts on socialized education for re-envisioning progressive education today. The issue is then, “How would this “old” idea be revived today, particularly in the digital era?”

New media and youth. A variety of new media tools, including digital technologies and social media, are integral to the way youth express their thoughts, communicate with others, and understand the world. These tools are changing the nature of learning environments, not only broadening the scope of learning experiences but also encouraging youth to be creative and to take some initiative in their own education. Learning now takes place anywhere and at any time; the traditional divide between formal and informal contexts of learning is breaking down.

New participatory culture triggered by new media (Jenkins, 2010; Kahn & Middaugh, 2012) deserves attention. New media tools expand the opportunities of social expression, especially among historically marginalized youth. They create their own music and art, and challenge the expectations and prejudices imposed on youth of color (Akom, Cammarota, & Ginwright, 2008; Duncan-Andrade, 2006; Goodman, 2003; Haddix & Sealey-Ruiz, 2012; Norman, 2009). Youth media production is often incorporated with other forms of civic engagement such as youth organizing (or youth-led organizing) and youth participatory action research. This media activism by and large offers youth participants significant educational experiences in the digital age, in the form of experiential, production-oriented, interest-driven, and critical learning opportunities. It has been repeatedly reported that those in media activism have helped youth develop critical consciousness of social issues, improve their problem-solving and technology skills, gain social skills and responsibility, and more (Bruce & Lin, 2009; Chavez & Soep, 2005; Goodman, 2003; Hamilton & Flanagan, 2007).

In what follows, I discuss how Addams’ spirit of education has been revived in youth community engagement in the digital age. The guiding questions are: Would the essence of Jane Addams’ connected and transformative education remain the same? Or would new media create a fundamental difference between past and present socialized education? To answer these questions, I studied a youth-led anti-underage drinking initiative conducted by urban youth of color in an afterschool program called the Institute of Culture, Leadership, Arts, and Communication (ICLAC).

Methodology

This study is part of my research on community activism, youth engagement and citizenship education (Nam, 2012). The Institute of Culture, Leadership, Arts, and Communication (ICLAC) was a high school after-school program in an urban community in Chicago called Huntington Park. The youth participants were between 15 and 18 years old. Data come from observations and interviews that took place between March 2010 and June 2010, as well as reflections written by youth. Other data sources included the media products

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1 The original research was partially introduced in my article that previously appeared in this journal, volume 8, number 3, “Implications of community activism among urban minority youth for education for engaged and critical citizenship.”
Youth created for the campaign (photographs, public service announcements, books the youth published using an online publishing tool), *La Opinión* (a local newspaper), web resources such as ICLAC’s Facebook page, and more. The data were analyzed according to the three major issues introduced earlier: connected learning, transformative learning, and new media usage.

**Youth-Led Anti-Underage Drinking Campaign in ICLAC**

Huntington Park has been known as a Puerto Rican community for decades, and it has a long history of community activism. Facing many urban issues and social prejudices imposed on urban communities of color, the community has made many efforts to meet the various needs of the community in terms of education, family support, local business, child care, housing, local media, and so on, under the leadership of the Puerto Rican Community Center (PRCC). The quote “Live and help to live,” which highlights collectivism for mutual support, was the foundation of their social entrepreneurship to achieve long-term community development and grassroots democracy in the Huntington Park neighborhoods. Additionally, advocating for the Puerto Rican nationalist movement, a self-supported effort of the PRCC for community change, represented a strong symbol of resistance to U.S. colonialism and the actualization of the spirit of Puerto Rican independence in the community.

ICLAC, a high school after school program affiliated with the PRCC, also originated from the community’s tradition of self-support. A youth organizing group, called *Barrio* (also sponsored by the PRCC), saw the need for educational resources for local Puerto Rican and Latina/os outside of school, and began an after school program, now called ICLAC, with support of the PRCC. ICLAC provided local youth with an opportunity to acquire new media skills and learn about the community. Below is the introductory message listed on the ICLAC’s Facebook page.

Utilizing a range of media, this innovative program encourages participants to **transform their community** and share their skills and knowledge across generations. Community youth become the creators of media, rather than passively allowing **media to shape their identities**. . . . All students also participate in a class called Participatory Democracy, which is the **civic engagement** component of the program where youth are trained as community organizers (emphasis mine).

As shown above, ICLAC put an emphasis on transformative education, creative and critical media production, and civic engagement. The anti-underage drinking campaign was one of the core activities in ICLAC. In addition to Participatory Democracy (PD) class on Monday, ICLAC offered four different media classes from Tuesday through Thursday: radio, print journalism, multimedia (a combination of photography and graphic design), and theater. These classes were built around the anti-underage drinking campaign; the four media classes created media products in multiple formats for the campaign for the sake of a broader reach both within and outside the community. Moreover, in a close connection with a youth organizing group called *Barrio*, ICLAC often organized cultural events in their space on Fridays, where the youth performed poetry, spoken-word, hip-hop music, dance, and singing.

**Youth friendly and positive messages.** The most prominent facet of ICLAC’s anti-underage drinking campaign was a youth-friendly and positive approach. The ICLAC youth refused to adopt conventional and banal slogans containing negative words, such as “Do not drink” or “Stop drinking.” The youth were aware that they had to fashion something different and unique enough to catch the attention of their peers who might have responded, “If we don’t drink, what do we do instead?” The ICLAC youth created two major slogans: “This is

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2 More information on the influence of *Barrio* on youth activism in the community is available in the same article mentioned in footnote 1.
the real me” and “Teach me how to live responsibly,” which targeted two different audiences. (These slogans were originally created by the youth who had participated in ICLAC the previous year, but they continued to be used in the following years.) Focusing on peers, “This is the real me” was aimed at delivering assorted messages and images of positive youth who engage in productive alternatives to drinking. Focusing on adults, “Teach me how to live responsibly” signaled that the youth needed the support of adults in order to live responsibly. It implied, importantly, that the anti-underage drinking campaign asked for the participation not only of peers, but also of the whole community.

**Media products in media ecology.** The ICLAC youth in the four media classes (radio, print journalism, multimedia, and theater) created diverse media products that represented the two slogans in different ways. The media classes were taught by the instructors who had cultural backgrounds similar to the youth in their classes, so that the youth could more easily connect culturally with their instructors.

**Radio class.** Among the major products of the radio class were public service announcements (PSAs). In order to gather stories about underage drinking, the youth went out to the community and interviewed people, both youth and adults. They asked community members what they thought about underage drinking, if they had any personal stories to share, if they disapproved of underage drinking and if so, why, and what positive alternatives existed. After coming back to the ICLAC studio, the youth edited their interviews, wrote a script, and recorded the PSAs using the audio editing programs Pro Tools and Garage Band. They created their own beats and sounds for the background music, which served both as a fun exercise and a way to avoid copyright infringement. Likewise, when they needed bike sound effects for their PSA, they simply went out to the street, had a friend ride a bike, and recorded the sound. Street sounds or salsa music that played in a local café were blended into the PSAs, too. These kinds of sounds from ordinary moments in the community helped make the PSAs culturally relevant to those who were living in the Huntington Park area. Upon completion, the youth uploaded these PSAs to the ICLAC website (http://prcc-chgo.org) and their Facebook page, as well as to a citywide public radio station in order to reach a broader audience.

**Multimedia class.** The multimedia class took the lead on the visual image production in the campaign. They created many different types of posters and flyers. (Although “multimedia” normally encompasses media and content beyond still images, in ICLAC the “multimedia” class focused on still image production.) The youth produced various images to represent drinking alternatives and positive adult-youth relationships to illustrate the two main slogans. For instance, to represent positive alternatives for “This is the real me,” the youth used photos of their peers engaging in a variety of activities such as bike riding, singing, writing, campaigning, working, and more. To characterize the slogan “Teach me how to live responsibly,” the youth took photos of an adult teaching haircutting skills to youth in a local barbershop, and an adult teaching youth to play drums in a high school (See Figure 1). Using a graphics editing program such as InDesign, the youth transformed these photos into more dynamic and intriguing images. The youth in the multimedia class also played a leading role in publishing the ICLAC book, using online publishing tools such as Blurb. The book, which included reflections, stories, poetry, and many photos of their campaign and community, allowed them to show people who they really were and how they engaged in the community.
Print journalism class. The youth in the print journalism class conducted interviews with their peers about underage drinking and wrote newspaper articles for La Opinión, a local newspaper sponsored by the PRCC. *La Opinión* delivered news about housing, business, education, politics, and cultural events to the community residents, as well as news about Puerto Rico, which was not covered by the mainstream media that chiefly reported on the negative issues of the community. While standing up against the biased mainstream media, *La Opinión* usually reserved a section for the ICLAC youth. Luis, a coordinator of ICLAC and the editor of *La Opinión*, actively encouraged contributions from ICLAC youth to *La Opinión*, so that youth voices could be heard in the community.

Theater class. The theater class produced a play. The youth took part in writing a script with instructors by sharing their experiences and friends’ stories about underage drinking. They spent a great deal of the time discussing what messages they would want to deliver to the audience and how to create realistic characters that both peers and adults could empathize with. They also learned acting skills and practiced for the entire semester before performing the play at the ICLAC’s culminating event in June. Unlike the other three media classes, the theater class did not use specific technology tools; rather, they used their own bodies as media.

A web of support for youth community engagement. The ICLAC youth disseminated their media products in various ways. They made the most of social media such as Facebook and a public radio station, as well as traditional means of dissemination to reach out to those who might have had limited access to the Internet. This included distribution of *La Opinión* offline on a regular-basis in the neighborhood, so that community residents were able to hear from their voice. They periodically left batches of the flyers, posters, and *La Opinión* at local businesses and community organizations on the main street, including a grocery store, a liquor store, a barbershop, a bakery, restaurants, community health centers, an alternative high school, a local bike shop, and more. These places functioned as information centers, where many community residents picked up local information like program brochures, events calendars, *La Opinión* and the like.
It is important to note that many community organizations and local businesses, affiliates or supporters of the PRCC and connected with each other, were strong supporters of the ICLAC youth and their campaign. Some offered their space for the background of the photos on the posters (e.g. a barber shop and the alternative high school) and also for information distribution. Others more actively supported the youth by helping them demonstrate the positive alternatives themselves. For example, a bike shop offered ICLAC a free bike class, and a community health center gave a lecture on healthy eating so that the youth were able to see the anti-underage drinking campaign from a broader perspective of community health. Also, the youth organizing group called Barrio shared a space with ICLAC and also worked closely with ICLAC to encourage youth to organize and join the group’s cultural events on Friday nights, where they could express themselves through hip-hop, poetry, dance, spoken word, singing, and more. Several teachers and the principal at the alternative high school (which several youth in ICLAC attended) often participated in ICLAC’s events to support youth as well.

At the end of the semester, ICLAC invited the youth participants’ friends, parents, family members, high school teachers, etc. to their public presentation. The event became a collective reflection opportunity for all the participants, in which youth presented their media products and talked about their learning experiences with the campaign and the community, as well as newly gained media skills.

Discussion: Connected and Transformative Education in the Digital Age

I will now take up the question introduced in the beginning: Will the use of new media tools create a fundamental changes in social learning, or will Jane Addams’ connected and transformative education remain essentially the same? In the specific case here the question is whether new media tools have given ICLAC’s anti-underage drinking campaign a nature that would differentiate itself from Addams’ socialized education of the old days? My answer is both yes and no.

Interest in media and media ecology. New media has indeed brought an unprecedented change to the ways youth express their thoughts and exercise their creativity. Many youth in radio and multimedia classes showed a keen interest in new media tools per se, which was the key motivation for their participation in ICLAC. For example, two students in the radio class, Cynthia and Adam, who identified themselves as musicians, joined the program because they could use the studio and sound equipment for their music production. Cynthia said, “It [the radio class] teaches how to use Pro Tools. Basically, they taught me how to use the Pro Tools, how to cut, edit, all that stuff, and I kept coming.” Similarly, another student in the same radio class, Jose, said, “I like the sound system and plus audio equipment and … producing beats stuff. I thought it would be great, and I joined the program” Steve, the instructor of the class, who was 20 years old and had once been a student of the program himself, said:

A lot of students came in with prior knowledge in reporting, or interested in rapping, but they’ve never got a chance to record anything. The ICLAC radio program was actually the first exposure to what the sound programs look like, what it was to chop up and edit, sound waves, and software, the state of the art software that people like Kanye West or whoever, just name the many artists, you know, they’re using the software that we’re teaching here, like Pro Tools and Garage Band.

The youth’s intrinsic interest in new media formed a new terrain of learning in which to express themselves and communicate with the world in a creative manner. The youth in traditional media classes, such as print journalism and theater, also considered their interest in
the media as their main motivation for participating in the program. In the journalism class, Sofia, an aspiring journalist, said, “I like to write about stuff—essays, obituary, columns. I learned the basics. I love it…I go to college and study journalism at [a university].” In the theater class, Raul said, “To me, ICLAC means an opportunity get away from the streets and all the drama at home for a couple of hours. My favorite part of the program is acting with the theatre group and socializing with all of my peers.”

The above discussion shows that ICLAC’s anti-underage drinking campaign exemplifies a rich media ecology (Ito, et al., 2008). The distinction between new and traditional media was dissolved in the youth’s actual media practice; the mixed use of both new and traditional media contributed to an innovative change in the youth’s learning experiences in their campaign.

Connected learning. New media tools did not, in fact, fundamentally change the social learning dynamic as described by Addams. Despite the new features mediated by new media, the spirit of socialized education remained the same. Connected learning was among the most prominent features of ICLAC’s anti-underage drinking campaign. With an integration of their interests in media into an anti-underage drinking campaign, the youth were able to cultivate media skills and explore important issues of the community in a holistic way. They went out to the streets, met with people, gathered stories, and discovered positive images, in addition to creating beats and sounds on their own. Their learning process echoed Addams’ emphasis on everyday life experiences in learning:

If we admit that in education it is necessary to begin with the experiences which the child already has and to use his spontaneous and social activity, then the city streets begin this education for him in a more natural way than does the school (1902/2002, p. 83).

The city streets were a crucial space in ICLAC’s campaign as well, where the youth were able to make sense of their experience and obtain resources in order to produce culturally relevant and youth-friendly media products. The media ecology in the campaign, i.e., the mixed use of new and traditional media, contributed to the broadening of youth learning experiences in the community. Their media learning was profoundly constructed based on community learning, and the essence of the connected education articulated by Addams and Dewey still resounded in the ICLAC youth’s campaign. The youth described those learning experiences:

I learned how to use Pro Tools and incorporate it with our anti-underage drinking campaign. My favorite part of ICLAC is getting to work in my radio class as well as getting outside interviewing people (Marcela, Radio).

My most memorable experience in the ICLAC program was when we presented our anti-underage drinking podcast projects from the radio class. It felt good to be able to spread good information out to the community (Joes, Radio).

My favorite part of the program is when I get to help out my fellow peers in the radio program. Since I have been in the program for a good minute I pretty much understand how to work with the audio editing program also known as Pro Tools (Lita, Radio).

I learned about underage drinking. I interviewed people that I didn’t even know and knocked on doors. I would like to see ICLAC go out and interview even more people. …I also wrote my first newspaper article, which was about the anti-underage drinking campaign. I hope that I can be a good writer when I grow up (Sofia, Journalism).
The skills I have learned have impacted the community, such as the anti-underage drinking campaign postcards we created. I think that people shouldn’t be influenced by peer pressure, forcing youth to drink (Amy, Multimedia class).

Among the vital background elements of connected learning in this campaign was a strong web of support for youth community engagement across community organizations and local businesses (Ritzo et al., 2009), as well as family and friends: a high school, a community health center, a local newspaper, a bakery, a barbershop, liquor stores, Barrio, and others. This kind of support signaled to the youth that their effort was acknowledged in the community, which also assisted them with learning about local assets, history, and culture, thereby disputing a negative stereotype faced by the community. The youth understood that their campaign did not come out of a vacuum but rather was situated in a long history of community activism to better the condition of the community. In working with other groups in the community, youth were allowed to see the other issues of the community beyond the issue of underage drinking and in what social context their campaign was situated. This was deeply related to the comprehension of the broader social entrepreneurship of the community to improving community health, education, housing issues, local information circulation, and more.

**Transformative learning.** In real world situations, the two key features, connected learning and transformative learning, are interwoven with each other. The ICLAC youth’s media products reflected their self-image as engaged, creative, and responsible young people (“This is the real me”) on the basis of their everyday experiences. This contributed to the restoration of the social value of the youth’s experience, which they already deserved but had been deprived of. Luis, a coordinator of ICLAC and also a community organizer himself, talked about his challenges in encouraging youth to get involved in the transformative experience, in spite of the tough realities young people might have to face.

Obviously, most them [the youth in ICLAC] have very rough experiences in this community with issues of violence and gangs from their whole family, substance abuse. Those kinds of things are real for them. So, how am I able to inspire them? How could you inspire people not only to see the beautiful things that exist here and struggles that people have done to produce them, but also the importance and the necessity to get involved in helping to continue those things?

The campaign helped the youth link themselves to the larger effort of the community for social change, beyond the issue of underage drinking. The youth were motivated to comprehend the social and cultural meaning of the community, which was a space for resistance to racism and social injustice, and for pride in their Puerto Rican identity. At the same time they formed a general understanding of what context their campaign was situated in and why the campaign was important to the community and to other oppressed groups in society.

One youth in the multimedia class said that in the beginning it was challenging for them to find images for positive alternatives, while it was easy to find negative images. They, nevertheless, were continuously encouraged to see the other side of the community, and were eventually able to successfully produce media products that showed the achievements and the positive aspects of the community.

It is noteworthy that a unique participatory culture within the community also played a pivotal role in the transformative educational practice in the campaign. Community organizations, schools, and local business not only valued the efforts the youth made for the community, but also inspired them to be part of the larger effort for social entrepreneurship within the community.
A student named Alicia in the multimedia class advocated for the community: “Some people think Huntington Park is a bad neighborhood, or a horrible neighborhood, but really it’s not. It’s just how people perceive it. This isn’t a bad community. Not every Latino drinks or does drugs or other stuff. Some people do it, some people don’t.” Likewise, many other youth reported that they were able to have different perspectives of the community and feel proud of their ethnic background and the community, and they stated that they would readily use the skills they obtained from ICLAC to make the community better, as seen below.

I do believe the skills I have learned can impact the community, especially when we get to perform the play in front of a big audience (Raul, Theater).

It [this radio PSA] might not completely end underage drinking but at least can change someone’s life (Cynthia, Radio).

My skills can impact my community because I can put knowledge into people that don’t know about the community or any obstacles that go throughout the community. … My aspiration for my future is to help out or be part of the Barrio so that I could pass on many things that I know to other youth that live in the community or who want to know about the community, even though they do not live in the community (Lita, Radio).

I believe with the tech skills I know I can inform a lot of people on what goes on in this community. The anti-underage drinking campaign has been very knowledgeable, not only to the people in this community, but to me also. For my future I see me becoming a cop to help this community any way I can (Eric, Multimedia).

To me, ICLAC is like a place where people can learn more about this Puerto Rican community while also helping ourselves improve how we live. I have learned more about this community and its purpose to live and help to live (Sofia, Journalism).

I use to think Huntington Park was a negative place but I found out there are positive places and I wanted to help keep it as much as possible (Cate, Theater).

Steve, the 20-year-old radio program instructor, served as an example of a person this type of education produce can produce. He was once a student of the ICLAC radio program himself, where he harnessed radio production skills through the project, including the anti-underage drinking campaign. Also, in becoming more actively involved in a youth organizing group, Barrio, he became one of the new youth leaders in the community. Steve successfully graduated from high school, went on to college, and returned to the program as an instructor to help other youth in the radio program. Before long, he was chosen as a recipient of a prestigious fellowship program offered by Chicago Public Radio. The podcast that he had submitted for the fellowship competition contained his narrative and sounds of the community. His success and return to the community established him as an important example of a role model. At a community event, Luis introduced Steve, “In this community surrounded by all the things you see today, he was able to again find the alternative and do something with his life. That is the perfect example of what we can do.” Steve’s case portrays how connected and transformative learning in the community can leave a long-term impact not only on one’s life but also on the community for social change.

The ICLAC’ s anti-underage drinking campaign demonstrated a good example of the holistic educational model in which youth look critically at the world and engage in an effort to better the community as connected with their ordinary experience. The new media tools, profoundly intertwined with those social learning practices, not only enriched the youth educational experiences but also contributed to social change.
Conclusion

ICLAC’s anti-underage drinking campaign extended beyond a simple program activity to illuminate a vision of engaged and transformative learning in the digital age. It resonated with the essence of Addams’ socialized education, which is rooted in collective inquiry and action for social transformation along with respect for individuals’ social experiences and cultural backgrounds. The youth created contextualized, culturally relevant, youth-friendly and positive messages based on ordinary experiences. Through their participation in the campaign, they learned about many positive aspects of the community and linked up with larger efforts toward community betterment, while contesting social prejudice by presenting different images than those found in the mainstream media.

The media ecology environment in ICLAC—the integrated usage of new and traditional media—enriched the way they made sense of experience and communicated with the world. Their campaign slogans were conveyed through multiple formats of information, flyers, posters, a play, radio PSAs, and a newspaper article. They connected their skills and experiences to the campaign, creating contextualized media activism as part of the community’s unique participatory culture and practices. Although the youth’s media practices were new and unprecedented, their work remained firmly rooted in the progressive education movement. In particular, under a strong tradition of social entrepreneurship in the community, many community organizations and local businesses encouraged youth to be part of a larger effort for community change as well.

An answer to the question introduced at the beginning of this paper can now be advanced. The ICLAC case shows that the essence of progressive education and social learning — that is, the ecological relationships between youth and community that are at the heart of Addams’ connected and transformative education — will remain the same even when new media has an extensive and intrinsic role. Indeed, the synergistic relationship between new media ecology and connected learning environments will make progressive education even more effective in the digital age.
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Progressive Education as Continuing Education for the Developmentally Disabled

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Abstract
The need for progressive education is prevalent in one of the most underserved portions of the population: the adult developmentally disabled. Though John Dewey wrote little on the education of the disabled, his philosophy, and that of Mahatma Gandhi’s, lend themselves to the further education of this unique segment of society. In this paper, I will be looking at developmentally disabled adults, specifically autistic individuals, living in group homes. It is the goal of developmentally developed group homes to advance the education of its residents so that they may eventually leave the home as competent, independent members of society. However, the education they are usually given is not tailored to their individual needs, reinforced through everyday activities, or provided in a manner respecting the individuals as people and not as objects. I will be discussing Gandhi’s concepts of Basic Education as it can relate to the developmentally disabled and Kiyo Kitahara’s use of Daily Life Therapy in the education of the autistic. I will examine the current system of learning in one specific group home and how Gandhi’s and Kitahara’s concepts of education can be used to improve the learning abilities of these individuals -- to allow them to move from institutionalized life to a fuller, more productive role in society.

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Introduction

The ultimate objective of education of developmentally disabled adults is for them to acquire social independence (Kitahara, 1983), allowing them to grow into productive members of a community and enjoy the privileges of a Democratic society. However, there are many obstacles impeding the members of this unique population from reaching their full potential: prejudice, lack of a sense of moral obligation by society, economic disadvantage, and educators' own ignorance of their clients' conditions, to name just a few.

Society tends to reject anyone who is different, and the developmentally disabled individual's impairments are usually considered a disadvantage (Lekan, 2009). Rejection due to social status is not a new challenge to overcome; Gandhi tried to change the prejudices towards the caste system in his own country, hoping to eliminate the cycle of disadvantage of the “Untouchables” (Richards, 2001). Like the “Untouchables” in Gandhi’s India, the developmentally disabled are relegated to the lowest jobs; live in fear of humiliation, and often have an unacknowledged presence when in a public place. A social environment’s exclusion of individuals with impairments or with certain class standing is frequently a direct result of individual’s personal definition of him or herself – how he or she describes his or herself in a mirror (Lekan, 2009). If an individual is told enough times that they are not worthy, it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. Gandhi believed that to have unity with our fellow men, we are presented with an inescapable moral obligation towards them, to strive to achieve democracy (equality) in every way of life, and that nothing was going to achieve this end better than “education in liberating the mind, setting people free of bondage, enriching character, increasing intelligence, and adding to the wealth of the nation” (Richards, 2001). Are not the developmentally disabled entitled to this same consideration?

To begin this pursuit of independence, I must first look at what is needed. Like all humans, the developmentally disabled have basic needs: food, clothing, and shelter — necessities that many people take for granted. If society is concerned that a person is lacking these fundamental needs, we tend to focus on the financial aspect of the deficit, not the educational aspect. In this respect, the basic needs become more complicated. It is no longer a case of “does one have food, clothing and shelter?” but rather "does one know how to acquire food, clothing and shelter?” Can an individual take care of his own clothing, carry out basic cooking, keep his living space tidy and clean, and use money to replenish consumables (Dial, et al, 1979)?

Dewey believed that the educative process needed to revolve around these organic parts of the process of life, and should be incorporated as an integral part of a school program (Ramanathan, 1962). He never discussed the integration of life skills into adult education, but these skills do fit well with the goals progressive educations are striving to meet. Gandhi stressed the imperative nature of education to promote self-knowledge and self-fulfillment, with vocational training serving a useful purpose, allowing people to learn how to earn a living, maintain a family (household), and make contributions to society (Richards, 2001). As Dewey noted,

an individual is not original merely when he gives to the world some discovery that has never been made before. Every time he really makes a discovery, even if thousands of persons have made similar ones before, he is an original. The value of discovery in the mental life of an individual is the contribution it makes to a creatively active mind; it does not depend upon no one’s ever having thought of the same idea before. (Lekan, 2009)
We improve an individual's self-esteem by allowing them to contribute to their own education, fulfilling their own basic needs, including, but not limited to, food, clothing and shelter (Kitahara, 1983), teaching the individual to think for themselves (Dewey, 1940) and allowing them to be productive (Ramanathan, 1962). But how specifically do we integrate the ideas of Gandhi, Kitahara, and Dewey into adult education of developmentally disabled adults and specifically those of an autistic adult?

When looking at adult education, the most important thing to remember is that autistic individuals, despite their level of ability, are adults and should be treated with the same level of respect and dignity as any other adult. Educators must realize that these individuals will have different ideas, cultural contexts, and opinions about life and their education. They are entitled to participate in the direction of their own education through open dialogue. Teachers must impart the reasons why a subject is being taught and why it is necessary -- not just transmit facts -- and encourage active and critical reflection from their students (Kumar, 2004). Evaluation then becomes an important starting point for the adult learner; to determine what there level of ability is, as well as, where their areas of interests lie.

Though many different forms of testing are available for the evaluation of ability, it was Dewey's observation that one test cannot conduct a universal scale of value that somehow applies to all life's contexts and goals. Many tests, in his observation, even demonstrate the superiority of one individual over another, reinforcing old prejudices (Danforth, 2008). The current forms of testing encourage us to judge and treat students not as individuals with different abilities, but as a qualitative class, thus de-emphasizing individual’s traits (Dewey, 1940). Many educators are only interested in standard IQ testing scores and not those that represent distinct and unique qualities (Danforth, 2008). Many developmentally disabled people have strong abilities in other types of intelligence such as digital acuity and other non-verbal skills. However, standardized testing does not evaluate these abilities.

An inquiry into one group residence

I will now examine a local group home and its vocational adult education facility in which I work (for the purpose of this document, the individuals as well as their place of residence will remain anonymous using the pseudonym developmentally disabled residence - DDR).

Seven members of our community reside in the group home, DDR, and four attend day training at the local vocational adult education facility (VAEC) where they receive schooling and a small paycheck. To attend this education center, one must be an adult, out of traditional public or private schooling, and in need of adult education. When a family or guardian first decides to enroll a loved one in the program, testing and interviews with the client and family are conducted. Great emphasis is placed on the wishes of the individual with regards to what type of education he or she is interested. The VAEC uses two tests to determine the level at which a client's education will begin: the McCarron-Dial and a Street Survival Evaluation. The McCarron-Dial is used to determine the strengths and weaknesses in an individual's vocational competency by focusing on five facets:

- Verbal-spatial-cognitive (Language, learning ability, and achievement)
- Sensory (Perceiving and experiencing the environment)
- Motor (Muscle strength, speed and accuracy of movement, balance and coordination)
- Emotional (Response to interpersonal and environment stress)
Integration-coping (Adaptive behaviors) (Dial, et al, 1979)

The Street Survival Skills Questionnaire (SSSQ), used to assess functional impairments, independent living skills, and appropriate vocational and residential placements, considers nine areas of behavior:

- Basic concepts
- Functional signs
- Use of tools
- Domestic abilities
- Health and Safely
- Public Service
- Telling time
- Monetary
- Measurement

Once the DDR has determined the skill levels of the client, he or she is placed into the education system, with the goal of improving the client's weak areas. Clients will conduct daily tasks: laundry, cooking, dusting and other home care, personal hygiene, and learn computer skills. They repeat these activities daily until they can complete these tasks without supervision. These skills are then to be continued in their home at DDR, acting as reinforcement for what they have learned. The improvement of these skills is re-evaluated every three months, and if the skills have improved to the satisfaction of the facilitator, the student will move on to a new set of skills; if not, the old lessons will continue to be taught. Once the student is able to complete the life skills to the satisfaction of the facilitator, they are then moved onto the factory floor. In the factory, the students begin to learn easy assembly line jobs; such as putting twenty-five washers in a bag and sealing it or shrink wrapping cans of dog food into packs of three. There is also an option for learning more complex crafting such as building wooden pallets. Students stay on the assembly line, continuing repetitive tasks and not practicing life skills they've learned.

In the world of educating the autistic individual, few have attempted to even begin to explore how to most effectively serve this under-attended population. Kitahara is the most well known for her Daily Life Therapy educational program, emphasizing developing harmony in all aspects of life for children with autism, including vocational training, physical education, life skills training, art and music education, social education, and computer training (Boston Higashi School, 2007). Kitahara believed that all education begins with cleaning and helping in the home as this gives the student a sense of responsibility. These skills are maintained throughout the autistic individual’s educational career, as the basis of the educational process, their “craft” if you will. Then educators can build on these skills through learning from life, play and an individual’s interests. Through play students become interested in the various things around them. They absorb all kinds of knowledge and learn to think and adapt to the circumstances around them. As educators, learning can be accomplished through physical education, music, drawing and the manual arts. Kitahara also encouraged the student’s family to participate in the activities; thus, both the school and the family can bring elements to the learning for the individual (Boston Higashi School, 2007).

How does the education received by the male residents of DDR compare with the concepts of Gandhi’s Basic Education and Kitahara's concepts of Daily Life Therapy? Gandhi’s ideology of Basic Education is identified with healthy growth, with the individual is regarded not as a mind in isolation but as a living unit under the influence of its social milieu (Ramanathan, 1962). Gandhi believed that learning by doing, through experience, and through activities is the basis of life-centered education (Ramanathan, 1962). These individuals are indeed learning through doing, daily both at the school and inconsistently in
their home. Consistency of learning tasks at DDR is not maintained due to different abilities of the home care providers, discussed later.

The disconnect occurs when the facilitator feel the students are ready to move on to more difficult tasks, and are not re-enforcing what the students have already learned as a foundation for continued learning. Also, craft work does not come into their education until they have graduated to the factory floor and are asked to build wooden pallets, but these creative tasks are only for the most advanced students. The beliefs of Kitahara were similar, utilizing all aspects of a child’s experiences as a vehicle for education; domestic chores, physical education, music, drawing and other manual arts. Both philosophies hinge on education occurring through life experiences, enhancing the quality of life and knowledge regardless of the student’s age. However, if their previous experiences are not being revisited, their past experiences are of little relevance.

Craft work produces experience in which certain lessons can be correlated. Paper-cutting can be useful in geometry, soap-making in laundry and chemistry; these crafts are also important in the development of proper body mechanics, attention, listening skills and fine motor skills. Gandhi leaned towards the learning of one craft that can be exploited, forming the core around which the whole educational process should be organized (Ramanathan, 1962). Kitahara believed in a student learning many different abilities, crafts, as well as physical activities, music and art, to be exploited in many different ways.

Both Gandhi and Kitahara emphasize the importance of imitation for its power to help a student absorb as much knowledge as possible out of each experience. All educationists agree that people are endowed with a powerful instinct for imitation which directs the learning process. The beginning of creation is simply a reproduction of what already exists. Most children, whether developmentally disabled or not, (as well as adults) prefer to work in groups, enjoying the opportunities to engage in real life experiences, to seek expression, bring the spirit of cooperation and to be treated as a partner with a perceived expert (Ramanathan, 1962).

Taking this spirit of cooperation one step further, Kitahara integrates autistic children into classes with non-autistic children to encourage imitation between both groups. Through this action, autistic children learn social integration which broadens their life and interests, and helps them to gain an outlook on life similar to that of the non-autistic children (Kitahara, 1983). Non-autistic children learn to both be and offer acceptance, break down the exclusive strata of society, and reconsider the notion of normality (Ramanathan, 1962). By engaging the developmentally disabled in different experiences with non-developmentally disabled, a higher level of learning results. At VAEC, the student are isolated, normally working solo not engaging in group activities, coming into contact only with the facilitator. Though on occasion they are taken on field trips into the world, they are not allowed to participate in the surrounding splendor merely herded from place to place in mute stoicism.

To survive in the world, all humans must master certain basic tasks. Classroom learning is not always the best way to impart knowledge about life activities. Learning through doing, utilizing a broad range of activities and experiences, often leads individuals to their maximum development. Many autistic individuals are limited in their engagement with others and are therefore limited in the opportunities for new experience (Boston Higashi School, 2007). Activities according to Kitahara should be organized around others — the school members, family, friends, caregivers, and the other members of DDR —be they residents or employees. In many cases, the planning and executing of these experiences are denied to the autistic individual but instead carried out by caregivers or facilitators. Only if the autistic individuals are allowed to plan and execute activities from the beginning of the planning process do they get a fuller social experience and a sense of social responsibility.
(Ramanathan, 1962). Dewey has defined education as the re-construction of experiences, namely that we deliberately make a prior experience reappear and use this appearance as an opportunity to educate (Ramanathan, 1962). If the men of DDR are not given the opportunity to revisit what they have learned and are not given the opportunity to engage in society when they are on an outing, how can they develop a sense of social responsibility and ever hope to be integrated into society?

Since the society we live in is becoming more diverse, the division of experiences must also be diverse. But even in a diverse world of experiences, not all experiences that would be useful to teaching necessary skills can be found within every individual's past. The use of “word pictures” -- the conjuring up of a story or a description -- can help to take the place of an educational experience that is lacking in an individual's past (Ramanathan, 1962). Dewey points out that it is not just the “conjoint doing and undergoing,” of an activity that constitutes experience, but the perception of the meaning of the activity in the context of his/her life (Ramanathan, 1962). Factory workers, for example, many have no idea as to why they are doing their task, causing a disconnect between themselves and their work. Through awareness of the task's significance, the labor loses its drudgery and the worker becomes aware of his/her importance in on the job (Ramanathan, 1962).

However, it is not merely an individual's understanding of his/her significance in employment that is imperative in life, but rather the larger integration of all aspects of life, work, school, home and society that is key. Gandhi taught that work is the medium through which a person's whole personality seeks self-expression and fulfillment. Therefore, work must be related to life and must evoke as much interest as living itself (Ramanathan, 1962). If a school's curriculum is not organized around an environment for living -- those processes of life that are imperative to survival -- much of the time in school is wasted (Ramanathan, 1962). Adult occupations and training should be concerned with the production of our primary requirements -- food, clothing, and shelter -- and activities taught on the basis of this education process. Linking school activities with activities that constitute actual living will satisfy our primary needs and have more significance for the student (Ramanathan, 1962). At Kitahara's school in Boston, they do not employee janitors to do most of the work. It is the responsibility of the students to maintain their environment. This sets up a direct connection between the domestic works assigned to each student and their classes.

In order for these activities to yield experience and be used for educational purposes, they must be activities of real life; and the student, teacher, parent or guardian, and home health care provider must be active participants in the education process with specific functions assigned to them. If the individual fails to perform the function assigned to him, the education process will be incomplete and inadequate (Ramanathan, 1962). Many programs fail because of the absence of education in the home. The notion that education should only be carried out between two fixed hours of the day and not taught in the home limits the understanding of the lessons taught, the importance of the lesson, and their application in the individual's home, life or society (Ramanathan, 1962). Often these assigned tasks are too difficult for the autistic individual setting up another scenario for failure; however, if their initial evaluation is accurate this can be avoided. Also, often the autistic individuals are not believed to be capable of a given task, and the individual will fail due to not being given the opportunity to try.

Kitahara's Daily Life Therapy model school, Boston Higashi School, is a good example of the integration of school, home and society. The school is a boarding school where life education services are provided on a full-time, in-context basis throughout the entire day so that learning is continuously reinforced and practiced. Education is not restricted to the school environment. Home visits and activities for siblings support family cohesion. Monthly family exercises are prepared for physical education, music, drawing and manual
arts. In this way, both the school environment and home cooperate in the development of the student (Boston Higashi School, 2007). The students also engage with the community. The older students hold community jobs, working alongside non-autistic peers, and access community facilities such as health clubs, stores, banks, and library services (Boston Higashi School, 2007). Kitahara observed that people who spend their lives in pursuit of only one idea, using only one corner of their mind, go through life with blinders on, not observing the problems of those around them. They often are not even interested in becoming active for their own needs. These individuals avoid experiences outside of their own limited understanding and are therefore not able to pass on knowledge to their own children.

Daily living skills are the basis for an individual to establish independence and dignity, and are essential to meet one's own self-care needs. Kitahara called this the "rhythm of life," referring to the basic biological rhythms for eating, sleeping, activity and work (Boston Higashi School, 2007). To discontinue this rhythm of life due, for example, to school vacations, undermines the education process. The autistic individuals have often lost this routine, which leads to great emotional upset and disorder. By maintaining this rhythm through daily activity, exercise, and routine, the autistic individuals are able to sleep more soundly, be more alert during waking hours, and are more open to absorbing stimuli from their surroundings, thereby enhancing the lessons of experience (Boston Higashi School, 2007).

At the DDR and VAEC, education is not always conducted by teachers or trained educators. Classes and teachings as usually led by Certified Nursing Assistants or lay persons with little to no college education or training in teaching. These individuals may easily resent a student who treats him as an equal or friend; such can feel threatened and prefer to think of students in a generic or unemotional way. These individuals forget that every failure involves a human being in tears and resist the duty to wipe them off (Ramanathan, 1962). These individuals may not use the same decorum with their students as they do with their own children or grandchildren, causing a disconnect in the democratic society of the developmentally disabled classroom; they use their knowledge and power to hold themselves above and separate from the student. Without the partnership between the student, parent or guardian and the person doing the teaching, lessons do not hold continuity throughout the life of the student (Ramanathan, 1962). If a student is not motivated due to the undermining of this education process and the implied moral contract between student, teacher and parent or guardian, future efforts will not be as successful (Jencks, 1988). Often the person who is to be conducting the education is not even aware that this is part of the job description, so little effort is made to interact with the autistic individual.

No education can flourish in the absence of self-esteem. Kitahara's first priority was to develop the individual's self-esteem and make the individual secure in his/her emotions (Boston Higashi School, 2007). Kitahara believed that autistic individuals are often timid when alone, preferring the company of others with whom they can feel free to imitate, experience and learn. But a feeling of comfort with others does not necessarily imply dependence on others. As humans, we tend to do too much for others, be they developmentally disabled, elderly, children, or handicapped, this stunts their chance to learn and grow as independent agents. Many people believe that these populations have no ability, unable to act on their own behalf. Kitahara considered the abilities of the autistic individual dormant, believing that they are unable to express externally the ability that they naturally possess. By finding a student's interests and developing their ability, teachers can instill confidence in such students. People will learn in a school they enjoy, but must be given a space where they can realize their own potential (Kitahara, 1983).

The first of Gandhi's six principles of education deals with interest in the subjects we are asked to learn. All mental functions depend upon our interest in the subject or activity.
Interest catches our attention in the cognitive process and engages our emotions. In Gandhi’s philosophy of education, he discusses using a “craft,” a vocational skill, as the center of interest; in Daily Life Therapy (Kitahara’s philosophy of education), it is the activities, music, exercise, and domestic skills; but in a traditional classroom, artificial devices (such as video, books and slides) are needed to evoke interest. In a traditional class, subjects change from hour to hour, changing these artificial devices and not utilizing the lessons from one subject into the next. In Basic Education, however, all classes are taught from the craft-core, permeating the entire school life of the student (Ramanathan, 1962). Daily Life therapy takes this integration one step further and re-institutes it out of the school into the home and society.

Kitahara felt that the basis of spontaneous study is self-knowledge, the ability to plan and execute the plan. When a student creates a plan him/herself, puts it into practice, and is successful, self-confidence and joy will help the student strive for greater accomplishments (Kitahara, 1983).

True learning is not something that can be attained by filling one corner of the brain with all sorts of knowledge and information. Neither does it come from knowledge thrust down one’s throat. Only those things which a child learns eagerly and spontaneously become learning that is retained (Kitahara, 1983).

Most people are motivated by their own life experiences, something personal to them, be it adult occupation, student activities, or a craft. The more useful the activity is to the student’s life, the more inherently motivating power it will have to evoke interest. But the activity cannot survive in isolation; if the teacher and parent or guardian is not participating fully, the learning will again stop at the classroom door (Ramanathan, 1962). Knowledge must be attractive to a student, causing an interest in growth and creative adaptation (Kitahara, 1983). The current education system only serves to maintain an artificial separation of the student from society, causing alienation, uneasy and low self-esteem. Gandhi stated, “it has made them strangers in their own land” (Ramanathan, 1962).

Traditional schooling isolates the student from the outside world and the factors that make knowledge meaningful to their own life; since this type of schooling has no relation to their needs, it fails to impart any worthwhile knowledge (Ramanathan, 1962). Knowledge must be attractive to a student, causing an interest in growth and creative adaptation (Kitahara, 1983). The current education system only serves to maintain an artificial separation of the student from society, causing alienation, uneasy and low self-esteem. Gandhi stated, “it has made them strangers in their own land” (Ramanathan, 1962).

The VAEC that I work with uses many of the ideas of Kitahara's Daily Life Therapy, focusing on life skills as a basis of their education and the interests of the clients as the foundation of their learning. This environment focuses on a few crafts and home life skills, and appeals to the personal interests of each client to impart knowledge when the interest is one that can be grown in the environment of the VAEC limited educational abilities. Staff evaluates objectives every three months with the input of the client, and they celebrate success.

But this program is lacking in two areas: focus and follow-through. The program is set up in such a way as to identify the strengths and weaknesses of each client and then use that information to create a personalized lesson plan. Unfortunately, the program focuses on the areas of deficit and not on the areas of achievement or interest. Since motivation stems from interest, often the clients prefer not to participate in activities and therefore do not improve. Since the students are adults, the facilitators do not have the same relationship with the clients as a teacher of children would -- that of an older, all-knowing superman (Ramanathan, 1962). Therefore, it is all the more important that the instructors have a partnership relationship with their clients, helping to guide and motivate, not belittle and condescend. By using cooperation between the instructor and the student in a democratic way -- as equals in the learning process -- students are more likely to actively participate in a
lesson (Ramanathan, 1962). Without the spontaneity of a student's interest in the subject matter, motivation deteriorates; the spirit of self-dependence is removed and poor self-esteem may result. By changing the focus from what students cannot do to what they can do, and using past experience as an education tool and success as a motivator, teachers can help drive the development of the student (Kitahara, 1983). Gandhi believed that the current education system uses competition -- not cooperation -- as a stimulus for interest (Ramanathan, 1962). Also, the facility is restricted in the number of different interests they can support, often not being able to supply an area of interest for a given client. This also can cause disinterest, lack of motivation and failure.

When clients are at VAEC, they are taught many life skills that they will need to secure their independence in society. However, when they return to DDR they revert to lives of dependency. The home is run by assistants who are to look after the welfare of the residents, making sure that the cooking, cleaning, and health of the residents is maintained. However, the assistants rarely have a background in education, being mostly Certified Nursing Assistants, with the chores done in part or in whole by themselves and not the residents. For the skills practiced at VAEC, continuity in the home must be maintained, with the assistants stepping into the role of parent or guardian. In a perfect world, teachers or teaching assistants with a background in education would be hired, at a higher wage, to continue the education throughout the evening. In the state of Illinois, where DDR is located, group homes are given the lead in the education of their charges, leaving the education decisions up to the assistants and not to any outside education facilities such as VAEC, giving them no control over education when the day is done.

Reflections and the way forward

So, where do we go from here? It is not likely that a society that views these individuals as expendable, unable to learn, and of no use to society is going to revise the system which keeps these people locked away and out of sight. In a time of economic struggle, it is also not likely that more tax dollars or private donations will be awarded to improve the quality of home education that these individuals are given. Gandhi believed that education should be self-supporting, with the craft work producing not only a product but the selling of that product for monetary gains (Ramanathan, 1962). VAEC does have some clients who have reached a certain level of expertise to work in the factory education division of the facility, for a small wage: about one third of the clients. Can this program be modified to produce enough money to help the school be self-sufficient, and can DDR become subsidized by this product to take the tax burden off the state? Justice for the developmentally disabled is primarily a matter of migrating or transforming these monetary difficulties of their environment so that their impairment is no longer disadvantageous (Lekan, 2009).

The purpose of using Certified Nursing Assistants is that they can administer medication to the residents, as well as monitor their home environment. Should they then not also receive additional education in domestic skills, the same as their charges? Most employment require initial training before work begins; could this not take place at VAEC so that the assistants have knowledge of what is required of the residents as well as themselves? As members of society, is it not our collective responsibility to form a proper social life (Dewey, 1940)? This is a difficult issue that cannot possibly be discussed in these few brief paragraphs.

As a non-developmentally disabled adult looking back on my own education, I believe that I would be more capable of imparting my own experiences if I had been educated in the style of Progressive Education. But our society is not based on the educational ideas of the founders of Progressive Education, leaving graduating students full of knowledge without knowing how this knowledge is to fit into life and society; further, employers expect
employees to seek and fund their own continuing education, leaving employees to neglect their adult education due to financial hardship and lack of motivation. Without personal experiences, how are assistants to pass on knowledge to their charges? Gandhi observed that many of the aristocracy in India did not have any life skills, depending on their servants to provide all of the domestic chores (Ramanathan, 1962). Without life skills, the aristocrats were unable to pass on any knowledge to their progeny and the servants were restricted from teaching these necessary skills due to decorum.

Despite these challenges I believe that with the great increase in awareness of autistic individuals, the other forms of developmentally disabled will benefit. Great strides are being made by this community itself; Temple Grandin is a notable example. She is showing our nation that individuals with developmental difficulties can be productive members of society, in her case despite the lack of an education that was geared towards her motivations, interests or needs. As awareness increases, more funds, research and interest will be directed at this unique demographic. For now, we move in baby steps, doing what we can to bring our society further towards true democracy.
References


Learning Beyond Competence to Participation

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Abstract
The essence of progressive education today is a view of learning centered on participation. In adulthood, the quest to participate and the quest to learn may ultimately be regarded as one and the same. Research on the learning journeys of adults undertaking a basic computer course are used to support these ideas. The participants in this study described pathways of learning directed toward useful activities rather than academic qualification or career progression. The notion of this journey as extending beyond competence to participation emerged from the analysis. Participation is a communicative process; framed by sets of assumptions on all sides. These assumptions are, in turn, influenced through participation. This paper considers the relevance of these ideas for the ubiquitous nature of everyday digital technologies and the challenges faced by people who lack the relevant competence to participate. An approach to pedagogy based on the ideals of progressive education is proposed—a shift of focus from the individual to the participant, and from competence to participation as the ultimate goal of learning.

Keywords: progressive education; digital literacy; competence; participation; learning identity; grounded theory practice.

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Introduction

What are we to make of learning theories today? The question is seldom framed in this way and yet it succinctly encapsulates the argument of this paper. We need to deal with learning not as some isolated activity that we engage in from time to time but from the perspective of what we do—what we make of it—and, in particular, what it means to live and learn as adults in a world permeated by new technologies. I teach learning theory and like many others in the field, I tell the stories of our changing views of what it means to learn and how ideas emerge, gain popularity, and with time, fade from prominence. Taking a historical view, we can make sense of this ebb and flow of what we deem to be important; positivism emerges with the rise of scientific thinking, behaviorism is popular in an era of industrialization, and humanism becomes fashionable in the liberal counter-culture of the sixties. Of course I over-generalize, but the significant point is often overlooked: views of learning are framed in the perspectives of the time.

It is often easier to make sense of the past, or at least to appear to do so. It is much more difficult to deal with the present; for in the present we are immediately called to account. This, I suggest, is the aspiration of progressive education, to think beyond the moment, to avoid the clutter of current trend and to ask more fundamental questions about what it means to learn. It is in this spirit that I propose we look anew at the connection between participation and learning.

Progressive education as espoused in the writings of Dewey emphasizes this connection. In the opening remarks of Democracy and Education都市 (1916/2008) asks the reader to ponder the difference between organic and inorganic things. He suggests that organisms attempt to control or subjugate their environment and he describes life as a “self-renewing process through action upon the environment” (Dewey, p. 3). This self-renewing process is not limited to individuals—society seeks to renew itself through the transmission of knowledge from the old to the young and from the experienced to the inexperienced. The continuity of society comes from our continued re-adaption of the environment, and to be alive as a human is to learn to participate in this process. Dewey always regarded education and learning as social processes; his belief was that “all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race” (Dewey, 1913 p 77).

The identification of learning with participation in society is not unique to Dewey. A similar emphasis can be found in the writings of Vygotsky (1978; Vygotsky & Kozulin, 1986), Habermas (1984) and in areas of scholarship such as activity theory (Engeström, 1987; Roth & Yew-Jin, 2007) and communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

In this paper, I will show how these ideas are increasingly relevant for adults as they grapple to deal with the ubiquitous nature of digital technologies and the unexpected learning challenges that arise. Insights from a study using grounded theory practice to investigate the learning journeys of adults undertaking a basic computer course show the purpose of learning as beyond competence to participation.

Beyond competence to participation

Prior to describing this research in detail, it is useful to review the conceptual framework for learning as participation. Lave (1996), following a suggestion by Martin Parker, describes how the characteristics of any learning theory would imply three kinds of stipulations (i) ‘telos’ as the trajectory of learning (ii) subject-world relation as the epistemological conception of how reality is constructed in the mind and (iii) learning mechanisms as the means by which learning changes occur. This is a useful framework to consider conceptions of learning and to compare competence with participation as providing the underlying purpose of learning. Furthermore, the framework prevents the reduction of such a comparison to a simple either/or dichotomy.
The competence approach suggests an understanding of the trajectory of learning as directed toward the development of individual skills and abilities. In instructional contexts these are often stated in terms of intended learning outcomes; learning outcomes are defined as “statements of what a learner is expected to know, understand, or be able to do at the end of a learning process” (European Commission, 2011, p. 12). In the European Framework for Qualifications learning outcomes are classified by level of complexity and in terms of knowledge, skills and competence (European Commission, 2011). This approach is widely accepted and underpins much of our pedagogic practice today. The associated model of teaching suggests we focus on specific sub-processes and build from there toward a wider framework of competence. A popular metaphor for the ‘discrete’ approach is the toolbox. This suggests that for each kind of learning to be addressed, there is an appropriate pedagogical tool; thus we need constant practice for routine skills and good explanations to help us learn concepts and so on. The metaphor regards learning as a collection of processes directed toward a particular end goal. In some contexts an instructor or teacher may guide the learner through these processes or in other situations the student self-manages the development of the wider competence. Either way competence is achieved step-by-step through a succession of learning activities.

However, despite the attractiveness of these systematic models, there are many who question their effectiveness. The critique is often expressed in the argument that we cannot learn complex behaviors by simply amassing a collection of sub-routines or skills. Much of what we deem as competence in practice, such as for example, playing music or managing a meeting, is too complex to be learned from the bottom up. The alternative is to advocate an extended notion of competence (for example, Biggs, 1993; Biggs, 1996) that has much in common with participation as discussed here. Illeris (2003, p. 396) proposes:

The modern concept of competence comprises not only relevant knowledge and skills, but also a range of personal qualities and the ability to perform adequately and flexibly in well known and unknown situations. To be up-to-date, the concept of learning must be understood in the same broad sense, and therefore traditional learning theories must be revised.

Beyond competence something else is usually required and we often describe this as experience or participation. To illustrate this ‘missing dimension’ of learning, consider the familiar instructional context of first-time adult computer users. An early challenge is to master mouse and keyboard skills. Many take these abilities for granted but keyboards are a daunting prospect for the first-time user. Similarly, the basic tasks of file and software management are at first slow, deliberate and somewhat tedious. These characteristics of the early stages of skills development are well established in research (Anderson, 2000). It is often argued that for novice computer users these basic skills are not seen as ends in themselves but as means to an end, a price to be paid for future, more engaging computer activities. This argument implies that participation is deferred; it is something that happens later and must be preceded by the hard work of basic skills. The alternative view, proposed here, is that participation is evident from the onset and the need-to-participate is the key driver of learning. Instructional strategies may advance or even hinder the process but adult learners who set out to use information and communication technologies for the first time are essentially engaged in participation.

An appropriate metaphor for this perspective is akin to what happens with an orchestra where the main activity is regarded not as combinations of hand movements or wind on instruments, but rather as the altogether more complete notion of playing a symphony. This involves a blend—sometimes the violins, sometimes the horns, and many times combinations of these with the other instruments. The overarching goal is to play music. The
progression from novice to accomplished musician involves several transitions: from physical to psychical movement in play, from individual to group sensitivity, and the acceptance of shared values and norms of the craft or profession—as Dewey (1916/2008) puts it the participant “becomes saturated with its emotional spirit” (p. 11).

Reverting to framework of stipulations for learning theory introduced above we note that competence and participation offer different telos for learning: competence is a state of affairs whereas participation implies activity. Dewey (1916/2008) distinguished between training based on passive absorption and reinforcement, and education as the “degree in which an individual shares or participates in some conjoint activity” (p. 11). This same split is also evident in the contrast between the notion of education as preparation for life and education as part of life (cf. Dewey, 1938).

The three-part framework also suggests that learning theories stipulate different conceptions of the subject world relationship and mechanisms for learning. As Lave (1996) suggests, the subject-world relationship hinges on the question of how we conceive knowledge: as external and thereby objectively transmitted or as internal and thereby socially constructed. Dewey also discusses these approaches in terms of two competing ideas of learning.

On the one hand, learning is the sum total of what is known, as that is handed down by books and learned men. It is something external, an accumulation of cognitions as one might store material commodities in a warehouse. Truth exists ready-made somewhere. Study is then the process by which an individual draws on what is in storage. On the other hand, learning means something which the individual does when he studies. It is an active, personally conducted affair. (Dewey, 1916/2008 p 268)

Dewey’s own vision was in keeping with the latter active notion of learning expressed above. Much educational debate has centred on the epistimological demarkation outlined above and the two positions outlined by Dewey have significant consequences for how we organise, encourage, measure and research learning. This ideological fracture is ultimately at the root of dualities such as positivism and post-modernism, behaviourism and constructivism, literacy as skills versus literacy as social practice and learning as directed at competence versus learning as participation.

Learning as Participation

To Lave and Wenger (1991) the concept of internalization, and therefore learning, is embedded in the process of participation. They see this as a logical extension of cultural historical theory:

First, the historicizing of processes of learning gives the lie to ahistorical views of “internalization” as a universal process. Further, given a rational understanding of person, world, and activity, participation, at the core our theory of learning can be neither fully internalized as instrumental artifacts or overarching activity structures. Participation is always based on situated negotiation and renegotiation of meaning in the world. This implies that understanding and experience are in constant interaction—indeed, are mutually constitutive. (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 51)

Lave and Wenger (1991) describe learning as participation in social practice and they build on the notion of cognitive apprenticeship, put forth by Collins, Brown, and Newman (1986), to look at the way people learn and extend their participation in social contexts. Lave and Wenger (1991) describe the notion of “legitimate peripheral participation” (p. 290). The emphasis is on the learning journey within a community or practice from the periphery to the
center (Wenger, 1998). This process is driven by active participation and important facilitative mechanisms are social structures designed to allow the learner to operate in their zone of proximal development. Wenger (2005) suggests that meaningfulness is at the root of community of practice learning, as learning within social contexts facilitates the negotiation of new meanings.

To illustrate, consider a situation where an inexperienced adult decides to begin to use a computer to send e-mails for the first time to a circle of friends who she knows already communicate by e-mail. We consider this activity not just as the act of an individual sending or receiving e-mail. It is also, a movement towards participation by both individual and group. In the beginning, the new e-mailer may be regarded as operating on the periphery of the community of practice (here the practice is friends communicating by e-mail) and over time, she will learn her way into the practice by using the tools, terminology, unwritten rules and protocols of the group. Such a person’s competence will gradually be enhanced as she moves from the outskirts to the center of this community of practice. The community thus facilitates transitions of participation from legitimate peripheral participation to central participation and the community itself grows and changes by means of this process.

**Literacy**

The theoretical underpinnings for this view of learning as participation are shared with the research and scholarship on literacy and the contrast between literacy-as-skills approaches and the movement for situated literacies (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Tett, Hamilton, & Hillier, 2006) or *multiliteracies* (The New London Group, 1996).

In many policy contexts literacy is conceived as a set of specific and measurable skills. The International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) reports on levels and distributions of literacy in adult populations in 20 countries (OECD, 2000). This functional model of literacy (Papen, 2005) is characterized by measurement in terms of individual competence levels and the connection with employment and economic potential. Such an approach often focuses on literacy as an individual deficit and skills as a means of addressing such a deficit. This conception also suggests that there are fixed and discrete sets of skills that can be identified and measured by instruments such as the International Adult Literacy Survey.

In contrast, many theorists argue that literacy should be seen as social and situated practice (Barton, 2000; Papen, 2005, 2005b; Tett, Hamilton, & Hillier, 2006). This view interprets literacy as embedded in the activities of everyday life (social practices) and argues that there is little value in thinking about literacy independent of the context in which it is encountered. A social practice and situated view of literacy endorses a broader conception of what takes place when we encounter text or symbols in our everyday lives. Literacy is no longer seen as a set of identifiable and measurable skills; rather, literacy is embedded in participation and practice and is situated within specific social encounters. This also suggests that literacy and power are inter-connected in all societies; and some literacies are more powerful than others.

In particular, basic literacies are associated with important everyday practices and are recognized by the implicit assumption that everyone is capable of full participation in these practices (Casey, 2009). People who lack basic skills are prevented from participation in important everyday practices; in modern economies these practices involve digital and computer technology.

This contrast between functional and social practice approaches to literacy leads to differences in research methodology. Investigating literacy as functional skills suggests experimental research designs involving for example, different instructional interventions,
and individual pre and post-test measurements. Alternatively, a social practice view implies literacy is studied in context, in the everyday circumstances in which people encounter literacy events and this suggests ethnographic and qualitative research approaches.

**Background to the study**

This research set out to investigate the nature of this form of learning described as pathways to competence and participation in the digital world (Casey 2009). The goal was to investigate adult learning and motivation for basic digital literacy—to ask how we should characterize such learning and to identify influences on a person’s decision to learn. The decisions, actions and experiences of students of *Know IT*, a blended learning course intended to enhance basic digital literacy in the Irish workplace, provided the specific context for the research.

The *Know IT* project was a workforce learning intervention designed to improve everyday computer skills in adults. It used a blended learning approach and consisted of a self-instructional CD-ROM, a learner’s journal and optional attendance at tutorials for direct instruction. The course was free and the flexible delivery model enabled low barriers to entry. In all, 1163 students took the course. A sample of 120 of the students also completed a self-report questionnaire developed by the researcher in order to provide background data for the subsequent grounded theory research reported here (Casey 2009). From the survey findings, a picture emerges of *Know IT* students participating on the course to gain computer competence and not for academic qualifications, career enhancement or out of intrinsic interest.

**Method**

Qualitative interviews were conducted with nine students and grounded theory practice was used to construct an independent analysis of their conceptions of learning influences, motive and actions. Grounded theory differs from empirical research methods in that the process of theory building is inductive. The approach enabled underlying theory to be discovered through analysis of data using what Glaser and Strauss (1968) call the ‘constant comparative method’. Charmaz (2006) citing Glaser and Strauss provides a summary of defining components of grounded theory practice as:

- Simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis;
- Constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived logically deduced hypothesis;
- Using the constant comparative method;
- Advancing theory development during each step of data collection and analysis;
- Memo writing to elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories and identify gaps;
- Sampling aimed toward theory construction, not for population representativeness;
- Conducting the literature review after developing an independent analysis.

(Charmaz, 2006 p 6)

The components outlined above informed the research approach reported here. Through seven months the student interviews were conducted, transcribed, coded, recoded and analyzed. Data analysis and data collection were intertwined—each informing the other. With grounded theory the challenge for the researcher is to remain open and sensitive
throughout the process and to look for meaning within the data and not from preconceived theories. As suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1990), the term “category” is used to denote a classification of concepts. When denoted as proper nouns as in “Competence Desire” or “Proximate Sites of Engagement” they refer to the categories as defined by this research and not any other meaning of these terms.

In order to make sense of the findings it is necessary to briefly introduce the participants of this research; Table 1 indicates the research pseudonym, age, occupation and dates in which the interviews took place.

Table 1. Research Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Date of interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Retail store</td>
<td>November 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Dockland driver</td>
<td>December 2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jen</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Retail store</td>
<td>February 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tracy</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Retail store</td>
<td>March 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dot</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Retail store</td>
<td>April 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tess</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Multiple roles</td>
<td>April 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Warehouse worker</td>
<td>May 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Retail store</td>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Bus worker</td>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tim</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Bus worker</td>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Findings

Three significant concepts emerged from the independent analysis: 1) the Digital World, 2) Competence Desire and 3) Learning Identity. The findings suggested that the interplay between these three constructs provided the impetus and direction for individual strategies for learning. Further conceptualization led to learning described as pathways to competence and participation in the digital world.

The Digital World

Many of the informants implicitly suggest the notion of two worlds as they describe their encounters with technology. These two worlds, the traditional world and the digital world, co-exist. For many years, people are content to live in the traditional world and to read about, or hear about, the digital world through communications and the media. One informant, Ben, describes his view of the world of computers:

It’s just a new world…bit too late [to take up a course] though! ‘07 by right it should
have been about ten years ago when they started really started to come out…they were there all the time. It’d just be Oh! We won’t be using them in our lifetime. Wow! That was when you were in your thirties…whatever.

From a distance, the Digital World is no threat and although one could broadly appreciate the advantages of competence in the Digital World, the case was not very compelling. This is similar to the way in which people might wish to learn a new language—although they see the advantages, they never quite get around to taking action, as there is no immediate or compelling requirement. Jim, who admits he always had an inclination toward technology, provides a sense of what this might have felt like when he describes his frustration at not doing a computer course earlier in life:

It’s just something I wanted to do... Just I never had the time as the fellow would say. But I did have the time … I’m lying about that. I did have the time! I just didn’t have the inclination when the kids were at school, when they had a computer you know.

For a long time the Digital World is admired from afar; considered to be a positive development, generally associated with the young, and with people in senior management in the workplace. There was never really an expectation that someday one would have to participate in this world.

However, the Digital World begins to invade the traditional world. Familiar sites of competence become contested ground between digital and traditional practices. For example, booking a family holiday, which was part of the traditional world, has now largely shifted to the digital world. Finding cheap flights and hotel booking dates and times can be effectively managed over the Internet. The Digital World has also invaded many workplaces and it is difficult to find a job that does not require some level of computer competence. It is no longer sufficient to regard the Digital World as disassociated from everyday life. Worse still, if you are not digitally competent—if you cannot access the technology and thereby you cannot participate—life seems to carry on regardless. All of a sudden, as Mary puts it, ‘you’re being left behind.’ It’s not so much that the Digital World is opening up new possibilities; it is rather, that the traditional world, your traditional world, is being swallowed up. Tim puts it this way: “What I can understand of it you can’t even…go to a film or go to a show without booking things online and things like that…I would be at a loss there”. All the while, younger, digitally competent people are adapting faster, they’re booking holidays and using technology effectively in the workplace. Traditional roles and power relationships are being undermined by these changes.

**Proximate Sites of Engagement - The Digital World Close-Up**

A sub-category of the Digital World emerged as Proximate Sites of Engagement where the informants describe their close encounters with the Digital World. Proximate Sites of Engagement are characterized from the perspective of the individual. They are sites where one encounters practices of the Digital World that have a counterpart, or resonance, with familiar traditional world practices; examples are, Internet holiday bookings, e-mail communication and on-line information seeking. Research participants knew, in a general way, what was taking place at Proximate Sites of Engagement—the basic processes were familiar to them. The analysis suggested a pattern of progressive engagement as moving from simple awareness to active appropriation of the technology to achieve a desired outcome. This progression starts with awareness of computers being used close-by; this awareness is often accompanied by feelings of regret at not becoming involved, as depicted in this statement by Jim:

Well the reason I wanted to do [the course] is…I’ve never done computers you know but the kids have computers in the house but I never went near them all the time when
they were growing up and that.

Some informants described how they used other people as “proxies” to carry out tasks, which allowed them access the advantages of the digital technologies. Figure 1 presents a likely progression path for learning at Proximate Sites of Engagement. To illustrate how this works I refer to the process as described by another informant Tracy. Tracy describes how, in the past, she perceived her daughters upstairs using computers; she reported that she wasn’t really aware of what was going on. This first stage ‘unaware’ is presented at the far left of Figure 1.

Later, Tracy wishes to use computers to book holidays—this creates an impetus, a desire for the functional advantages of the Internet. To progress toward the goal Tracy uses a proxy, her friend Carol, to make holiday bookings. However, it is difficult to completely outsource this task as there are many small decisions connected with the holiday-booking process and therefore Tracy needs to be present as Carol works through the task. Tracy observes Carol as she completes the task. The cyclical dynamic of the Digital World, Competence Desire and Learning Identity is now in play and Tracy begins to feel that she can achieve this specific competence—in her own words “it looks simple enough so I’d like to learn how to do things like that”. Tracy moves toward participation through this mechanism.

**Figure 1. Learning at Proximate Sites of Engagement**

Tracy was not the only informant who reported using a proxy and learning at Proximate Sites of Engagement—Marie uses her daughter as a proxy “if I want to get something I’d say to [daughter] will you just go in and order that for me”. Tess and Dot also report using others in a similar way. However, use of a proxy is just one of many possible mechanisms for learning at Proximate Sites of Engagement. Some informants, such as Mary, tried to learn to use a computer from a son or daughter; this is not necessarily the same mechanism as using a proxy and by Mary’s account, her son did not have the patience for the process to be successful.

**Competence Desire**

The analysis identified two types of competence desire as General Competence Desire—a general wish to be knowledgeable, literate and to participate in the Digital World and Specific Competence Desire—a wish to be able to perform certain useful ICT related tasks. Jen expresses her desire for computer competence:

To know everything about It’s like reading a book to know everything about a computer to go in … to wan and ram and ram what all of these mean I’ve an idea but I’m not fully literate in that respect. I want to be able to use it if somebody asked me to do something ok no problem get on to the computer do it and don’t be you know—there’s nothing to it—just like using the telephone just like reading a book to be literate to be fully literate at the computer…get on and do it.

Jen, like many of the informants, expresses her desire in terms of what she wishes to
be able to do and the associated literacies she wants to be able to master. In keeping with many of the desire statements from study participants, Jen expresses her desire in relation to how others might see her: “if someone asked me to do something ok no problem”. Who is this person that says ok no problem? It is the person that Jen desires to be. In the excerpt Jen is expressing a broad desire for competence and in the analysis this was coded as a sub-category, General Competence Desire.

General Competence Desire speaks of a wish to be someone else, a competent and effective person as regards computers. This general wish is expressed in comparison with others. One senses that it is a wish doomed to failure; there are few pathways to instant expertise. Informants regularly expressed frustration when they described their desire in such a generalized manner as they looked back at missed opportunities and unfulfilled potential.

**Specific Competence Desire**

It is reasonable to ask what exactly is intended, in the context of this grounded theory, when the term competence is used. Participants did not really talk about competence in a single-dimensional way as might be expected. For example, if this research was about the competence associated with driving a car one might expect people to say ‘first I’d like to know about the gears, then how to turn’ and so on. Research participants, on the other hand, present their competence desire in the context of the use of technology rather than the technology itself. Ben is typical:

> It is more or less just getting to the ins and outs of it and all that and maybe looking up what’s in your bank account all the time instead of going to an ATM machine or whatever. What’s all there where’s me money going or what’s this! What’s what, where?

What competence does Ben desire? He wants to manage his finances and he wishes to use the Internet to accomplish this more effectively. Going back to the driving-the-car analogy, it’s as if respondents would reply ‘first I want to learn how to drive to the bank, then to the cinema’ and so on. Most participants framed their desire for competence in a similar manner and this was classed as Specific Competence Desire.

All of the interviews yielded evidence of wish-statements that identify specific actions and use-contexts for digital technology. The most common specific competences indicated by participants were 1) to book travel and make holiday arrangements, 2) to use e-mail to communicate with friends and family, 3) to use e-mail in workplace contexts (4) to manage finances on-line, and 5) to use the Internet to find information on areas of interest. Specific competences are associated with extending the effectiveness of an individual to control and manage everyday life. Unlike General Competence Desire, they are not directed at redefining the person as an effective computer user.

Many of the participants report their Competence Desire alongside the sites where they have encountered such competences in others—these are the previously introduced Proximate Sites of Engagement. Several of the informants discuss computers in the home as sites of engagement. In the following extract, Mary captures some of the experiential aspects of Competence Desire—these are ‘feelings’ of exclusion, adopting strategies for ‘coping,’ and the sense of ‘inclusion’ when competence is achieved. The interview extract is segmented into three parts to demonstrate how these three elements relate to each other. In this first section Mary is describing how she feels as she commutes and works alongside people who she perceives as computer competent:

> Well, you’re left out, you’re out of the loop, totally, because even on your own—the train going home or talking in work or they’re talking about e-mails and they’re
talking with this, that and the other which is common place now, you really don’t know what they’re talking about.

Mary then presents her strategy for dealing or coping with the situation in the past:

You’re pretending you are, you pretend you know what e-mails [are] and you do but how to use them and how to interact in that world you don’t really have a clue even though you pretend.

Finally, Mary describes the sense of inclusion that comes with gaining the competence to participate:

And I meant it’s great that all of sudden you’re there too. Your par, you’re included instead of excluded. And it’s, very...I was very proud of myself

This is the sense in which the term competence is intended. It can mean different things to different people and it has more to do with activity and participation rather than skills and software. As Mary says when you’re competent “you’re on a par and included”.

In the excerpts above, we have a picture of Mary as she sits on the train, feeling left out when she overhears conversations about e-mail and the Internet. She describes the feeling as one of being excluded. From whom does Mary feel excluded? Consider the hypothetical situation of Mary sitting beside a group of electronic engineers talking about advanced microprocessors—would she have the same feelings of isolation? Perhaps Mary has provided the answer in the text above when she says, “when you’re competent you’re on a par”. Mary does not seek expertise—she does not desire to be better or smarter than others—just on a par. The term on a par implies that one is equally competent relative to others. However, a key question is what others are they talking about? Mary, like many of the research participants, doesn’t want to be someone else—her desire is for a more competent version of herself and she uses other people, whom she sees as computer competent, as reference points. The characteristic of the others in this instance is that they are potential co-participants in the Digital World.

Learning Identity

In this section I discuss the category of Learning Identity and, as with the other categories in this discussion Learning Identity means the construct as derived from this grounded theory process. Learning Identity may be regarded as shorthand for ‘how I see myself as a learner’; it includes experiences at school and educational courses; achievements such as passing a driving test or being successful at voluntary work and challenges such as imminent retirement, marital problems or coping with alcoholism.

Learning Identity is also manifested in terms of the feelings expressed by informants in relation to these experiences such as regret at missed opportunities—particularly not making the most of previous encounters with technology; feelings of inadequacy, frustration and expressions of a lack of confidence in one’s abilities; comparisons with others who are perceived as more competent; and age comparisons related to the perception of young people as being ‘good with technology’.

Of course, experiences and feelings as co-constituents of Learning Identity are never isolated from each other—experiences give rise to feelings which in turn influence the nature of experience.
The Digital World, Competence Desire and Learning Identity

In Figure 2 I propose an example of the dynamic relationship between the three main categories the Digital World, Competence Desire and Learning Identity. The dotted line in the lower left of the figure suggests how the Digital World and Learning Identity relate to each other. The Digital World is experienced as part of Learning Identity and consequent feelings, for example, inadequacy, arise as a result (other feelings are omitted for clarity). These feelings, in turn give rise to Competence Desire. There is a constant tension between Learning Identity and Competence Desire—each may stimulate the other—feeling of inadequacy makes one want to be competent but wanting to be competent also contributes to feelings of inadequacy.

Figure 2. Digital World, Competence Desire and Learning Identity

I speculate that the interaction may be self-regulating—competence desire is carefully managed by the individual as when left unfulfilled, it gives rise to further feelings of inadequacy and regret. This may explain why so many of the informants report being unaware or passive about technology for long periods of time. An example of this is where Tracy recalls her lack of awareness of her daughters during the time before she wanted to do a computer course: “they’d be tap-tap-tapping away but at that stage I didn’t, I blanked it like, I didn’t notice they were so computer literate like until I started this”.

In Figure 2 the dimension of Specific Competence Desire is shown on the right for clarity as is the sub-category of Proximate Sites of Engagement. As previously discussed, Competence Desire is characterized by two sub-categories General Competence Desire and Specific Competence Desire. General Competence Desire is broad and undefined and remains inevitably unfulfilled. Specific competences are more achievable and less likely to be unfulfilled hence Specific Competence Desire is more useful to the individual. How does Specific Competence Desire arise? Figure 2 suggests that it arises through close-up encounters with the Digital World in scenarios described through its sub-category Proximate Sites of Engagement.
Competence and Participation

In this section I would like to demonstrate how participation rather than competence best describes the trajectory of learning in these contexts. Consider the following excerpts from the participant interviews:

I like going on holidays two or three times a year….and then when you’re on holidays you get someone who’d say oh! Send me an e-mail or send me something I’d keep in touch with… (Ben)

My colleagues at work, they were all very encouraging particularly the young people—when they heard that I was doing the course whatever and they all put me down on the e-mail and sent an e-mail to me so I have like six or seven people that keep me going you know back and forward. (Dot)

The first and second levels of conceptual coding for these statements suggested that they are part of the category Competence Desire. They relate to e-mail competence and describe wished-for scenarios. Notice how the expression of these desires transcends functional competence; they are expressions of desire for participation. What Ben really wants is to participate in a connected world. In Dot’s case, it is obvious that her colleagues implicitly understand her need to participate and they actively send her e-mails to get her going.

It may be argued that an expanded notion of competence would itself involve participation. However, notice that in the excerpts above informants were not expressing a wish for advanced e-mail competences; they do not say something like “I’d love to send hundreds of e-mails at a time” or “I would like people to regard me as good with e-mails”. Rather, they are expressing something like “there are practices out there connected with human communication and I want to be part of them”. I wish to participate—e-mail is regarded as the means to this end.

Discussion

Data from this research consistently emphasized a conception of learning as directed toward participation rather than competence. We can regard the trajectory of learning as extending beyond levels of competence to participation. What then is the nature of this extension? As Habermas (1984) suggests, participation is a process involving communicative rationality; framed by sets of assumptions on both sides and these assumptions are, in turn, influenced by the process of participation. This connects also with Lave and Wenger’s (1991) notion of communities of practice and their description of the process that takes a person from legitimate peripheral participation to full participation. In the case of a first time adult computer user, this movement may also be mapped by the reframing process of a person’s point of view (Mezirow, 2000) of themselves—from “I’m really no good at this I’ll keep quiet lest I be humiliated” to “I have standing in this group and I wish to contribute to this debate”. This is the nature of participation; it is always connected with changing assumptions.

Why should we describe learning in terms of pathways to competence and participation? I suggest that the pathways metaphor is appropriate to describe the phenomenon that has been investigated by this research. A pathway leads to a new location and in this instance the location is participation in the Digital World. There is no direct or universal route; each pathway is unique. Learning opportunities such as presented by Know IT and at Proximate Sites of Engagement are appropriated as paths of least resistance. The drive that compels individuals to pursue the path is a desire to participate in the connected world of digital technologies.
Future Directions

The research described here was designed to answer certain questions and to provide new insights in an area of practice that is both important and under-investigated. Inevitably, the research process and outcomes have resulted in many new questions that fall outside the scope of this inquiry. More research is needed to develop the three constructs that emerged from the grounded theory process—the Digital World, Competence Desire and Learning Identity. The notion of Proximate Sites of Engagement emerged from the narratives of some of the participants in this research. How prevalent is this phenomenon? New studies involving, perhaps, survey instruments, would yield valuable additional insights.

A useful area of further investigation is the intersection of transformative learning and newly found digital competences in older people. The research uncovered some evidence that such competence leads to fuller participation and may consequently, lead to a reappraisal of previously unquestioned assumptions. However, further investigation would be required to establish the extent and nature of this process.

Conclusion

This paper began by asking what are we to make of learning theories today and suggested that we look to participation for part of the answer. There is nothing especially new in the connection between participation and learning—Dewey and others have already identified it. However, instructional practices, particularly those associated with literacy, often ignore or underestimate this connection. Instead we get caught in the rhetoric of discrete learning outcomes and learning by parts.

The ideals of progressive education suggest that we look beyond the way we have always done things and ask more fundamental questions about learning and instruction. One such question is the extent to which our approach to learning and teaching takes account of the need to participate. It is certainly the case that digital technologies give rise to a myriad of opportunities for educational reform. However, to make the most of these we will need a new pedagogy that places learning as participation at the heart of the theoretical underpinnings of how we understand the learning process.
References


Progressive Museum Education: Examples from the 1960s

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Abstract
The combination of pedagogy and political aims, a constant theme in the progressive school education literature, is reflected as well in the history of museum education. Museum educators, following the lead of John Dewey, advocated for experiential pedagogy, a natural course for museums since they emphasize learning from objects and experiences rather than through lecture and text. But progressive museum educators also embraced the socio-political goals of progressive education. This was evident in the growing field of museum education during the progressive era, and, more recently in the history of the San Francisco Exploratorium and the Boston Children’s Museum, institutions that had close ideological and personal connections with progressive educators in the 1960s and 1970s.

Keywords: John Dewey, museum education, progressive education, progressive society

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Introduction

The history of progressive education in the United States and worldwide is well known. Much has been written about its successes and failures, its pedagogy and the politics related to it (See Bruce & Pecore, 2013). But while progressive education in schools is well documented, progressive ideas have also influenced other educational domains. One for which there is little literature is the influence of progressive ideas on museum education. This is at least in part because there has been little attention to the history of museum education, even in the museological literature. In The Museum: Its History and its Tasks in Education (1949), still the best source of early museum education history, Alma Wittlin pointed out the long tradition of the use of museums as educational institutions and emphasized that the modern public museum, as distinct from the early cabinets of curiosity or royal Schatzkammern, was “an expression of the eighteenth-century spirit of enlightenment which generated enthusiasm for equality of opportunity in learning,” although she also noted that “In practice, the traditions of the former private collections were carried on in the public museums, notwithstanding the contrariety of purpose and of circumstances” (Wittlin 1949, p. 133).

In the newly formed United States, where there was no tradition of elegant private collections opening to the public, early museums were recognized as educational institutions dedicated to the furtherance of the new democratic republic. Charles Willson Peale, Jefferson’s contemporary and friend, created his museum in the late 18th century with the intention of providing an educational resource for the public. David Ward (2004, p. xx), in his excellent biography of Peale, calls him “America’s educator.”

The intellectual and political leaders of the new United States were clear that education was a crucial component in supporting the new society they planned. Since there were few public schools at the time and no compulsory school attendance, museums had an obvious function in providing resources for educating both children and adults. As Peale (1795) said, echoing Jefferson, Madison and others, “In a country whose institutions all depend upon the virtue of the people, which in its turn is secure only as they are well informed, the promotion of knowledge is the first of duties.”

This connection of the role of education with the promotion of democratic practice is at the heart of John Dewey’s Democracy and Education (1916), and should be an essential component of any discussion of progressive education. The term “progressive” was an adjective Dewey used frequently to describe society: progressive societies, as opposed to static ones, recognize that education can promote progress towards a more just and more democratic society (Dewey, 1916, chapter 6, pp. 69-80). His earlier writings on education, such as The School and Society (1900), emphasize the pedagogic components of his educational ideas—the integration of school with life, learning through doing, an emphasis on experiences and the use of intellectual tools to integrate the experiences into understanding.

Education, so central to Dewey’s conception of philosophy was for him not only a pedagogic task, but also a moral one: the goal of education was to provide the means for students and teachers to learn how to live in a democratic society. The first sentence of the preface to Democracy and Education makes this clear: “The following pages embody an endeavor to detect and state the ideas implied in a democratic society and to apply these ideas to the problems of the enterprise of education” (Dewey, 1916, p. iii).

The integral combination of experiential learning and a social-justice political goal is evident in almost every educational movement labeled as “progressive.” For example, Paulo Freire’s literacy program that uses pictures and discussion has a goal of empowering workers, Maria Montessori’s reform efforts and hands-on materials were intended to particularly serve
neglected children; and Loris Malaguzzi and the Reggio Emilia villagers wanted a better education for their working class children than offered by the pre-war elitist Italian schools.

Museums by their very nature fulfill the requirements for a progressive pedagogy: they do not rely on books or lectures to achieve their educational goals, but emphasize experience with objects. Although much museum experience involves primarily observation (especially in art museums), modern museums increasingly include active learning through interactive exhibitions.

Progressive museums, like progressive schools, follow Dewey’s lead and combine experiential learning with a commitment to the socio-political goal of promoting democratic practices.

**Dewey’s interest in Museums**

Museums were an important component of Dewey’s formulation of education. The charts for an ideal school building in *The School and Society* (Chapter 3, pp. 63-94), as well as the text, illustrate that museums along with libraries are central to Dewey’s thinking about curriculum. He writes, discussing art explicitly but clearly indicating that the same applies to other subjects:

[The school] is a living union of thought and the instrument of expression. This union is symbolized by saying that in the ideal school the art work might be considered to be that of the shops, passed through the alembic of library and museum into action again. (Dewey, 1900, p. 89).

The actual new building for the School of Education, completed in 1903, was designed to follow this ideal model. Dewey also spent considerable time in visiting museums and consistently included them in his conception of education. For example, shortly after arriving in Chicago, while his wife and older children were in Europe, he writes to her, “I haven’t been invited out today and am going to see the Columbian Museum, as it’s a ‘free’ day—alone and great will be the joy thereof” (Dewey, 1894).

Visits to museums were a regular feature of life at the Chicago Laboratory School. The University Museum and the Field Columbian Museum (which at that time was close to the school, at the site of the present Chicago Museum of Science and Industry) were both integral parts of an extensive program of excursions that connected school life with the world outside.

During 1896–97, an hour and a half was set aside on Monday mornings for trips to the Field Columbian Museum. … The younger children had a plot of ground … where they often went to observe seasonal changes in nature. Older children went to the university laboratories to see such instruments as the interferometer and spectroscope. There were also longer trips—to the quarry on Stony Island where glacial markings were observed, to the cotton mills in Aurora to see the spinning of cotton, and others to Ravinia to see the clay bluffs, to Miller Station to see the sand dunes and desert and to Sixty-third Street and the city limits to see a typical prairie area (DePencier, 1967, p. 33).

His recommendations to the Turkish government after reviewing education in that country shortly after the establishment of the new republic, include advice familiar to any reader of *The School and Society*: The school building should support the progressive educational program and thus should include a museum.
The construction of the school building bears a closer relation to the kind of instruction given, and the methods of school discipline and instruction, than is usually believed. … No steady development of progressive education is possible without buildings which have proper sanitary and toilet facilities, places for manual training, domestic science, drawing and art, library, museum etc. (Dewey, 1924, p. 303)

**Progressive Museum Educators**

Museum educators in the early twentieth century echoed Dewey’s writings on education. Louise Connolly, the educational advisor at the Newark Museum describes her work in language of progressive education.

Then came the modern movement in pedagogy. It took off the shackles of dead forms that had trammeled the feet of teachers, and bade them walk. Some do not know to this day that their feet are free; but many are treading with firm step the uphill path that leads to high achievement just because they know enough to study the child as well as the subject . . . So we take our children to see the real thing, whatever that may be, and then to the museum where hand specimens of it may be found to remind us of it, and then we reduce our knowledge of it to language, and, finally, we look into books to be reminded by language of our experience-gained knowledge.

The whole city administration in any progressive city is a museum. A class reciting upon the function of courts has seen a court in session. The city itself is a still larger and fuller museum. A class desiring to sketch trees sits in the park or on its school-house doorstep for the lesson. A class in United States history gathers about the statue of Washington. Rivers are studied on a river’s brink. (Connolly, 1914a, p. 7).

Like so many progressive educators then and now, Connolly, formerly a public school teacher and administrator, was also active in progressive politics. She was an ardent feminist and supporter of women’s suffrage. While addressing a meeting of the National Municipal League in 1914, she emphasized that schools had difficulties in meeting their civic responsibilities because “Training for citizenship is in the hands of those [i.e. women] who can never be citizens,” and observed that when male teachers were appointed, “they constitute an element of weakness” because they lacked “that valuable training which comes from competition with one’s peers.” She pointed out that men were “levitated into positions of administrative power not because of achievement, but because of sex,” and that once appointed to positions of authority, they “are subject to influences that make civic courage hard to come by” (Connolly, 1914b, p. xx).

**Progressive Museum Education in the post-World War II period**

The combination of pedagogy and political aims, a constant theme in the progressive school education literature, is reflected as well in the history of museum education. In the 1960s, when progressive politics – including progressive education concepts – were revived in both museums and schools, many such connections were made. Two noteworthy examples from this period are described below.

The decade from the mid 1960s into the 1970s was a period of intense progressive political action. The “miracle congress” of 1964-65 passed civil rights legislation, initiated the major federal medical insurance programs and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that widened federal oversight of education among a wider spectrum of progressive political action. In schools, there was a major expansion of “hands-on” science education as well as a general movement to include experiential opportunities for children. This “open education” movement brought progressive pedagogy into schools and supported
sociopolitical changes: school integration, more equitable school funding and improving educational opportunities for disadvantaged children. Parallel efforts were initiated simultaneously in the museum world.

The Emergence of Modern Science Centers

In a twelve-month period in 1968-69 three museums opened that dramatically changed the landscape for exhibiting science to the public (Ogawa, Loomis, & Crain, 2009). The Exploratorium in San Francisco, the Lawrence Hall of Science on the campus of the University of California in Berkeley and the Toronto Science Center all promoted science education through interactive exhibits and programs that allowed visitors to manipulate materials and perform experiments to an extent never attempted before. Although these museums can be seen as the modern interpretation of earlier science-technology museums, exemplified in the 19th century by technology collections and industrial expositions and later, early in the 20th century, by science and technology museums, this “third generation” focused more intensely on public education through interactive, experiential exhibitions than on building collections or promoting particular technologies or industries, as had been typical previously (Friedman, 2007).

More significantly, the newer institutions were closely associated with post-World War Two efforts to reform education. As Semper (2007, p. 147) points out, “These new places were born out of the confluence of the learner-centered educational movement of the mid-1960s and the investigation-focused science education reform movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s.”

The Exploratorium illustrates this progressive aspect in both its pedagogic and political dimensions: its founder Frank Oppenheimer had attended the Ethical Culture School in New York, a progressive elementary school where John Dewey had sent his two younger daughters only a few years earlier. This school was started to provide educational opportunities for workers’ children. Felix Adler, founder of the Ethical Culture movement and principal of the school, was Dewey’s colleague at Columbia, and Dewey lectured to teachers at the school. The school provided a pedagogically progressive curriculum as well as a strong commitment to educate students to live in an “ethical culture” that promotes tolerance and greater social justice. These values underlie the mission of the school to this day. In founding the Exploratorium, Oppenheimer brought not only his skills as an experimental physicist and his experiences from a life-long habit of action, but also his progressive social-political background. In an interview, he says, “I grew up in a tradition where public education was a service of society and I believe a museum really is fundamental and should be a basic service of society” (Exploratorium, 2012a).

Figure 1. Frank Oppenheimer and a visitor,
Credit: Nancy Rodger, © Exploratorium, www.exploratorium.edu, Reproduced by permission
Oppenheimer was active in left wing politics as a young adult, and he and his wife Jackie joined the Communist Party in the 1930s, as did many liberals at that time. During the McCarthy years, Oppenheimer lost his academic job as a result of his political associations, and spent ten years as a rancher before regaining an academic position through friends at the University of Colorado. There he developed and built the equipment for an inquiry-based freshman physics lab where students could come and work on their own time, and not only complete course requirements, but also undertake their own investigations. Oppenheimer’s laboratory/workshop pedagogic style for a museum evolved at the University of Colorado, and later came to characterize the Exploratorium’s interactive exhibits: many components of this “library of experiments” built while he was teaching at the University of Colorado (Oppenheimer & Correll, 1964) later appeared on the floor of the Exploratorium as interactive exhibits.

Figure 2: Exploratorium interior, 1977; Credit: L. Erik Van Cort, © Exploratorium, www.exploratorium.edu, Reproduced by permission

After returning to academic life in Boulder, Oppenheimer also participated in school science education reform, another source of ideas for the Exploratorium. In 1962, his Colorado colleague and close friend David Hawkins was appointed founding director of the Elementary Science Study (ESS) (1962–1971), a project at the Education Development Center in Newton, Massachusetts (Romney & Neuendorffer, 1973). Several units (for example, Optics Table and Colored Shadows), now common science center exhibits worldwide, were originally developed at ESS as elementary school science activities. The ESS curriculum—deliberately developed not as a sequential curriculum but as a collection of approximately sixty units, all suggesting science inquiries that students and teachers could conduct—was strongly influenced by Dewey’s educational ideas. The staff at ESS, composed of scientists and teachers, included many individuals with strong backgrounds in progressive education.

David Hawkins, a philosopher who wrote extensively about Dewey, recognized the centrality of Dewey’s vision for education to his overall world-view.
What I find most admirable (and comforting) about Dewey’s work is that he, almost uniquely among philosophers since Plato, sees education as a topic so large—larger even than politics and religion—and so pervasive, as to be a kind of final challenge and focus for all philosophy.” (D. Hawkins, 2002, pp. 1-2)

Hawkins had served as the official historian for the Manhattan Project during the war. His wife, Frances Pockman Hawkins, an extraordinary teacher who wrote one of the seminal books on working with students with learning disabilities (F. Hawkins, 1969), also contributed to the ESS work. The Oppenheimerers spent at least one summer in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where Frank worked at an ESS summer school.

Figure 3: Philip Morrison and David Hawkins.
Credit: Reprinted by permission of Hawkins Centers of Learning

Physicist Philip Morrison, chairman of the ESS Advisory Committee, was another close friend who was both politically active and involved with science education, and was a frequent presence at ESS conferences and workshops, as was his wife Phyllis Singer. At a two-day symposium in honor of Philip Morrison’s 70th birthday, the keynote speakers were Hans Bethe (Morrison’s former Cornell colleague and Nobel laureate), Carl Sagan (who shared Morrison’s interest in searching for evidence of life in the universe), and Lillian Weber, acknowledging Morrison’s active engagement with progressive education. Weber, an early childhood specialist at City College of New York, was instrumental in bringing progressive education practices developed in post-war England—as the Labor government championed more egalitarian educational opportunities for all children—to the United States (see Weber, 1971). She developed the “Open Corridor” programs in New York City schools that allowed for interactive materials-based activities in school corridors, and opened a Teacher Center Workshop at City College, where teachers could become comfortable using more materials than were usually available in elementary classrooms. The Morrisons spent the summer of 1971 in San Francisco working at the Exploratorium and spent additional time out west during each of several subsequent summers. David and Frances Hawkins were also frequent visitors.
These physicists who were engaged in education also had in common their political involvement with social justice causes, and more specifically, their desire to use their skills to contribute something positive and practical for society after their years developing the atomic bomb and other military products during the Second World War. The Manhattan Project and the Radiation Lab at MIT (where the U.S. effort for perfecting radar was housed), two major government-funded scientific operations that demonstrated the ability of large, well funded, targeted projects to achieve significant results. After the war, these same scientists were eager to apply their intellectual and organizational talents to more constructive causes. Science education, a neglected activity in most elementary schools and taught by traditional methods in secondary schools, was an appropriate choice that linked their technical skills with a progressive social purpose. Frank Oppenheimer, David Hawkins, and Philip Morrison, all of whom were at Los Alamos during the war, became involved in popularizing science and in influencing the way it was taught. This community of scientists was deeply involved in the development of the Exploratorium.

At heart, Frank built the Exploratorium as a political institution. Its ultimate goal was to get people so addicted to understanding that they would somehow become inoculated against the clever deceptions of some advertisers and politicians. He would persuade them to use those brains of theirs to get involved, to add to the collective wisdom—the only true way, he thought, to solve our pressing global problems (Gell-Mann, 2009, p. xiv).

As one staff member commented, “The bomb gang used to hang out here. Most amazing group I’ve ever seen. They would come summers and come spend a lot of time with Explainers” (Ogawa, Loomis, & Cain, 2009, p. 281).

Their faith that better science education—based on interactive exploration of the natural world through close observation, experimentation, weighing evidence, and critical thinking in the Deweyan sense—could lead to a better world was repeatedly mentioned by this generation of scientists. Jerrold Zacharias, the founder and director of the Education Development Center (the parent organization of ESS), expressed this conviction most emphatically and directly. Zacharias, a student of Nobel laureate Isidor Rabi and a prominent physicist at the MIT Radiation Lab during the war, had demonstrated administrative skills as well as technical ability to become a key member of the wartime physics establishment. He helped to build up MIT’s physics department in the early post war years, and served on presidential science advisory committees under presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson (Goldstein, 1992). He even developed a simple yet sophisticated “formula for initiating educational reform projects.” And he had the “ability to bring together first-class minds … [a] reputation for successful innovation and … access to the decision makers in Washington and elsewhere” (Goldstein, 1992, pp. 219–220). But perhaps most importantly, he had a clear motive for all these peacetime efforts, namely to promote democracy and social justice. His faith in the power of science to improve society, not through its technical accomplishments but through the potential of science education to help people think clearly, convinced him of the need for education that promotes thinking and inquiry. Two of Zacharias’s public statements on this subject are unequivocal:

The reason I was willing to do it [develop a new high school physics course, his first effort in K-12 science education] was not because I wanted more physics or more physicists or more science; it was because I believed then, and I believe now, that in order to get people to be decent in this world, they have to have some kind of intellectual training that involves knowing [about] Observation, Evidence, the Basis for Belief (Goldstein, 1992, pp. 164-165).
It was largely a matter of social conscience, I believe, that motivated us [scientists] to school work. As scientists, we seek evidence before we try to create order, or orderliness, and we do not expect, nor even hope for, complete proof. … We live in a world of necessarily partial proof, built on evidence, which, although plentiful, is always limited in scope, amount, and style. Nevertheless, uncompleted as our theories may be, they all enjoy, in a sense, the benefits of due process of law. Dogmatism cannot enter and unsupported demagoguery has a tough time with us. A Hitler or a McCarthy could not survive in a society which demands evidence which can be subjected to examination, to reexamination, to doubt, to question, to cross-examination. It may be this lesson that gives us a missionary zeal (Zacharias, 1965, p. 102).

The overt association of science education with promotion of democratic concepts connects closely with Dewey’s faith in the potential for science as a model process for improving society.

**Museum Governance: The Boston Children’s Museum**

Another aspect of Dewey’s conception of progressive education was the effort to make schools themselves models of democratic practice. As Mahew and Edwards (1936, p. 466) in their definitive description of Dewey’s school point out, “It was thought that education could prepare the young for future social life only when the school was itself a cooperative society on a small scale.” The politics of the 1960s encouraged more communal organization for schools. Similar efforts were found in museums.

A long established museum that embraced the optimistic mood and progressive educational trends of the ‘60s, both pedagogically and politically, was the Boston Children's Museum (BCM), an institution whose evolution closely paralleled the broader progressive activities of this period (Hein, 2012). In 1962, Michael Spock joined the BCM as director. Spock came to the museum from a checkered early career as a struggling student at Antioch College and at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, but with a wide range of experience. Like Frank Oppenheimer, he had attended one of the Ethical Culture Schools in New York. He connects his own work directly with the progressive education he experienced: “Frank and I were educated in such powerful ways that we replicated those experiences at the Children's Museum and the Exploratorium” (Spock, 2012).

Figure 4: Patricia Steuert, Michael Spock, Jeri Robinson and Elaine Heumann Gurian ca. 1970; Credit: Courtesy of Boston Children’s Museum, Reproduced by permission.
Over several years, the staff at the BCM converted an old-fashioned, sleepy museum, with its collection of dollhouses and natural history objects, into a lively, interactive center for learning. The staff was not organized into the traditional museum structure of separate curatorial and education departments, typically with curators having higher status than educators, but into clusters based on content or activity:

One of the most often-asked questions by other museum professionals of BCM staff was, ‘why don't you have an education department?’ The simple answer was that the whole institution was focused on education; it was part of every department . . . In the 70s the BCM was organized into several departments: Visitor Center, Teacher Services, Community Services and Support Services. (Merrill & Steuert, 2012).

The organizational structure of these clusters, modified several times during twenty-three years of Spock’s directorship, was always intended to facilitate a focus on the audience: the children and parents who came to the museum, rather than on the collection. In 1968, the museum moved its visitor center into a space previously occupied by an auditorium, where “young visitors could now handle, poke, try on, stroke, smell, and even crawl inside [some exhibits]. There were electronic calculators, a giant aerial photomap of the metropolitan area in which a young visitor could locate his own home, a life-size, authentically furnished wigwam, and simple animation equipment that a child could use to make a 13-frame film” (Newsom & Silver, 1978, p. 124). The BCM staff developed MATCHBox (Materials and Activities for Teachers and Children), a collection of hands-on learning materials that were distributed to schools; they also mounted a number of daring exhibitions on difficult topics, such as disability and loss, at that time not usually addressed at children’s (or any other) museums.

The museum’s mission expanded to include as much of the community as could be reached: staff worked with hospitals, community centers, and other agencies, in addition to schools. In 1979, the museum moved from an earlier location at the edge of a middle class neighborhood to a refurbished warehouse that was nearer public transportation and downtown Boston. A “Playspace” was developed, a setting where young children could play and parents could observe them and perhaps learn about child development (Robinson, 2012). Lead developer Jerri Robinson described Playspace as part of the “silent revolution” promoted by the BCM that essentially introduced both progressive social and educational practices into museums, a model that has since been copied worldwide: the museum pioneered baby-changing spaces in men’s bathrooms and generally promoted safe public spaces for children and parents to be together.

The BCM’s activities matched the spirit of the times.

The museum’s social and pedagogical goals coincided with nationwide concerns for educational equity—a general alarm over the gaps in opportunity and achievement among different races, gender and economic classes—and the need for materials to enable experiential learning” (Merrill & Steuert, 2012).

There was considerable overlap between the museum staff’s efforts and those of colleagues who were working in other progressive educational settings: Phyllis Singer Morrison was a staff member at the museum, Bernie Zabrowski, an ESS staff member moved to the Children’s Museum and developed a number of pedagogically progressive interactive exhibitions that have been adopted by children’s museums worldwide, and close connections were developed with public schools and progressive educators at local teacher training institutions. The museum started a recycle center, where teachers in materials-rich open classrooms could collect supplies for their growing use of hands-on educational activities.
But equally important were the challenges that the museum set for itself, to evaluate its own organizational structure and to consider the relationship between internal structure and external goals. Since one aspect of Dewey’s progressive vision for schools was that they should function as models of democratic practice and should be organized as communities where children had rights, where teachers participated in administration, and where teachers’ traditional authoritarian character would be seriously reduced (Tanner, 1997) the Boston Children’s Museum experimented with its own administrative organization. Spock and his colleagues (Spock, 2013) addressed these issues as they explored alternative administrative structures. Reflecting on their work, Elaine Heumann Gurian describes a heady atmosphere that illustrates the democratic atmosphere of their endeavor:

There was a respect about the humanity of each of the individuals who worked there which was different than the understanding that we agreed with each other which we most certainly did not, or that we got along together all the time, which we did not always either. But there was a belief that everybody was bringing something to the table of value, that we could not individually do this ourselves and that it was truly a collective endeavor, in which, regardless of the hierarchy … cumulatively made what we did happen (Gurian, 2012).

To explain the facilitating organizational structure, Gurian postulates:

We were the equivalent of a commune. We were, at a time in America when collective action had a brand new and politically viable currency … where the destruction of the single leader and the followers was going on all around us. We were all politically left wing as was Michael Spock, and we had a deeply—each of us individually—had a deeply held belief in the value of individuals and the value of inclusion, and we worked desperately hard to make that happen. Our definition of what that meant was different, but we were solidly behind each other about communal and corporate responsibility. We were each other’s brothers and sisters. And it was much closer to being a commune than it was at the time a business model (Gurian, 2012).

The progressive idea that museums might reflect the democratic culture they promote continues to be espoused by some members of the museum profession. In 1980, Jette Sandahl created a women’s museum in Aarhus, Denmark that was organized in the most egalitarian manner possible within Danish museum legal structures (Morgensen, 1989). More
recently, Janes (2009) has argued that museums should consider an administrative model in which the director assumes the role of primus inter pares, rather than a position as a lonely leader in full command, but isolated from the rest of the staff.

Conclusion

These examples of progressive museum education illustrate the parallel development of progressive practice in schools and museums as well as the combination of progressive pedagogy with progressive social goals. It is logical that progressive education, with its commitment to liberal, community-minded goals, should thrive in times (such as the progressive era of the early 20th century and the 1960s) when the broader political arena is more receptive to liberal views. It is also not surprising that such programs flourish simultaneously in schools and museums.

Museums, like schools, are educational institutions (Hein, 2006). The collections and fabricated exhibitions become meaningful only when visitors are exposed to them. Although some modern art museums argue that their primary mission is collection and preservation, the general trend in the larger museum profession is toward recognition of the primacy of the educational role of museums. Since education always has a purpose, the issue of what role museum education plays in a democratic society is significant. At the present time, the political climate in the US is not nearly as accepting of progressive views as it was in the 1960s, either in education or more generally; on the contrary, schools increasingly emphasize competition, harsh disciplinary methods and a focus on basic core subjects to the neglect of arts and humanities. In comparison, progressive education continues to have a strong presence within museums, despite the fact that they, too, suffer from the diminished social interest in funding public institutions. Both here and in other countries, progressive efforts—such as exhibits that address social issues, educational programs that emphasize social concerns like climate change, or a public conversation about the structure and functioning of museums (see for example Janes & Conaty, 2005; Sandell & Nightingale, 2012)—are, at least, in the mainstream of museological dialogue and practice. We can only hope that museum educators will continue to contribute to the legacy of progressive education worldwide.

Endnotes


2 Early European “public” museums often had very restrictive admissions policies, open limited hours and only to selected guests who qualified as gentlemen, scholars or artists (Abt, 2006).

3 A common criticism of an exhibition is to refer to it as “A book on the wall,” indicating that it fails to engage visitors beyond what could have been learned from reading a book.

4 “The space on the third floor immediately over the library has been assigned to the museum. The museum will be furnished with gas and water. It is intended that the museum shall be used largely for practical work in connection with all the departments of the school‖ (Dewey, 1903, p. 343).

5 “Explainers are students from the Bay Area and from around the world who come together to participate in a teaching and learning experience at the Exploratorium—a museum of science, art, and human perception. Explainers learn exhibits, facilitate visitor-exhibit interaction and support general museum operations” (Exploratorium, 2012a).

6 Goldstein points out that “Observation, Evidence, the Basis for Belief” formed Zacharias’s mantra. “Jerrold always capitalized them. They were for him as fundamental as breathing” (Goldstein 1992, p. 344, note 26).

7 The history of the Boston Children’s Museum during this period is documented online at http://bcmstories.com/.
The production of circulating materials for schools is a practice long associated with progressive museum pedagogy. In the early years of the 20th century, the St. Louis school department had its own educational museum and produced kits for distribution to schools (Rathmann, 1915; Zucker, 1989). Progressive museum educator Laura Mary Bragg invented her own miniature exhibitions to send to schools as she developed an educational program first at the Charleston Museum in Charleston, SC, from 1910-1930 and later at the Berkshire Museum in Pittsfield, Massachusetts (See Allen, 2001).

In the United States, unlike most of the rest of the world, museums are primarily private non-profit organizations, not public the way most schools are. But they are “public” in the sense that they intend to serve the entire public without restrictions.
References


Progressive Educational Actions in a Post-Soviet Republic: Meaningful Collaborations and Empowerment

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Abstract
As the last Soviet republic to become an independent nation, Kazakhstan has worked diligently to transform and develop its educational system including systemic changes related to decentralization, financing changes, and the shift to a credit system. A professional health sciences education workshop delivered in Kazakhstan exemplifies progressive educational approaches. Attendees were educators from universities across Kazakhstan. The workshop was the product of collaboration between educators in the United States and Kazakhstan. Team-based learning was both a pedagogic method and topic of the workshop. Technology played a central role in the workshop, as it was integral to workshop development, collaboration, and evaluation. Furthermore, technology became a key content area of the workshop, as the educators presented advances in technology and specific tools to aid in the education of future medical professionals in Kazakhstan. In the months following the workshop, attendees embraced the challenge to take what they have learned back to their own universities by telling their stories. Using the collaborative learning approach and technological tools from the workshop, the attendees’ spirit of sharing reflects the dynamic development of education in Kazakhstan in the post-Soviet era.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, professional development, health sciences, collaborative learning, mixed methods, information and communication technologies

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Introduction

A former Soviet Republic, Kazakhstan achieved liberation in 1991 and entered into a period of transition and reform. Although the nation achieved independence, the ensuing period carried sequela such as governmental crises, crime, corruption, economic strife, and social tensions (Silova, Johnson, & Heyneman, 2007). Weakening social cohesion and fragmentation within the society began to increase throughout the Central Asian republics (International Crisis Group, 2001). Kazakhstan, however, appears to have persevered in its transition to an independent nation state. Relative to other Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan experienced economic success (International Crisis Group, 2003a). Although money spent on education as a proportion of GDP declined a sharp 50% after independence and the proportion remains low relative to Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) averages, stronger economic conditions provide more money to invest in education (Silova et al., 2007; World Bank, 2012). Notably, Kazakhstan launched an effort to make new, significant investments in education, seemingly understanding the economic value of education. This effort was marked by a priority shift and supported economically through appropriations for new initiatives. Kazakhstan has worked diligently to transform and develop its educational system including systemic changes related to decentralization, financing, and the shift to a credit system (Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2009). The aim of this paper is to exemplify progressive educational approaches through the story of a professional health sciences education workshop delivered to a community of health educators in Shymkent, Kazakhstan in 2011.

Background and Context

Inherited from the Soviet System of health professional training, the Kazakh system remained largely unchanged from independence through 2004 (Kulzhanov & Rechel, 2007). Through that time, it appeared to be plagued with three major problems: poor training quality; poor investment in educational buildings, facilities, and educational technology; and an immature system for regulating education. The Kazakhstan health system is unique and remains in a transitional period, and it is necessary to provide context by discussing the Kazakh system for training healthcare personnel. Because the topic of health sciences education intersects two systems, higher education and healthcare, we will discuss the intersection of both systems and review developments related to decentralization, financing, and the credit system.

The Kazakh health professional education system experienced structural changes in addition to the policy reforms discussed in the next section. Consistent with medical education reforms, in 2007 the health sciences education system narrowed its focus from eight to five educational areas: general medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, nursing, and public health (Katsaga, Kulzhanov, Karanikolos, & Rechel, 2012). Despite this concentration, the number of institutions engaged in training health professionals increased. In the period from 2007 through 2009, the number of medical universities decreased by one to seven while the number of nursing colleges increased by seven to 57 (Katsaga et al., 2012). The policies and systems guiding this growing number of institutions became increasingly important.

Decentralization. Health professional education in Kazakhstan seems consistent with the general national education policy. In the 2000s the nation witnessed a period of decentralization in the management and finance of education (OECD, 2007; Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2009). To this end, the medical universities of Kazakhstan have attained greater autonomy (Katsaga et al., 2012). They now have greater authority to budget and manage their own resources relative to the system under Soviet control.
Financing. Poor investment in educational facilities remained problematic post-independence. A five-year program sought to improve Kazakh health services through a better distribution of financing and training healthcare personnel throughout the country (Ministry of Health, 2004). Training of healthcare personnel is especially critical in Kazakhstan because the poor primary care services and poor access to outpatient pharmaceuticals are viewed as principal causes of the overuse and overcrowding of hospitals (Kulzhanov & Rechel, 2007). Having more, better-trained personnel at the outpatient level consequently may reduce overcrowding and right the system. An additional development brought increased numbers of students but threatened the quality of education of health professionals. In an effort to increase revenue, the universities began accepting self-funded tuition for medical students. The immature university regulatory system allowed this to occur. Consequently, the admission requirements for the self-paid students decreased substantially, affecting the quality of students and medical education itself (Kulzhanov & Rechel, 2007).

Shift to Credit System. Progressive systemic changes are evident in the shift to a credit system. The first stage was Kazakhstan’s decision to implement a major reform to the structure of its educational system by adopting the Bologna Process of the European Union (OECD, 2007). The Bologna Process establishes Bachelor’s degrees, Master’s degrees, PhDs, and medical degrees around core standards such that degrees are comparable with the European Higher Education Area, allowing faculty and students to move between systems with accepted qualifications. An important step was the introduction of the credit system in 2008, which provided students and faculty with academic mobility to other institutions throughout Kazakhstan and the world (Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2009). The credit system was particularly important to health professional education because it will allow academic mobility, laying a foundation for collaboration and innovation. In addition to academic mobility, educators began to realize the meaning of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) requirements, as well as its relationship to curriculum design, implementation, and outcomes in Kazakhstan and abroad.

Health System Developments. Simultaneously, development was underway in the Kazakh healthcare system. The Health Sector Technology Transfer and Institutional Reform supported by the World Bank sought to facilitate health reform by bringing international best practices to Kazakhstan (Kuhlzhanov & Rechel, 2007). Medical education reform was salient to the project. In addition, transformations commenced in 2005 through the National Program of Health Care Reform and Development for 2005-2010. The Ministry of Health was accountable for implementing the program with five chief responsibilities: reform and develop the health delivery system, including primary care, epidemiological services, and health promotion; improve the health management system; maternal and child health; oversight of the construction and opening of 100 hospitals in areas of need; and reforming medical and pharmaceutical education through training and retraining of health personnel (WHO, 2007). The most recent iteration of reform is the State Health Care Development Programme for 2011-2015 “Salamatty Kazakhstan.” To achieve a better health system, the plan explicitly calls for improving medical and pharmaceutical education along with other calls such as strategic planning, a superior regulatory structure, and implementation of innovative technologies (Katsaga et al., 2012). These developments in healthcare in addition to developments in higher education provided the impetus to further the progressive education movement in Kazakhstan.

The Professional Health Education Workshop

The movements presented an opportunity to capitalize on successes within the Kazakh system of health professional education, foster collaboration, and encourage innovation in health education. Thus, the University of Nebraska-Lincoln partnered with the South Kazakhstan
State Pharmaceutical Academy to develop and deliver a week long workshop to medical educators in Kazakhstan in the fall of 2011. The specific topics of the workshop were teaching strategies, professional practice, credit systems, and an introduction to research. The workshop rested on the notion of making learning alive and engaging. The workshop design grew out of the desire to develop learning communities and maintained a learning approach consistent with professional standards for staff development (Ingvarson, 1998; Birman, Desimone, Porter, & Garet, 2000). Its essence was to build on the past and empower participants, and it gave attendees the tools to maximize the usefulness of print and electronic resources—to identify potential best practices and find evidence to value practices. The educators would then have the skills to lead the implementation of best practices, and develop and sustain their efforts from the workshop.

Overall, the approach and content of the workshop departed from current Kazakh practices. In many respects, attendees experienced a steep learning curve, as the workshop challenged attendees to critically examine and re-think their current practices. Participants engaged in much of this work in small teams through a sense making process through group discussion in their native language. Participant learning was supported by three main strategies: inquiry-based learning, collaborative learning, and technology (e.g., cloud-based file sharing and communication) to facilitate collaboration.

**Developing the Workshop**

In developing the professional development workshop, we relied on an existing English for Special Purposes program led by one of the Kazakh team members (co-author, Samofalova) as a model format. The content, however, was a negotiated product of the international collaboration, as both the U.S. and Kazakh based teams brought perspectives on what the workshop should teach. Furthermore, although the workshop supported a national initiative, we strived to tailor the workshop so that attendees could relate what they learn to their own institutions. Tailoring the workshop in this manner required continual negotiation and collaboration between U.S. and Kazakh team members. The Kazakh team provided essential input to contextualize the content.

Clearly, delivering a workshop internationally provides unique rewards with respect to collaboration and cross-cultural sharing. However, it also presents challenges with regard to developing the workshop collaboratively, delivering the workshop, and appreciating differences among cultures. Using information and communication technologies (ICTs) and engaging in formative in addition to summative evaluation techniques mitigated these concerns. We recognized the ICTs would assist us in developing the workshop internationally but also in fostering international collaboration among teams and workshop attendees (Bishop & Bruce, 2005). Technology included cloud-based file sharing (e.g., Dropbox), email, and internet video conferencing (e.g., Skype). Cloud-based file sharing lent the ability to collaborate, share files and co-author documents. The workshop developers from the U.S. and Kazakhstan communicated in English. Nevertheless, all workshop documentation including readings, surveys, and content required translation into Russian for delivery. Cloud-based file sharing was critical to this effort. File transfer occurred immediately and ensured a common repository for documentation. We maintained frequent communication through email and videoconferencing. Frequent contact allowed for rapid development between the international teams. Furthermore, the tested technology would later serve as communication link between the onsite instructors and team members in the U.S. during the workshop. Based on our positive experiences, we shared and used the tools with workshop attendees. For example, the medical educators had access to a cloud directory with articles and other workshop material.
Theoretical Framework

In developing and delivering the workshop, we drew from theories of progressive education, namely Dewey and Vygotsky. Dewey’s philosophy of education centers on the idea that education is learned from interactive experiences (Hansen, 2007). With this view, the workshop presented an opportunity for participants to share their own stories, both learning from each other and also themselves through recounting their experiences. In addition, Dewey (1938) also advocated for attention to indirect education. With the indirect approach, educators focus on the environment of teaching and learning to provide the necessary conditions and environment for learners to work (Hansen, 2007).

Likewise, Vygotsky’s theory of education was prominent throughout the workshop—the integration of internal aspects of learning with the social interaction was integral to the workshop and setting (Bruning, Schraw, and Norby, 2011). Namely, the workshop sought a collaborative learning environment, connecting attendees with each other through sharing their experiences and instructors with attendees. The environment itself (Figure 1) further facilitated collaborative learning, as attendees sat in teams around a common table with shared computer equipment (due to resource limitations). In addition, by collaborating with students the instructors were able to guide the construction of meaning and knowledge. Much of this occurred through a scaffolding process in which learners are able “to solve a problem, carry out a task or achieve a goal which would be beyond unassisted efforts” through the instructor “controlling” those elements of the task that are initially beyond the learner’s capacity” (Wood, Bruner, and Ross, 1976, p 90).

Finally, literature from the field of community informatics provides a theoretical framework for this study. As noted, information and communications technologies (ICTs) were a critical component to the workshop development, delivery, and content. In the workshop, attendees learned about internet sources for literature research (e.g., Google Scholar) and internet-based tools for collaborating with one another and students (e.g., online surveys, Skype, and Dropbox). Community informatics is an emerging field that focuses on enabling communities with ICTs (Gurstein, 2004). ICTs facilitate collaboration, creativity, and learning and appear to be a vital component to progressive education (Bishop & Bruce, 2005). A recent study by McCredie and Pirani (2012) investigated information technology collaborations in higher education. Their synthesis of their findings with others suggests the following salient components of successful collaboration (McCredie & Pirani, 2012): skilled leadership that is willing to compromise and communicate well, governance and project structures that lead to good decision processes, members that share the vision and important need for collaboration, and adequate financial and technical resources. As applied to education, these factors can enable the information technology (e.g., internet-based communication and collaboration tools) that facilitates collaborative learning projects. The application of technology to collaboration and learning suggests a link between ICTs and progressive education; our paper examines the extent to which these tenets are true in practice.

Evaluating the Workshop

The focus of this mixed methods evaluation study is the professional medical education workshop delivered to a community of medical educators in Kazakhstan. The workshop evaluation was guided by several research questions:

1. What were the expectations of medical educators before the workshop?
2. How did the medical educators participating in the workshop describe the needs of medical education graduates?
3. What results emerge from comparing the qualitative responses of medical educators to their quantitative responses before and after the professional workshop?

**Methods**

We applied mixed methods design for both the formative and summative evaluation of the professional development in medical education workshop. Mixed methods research designs combine both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The specific type of mixed methods design for this study was a convergent parallel design whereby the researcher implements the quantitative and qualitative strands concurrently (QUAN + QUAL = converge results). Figure 2 presents the mixed methods procedural diagram for the study. In this design, the strands receive equal priority and remain independent during analysis, and the researcher then merges the qualitative findings and quantitative results for an overall interpretation (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

In this study, quantitative data from surveys was used to understand participant’s needs and readiness to learn in addition to engage in valuing of the workshop. The qualitative data from open response survey items concomitantly allowed us to explore participants’ expectations and feedback concerning the workshop. Mixing then occurred during interpretation by comparing qualitative findings to the quantitative results, which allowed us to draw conclusions from both strands (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

In general, our selection of a mixed method design appears consistent with evaluation designs used within healthcare. Numerous mixed methods evaluation studies appear within the general corpus of healthcare literature and specifically related to healthcare education (e.g., Miller and LaFramboise, 2009). In addition, X called for mixing methods within studies of ICT (Ginger, Kehoe, & Khanal, 2010). However, the design choice seems to be unique in its application to formative and summative evaluation. The rationale for a mixed methods approach to this study is that merging quantitative and qualitative data yielded a more complete understanding of the participants’ needs and a more thorough evaluation of the workshop than would be obtained by using either type of data independently (Bryman, 2006). In addition, it served a pragmatic purpose by allowing the workshop developers to collect formative information rapidly through an online survey and subsequently adjust the workshop. Mixed methods research allowed for a more complete understanding of the nuances or participant needs within a short time frame, which was critical to this weeklong workshop.

**Participants.** Healthcare educators from across Kazakhstan participated in the weeklong professional medical education workshop. Forty-eight professionals attended the workshop. Response rates for surveys were generally high, with over 75% of attendees completing the survey.

**Data Collection.** The workshop attendees responded to surveys that contained both quantitative and qualitative items. We administered the surveys through Qualtrics online survey software. Medical education specialists in Kazakhstan translated the original English version of the survey into Russian. The data collection occurred through three separate surveys: the workshop readiness survey, the medical skills survey, and the summative survey. The workshop readiness survey included 1) open-ended questions asking about the attendees’ backgrounds and learning goals and 2) a quantitative scale that assessed how attendees see themselves as educators. The medical skills survey contained open-ended questions that assessed attendees’ perspectives of the necessary skills for future graduates, their thoughts about designing the next generation education system, and a quantitative scale that assessed attendees’ perceptions of their own medical education experiences. Finally, the summative survey consisted of four assessments: 1) a quantitative scale on attitudes about teaching and
learning, 2) a quantitative scale on attitudes concerning group work, 3) an open question to assess important points learned, and 4) an open question to assess suggestions for a more engaging workshop. The combination of quantitative and qualitative items in the surveys provided rich information to refine the workshop and evaluate its outcomes.

Data Analysis. We analyzed the qualitative data using MAXQDA Version 10 (VERBI GmbH, 2011). Qualitative analysis consisted of coding responses to open question and identifying themes. In addition, we analyzed quantitative data by exporting from the Qualtrics survey tool into SPSS Version 20 to obtain descriptive statistics. Next, we merged the strands by examining the qualitative findings and quantitative results together for interpretation at the formative and summative stages.

Validation. Two strategies, triangulation and prolonged engagement, supported the validity of the findings. In triangulation, multiple methods and multiple investigators provide substantiating evidence (Creswell, 2013). The use of multiple investigators supported validation within the qualitative strand of the study. Investigators consisted of specialists in education, Kazakh medical education, and methodology. In this respect, the investigators were able to work through a process of sharing findings and perspectives from each investigator’s worldview. The investigators, three of whom observed or presented at the professional development workshop, reviewed themes for accuracy and completeness. This process is consistent with prolonged engagement and persistent observation whereby researchers have extended contact within the field in order to decide what is salient (Creswell, 2013).

Results

Because each survey involved a mixed methods analysis and utilization of the findings occurred at different time points (i.e., before, during, and after the workshop), the following section covers formative and summative evaluation separately. For each evaluation component, we present the results of the integrated analysis of quantitative and qualitative strands. The presentation of qualitative findings includes all themes and key qualitative codes, following a convention of italicizing codes.

Formative Evaluation

Focusing the initial surveys on the needs and perceptions of attendees helped to ensure the workshop content was relevant, targeted, and applicable. As such, the formative evaluation rapidly provided information to direct the workshop. Soliciting what attendees hoped to learn and what questions they would like answered yielded five themes: faculty considerations, core concepts in teaching and learning, methods of teaching, how to assess student learning, and changing the system: credit education. Table 1 presents the themes and corresponding codes. Faculty considerations included developing faculty skills and “payment to the faculty.”

In addition, attendees hoped to learn about core teaching and learning concepts, such as the cognitive aspects of learning. They also wanted help to enhance students’ “motivation,” with particular regard to “individual student’s work.” Attendees saw student study skills as critical to their medical education. The next theme, professional development of teaching methods, is integral to applying these core concepts to education. Specifically, attendees’ interests included methods of innovative teaching of “group learning” and “project-based learning” and saw benefit of “educational technologies” to their professional development in these areas. An additional theme was, how to assess student learning? Much of this discussion centered on “competency-based education.”
Finally, attendees were interested in changing the system through credit education. To do so, attendees hoped to learn about “modular education,” “academic mobility,” and teaching language within this system. This finding is consistent with the 2007 introduction of the Bologna process to health education in Kazakhstan (Kulzhanov & Rechel, 2007). However, it indicates that medical educators need more information about these changes. Fortunately, participants seem eager to learn. In the quantitative readiness scale, participants most endorsed a desire to learn new skills, with a mean of 96.08 ($s = 6.86$) on a scale of 100. Writing appeared to be moderately challenging for participants. In general, the scale results indicated attendees enjoy teaching and are eager to learn. This disposition combined with the participant desires revealed through the themes provided a solid foundation to tailor the workshop to meet the needs of medical educators in Kazakhstan.

Assessing perceptions concerning medical skills was a key component of the formative evaluation. Professional understanding and self-evaluation provided a measure of the participant pool that would allow us to better gauge the extent to which the workshop closed gaps as intended. In a scale that assessed attendees’ impressions of their own professional education experience, the highest endorsed characteristics were that it was useful, interesting, meaningful, valuable, important, and relevant (see Table 3). These experiences contribute to the medical educators’ current thoughts about medical education.

Consequently, four themes emerged from analysis of qualitative items in the medical skills survey (see Table 4). These themes reflect the issues most important among the attendees. First, the education system should support the future needs of graduates through a “credit system” and outcome focus. The second theme was that the skills necessary for graduates include medical skills and other critical skills, such as “communication skills.” Third, participants felt students need a commitment to life-long learning. Graduates will need ongoing professional development. To foster this desire for continuing education, students need to develop their skills to “study independently.” Finally, in addition to skills, future graduates need certain personal characteristics. Attendees felt that characteristics such as ethics, leadership, professionalism, and civic-mindedness would be beneficial for students and help ensure a successful career. Clearly, the medical educators attending the workshop understood what future graduates need for success in light of their own experience; they merely needed help to foster these skills and characteristics in students.

**Summative Evaluation**

The summative evaluation revealed important information about participant perspectives on medical education and the workshop itself. The evaluation included a quantitative assessment of perspectives on teaching and learning (see Table 5). Interestingly, the lowest scored item ($\bar{x} = 2.47$, $s = 0.84$) was: Medical students should spend more time reflecting on ideas than mastering skills. The responses to this item were generally neutral, but responses to other items were favorable. Attendees indicated agreement to strong agreement (i.e., mean response 4.0 or higher on a five-point scale) with six items: 1) the student's role in learning should be active and initiatory, 2) intrinsic motivation is the key to productive learning, 3) discussion of medical cases and inquiry should receive major emphasis in the typical school day, 4) medical education subjects should be taught in an integrated fashion, 5) medical education classes should be primarily problem-focused, and 6) medical students should be given more time to discuss ideas with each other. The means (with standard deviations in parentheses) for these items were 4.75 (0.44), 4.59 (0.61), 4.41 (0.84), 4.13 (0.91), 4.13 (0.79), and 4.06 (0.88).

Responses to the items suggest that the medical educators generally favored cooperative and inquiry-based learning methods that focus students’ attention on solving authentic problems. Consistent with these results, attendees indicated a favorable disposition
to group discussion and group work, as presented in Table 6. Consistent with inquiry-based learning and scaffolding methods, attendees responded favorably to items concerning directing the group and posing questions that encourage thinking. In fact, participants appeared to embrace group work to the point that they requested more group work in the workshop itself.

The thematic analysis related to important points learned in the workshop yielded four themes (see Table 7). Attendees noted that they learned: 1) core concepts in teaching and learning, 2) changing the system: credit education, 3) professional development of teaching methods, and 4) ways to maintain the focus on outcomes.

1. **Core concepts in teaching and learning.** The attendees’ comments regarding core concepts of teaching and learning concerned the role motivation in learning, engaging students in learning, and developing “students’ cognitive independence.”

2. **Changing the system: credit education.** Regarding changing the system to a credit education model, attendees described their most important take away points: innovative information technologies in credit systems, quality control, academic mobility, and key components of the Bologna program.

3. **Professional development of teaching methods.** The theme of professional development of teaching methods referred to exposure to pedagogic methods that were novel for them. For example, an attendee cited one of the most interesting points as “team-based learning and problem-based methods and their key elements.” In addition, many of the comments related to specific technology tools they were exposed to during the workshop. The tools mentioned by attendees included Dropbox type file sharing systems, anti-plagiarism software, word clouds to display key words, Internet chats, and mobile platforms (e.g., smart phones, tablet computers, and personal digital assistants).

4. **Ways to maintain the focus on outcomes.** The theme of maintaining the focus on outcomes concerned both the value of assessment and its techniques. For example, an attendee described the most important point learned in the workshop as “assessment integration” into the educational process and commented on classroom-based action research methods, particularly the application of “mixed investigation methods in education.”

Overall, the themes and codes related to important points learned overlapped considerable with what participants hoped to learn in the workshop, as collected in the formative stage. Furthermore, the thematic findings were consistent with our goals and what we hoped the Kazakh medical educators would learn through the workshop.

Table 8 describes attendees’ suggestions for a more engaging workshop. Some of the medical educators desired more “specific examples” and more discussion of academic mobility. In addition, they and as students in the workshop desired to experience learning through more “small groups” and “innovative educational methods.” Interestingly, many of the educators also desired better technology within the workshop classroom, requesting for “better provision with PCs” and “internet access.” The introduction of the Bologna Process, which examined information technology provisions, among other criteria, led to additional computer equipment in medical universities in Kazakhstan (Kulzhanov & Rechel, 2007). However, it seems that the medical educators need more technology tools to facilitate learning.
Discussion

Through the workshop, we directly applied the notion that ICTs and collaboration were imperative to advancing medical education in Kazakhstan. Kazakh medical education has been transforming from a traditional top-down pedagogic style to a student-involved progressive model. The Kazakh workshop sponsors called for professional development of collaborative and inquiry-based methods. Furthermore, they wanted to foster collaboration among Kazakh educators. The American team concurred with this approach. A highly interactive, collaborative workshop served several purposes. It allowed the attendees to experience the approach to learning and it facilitated networking among the educators, developing relationships that we hoped would continue long after the workshop. Developing capacity in this manner enhances the sustainability of workshop outcomes.

In general, the findings of the workshop evaluation were consistent with this conceptualization. The findings indicate that the professional medical education workshop successfully grew bilingual collaboration and culture. This was enhanced through technology tools, inquiry-based learning, and collaborative learning. Participants learned about the use of technology to find current resources (e.g., literature searching), engage in classroom assessment (e.g., online survey tools) and to collaborate (e.g., internet communication and cloud file sharing) within their institution and across institutions. As teams, the attendees worked through practical problems, such as developing competency-based medical education and assessment of students’ individual work. The attendees’ work was in small teams to facilitate learning and develop networks to build sustainable capacity for progressive medical education. Finally, the workshop appeared successful in the empowerment of participants to lead at their schools by providing a forum for educators to connect with other experts and leverage technology resources to grow and advance in medical education at their own setting.

The workshop emerged as a training of trainers and leaders of best-practices in their respective institutions. In this respect, the educators were able to carry what they experienced back to their educational institution and lead changes there, building on the collaboration and ICT tools used in the workshop. The collaboration begun at the workshop supported an overall workshop goal to not only effect at the level of the individual attendee but the level of the health education system. Building collaborations is critical to empower the community of educators (Ritzo, Nam, Bruce, 2009). To ensure sustainable effects following the initial program, the Kazakh team communicated lessons learned and their own stories through six universities in Kazakhstan and the national Ministry of Health.

The educators attending the workshop appeared to embrace innovative teaching methods, specifically citing team-based learning and the use of ICTs in medical education as salient points from the workshop. The results of the evaluation indicate that they learned new approaches and desired their use in their own lifelong learning, which likely bodes well for its eventual implementation. Furthermore, Kazakh higher education now recognizes and encourages diverse teaching styles, a stark contrast to pedagogy under Soviet control, which was marked by stern lectures and note taking with little interaction among students and professors (Heyneman, 2009). Thus, the attendees’ dissemination of their newfound skills in a receptive Kazakh higher education environment may be more likely to promote systemic changes in health professional education.

Despite the apparent successes, a challenge is sustaining connectivity among Kazakh medical educators, collaboration, and supporting ongoing professional development. This is aggravated by a lack of technology, ICT support, and infrastructure. Fortunately, Kazakhstan may be particularly ready to implement ICT. Gomez and Camacho (2011) studied who uses information and communication technologies (ICT) through public access venues, such as libraries, telecenters, and even cybercafés. They found that youth in Kazakhstan...
demonstrated significantly higher than average use of libraries and telecenters. (Note: Gomez & Camacho (2011) define a telecenter as a public, non-profit service providing computer access along with other services for community development). Moreover, college-level users in Kazakhstan had a particularly high usage rate of all access venues. As these young people develop and enter healthcare training programs, they may already be quite familiar with ICT, expect it, and use it regularly. Having educators armed with the appropriate ICT tools and progressive pedagogy will likely support their readiness to educate the next generation of health professionals.

Limitations of the evaluation study include the lack of pre-post data to examine change in participants knowledge, skills, and abilities. Rather, the evaluation focused on a comparison of what was needed to what participants indicated the workshop delivered. An additional limitation relates to the short-term nature of the evaluation. Although anecdotal evidence indicates ongoing work and sustainability, an additional study is needed to examine the long-term systemic effect of the workshop.

Conclusion

Developing and delivering an international workshop on professional medical education required close collaboration between teams in the United States and Kazakhstan. By leveraging technology, we were able to collaborate better and implement a mixed methods formative and summative evaluation. The medical educators attending the workshop were interested developing their skills as faculty, developing their teaching methods, assessing student learning, and changing the medical education system. Results indicate they were open and eager to learn. Applying this information immediately allowed us to guide the workshop and ensure relevance. The summative evaluation indicated that attendees had desirable perspectives on teaching and learning. Analysis of what the attendees learned revealed considerable commonality with what they wanted to learn, as indicated in the formative phase. This paper may be of interests to professional health educators seeking to implement progressive educational strategies. In addition, individuals developing and delivering professional development workshops may benefit from the discussion of new technology implementation and the description of a mixed methods approach to formative and summative workshop evaluation. Furthermore, it describes cross-cultural educational development in central Asia. In addition, it appears to be a unique mixed methods approach to workshop formative and summative evaluation (Harnisch, Creswell, & Guetterman, 2012).
References


## APPENDIX

Table 1. Readiness Themes: What Do You Hope to Learn and What Are Two Questions You Would Like Answered?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty considerations</th>
<th>Concepts core to teaching and learning</th>
<th>Changing the system: credit education</th>
<th>How to assess student learning?</th>
<th>Professional development of teaching methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• faculty skills</td>
<td>• cognitive aspects of learning</td>
<td>• academic mobility</td>
<td>• assessment</td>
<td>• group learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• payment to faculty</td>
<td>• motivation</td>
<td>• credit education system</td>
<td>• improve student evaluations</td>
<td>• Innovative teaching methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• sharing the expertise</td>
<td>• student study skills</td>
<td>• modular education</td>
<td>• obtaining feedback</td>
<td>• interactive methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• individual student work</td>
<td>• educational process</td>
<td>• competency-based education</td>
<td>• project based learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• student input in curriculum</td>
<td>• professional competency</td>
<td>• self-learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>development</td>
<td></td>
<td>• educational technologies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Attendees’ Self-perceptions as an Educator from the Workshop Readiness Assessment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item (n = 40)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I would enjoy an opportunity to learn new skills</td>
<td>96.08</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like to read</td>
<td>92.55</td>
<td>12.71</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy learning with other people</td>
<td>90.95</td>
<td>13.18</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy teaching</td>
<td>90.80</td>
<td>14.80</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning gives me a feeling of accomplishment</td>
<td>86.28</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning is easy for me</td>
<td>78.30</td>
<td>26.58</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing is challenging*</td>
<td>28.28</td>
<td>35.13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New subjects scare me*</td>
<td>25.23</td>
<td>31.71</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have trouble learning*</td>
<td>14.88</td>
<td>22.06</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Items are in reference to an overall statement: “Describe yourself as you see yourself as an educator.” Respondents selected the level of truthfulness of each statement from False (0) to True (100). *Item should be reverse-coded.
Table 3. Attendees’ Self-Impression of Their Professional Education Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item (n = 28)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Useless (1): Useful (7)</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uninteresting (1): Interesting (7)</td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaningless (1): Meaningful (7)</td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worthless (1): Valuable (7)</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical (1): Practical (7)</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inexpensive (1): Expensive (7)</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete (1): Abstract (7)</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy (1): Difficult (7)</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting (1): Boring (7)</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant (1): Irrelevant (7)</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important (1): Unimportant (7)</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In this semantic differential scale, respondents provided a comparative response to which of the above anchors for each item seemed most characteristic of the impression they have of their professional education experience.

Table 4. Medical Skills Themes: What Do Future Graduates Need

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The education system should support the future needs of graduates</th>
<th>Skills necessary for graduates include medical skills and other critical skills</th>
<th>Students need a commitment to lifelong learning</th>
<th>In addition to skills, future graduates need certain personal characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• credit system</td>
<td>• communication skills</td>
<td>• professional development (continuing ed for students)</td>
<td>• importance of ethics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• outcome focus</td>
<td>• skill building</td>
<td>• study independently</td>
<td>• continuous improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• competency</td>
<td></td>
<td>• leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• professionalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• civic-mindedness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Perspectives on Teaching and Learning as a Medical Education Professional from the Summative Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item (n = 32)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The student's role in learning should be active and initiatory</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic motivation is the key to productive learning</td>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion of medical cases and inquiry should receive major emphasis in the typical school day</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical education subjects should be taught in an integrated fashion</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical education classes should be primarily problem-focused</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical students should be given more time to discuss ideas with each other</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical students need class time to discuss the meaning and purpose of what they are learning</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical student behavior and student interest are closely connected</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative work and group projects should predominate</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More time should be devoted to scientific independent research</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The major purpose of assessment ought to be self-assessment</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole-class teaching should be kept to a minimum</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical students should play an active role in curriculum planning</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical students themselves ought to help decide what they should study</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocols of diagnostic and treatment will contribute little to real learning</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical students should spend more time reflecting on ideas than mastering skills</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Respondents selected their level of agreement with each statement from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5).
Table 6. *Participants Dispositions about Group Discussion and Group Work from the Summative Survey*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persists/finds alternatives when the group is stuck</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>89.31</td>
<td>7.74</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supports the group when there is frustration</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>87.00</td>
<td>18.93</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energizes the group with new ideas</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>85.88</td>
<td>13.12</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poses questions to engage thinking</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>80.53</td>
<td>13.55</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitors for accuracy and precision</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>79.16</td>
<td>21.98</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarifies ideas, concepts, or terminology</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>77.78</td>
<td>18.94</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edits with care</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>69.53</td>
<td>25.90</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read articles with understanding and empathy</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>69.50</td>
<td>25.40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Respondents indicated their disposition about each item using a slider to indicate agreement from 0 to 100.
Table 7. *Summative Themes: Important Points Learned*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concepts core to teaching and learning</th>
<th>Changing the system: credit education</th>
<th>Professional development of teaching methods</th>
<th>Ways to maintain the focus on outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• ethics</td>
<td>• academic mobility</td>
<td>• group learning</td>
<td>• assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• engaging students</td>
<td>• credit education system</td>
<td>• innovative teaching</td>
<td>• assess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• motivation</td>
<td>• modular education</td>
<td>• project-based learning</td>
<td>• individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• educational technologies</td>
<td>• student work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• informational and communications</td>
<td>• performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Technology (ICT) in education</td>
<td>• professional competency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. *Summative Themes: Suggestions for a More Engaging Workshop*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional content</th>
<th>Ways to facilitate learning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• specific examples</td>
<td>• small groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• academic mobility</td>
<td>• innovative educational methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Better technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• more practice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1. Images from the workshop setting
Figure 2. The mixed methods procedural diagram of the study presents the general procedures and output throughout the study.
Progressive education in New Zealand: a revered past, a contested present and an uncertain future

Carol Mutch *
University of Auckland

Abstract
In this article, progressive education in New Zealand is examined across three eras. The ‘revered past’ (1870s-1960s) focuses the influence of progressive ideas on the early childhood movement from the establishment of the first kindergarten in 1889 and on the schooling sector from the 1930s to the 1960s. The ‘contested present’ (1970s-2011) examines the attack on progressive education in schools in line with economic downturn from the 1970s onwards and contrasts this with the strengthening of the early childhood movement in the 1990s. The ‘uncertain future’ (2012- ) looks at how current government policy is continuing to marginalise progressive ideals in favour of market-led educational decision-making but how educators are reclaiming the progressive space with the support of the wider community.

Keywords: Progressive education, education policy, education history

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Progressive education in New Zealand: A revered past, a contested present and an uncertain future

To many educators around the world, progressive education in New Zealand is synonymous with the story of Sylvia Ashton-Warner teaching Māori children in a remote village using her key vocabulary method. As told in her book *Teacher* (Ashton-Warner, 1963), each child chose a word for the day – one that was important to them. It was written on card and the child carried it around, clutching it tightly as if it were a precious object. It was the epitome of child-centred teaching. Ashton-Warner was to leave New Zealand disillusioned, feeling that she and her methods were not appreciated or understood, and travel to North America. More recent scholarship, however, claims that it was precisely because of her time in New Zealand, that her ideas were able to flourish (Dobson, 2007; Middleton, 2009).

We create our ‘selves’, or identities, in particular social, geographical and cultural settings. Sylvia Henderson, a teacher in a Native School, dreamed and wrote her persona as Sylvia Ashton-Warner, novelist and educational theorist, in (and not in spite of) Pipiriki during the Second World War. The places in which she lived, dreamed, read, thought, loved, and wrote should not be seen as isolated cells or containers. Studying Sylvia Ashton-Warner as a New Zealand educational theorist – knowing her place – reveals connections between her haunted hills, classrooms and houses and wider metropolitan movements of educational thought. (Middleton, 2009, p.46)

Jones and Middleton (2009) show that infant schooling in New Zealand in Ashton-Warner’s time was already comparatively radical and progressive. There is strong evidence of the acceptance of child-centred, arts-based and innovative literacy approaches. These approaches were a product of an egalitarian and liberal-progressive philosophy that permeated social, political and educational thought and which maintains a strong legacy in New Zealand today.

The key tenets of progressive education in New Zealand are child-centredness, experiential learning, an emergent curriculum, a holistic pedagogy and the fostering of creativity. More recently, exponents of progressive education would add a focus on cultural awareness and social justice. Ideas such as these have influenced early childhood education from the establishment of the first kindergarten in 1889 to the development of the holistic early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki*, in 1996. In the schooling sector, they came to the fore following the Great Depression and the introduction of the Welfare State in the 1930s. Progressive ideas were spread through the New Education Fellowship, which brought influential progressive educators from Europe and the United States to New Zealand. So influential was the movement that progressive education (or liberal-progressive education as it is more often referred to in New Zealand) became the cornerstone of education policy until the economic downturn of the 1970s and the market-driven reforms of the 1980s. While progressive education methods had been coming under increasing attack since the 1960s, it was the Education Act of 1989 which signalled a distinct change in direction. This attack on progressive education has continued in more recent times with the introduction of national standards and other policies leading to the narrowing of the curriculum. This article will examine the influence of progressive education on teaching and learning in New Zealand across three time periods – the revered past (1870s-1960s); the contested present (1970s-2011); and the uncertain future (2012- ). The article will conclude with a discussion of the current state of education and the threat to New Zealand’s liberal-progressive education legacy.
Context

New Zealand is a small, relatively isolated nation in the South Pacific. Land area is similar to the United Kingdom or Japan but with a population of just over four million people, it is sparsely populated except for the major centres, such as Auckland. It is a democratic country with ties to the British queen as its constitutional monarch. New Zealand is a mainly bi-cultural society (in 2009, European New Zealanders making up 68 per cent of the population and Māori 15 per cent) with a growing multicultural population (9 per cent Asian and 7 per cent Pacific Island origin).

Schooling in New Zealand is compulsory from ages six until sixteen, although most children begin school on their fifth birthday after some form of early childhood education. Children move through each year based on social (that is, age-related) promotion rather than grade-related achievement. Primary schooling goes from Years 0-1 (five year olds) to Year 8 (12 year olds). Secondary schooling is from Years 9-13 (13-18 year olds). About 95 per cent of schools are state (that is, funded by the national government) or integrated into the state system and follow the national curriculum. The schooling sector includes a variety of options: regular primary (elementary), intermediate (middle) schools, high schools, the Catholic Education system, bi-lingual or immersion (Māori) indigenous schools, schools of special character (other religions or philosophies) and the home schooling movement. The curriculum areas for English-medium teaching and learning in Years 1-13 are English, The Arts, Health and Physical Education, Learning Languages, Mathematics and Statistics, Science, Social Sciences, and Technology. Kura Kaupapa (Māori immersion schools) and early childhood education services have their own curricula.

New Zealand always scores highly on international comparative assessments such as the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) or Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). New Zealand students score significantly and consistently above the OECD average, with a high number in the top five per cent (OECD, 2012). Many would attribute this success to New Zealand’s egalitarian ethos and the liberal-progressive schooling tradition.

What these international studies show, however, is that among the high-achieving countries, New Zealand has the widest dispersion of scores from highest to lowest and that while Māori, Pacific and students from low socio-economic settings do appear in the high range, they are over-represented in the lower range. It is information such as this that has caused critics of progressive education to continue to call for schools to have more accountability and less autonomy. This article will begin by placing New Zealand’s progressive education tradition into its historical context before moving to the tensions inherent in the present situation and finish by discussing concerns for the future.

A revered past

Bi-cultural beginnings

The tradition of progressive education in New Zealand schools owes its establishment to the convergence of two main events – the Great Depression of the 1930s and the New Education Fellowship conference of 1937. That is not to say that progressive ideas and ideals had not made their way to New Zealand before that but the 1930s and 1940s would see them become mainstream and leave an enduring legacy.

New Zealand was first inhabited by Polynesian travellers, circa 800 AD, who arrived in Aotearoa, later named New Zealand. Māori, as they became known, lived virtually
undisturbed, except by the occasional European seafarer, until the early 1800s. Māori lived in extended family groupings and education was mainly apprenticeship style, where children and young people learned by watching, listening and doing, although there was some specialist instruction for those would take on important leadership roles.

The arrival of Europeans in great numbers, mainly from the British Isles, firstly as sealers, whalers, traders and missionaries, and later as colonists and soldiers, was to change the way of the life of the indigenous people forever. In 1840, the British signed a treaty with the Māori, the Treaty of Waitangi, in which they gave Māori the rights of British subjects in return for recognising Queen Victoria as their sovereign. The treaty was to follow a contested path and rather than protecting Māori was only to hasten their demise. The policy of assimilation meant that by the end of the 1800s, Māori had lost much of their land; their population was in decline, and their health, welfare, language and culture were all under threat (Simon, 1994). It was not until over 100 years later that the importance of this treaty was recognised as the country’s founding document and legislation put in place to begin to address the various wrongs done to Māori.

Education was to play an important role in the development of New Zealand. It was seen as a civilising force through, for example, the 1847 Native Schools Act which provided vocational education for Māori to provide the new colony with domestic servants and labourers. A politician of the times claimed it sought “to bring an uninitiated but intelligent and high spirited people into line with our civilization” (cited in Bailey, 1977, p.5).

It was also a mechanism of social control, based on the industrial model of education from the homeland of the majority of British settlers, although without its rigid class stratification (Davies, 1994). Establishing universal primary education was hotly debated but, in 1877, a system of free, compulsory and secular education laid the foundation stone for the system existing today.

Schools were set initially up by churches or private individuals. By 1870 about half the population of 5-15 year olds received some education. Following the 1877 Education Act, a school syllabus was drawn up by the first Inspector General of Schools, Reverend Habens, whose ideas were described as being “more ambitious in aim than any in the British Empire” (cited in McLaren, 1980, p. 22). Naturalistic and progressive educational theories were already making their impact. The school curriculum was to include a broad base of knowledge and skills from the ‘3Rs’, grammar and composition, to history, geography, science, drawing and music. Haben’s successor, George Hogben, was to be strongly influenced by Froebel, Rousseau and Dewey:

We must believe with Froebel and others of the most enlightened of the world’s educators, that the child will learn best, not so much by reading about things in books as by doing: that is exercising his natural activities by making things, by observing and testing things for himself; and then afterwards reasoning about them and expressing thoughts about them. (Cited in May, 2011, p. 37)

The classroom reality, however, was often rigid and stifling, as described in this excerpt:

The infant room was a small hall with a partition down the middle separating the girls from the boys…. The girls seldom saw the boys on the other side of the partition as infants spent most of the day immobile, wedged into little seats with wide shelves in the front for slates. (Cited in May, 2011, p.31)

Early childhood establishments (for under-fives) were also available in the new colony but originally focused more on care than education. However, with ideas from Rousseau,
Pestalozzi and Froebel filtering through, the first kindergarten was established in 1889. Montessori pre-schools would follow in the 1900s and so did other approaches in later years (May, 2007; 2011). The turn of the century was also to lessen the dominance of an elitist academic curriculum and see a comprehensive system of secondary education instituted which would provide both vocational and academic subjects to high school students in both town and country.

**An egalitarian ethos**

Some of the features of the current system arise from such historical precedents and their local adaptations. Many early colonists from the British Isles, for example, willingly left class divisions behind. Māori proved quick and adaptable learners of the new language and culture. A new society that would be more collective, egalitarian, and forward-looking began to emerge. New Zealand was the first country in the world, for example, to give women the vote (1893), provide old-age pensions (1898) and no-fault worker’s compensation (1900).

In 1900, New Zealand became a dominion. At that time, it was seen as “one of the world’s most democratic countries” (Green, 2000, p.17). The Liberal government was halfway through two decades of uninterrupted power and social reform. As May (2011, p.27) states:

By 1900, the pace of change in colonial New Zealand – for its peoples, landscape and politics – was dramatic and often traumatic. The building of a national education system that encompassed most Pakeha [people of European extraction] and many Māori children was one small part of this.

The First World War and the ensuing economic downturn were to have a profound effect on New Zealand. One tenth of New Zealand’s population of one million served in World War I and one in six of those was killed. The economic decline spiralled into what we now call the Great Depression. Olssen notes that the decline was becoming obvious several years before and that the Great Depression was not the sole cause but only intensified the already visible “economic dislocation, social distress and political disorder” (1981, p. 272).

**The Great Depression**

As with the Great Depression in many other countries, thousands of people became unemployed or were put on welfare work for a pittance (Ewing & Hicks, 2006; Mutch, 2006; Simpson, 1984). The education sector was not immune. It was one of the areas in New Zealand to face severe cutbacks. The government excluded five-year olds from schools, prevented married women from teaching, cut teachers’ wages, closed teachers training colleges, rationed chalk and paper and increased class sizes. Simpson tells of how teachers were sacked then put on relief work tidying the playgrounds.

As the community felt the bite of the Great Depression, the conservative coalition government was removed from power and the Labour Party with their promises of a fairer and more just society swept to victory in the 1935 election. The developments following the Great Depression in education and social welfare were unprecedented in scale. They were in part a response to the unfairness and deprivation that had just been experienced, but they were also another opportunity to continue the liberalisation begun by earlier governments but halted by war and economic depression.

When Labour took office in 1935, they found considerable financial reserves left behind by the previous government that allowed them to undertake a programme of public works. Green (2000 p.18) outlines some of their key reforms:
After enacting progressive industrial legislation (a minimum wage, a standard 40-hour working week, compulsory unionism) it introduced a comprehensive system of social security which provided a safety net “from the cradle to the grave” for those who needed it. Private and state houses were built in the same suburbs in a flourish of egalitarian idealism. The success of the Welfare State and public admiration for the Labour Party leader were to ensure the re-election of the Labour Party in 1938.

The Labour Party was also to have a profound effect on the direction of educational reform in New Zealand for the next 30 years. The Minister of Education in the first Labour Government was Peter Fraser. In his role as Minister, and later as Prime Minister, he was responsible for much of the social reform, and through his work with Clarence Beeby, was responsible for major developments in education. Abbiss claims, “This association would facilitate educational reform in the 1930s and establish progressive education as the new orthodoxy” (1998, p.83). Many of the key members of the new Labour government had had little formal schooling themselves and saw a broad and generous education as the key to achieving their vision. Beeby, then head of the New Zealand Council Educational Research (NZCER), served on the planning committee for the 1937 New Education Fellowship Conference, which would bring the latest in progressive educational thought to New Zealand.

The New Education Fellowship

The New Education Fellowship (NEF) was an organization with its origins in Europe in the aftermath of the horror and outrage of World War I. It advocated schooling which was, “liberal, holistic and democratic and valued self-expression, dialogue and creativity” (Alcorn, 1999, p.80). Abbiss describes the NEF as providing “an agency for collaboration between educational innovators and recognition of ‘radical’ movements in education…. It stood at the ‘progressive’ edge of educational thought but not beyond the boundary of academic and political respectability” (1998, p. 81). As NEF ideas were spread through international conferences, the NZCER sought ways to bring guest speakers to this part of the world. With Fraser as Minister of Education, the New Zealand planning committee was able to gain funding from the government. The Department of Education, under the Minister’s instructions, also re-arranged the school terms to ensure teachers were free to attend.

In 1937, fourteen speakers from Great Britain, the United States, Canada, South Africa, Finland and Austria were heard by over 5,000 educators in person and by even more through radio broadcasts. Week-long sessions were held throughout the country. The conference captured the interest of educators, politicians and the general public. As Couch states, “By the closing lecture of the conference, the idea of a new education pedagogy had been introduced to mainstream New Zealand educators and public” (2011, p.). Alcorn elaborates, “Those who were there remembered the feeling of inspiration: the sense that education was of crucial importance, that it was a liberating force, that home and school would work together, that education could and should be an active process” (1999, p.84).

Several speakers were to have a profound impact on the direction New Zealand education would take. Susan Isaacs was particularly influential in the way teaching would develop in the early childhood and junior primary areas, leading to the introduction of the Playcentre movement in the 1940s. The work of Harold Rugg, opened up wider social and systemic issues which were close to the hearts of teachers after the Great Depression. I.L. Kandel challenged the narrowness of the secondary curriculum and the stifling nature of the education bureaucracy. The conference was a great success and shaped the way progressive education was to be implemented.
Progressive education reform

In 1938, Beeby took up the position of Assistant Director of Education, “a role of national importance, in which he was charged with the oversight of a government-sanctioned revolution in New Zealand education” (Alcorn, 1999, p.92).

In order to make secondary schooling (whether academic or vocational) more accessible to all students, the number of intermediate (middle) schools was increased; the Proficiency Examination, which limited entry to secondary school, was abolished; and secondary education became free until the age of 19. In primary schools, class sizes were reduced, leading to the need for more schools, classrooms and teachers. Education at this time had a sense of growth and momentum that was never to be repeated.

By 1940, Fraser had become Prime Minister and Beeby was Director General of Education. Although they were to continue as a strong partnership, they are best known for the following statement from 1936. It was to become the cornerstone of educational philosophy for many years to come and one of the most quoted statements regarding education in New Zealand:

The Government’s objective, broadly expressed, is that every person whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a mere pious platitude that the full acceptance of the principle will involve the reorientation of the education system. (Cited in Alcorn, 1999, p.99)

The progressive classroom

Educational change cannot be achieved overnight, but Beeby was keen to give innovative educators a chance to flourish. One of the teachers he visited to see progressive education in practice was Elwyn Richardson, a teacher at Oruaiti School in an isolated part of the North Island. Richardson was to describe his teaching, from 1949 to 1962, in his book, In the early world (Richardson, 1964) which highlights his philosophy that the most powerful learning arises out of children’s own lives and experiences. The arts, and in particular, working with clay, were the catalyst for learning, as children moved from one expressive medium to another. Smythe (2011) summarises the start to a day in Richardson’s class:

Richardson, in describing the day's programme, says that even before the bell rang there were many children in the classrooms. He described what some children were doing - one was reading a book; another was finishing off a large clay mask made from a mould; another was reading from an exercise book in which she did all her school work. When the children had drifted in, Richardson looked around and saw them busy on one task or other. He knew that all of them understood that soon there would be a discussion of the day's work, which would include an evaluation of what had happened the day before. Some of the things that would happen in the day's programme would be taught, others would happen as result of individual interests or unfinished work. Everyone was free to bring up a topic of interest.

MacDonald (2010) sees Richardson’s contribution to progressive education to be the understanding that, “learning through the arts raises students’ potential for self-knowledge, critical discernment, imagination, understanding, awareness and empathy for others, and that the arts have an important role to play in the fostering of community and social reform” (p.ix).

In the field of early childhood, progressive educators were also encouraging children to observe the world around them and use that as a basis for their learning. Sewell and Bethell (2009) describe an activity recorded at Wellington South Kindergarten in 1940, in which a
group of children built a house from a packing case as they watched a building being constructed next door:

The images tell a story of children working together in the construction and painting of a house. Immediately evident is their lack of self-consciousness and complete absorption in their work. This engagement is seen in their facial expressions and gestures, and in their failure to be distracted by the nearby photographer. A sense of connection is evident: while completely absorbed in their own part of the creative enterprise, the children seem alert to the activity of others, working harmoniously in close physical proximity to each other, and using their individual skills to complete the shared task. Their ‘creative play’ has become real – the children are engaged purposively and energetically in the occupations of building and painting. (p. 101)

The progressive legacy

By the 1960s and 1970s, the progressive legacy could be seen at all levels of formal education. Early childhood education in kindergartens, play centres and other education services highlighted the importance of creative self-expression through play. Primary schools, especially in the early years, included ‘developmental’ time, in which children began their day by freely exploring and engaging in a range of unstructured activities before settling into more focused teacher-led lessons. Individualised reading programmes, group work, integrated units and creative activities were commonplace throughout primary schools. In secondary schools, a core curriculum ensured that for the first two years of high school, students continued to experience art, music and physical education alongside English, mathematics, science and social studies.

A contested present

Progressive education comes under fire

Dunstall calls the 1960s in New Zealand a time of “unsurpassed prosperity and social tranquillity” (1981, p. 397). There was population growth, full employment, increasing affluence and high economic aspiration. Dunstall continues:

In this most sustained period of prosperity of the twentieth century the state took on new dimensions – maintaining affluence, tempering inequalities, ensuring securities, and helping to maintain the high degree of uniformity in New Zealand life” (p. 398).

Although a commission into education in 1960 was satisfied that New Zealand education was sound in theory and practice, there was growing external criticism of education's ‘playway’ methods. Cumming and Cumming (1978) explain:

So much attention was given to it by the country's press that readers mistook all criticism for condemnation. It became fashionable for employers to be appalled at the declining standards of writing and spelling; they claimed that the basic standards of education had been discarded (p. 336).

At the end of the 1960s, the New Zealand economy took a turn for the worse. “The welfare state bred new problems, inflation, and with it new inequalities and new anxieties” (Dunstall, 1981, p. 398). Opposition to the Vietnam War, Māori cultural resurgence and a rising feminist movement created a “wave of protest that brought a new hue to the social fabric” (p. 428). As prosperity declined in the 1970s, solutions to the economic crisis were proposed by the business sector and education was seen as a convenient scapegoat.

In 1984, a new Labour Government came to power, its first task to deal with a looming economic crisis. The restructuring of the welfare state was the government’s selected
means of reducing state expenditure. It was in this context that the administration of education was overhauled. The Department of Education and its regional boards were dismantled in favour of a centralised policy focused Ministry of Education. School governance and management was decentralised to individual schools through elected boards of trustees. While schools could make day-to-day decisions, the Ministry retained control over curriculum and assessment (Langley, 2009; Thrupp, 1999).

**Education and politics**

The two major political ideological forces of the time in New Zealand are described as ‘new right’ and ‘liberal left’ (Mutch, 2003a). According to Dale (1989) the new right contains two forces — the neo-liberals and the neo-conservatives. The neo-liberals want freedom for the market to dictate direction and have no particular views on right and wrong, as market forces will lead the way. The neo-conservatives want to prescribe and regulate, preferring carefully monitored accountability and old-fashioned values. The liberal left was the term coined by Barr (1997) to describe the loose amalgamation of groups and ideological positions that arose from the liberal progressive and the socially critical traditions. The socially critical tradition now encompassed the feminist and Māori cultural resurgence ideals.

**Changes in direction in the school curriculum**

While education was high on the reform agenda, the new Labour Minister of Education, Russell Marshall, was still of the liberal-progressive tradition (Snook, 1995). He undertook a wide-ranging curriculum review. This led to a proposed curriculum that departed in the main from traditional subject divisions. For example, it suggested organising the curriculum around integrated themes – culture and heritage; creative and aesthetic development; language; mathematics; practical abilities; living in society; science, technology and the environment; and health and well-being (Department of Education, 1987). This curriculum was never implemented and the Prime Minister, David Lange, was so determined to institute reforms from a different ideological perspective that he took over the education portfolio himself. The Prime Minister’s vision was set out in *Tomorrow’s Schools* (Lange, 1988) and the Education Act of 1989 set the reforms in motion. When the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education, 1993) emerged, it clearly showed the tensions between a curriculum designed to improve New Zealand economic standing and yet drawn from an egalitarian tradition:

The New Zealand Curriculum recognises that all students should have the opportunity to undertake study in essential areas of learning and to develop essential skills. Such learning will enable them to develop their potential, to continue learning throughout life, and to participate effectively and productively in New Zealand’s democratic society and in a competitive world economy. (Ministry of Education, 1993, p.3)

**A progressive early childhood curriculum**

During Labour’s first term (1984-1987) economic restructuring adversely affected the early childhood sector but the government promised to deliver on its policies during its second term (May 1991). Constant lobbying from early childhood and women’s groups kept this promise to the fore. “The bonus for early childhood was … to be swept on board a new upheaval of restructuring that it did not have to drive, just steer in the right direction” (May, 1991, p. 7).

Early childhood educators developed a set of basic principles for an early childhood curriculum. Carr and May, key figures in the process, state, “it was perhaps the first time that the word ‘curriculum’ was applied nationally to all early childhood, to all services and to all
ages from birth to school age” (1994, p. 26). This was followed by the Meade Report, *Education to be more* (1988) which, with some amendments, became the policy document *Before Five* (Lange, 1989). May was to comment that, “despite the dictates of wider political and administrative agendas, the early childhood concepts of diversity and the integration of care and education are not only intact but have been incorporated into a system which is more equitable to all” (1991, p.10). Following a 1993 draft, the final curriculum, *Te Whāriki. Early childhood curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1996) presented a holistic, child-centred, bi-cultural early childhood approach. While the early influences of naturalistic and progressive ideas can be seen, it also makes use of socio-cultural (Vygotsky, 1962) and socio-ecological (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) theories and Kaupapa Māori (indigenous) concepts. *Te Whāriki* has received international acclaim. Germany, Norway and Denmark (Fleer, 2003) and the United Kingdom (Siraj-Blatchford & Clarke, 2000) are countries that have taken inspiration from *Te Whāriki* when developing their own early childhood curricula.

The title *Te Whāriki* was chosen with care. Literally translated it means a woven flax mat. This metaphor works at several levels. First, at a national level, it represents all the early childhood services as a coherent whole and, in particular, acknowledges the place of Māori culture and language in New Zealand society. Second, in relation to the curriculum itself, it is an interlocking of the four underpinning principles (empowerment, holistic development, family and community, and relationships) and the five strands (well-being, belonging, contribution, communication, and exploration). Third, it represents the curriculum (or course of learning) that each child will undertake – not as a linear and structured progression but as a complex interweaving of experiences and developments.

### Competing ideologies

In the schooling sector, the 1989 Education Act provided more autonomy by promoting the notion of the ‘self-managing school’ (Caldwell and Spinks, 1988). This opened up opportunities within the state system for the development of ‘special character’ schools which reflected a range of religious, philosophical and pedagogical approaches. These schools could integrate into the state system, agreeing to accept state funding and teach the New Zealand curriculum while retaining their own values, beliefs or philosophies. Kura Kaupapa (Māori immersion schools) were established to meet the language and cultural needs of children graduating from Kōhanga Reo (Māori early childhood centres). The home schooling movement was also able to flourish. In the early childhood sector, as demand grew for more centres, education was seen as offering business opportunities and more private and corporate centres were established to fill the need.

However, the tensions between freedom (as a neo-liberal ideal) and control (as a neo-conservative ideal) meant that the government adopted a series of accountability measures to keep a balance. The Education Review Office was established to conduct evaluations of school quality. The office’s purview was later extended to early childhood services. Schools were also required to write charters, set targets, and plan and report to the Ministry against those targets. Assessment of student learning was to become a major priority.

### The rise of assessment

While the United States was implementing curriculum standards and the United Kingdom was instituting national testing, New Zealand’s primary schools managed to avoid going down the path of high stakes testing by developing a local solution. To address the question of how well students were achieving throughout the country, the document *Assessment policy to practice* (Ministry of Education, 1994) signalled the introduction of a national sampling assessment programme. This became the National Educational Monitoring Project (NEMP) which subjects a randomly chosen but representative sample of school
students at Years 4 and 8 to a series of assessments across the curriculum. NEMP reports provide a national picture of student achievement and progress but the identity of students, classes and schools remains confidential. In secondary schools, the National Certificate of Educational Achievement was instituted. In general, it replaced high stakes external examinations with a system of modular achievement standards, combining internal (school) assessments that are externally moderated and national external assessments at Years 11, 12 and 13. In early childhood, assessment of young children focused on recording narratives of their progress as they learned a variety of skills and concepts (Carr, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2004).

**Curriculum and pedagogy**

The 1990s were time of rapid change in education, as schools and early childhood centres came to grips with new regulations for administration, curricula, assessment and pedagogy. The 2000s offered a time for consolidation. Smith and Warden (2010) call the time 1999-2008, ‘the Third Way’ mirroring politics in the UK, and in New Zealand, a time, “when under a Labour Government, there was a slight adjustment to the left, shifting education policies to promote the development of a knowledge society” (p. 59).

In the early 2000s, in order to prepare for the knowledge society, the Ministry of Education set out on an ambitious search for the evidence that would support development in key educational areas. The Iterative Best Evidence Synthesis Programme was created. To date, it has synthesised relevant national and international research to produce key findings on many different topics, such as teaching and learning (Alton-Lee, 2003), teacher professional development (Timperley, Wilson, Barrar & Fung, 2007), and school leadership (Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd, 2009).

The first of these, *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis* (Alton-Lee, 2003), was to have a profound impact on pedagogy and curriculum. The outcome of iterative and on-going curriculum development throughout the 2000s, the *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007), was not only a set of learning areas underpinned by a vision and guiding principles but it also included guidance on effective pedagogy. The curriculum’s vision was to prepare young people who would be confident, connected, actively involved, life-long learners. It was less prescriptive than the 1993 curriculum, focusing on descriptive statements about each curriculum area with a set of overarching achievement objectives but with freedom for schools and teachers to select the content that they felt would best help students achieve these objectives.

Pedagogically, the curriculum reframed teaching as an on-going inquiry. This inquiry has three stages: a focusing inquiry where teachers consider what is important for their students; a teaching inquiry which uses evidence from research and practice to design teaching and learning opportunities; and a learning inquiry which investigates the success of the teaching and the implications for further teaching (Ministry of Education, 2007).

**The changing face of the progressive classroom**

Despite the economic downturn, the 1970s were an exciting time in education. Challenges to social and educational theory found their way into the curriculum and classroom. New Zealand was influenced by trends from overseas – new mathematics, new social studies and Nuffield science. It also became known for its own strengths, such as the Ready to Read series, whole language programmes and reading recovery. The controversial *Man – a course of study* and the *Taba curriculum development project* from the US were to influence the development of a Form 1-4 (Years 7-10) social studies curriculum which required teachers to teach thematically and conceptually on topics such as cultural difference,
interaction, social control and social change (Department of Education, 1977). Cooperative learning, values clarification, integrated topics and activity centres were all pedagogical approaches that flourished at this time. New schools were built in open plan designs to facilitate team teaching and flexible grouping. Ruth Mansell recalls her ‘language experience’ teaching approach in the 1970s (Education Aotearoa, 2011):

On fine days we’d often ask some of the mothers to stay and help and we’d set off on foot to explore our locality, the digger working round the corner, the natural world, and the small scale industrial workplaces of many of their parents. We took a bucket of plaster to Petone beach, mixed it with seawater, and created plaques with shells, seaweed and driftwood. We ventured into the bush at Korokoro, found koura [freshwater crayfish] in the stream (and put them back), swung on the kickie vines and listened to the sounds of the stream, the birds and the wind in the trees. Free of unnecessary OSH [Occupational Safety and Health] rules, we learned to be responsible and stay safe!

In the 1980s and 1990s, the freedom to teach in holistic and child-centred ways was being restricted by a new concept of curriculum. From 1993 curriculum was more prescriptive and less integrated. A lengthy curriculum statement for each curriculum area with eight levels of achievement objectives was implemented. Teachers had hardly begun to implement the new approach to one curriculum area when another document arrived. The fast pace of change and the increased level of expectation began to take their toll. Added to this, tracking children’s progress across each curriculum area and the essential skills also led to assessment overload. The Ministry was to deal with these concerns by instituting an ‘assess less better’ approach through teacher professional development and taking a more consultative approach to curriculum development.

Over the 2000s, in an attempt to deal with the overcrowded curriculum and with an increased emphasis on formative assessment, inquiry learning became the preferred pedagogical approach. This was consolidated in the 2007 curriculum, which also returned to being a slimmer document focused on principles and concepts rather than detail (Ministry of Education, 2007). The inquiry approach was widely adopted and teachers were able to refocus on progressive teaching practices but bring these up-to-date and embrace new technologies. Here is an example from researcher field notes from a study of citizenship education in a primary school (Mutch, 2002, p.173):

As I enter the classroom foyer I am met by a welcome sign and a series of coloured labels: “This is an inquiry classroom. Are you an independent learner? Are you excited by learning? Then this is the place for you. Your teachers are here to help you”. The foyer is set out as an extension of the classroom containing posters and displays. A digital photo of every child is accompanied by a statement about what makes them a good friend. Examples of work from their ‘rules and responsibilities’ unit, photos from their science trip and a written language unit, and a collage of children’s personal symbols and mottoes are on display. These themes are carried on inside the classroom. Around the room are wall displays, display tables and bookshelves. Children’s personal belongings are kept in tote trays and the children work around small hexagonal tables.

In early childhood education, more evidence was accruing of the importance of early childhood education for success in later life (OECD, 2001; Wylie and Thompson, 2003). A ten-year plan, *Pathways to the future – Ngā huarahi arataki* (Ministry of Education, 2002), was introduced and funding was provided to showcase and disseminate innovative practice. The publications report on teacher action research projects. For example, teachers from First Years Preschool describe their innovative approach to science, Otaki Kindergarten describes
how they enhanced children’s mana [self esteem] by involving them in environmental sustainability, and Te Kōhanga Reo o Mana Tamariki explains how they set about learning traditional methods for growing vegetables. Here is an excerpt from the Bush St Kindergarten storytelling project relating to a quilt being made as part of the story of ‘Grandpa Sydney’ (Henson, Smith & Mayo, 2009, p.56):

One of the props used was a bed as part of the central character story of Grandpa Sydney to support children in preparing for bed at night and getting ready in the morning. There had been some issues for parents over these things. James came in one day with some quilting his mother had done for him using lots of different fabrics. James was keen to show off his gift and to talk about how his mum uses a sewing machine. The idea of a quilt for Grandpa Sydney’s bed developed. James’s mother was invited in with her sewing machine and all the children were invited to bring along a special piece of fabric that could be cut and sewn into a new quilt for Grandpa Sydney’s bed. The pieces of fabric which came in all had a story to tell, from an old favourite T shirt to a piece of a cuddly blanket. The big picture of creating the quilt was not as important as the stories developed along the way as part of the process.

National standards

In 2008, the government changed to a National-led coalition. The previous (Labour) government had completed three terms in office. This extended period of time had allowed for more coherence in educational policy and curriculum development, although an emphasis on numeracy and literacy at the expense of other curriculum areas was already becoming apparent. The incoming coalition government included a mix of centre-right, neo-conservative and neo-liberal politicians. Almost immediately, the new Minister of Education announced the development of ‘national standards’ for Years 1-8 (primary and intermediate schools). National standards were seen as a way of providing parents with benchmarks against which the progress and achievement of their children could be judged and compared and a way in which teachers and schools could be made more accountable for their students’ results. National standards in reading, writing and mathematics for English-medium schools (and similar standards in Māori-medium schools) set out the expectations for student achievement and progress (Ministry of Education, 2009).

The lack of consultation and speed of implementation meant the standards were met with fierce resistance from schools. Although the Ministry was able to soften the original expectations by having teachers able to make ‘overall teacher judgments’ using a range of assessment tools rather than a single test to determine whether a student had met the standards, this compromise was not enough for some schools who simply refused to comply. It is in this context that the history of progressive education in the New Zealand system moves from its revered past, through its contested present, and arrives in an uncertain future.

An uncertain future

Tension mounts

In 2011, the National-led coalition was returned to office. The Prime Minister, John Key, took this as a mandate to propose further education policies that would put New Zealand’s liberal-progressive education under threat – charter schools, league tables and teacher performance pay. Part of the government’s justification for its policy direction is New Zealand’s performance in international comparative studies, such as PISA, TIMSS, and PIRLS. In the Foreword to the 2010-2015 Statement of Intent (Ministry of Education, 2010, p.2) it states:

New Zealanders are rightly proud of our education system. We are home to some of the best schools, the best teachers and the best students in the world. But the gap
between our high performing and our low performing students is one of the widest in
the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and this
government is determined to address underachievement in our schools, and to drive
improved educational performance right across the system to improve education
outcomes for all New Zealanders.

Other justifications are provided on economic grounds, especially given the global downturn.
Recent policy decisions have included include closing some special education schools and
technology units, lowering qualification expectations for early childhood teachers and
increasing class sizes across the board.

In 2013, charter schools are still on the government's agenda. They will receive
government funding but will not be bound by regulations about class size, teacher pay,
curriculum or assessment. Teacher unions, school principals, and academics are speaking out
against this policy. Their arguments are that the New Zealand schools already perform well,
the freedom to establish schools of special character currently exists and that if the
government really wants to take quality seriously, assisting state schools to do this should be
its first priority (O'Connor, 2012).

In the most recent standoff between the government and educators, the government
was forced to back down on one economically-driven policy. There was widespread outrage
at the government’s announcement to increase class sizes. As would be expected, teacher
unions, principal associations, students and academics opposed the policy. This time, they
were to be supported by unexpected allies – parents and school boards of trustees. With fear
of losing electoral support, the government has not moved forward on that policy and instead
is focusing on policies that one political commentator considers will be more divisive:

And his [the Prime Minister’s] strategy here is to break up the unprecedented
coalition between parents and teachers over class sizes. Nobody can remember a time
when all sections of education banded together with the parents to defeat the
government. National could usually rely on its middle-class supporters to back it
against teacher unions. So now it needs to its parents back again – and league tables
might do it. (Hubbard, 2012, p. A14)

**Progressive education despite the odds**

And yet, despite the government’s overt push for standardisation, many classrooms
still exhibit progressive ideals – whether through an inquiry approach, an integrated
curriculum or education outside the classroom. Trevor Thwaites, a teacher educator, recounts
visiting a class where an arts-based curriculum was to the fore. It gives us heart that
progressive education is alive and well (Thwaites, 2012, p. 110):

I first encountered Ruth Round’s teaching programme in 2009 when, on a visit to her
central Auckland primary school, I was treated to two hours of written and oral
expressive language development in a Year 4 class motivated through music-centred
learning. When I returned to the school in 2010, enthusiastic children showed me
their graphic representations of John Williams’ ‘Fawkes the Phoenix’ (from the film
soundtrack to *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*), followed by more
representations of sound poems and original poetry. As the music played I noticed the
children were responding in a variety of engaged ways: conducting, shaping the
musical lines with physical gestures, singing some of the quite complicated themes,
or just sitting and quietly swaying to the pulse.
Progressive education and the future

New Zealand’s liberal-progressive education tradition has served it well. It was a tangible expression of New Zealand’s developing identity which aimed to foster an egalitarian ethos within a bi-cultural society. From the early days of New Zealand’s formal education system, forward-thinking educators and policy makers have sought to make classrooms and early childhood centres more child-centred, relevant, engaging and inclusive. At various times, aspects of New Zealand’s education system have been admired and even emulated by other countries. Sometimes ideas that have flourished in New Zealand’s more open system have not met with such success in other settings. Education systems are complex amalgams of a particular society’s historical, social, political, cultural and economic contexts. This article has outlined some of the key events and people that have shaped the New Zealand system as it is today. In a recent review of the New Zealand’s assessment and evaluation systems, conducted by the OECD, the reviewers remarked on features such as high levels of school and teacher autonomy and unique local solutions to the many problems besetting education globally (OECD, 2012). The report had this to say (p. 9):

Since the establishment of self-managing schools in 1989, New Zealand has one of the most devolved school systems in the world. Average student learning outcomes are very good by international comparison even though there are concerns about the proportion of students that are not performing well. … As part of the national strategy to achieve [their] goals, New Zealand has developed its own distinctive model of evaluation and assessment characterised by a high level of trust in schools and school professionals. There are no full-cohort national tests and teachers are given prime responsibility to assess their students’ learning. Teachers also have a good degree of ownership of their own appraisal and are involved in school self-review.

The concern for the education community is that this high degree of trust in schools and teachers has been hard won and is constantly under threat. The notion of what constitutes quality and equity in education is highly contested. As this article has shown, the debates in New Zealand are not only philosophical but ideological. Educators often find themselves buffeted by the winds of change driven by politicians responding to economic rather than educational concerns. Often policies use education as a driver of change – sometimes these changes are a good fit with longstanding views of the place and purpose of education as espoused and practised by educators of the liberal-progressive tradition, sometimes not.

The New Zealand system has been able to embrace progressive educational ideals and keep them alive in the face of on-going, and often unwarranted, criticism. However, without decades of committed and conscientious educators, who have managed to win and hold the respect of generations of students and parents these ideals could have been lost under a tide of market-driven reforms. It is heartening that parents and school boards of trustees have felt the need to support teachers when the values and principles the system is built on come under threat. It is this collective dedication to the children and young people of today and tomorrow that gives hope that progressive ideals will continue to underpin educational practices in New Zealand for many years to come.
References


Voicing a Mindful Pedagogy: A Teacher-Artist in Action

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Abstract
Historically, educators and philosophers have struggled with defining the role and the value of formal curriculum and its impact on classroom praxis. As the current accountability movement dominates discussions in education, educators are pressured to implement increasingly standardized curricula. The authors of this work consider these tensions, situated first within contrasting theories on teaching and learning. They then explore the concept of phronesis through an interpretive biography of one teacher-artist, Frieda, whose praxis also demonstrates the aesthetic and artistic side of the teaching-learning process. This ninety-year-old teacher-artist’s experiences with implementing her curriculums suggest that it is always possible to implement one’s praxis, despite any potential societal or legislative impediments. Frieda’s story shows how a teacher’s praxis can incorporate Eisner’s artistic approach to curriculum as well as many of Dewey’s principles of child-centered pedagogy.

Keywords: Dewey, Phronesis, Progressive education, Aesthetic, Art

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Introduction

Historically, educators and philosophers have struggled with defining the role and the value of formal curriculum and its impact on classroom praxis (McNeil, 1986). From the scripted lessons teachers are forced to administer in under-performing schools, to the lessons that develop spontaneously as the result of discrepant events in one’s classroom; the intended curriculum and the curriculum which is enacted often look quite different. It is this tension that many philosophers, as far back as Plato, have grappled with from various perspectives. What is it that guides the reflective educator in making conscious decisions-in-action for the good of their students? Is it merely the application of accumulated knowledge or learned technique? Or is it something more?

As researchers, we consider these questions, situated first within contrasting theories on teaching and learning. We then explore the unique concept of phronesis as a virtue—contextualized within the life’s work of one teacher-artist named Frieda, who taught in various capacities for over sixty years. Through this biographical inquiry we see Frieda’s career as an educator illustrate how one’s pedagogical, artistic and philosophical principles inform reflective practice.

Contrasting Theories

On one end of the continuum exist procedural approaches to curriculum, which are linear in nature and stem from a logical, positivist philosophy (Van Manen, 1977). First fully articulated by Ralph W. Tyler in the 1940s, his rational-linear theory for curriculum focuses methodology primarily on defining and organizing behavioral objectives and then evaluating behavioral outcomes (Marsh & Willis, 2007; Tyler, 2009). Marsh and Willis (2007) paraphrased Tyler’s approach in the following manner, “When objectives are specific and clear, subsequent decisions about what the curriculum should be and how it should be organized become less chaotic and more rational” (p. 75). Rational-linear theory emphasizes the need for a calculated approach to the production of curriculum, relying heavily on one’s episteme or scientific knowledge (Burmingham, 2004, p. 314). Furthermore, through Tyler’s linear, ends-means approach; he argued that the most logical and effective instruction is also efficient and leads to measurable outcomes (Marsh & Willis, 2007). Similarities can be drawn between Tyler’s notion of effective instruction and Aristotle’s description of techne or “reason concerned with production” (Burmingham, 2004, p. 88).

On the opposite end of the continuum exist more existential perspectives on curriculum. As described by Magrini (2012), “Existentialism in education offers a corrective and alternative to behaviorism, [and] social efficiency…” (p. 3). It challenges us to overcome our tendency to favor “analytic-logical-empirical clusters of knowledge over more intangible forms of knowledge, those associated with the arts, which include the intuitive-perceptual model of knowledge” (Magrini, 2012, p. 3). Existentialist educational theory confronts prescribed, authoritarian models for education and asserts that curriculum should “develop and evolve autonomously as the learning unfolds” (Magrini, 2012, p. 4).

Progressivism

In contrast to the polarized perspectives described above, the work of philosopher and educational researcher John Dewey challenges theories on both ends of the continuum. His child-centered, artistic, and context-based, progressive philosophy on teaching and learning counters the strong framing of Tyler’s model for curriculum; while still emphasizing the importance of “active, persistent, and careful consideration” (Dewey, 1934, p. 9) of beliefs and forms of knowledge. As a follower and supporter of Dewey, David Hawkins, in his book of compiled essays, The Informed Vision (1965/2002), describes the progressive perspective as uniquely different from either end of the continuum and that it therefore establishes a third
point off the axis, described above. According to Hawkins, while progressivism represents aspects of both ends of the continuum, it exists within a context unlike either one. Hawkins’ description of progressivism as the third point to a triangle, adds the needed dimension to capture the complexity of teaching as a human, artistic, and moral act.

Dewey, in *Art as Experience* (Dewey, 1934), constructs the meaning of artistic experience. He describes the power and growth that results from the experience of artistic thinking. He argues that the act of thinking has its own aesthetic quality and that without the involvement of process and reflection on action or experience, it is devoid of this aesthetic. The procedures associated with the unaesthetic promotes two extremes, either “humdrum slackness” (Dewey, 1934, p. 40) with no emphasis placed on the interconnectedness or consequence that a single experience has on another, or it promotes “rigid abstinence, coerced submission, and tightness...” (Dewey, 1934, p. 40) on the part of the participant. Dewey considers these to be the enemies of aesthetic and the latter to be commonplace in our educational institutions (Dewey, 1934).

He challenges linear-rational thought when he argues that the production of genuine artifacts of creative expression requires more thoughtfulness and intellect than does much of the sterile exercises of most self-professed intellectuals (Dewey, 1934). He defines an artist as one who is “not only especially gifted in powers of execution but in unusual sensitivity to the qualities of things. This sensitivity also directs his doings and makings” (Dewey, 1934, p. 49). Developing one’s skill in aesthetics and artistic sensibility has application and consequence for so many other areas because they “build up an experience that is coherent in perception” (Dewey, 1934, p. 51); perception being a powerful human phenomenon that can be developed and fine-tuned as an instrument for understanding the complexities of the world around us.

It is no wonder that Dewey’s writing challenged the social consciousness of the existing educational institution of this time and later birthed the work of educators and researchers such as Elliot Eisner, David Hawkins, and Nel Noddings. The notion that the individual child has much to bring and to give to the process of learning undergirds all of these individuals’ philosophies and each provides an important piece to the overall picture of an effective, child-centered classroom. Within such a progressive classroom, the framing of the curriculum is weakened (Sleeter & Stillman, 2009) and the role of the teacher is shifted from the knowledge giver to the astute facilitator who uses “observation, interpretation, wit, and strategy” (Hawkins, 1965/2002, p. 88) to support and reinforce children’s self-directed learning.

**Phronesis**

This line of thinking relates well to the concept of *phronesis* that was first systematically described by Aristotle. He defined this term as “a state of grasping the truth, involving reason, concerned with action about things that are good or bad for a human being” (T. Irwin, trans., 1999, p. 89). Birmingham (2004), describes phronesis as “practical intelligence, practical wisdom, or prudence” (p. 314) that guides one’s praxis. Similarly, in his book, *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action* (1983), Schön develops a robust model of reflection that moves beyond mere critical thinking and parallels phronesis. In this work, he emphasizes reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action. It is within this reflective practice that the educator critically evaluates instructional goals in the context of care for students, families and colleagues (Birmingham, 2004). It is the innately moral, organic, and recursive nature of reflective teaching that is fully articulated in the concept of phronesis.
Frieda: A Teacher-Artist

Despite the various restrictions that often limit educators’ ability to fully engage in reflective teaching, one can argue that every educator possesses a degree of freedom that extends beyond the boundaries of any particular curricular mindset. In order to illustrate this point, the authors embarked on a biographical inquiry of a ninety-year-old former educator, who we refer to as Frieda and whose teaching career in the eastern United States spans decades. Frieda was a close relative of one of the authors and she frequently shared stories about her teaching career with friends and family members. Therefore, as anticipated, when asked if she would like to share her stories with a wider audience, she immediately accepted; expressing enthusiasm at this opportunity.

The interviews with Frieda consisted of three sessions, two phone interviews and one in-person interview at her home, spread out over approximately six weeks. While the phone interviews were partially transcribed, the face-to-face interview was digitally recorded and partially transcribed. Field notes were taken throughout the three interview sessions. At the conclusion of the write-up of this study, portions of the paper that included Frieda’s direct quotations, along with our analysis of her quotations, were read aloud to her, giving her the opportunity to member check the accuracy of the retelling of her stories.

Right up until her recent passing, Frieda enjoyed painting, mixed-media art, and Chinese calligraphy, and had taken a special interest in Japanese origami. Although Frieda never taught art as a subject in public school, the examples that follow demonstrate how her passion for the arts infiltrated all that she did with her students. The excerpts shared from Frieda’s life experiences as a teacher-artist illustrate how she interpreted the curriculum in ways that honored both the content she and her students were experiencing together and the students' curiosity and potentiality in the moment, on any given day.

The Normal School

Frieda attended the Plattsburgh Normal School in Plattsburgh, New York (near the US/Canadian border) in the late 1930s where she would begin her journey of becoming a classroom teacher. Frieda recalled her time spent at the normal school with great affection and nostalgia. She remembered being able to “try out” what she was learning in her classes with the students that she taught, since the normal school consisted of a school within a school. Although normal schools can be described as “a laboratory for learning, using model classrooms as a place to practice their new skills” (Cheek, 2009, para. 8), Frieda explained that she enjoyed a certain degree of freedom here. Even though the description of the normal school is rather clinical in nature, Frieda recalled her time here in a positive manner; she was encouraged to experiment with various pedagogical techniques and this very much suited the budding teacher-artist’s personality. Even though Frieda was only in her late teens when she began studying at the normal school, she explained how she already saw the value in project-based learning, one of the features of an artistic approach to curriculum. Although she could not recall ever hearing the name John Dewey mentioned in her studies, her teaching and philosophy was very closely aligned with the aesthetic, progressive principles Dewey espoused.

Frieda’s formal training was unique to her time in that the normal school had a primary school within in which provided the clinical experience she needed to shape her understandings about human learning and to develop her skills as a teacher. It is notable that in the 1930’s not all students had access to such an education as the students did within the normal school. Frieda states, “Students were screened before they entered—they had [to have] a certain level of education. It was a privilege to be selected for this school” (personal communication, July 5, 2009). She recalls this influential time in her life this way:
In the normal school, it wasn’t called a college. People from the town gave teachers a chance to work with children… so that we could practice what we were learning. They weren’t telling us what to teach. We could try out what worked and what didn’t. They had supervisors who would come around—once in awhile. The only thing that they objected to was sitting on the children’s desk! Teachers used to sit sideways when teaching. They didn’t like moving around the class. The supervisor didn’t want you to stop moving. When there was math going on you had to make sure that every child was working. In order for them to do things, I always had a project. (personal communication July 5, 2009)

Frieda’s statement illustrated her instructors’ criticism of the didactic model for teaching, which relies on strong framing for instruction. She also referenced the freedom she had in her field experiences to try new things with the students within the normal school. She innately was drawn to a context-based, integrated approach to teaching and learning (Dewey, 1915/1902; Sleeter & Stillman, 2009) and understood the importance of active engagement and providing children opportunities to utilize their creativity to construct their own knowledge (Dewey, 1934; Eisner, 2002; Piaget, 1928).

**Phronesis and the Enacted Curriculum**

Upon graduating from the Plattsburgh Normal School in the late 1930s, Frieda accepted a job in rural Pennsylvania where she would teach students, ages seven to twelve years old, in a one-room country schoolhouse. Frieda recalls how the school bus driver would come to pick her up each morning from the boarding house where she lived, drop her off at work, and then return with the students an hour or so later. Frieda explained that at that time, books were provided for students, but no formal, written curriculum even existed. When asked to describe a typical day in the one-room schoolhouse, Frieda discussed the artistic principles that guided her pedagogy. While still adhering to some aspects of a structured curriculum (Marsh & Willis, 2007), parallels can be drawn between Frieda’s description of her student-centered approach to teaching and the ideals of pedagogy put forth by Dewey in *The School and Society* (1969/1902). Here, Dewey borrows from the field of astronomy when he makes the case for a more child-centered pedagogy by stating, “…the child becomes the sun about which the appliances of education revolve; he is the center about which they are organized” (p. 34).

Frieda, the teacher-artist, understood this concept all too well—children were the center of her pedagogical universe. Although she did not possess the education terminology to describe why she made a certain instructional decision, she just knew that it was the right thing to do. This is an illustration of how her phronesis resulted in effective praxis (Schön, 1983). When asked about her methods, she responded this way:

When I was a little girl and I went to school, I said, if I become a teacher, I’m not gonna teach like this…[in an authoritative teacher’s voice] ‘Turn to page 30 and you read, you read, you read. Next we have arithmetic… I’m going to put subtraction on the board and I’m going tell children to go up to the board to do it. No, you’re not subtracting right! Someone else come up and do it.’… It was just reading, writing and arithmetic all day long. It was no fun, no fun! (personal communication July 5, 2009)

Frieda’s passion to make education engaging served as motivation for her to develop as a progressive teacher. She always involved the children in project-based learning and hands-on experiences relevant to their lives and their interests (Ladson-Billings, 1997). It was evident that she truly cared for her students and understood them as learners (Noddings, 1988). Frieda described her rationale for developing and implementing an integrated, context-based curriculum in this way, “We wanted to live life. We didn’t want to be stuck in the classroom all day. Do you understand me? We didn’t want to just read books” (Frieda, personal
communication, July 5, 2009). This statement referred specifically to their frequent field trips to places such as the grocery store to learn arithmetic and measurement.

After many years teaching in rural schools, Frieda married a physician in the Army Medical Corps and they moved to a suburban town in the Northeast. As the impact of desegregation swept the country, Frieda described her students as “mostly black, from middle-class, good families” (Frieda, personal communication, July 5, 2009). It was during this time period, from the late 1960s and into the late 1970s, that Frieda proudly recalls her many performance-based, long-term projects that she implemented with her students.

According to Frieda, it was during this fourth teaching job that she was able to truly solidify her pedagogical techniques and fully realize her potential as a teacher-artist. When asked to describe some of the projects that she carried out with her students, she immediately recalled “the cow project” (Frieda, personal communication, July 9, 2009). It was 1964 and Frieda was teaching sixth grade. The social studies curriculum included the teaching of the state’s tercentenary. Always looking for novel ways to immerse students in the content that they were learning, Frieda decided that the student would first plan and then construct a papier maché cow. They would later name this cow Emmy Lou (personal communication, July 9, 2009).

The project took several weeks to complete and all students participated in its construction. Some students were the recorders—they were responsible for writing down the day’s events pertaining to the project, while others took part mostly in the physical construction of this large cow. The final project even caught the attention of the regional newspaper, which featured Frieda’s students with Emmy Lou (see Figure 1) (Newark Evening News, 1964, p. 23). Frieda recalls this event fondly, sharing that she simply could not have taught about the topic of the tercentenary in another way (personal communication, July 9, 2009). As this account illustrates, Frieda understood the power of individuals learning through shared activity (Feinberg, 2012).

![Image of students with Emmy Lou](Figure 1. Students with Emmy Lou. Cleveland St. Elementary School. (1964). From “Community News”, 1964, Newark Evening News, p.23. Reprinted with permission.)

Teaching and art, for Frieda, were reciprocal, intertwined, and inextricable processes; this belief was so deeply ingrained in her being as a teacher that, for Frieda, teaching and art could not exist without the other. These processes, as Frieda described, closely align with
Dewey’s views on art as a means for learning. As described by Feinberg (2012), Dewey believed that art should be seen as education, “For both, art teaches us how to experience the world of everyday life more fully” (Feinberg, 2012, p. 64). Dewey’s (1902) emphasis on aesthetic experiences for learning is evident in this quote:

Now, keeping in mind these fourfold interests—the interest in conversation, or communication, in inquiry, or finding out things; in making things, or construction; and in artistic expression—we may say they are natural resources, the uninvested capital, upon the exercise of which depends the active growth of the child. (p. 48-49)

Clearly, as a teacher-artist, Frieda understood the value of investing in her students’ abundant capital, that is, fostering their natural curiosity and tendency to want to participate in their learning, in order to teach content (Jackson, 2009).

Another example of Frieda’s progressive pedagogical approach to learning was again featured in a local newspaper, the Orange Transcript, in June of 1969. To commemorate George Washington’s birthday, Frieda decided to have her sixth-grade students put on a play about the making of the Betsy Ross colonial flag. Frieda emphasized, “I like dramatics; whenever there was something going on, we acted it out” (Frieda, personal communication, August 21, 2009). So, all of the students took part in the sewing of the flag, the creation of the costumes, and the researching of the creation of the colonial flag. Frieda allowed the students to choose the activity that they showed the most interest in working on for this project. She did not assign roles, but instead guided students towards the activity that she thought that they would most enjoy. At the conclusion of the class project, Frieda arranged a class trip to a flag-making factory in order to show her students how actual American flags were made (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Flag Day and patriotism at Cleveland School. Class field trip to flag-making factory. From the Orange Transcript (June 1969). Reprinted with permission.

Frieda described other creative assignments that she had students do such as researching, designing and constructing a mosaic of a Roman soldier (see Figure 3).
Figure 3. Students with Roman soldier mosaic. (1970). Frieda’s personal collection. Reprinted with permission

She said,

When we were studying Roman history…I went to a marble store and bought marble mosaic pieces. I like things that you can handle. Things that you handle you don’t forget…paper gets thrown away. I had them draw first and then let them put the pieces in. I wanted them to feel it… (personal communication, July 5, 2009)

This statement is a prime example of her keen sensibility of aesthetics and the power of creative thinking for making meaning (Dewey, 1934). She, as an artist, understood the power of process (Hawkins, 1965/2002) as well as the need to encourage students to express him and herself creatively.

Amidst the many examples of project-based learning that Frieda and her students engaged in, the most touching pertains to one that had far-reaching effects for one student in particular. Always looking for novel ways to immerse her students in the learning processes, Frieda applied for and received a technology mini-grant through the State Department of Education that she entitled, "Innovative Teaching Techniques Involving the Class in Planning and Participation in the Learning Process through Motion Picture Sound Production" (State Department of Education Mini-Grant Application, July 1971). She and her students won $876.73 and were once again featured in the regional newspaper.

When asked what she decided to do with the money, Frieda indicated that she purchased a video camera. She explained how she used to have her students document the learning process by taking still photos of one another as they were completing the projects, but she felt that this did not capture the events in their entirety. Also, the middle school where she was teaching did not have an auditorium, so Frieda would frequently have her students travel from class to class, putting on plays for other students and teachers about whatever they happened to be learning (see Figure 4). Having a movie camera allowed her to document these plays. In the proposal, Frieda stated “These films will be of great value as records of school achievement and activities…It is my belief that filmmaking will encourage student involvement and pupil cooperation” (Giventer, 1971, p. 3). She further indicated that textbook learning tended “to stifle discussion of subjects such as science and history” (Giventer, 1971, p. 3); therefore, she felt projects that involved drama and art were a critical augmentation to her curriculum. Frieda later shared that over the years she found that the filmmaking project developed “increased verbal expression in speech and discussion” among her students (personal communication, July 9, 2009).
However, there was another unanticipated outcome directly related to the winning of the video camera. Frieda recalls one of her students in the following description, “Charlie was lazy and didn’t want to do anything. So I said to him, ‘You’re going to be a good boy, you’re going to be a photographer and you’re going to take care of it’” (personal communication, July 9, 2009). From that point on, Charlie was designated as class videographer and was subsequently put in charge of documenting all class projects (and there were many of them). Frieda describes how Charlie became more cooperative and engaged in school almost the instant he was assigned this position. Videotaping class plays, projects, and other events quickly became Charlie’s passion. Frieda recalled that years later, after she had formally retired from teaching, she reconnected with Charlie by coincidence. Despite the more than fifteen years that had passed, he recognized Frieda as she was entering the town library. Dressed in military fatigues, Charlie stopped Frieda and re-introduced himself. Frieda describes the joy and shock that she experienced as this handsome, young, African-American man explained that he was Charlie, her former student. When she asked him if he finished high school and if he was working, he proudly detailed how the class videographer role had changed his life forever; he had become a videographer in the military and he acknowledged her instrumental role in this achievement (personal communication, July 7, 2009).

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of Frieda’s story is that she was implementing John Dewey’s child-centered pedagogy and his philosophy of aesthetics, as well as components of Eisner’s artistic approach to curriculum, even though she had never heard of either of these two prominent scholars. In fact, when asked if she knew who John Dewey was, Frieda replied, “Wasn’t he vice president?” (personal communication, July 5, 2009).

Conclusions, Limitations, and Implications

Sadly, our nation’s current trend toward ultra-standardized, test-driven curricula has done very little to move us towards increased critical reflection and creativity among students and educators (Fleener, 2002). Rather, the high-stakes nature of today’s accountability movement has pushed us farther away from the aesthetics of teaching and learning, and ever closer to subject matter-oriented approaches guided by linear-rational thought (Robinson, 2011).
While this individual account is limited in scope, with only one voice shared, the depth of Frieda’s narrative provides rich context for understanding how societal and philosophical factors shape both teacher practice and educational policy. Despite historic and current forces acting on the educator, often in negative ways, Frieda’s unconventional and reflective practice over 21 years of formal teaching, demonstrates an almost anachronistic approach to teach in ways that break away from didactic and sterile methodologies. Her thoughtful accounts of how she enacted curriculum illustrate how one’s phronesis shapes praxis.

Findings from the study documented in this interpretive biography, have further implications for policy and practice in education. When developing curricula at all levels, it is vital that educators, K-16, consider the potential in approaching educational endeavors from the third point of Hawkin’s (1965/2002) triangle analogy—understanding that we need not be tied to one end or the other of the philosophical continuum. Regardless of the changing contexts in which we find ourselves, educators and policy makers should now strive to establish education as “…the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world” (Freire, 1970, p. 34).

Freida’s teaching methodologies illustrate how an educator’s free will and practice of reflection-in-action can be carried out despite any real or perceived challenges that exist within the education system or within a society. When an educator’s practice is rooted in phronesis, it can potentially have far-reaching implications on what is taught and assessed in schools as one’s praxis becomes more student-focused and less driven by standardized curricula. Mindful educators like Frieda, whose phronesis is deeply ingrained and manifested in their teaching practice, use curricula as an inspiration, but are not driven by it. These educators acknowledge and respond not only to a learner’s academic needs, but to the student as a whole being.
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*Flag Day and patriotism at Cleveland School.* Reprinted with permission from the *Orange Transcript,* Thursday, June 12, 1969.


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Progressive Teachers of Young Children: Creating Contemporary Agents of Change

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Abstract
This article describes how an Early Childhood Teacher Education program in Hawaii builds upon a history of progressivism in the field of early education in the U.S. to encourage students to become critical thinkers and agents of change. Reflecting through the historical lenses of educators such as Jane Addams, Patty Smith Hill and Lucy Sprague Mitchell, two progressive teacher educators call on their students to become “transformative intellectuals” (Giroux, 1988) and move from being agents of surveillance to agents of change (Foucault, 1972, 1995). Student data from blogs and action research projects illustrate how students challenged habituated practices in the field of early child education (ECE), which has been rapidly moving toward a narrow focus on academic readiness and the standardization of children and programs as a consequence of No Child Left Behind legislation and the Race to the Top competition for federal funds.

Keywords: early childhood education, progressive pedagogy, online teaching, agents of change, critical analysis

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Introduction

An agent of change is an advocate who is aware of policy, alert to issues of social justice, and feels supported to voice resistance and question existing policies and practices. Agents of change can be seen as advocates, “speaking on behalf of others, often from within existing political, social, and economic frames of reference” (Sumison, 2006, p. 3). In some cases, agents of change can also be activists “resisting and challenging those frames of references and the power bases that support them” (Kenny, 2004 in Sumison, 2006, p. 3). Our bachelor's degree program at University of Hawaii—West Oahu is focused on inspiring such agents of change.

A common and stereotypic conception of the identity of teachers of children from birth through age 8 does not seem to include this description of professionals as agents of change. The historical perspective presented by Snyder in Dauntless Women in Childhood Education 1856-1931 (1972) based on Froebel’s Mother Play in which teaching young children in the kindergarten (nursery school) was women’s work and mothers learned from the kindergarteners (teachers). Snyder (1972) also indicated that the teaching force needed to change, moving towards a “more responsible social role” (p. 376).

We use Giroux’s (1988) “category of transformative intellectual” (p.99) to define what it means to be socially responsible. Giroux suggests that teachers pay attention to the suffering and conditions of oppression in order to understand the lived experiences of individual children, their families, their cultures and languages, their social economic status and other conditions affecting the children’s lives. Becoming a transformative intellectual includes a mindfulness of the conscience and an engagement with social justice (Freire, 1973; Greene, 1998). When our students learn to become transformative intellectuals, they develop the mindset to become agents of change, reflective of the ideals of progressive education, empowering children to be socially responsible as participatory members in a just society.

There are connections between the choices in the development and implementation of our early childhood program, our commitment to teachers as agents of change, and the work of the progressive educators. In the field of early childhood education, historic figure Patty Smith Hill was a key model of an ECE “agent of change” because she challenged the prevailing rigid interpretation of Froebelian beliefs and practices with young children. The following quote from an interview with Hill illustrates the educational dichotomy of her time, which is relevant today in 2012, particularly as we see teachers following the recipes of standards and scripted curriculums while others, often not revered, follow the voices and actions of children:

There are two great divisions of teachers, you know: cookbook teachers and checkerboard teachers. A cookbook teacher sits down in the evening, measures out so much arithmetic, so much spelling, so much music, according to a pedagogical recipe and next day spoon feeds it into his pupils. He calls the process education. But suppose he were getting ready for a game of chess or checkers. Would it do any good to take the board the evening before and figure out the campaign – first this move, then that move? When he sat down with his opponents he would find that the vital factor had been entirely omitted from his calculations: the reaction of the other mind. Of course cookbook teaching is easier. But the other kind – well, from the child's point of view the other kind offers possibilities of real adventure. (Wolfe, 2000, p. 249)

How do we inspire “checkerboard” teachers? Patty Smith Hill, champion of play, author of many poems, children’s songs and the famous Hill floor blocks was trained in the kindergarten movement by Anna Bryant. Wolfe (2000) describes the debates Patty Smith Hill had with the traditional Froebelian Susan Blow as follows,
The two women debated about the relative merits of play and work and the value of free versus directed play. Hill believed in some of Froebel’s ideas but felt they should not be taken without critical analysis and modification when needed. Hill respected Froebel’s method but did not see him as the ‘sole prophet of truth’. Psychological findings of the time were also beginning to counter the formation of rigidity of Froebel. Hill focused on including the needs and interests of children in more functional ways. (p. 269)

This description of the debates illustrates the kind of striving for change that we encourage in our ECE students. We want them to be critical thinkers and to challenge the status quo when they believe that the prescribed practices are not sound or good for children. The readings we offer the students, the discussions using blogs, and the action research project all students complete as the capstone of the program all contribute to inspiring students to think deeply and understand how to enact change.

**Social Justice: Historical and Contemporary Issues**

One feature central to the work in our program is the practice of deep discussion regarding social justice and education. This is also reflective of much of the progressive agenda: “Out of this unashamedly optimistic, ardent, democratically driven experimentalism came a deep and abiding belief in the creative capacity of the individual as a social being to devise intelligent solutions to real problems and to posit meaningful future plans – plans designed to ensure continuous educative growth” (Nager & Shapiro, 2000, p.221). We expect our students to not only debunk traditional early childhood practices, but to use their creative capacity to seek intelligent solutions connecting social justice and education. Our intent is that students engage in serious explorations about the assumptions and implications of choices in early childhood pedagogy, demonstrating a commitment to democracy. For example, we share with our students how Lucy Sprague Mitchell established the B.E.E., The Bureau of Educational Experiments in which “initiatives were launched into areas of school nutrition, educational testing, visiting teachers, school playgrounds, day cares, nursery schools and demonstration programs at the grass roots of educational and social change” (Wolfe, 2000, p. 358). These topics ring true to most ECE students today, yet the reality is that contemporary ECE has become focused entirely on academic readiness. We empower our students to deconstruct the pervasive readiness agenda as an instrument to rethink equity in educational policy and its enactment in classrooms.

As standards and federal grants continue to focus on the narrow view of literacy as the mainstay of early childhood education, our program bursts forth with emphasis on community and education. Interestingly, Jane Addams’s work at the Hull House disrupted this very same view as she saw the program “ultimately a protest against the restricted view of the school” (Cremin, 1964, p. 61). In our choice to inspire agents of change we believe we are protesting against the restricted constructions of teachers as agents of surveillance.

The conception of teacher as an agent of surveillance is inspired by the work of Foucault (1972; 1995). Foucault’s technologies of power, hierarchical observation, and surveillance are evident in the forms of enacted accountability and standards. Control is central and is utilized to ensure compliance and homogeneity as well as the separation of teacher and student, positioning the teacher with power and the student as the site of manipulation. Many teacher education programs perpetuate the image of teachers as agents of surveillance by only teaching standards with little to no understanding of the historical and social contexts of education. This is often masked in the overwhelming amount of teacher education courses with scripted methodologies that teach lesson planning as the foundation of education. Is teacher surveillance synonymous with teacher control and student compliance? Doesn’t this impede the empowerment of teachers as agents of change?
Jane Addams (1902) echoes many of these same ideas in her response to similar restricted perspectives of education,

We are impatient with schools which lay all stress on reading and writing, suspecting them to rest upon the assumption that all knowledge and interest must be brought to children through the medium of books. Such an assumption fails to give the child any clue to the life about him, or any power to usefully or intelligently connect himself with it. (Cremin, 1964, p. 62)

Addams’s answer to these practices is to engage students with humanity, understanding historical and relational contexts of an industry along with the actual training. These very ideas are prominent in our program as we encourage our students to become agents of change. We hope that our students understand the humanness of teaching and its relation to the community, moving beyond methodologies to a comprehension of the historical decision-making within the early childhood community. Mitchell writes, “I was tired of working in an academic ivory tower, with golden domes but no firm foundations. I wanted to mix cement and sharp stones and build an educational foundation which would develop people with live thinking and live feelings” (Biber, 1967, p. 358). Mitchell’s conception of, “live thinking and live feelings” further the hope of humanness we have for our students. All of our courses create spaces for students to both think and feel. It is common for a student blog response or discussion board posting to include both a critical discussion and a personal experience. The presence of thought and feeling contribute to the students’ commitment to see early childhood education practices as other than they are typically portrayed, evident in our current students as well as graduates.

### Progressivism and an Early Childhood Degree

Our early childhood teacher education bachelor's degree program articulates with the university system associate's degree programs in early childhood education based on a mainstream perspective of early childhood focused mainly on child development. Our students are all practitioners working in the field of early childhood education. In the bachelor's degree program, we call for critiquing practice from theoretical and cultural perspectives, interrogating power within the workplace and community, and embracing advocacy so that teacher professionalism evolves as society changes. The culminating practicum for the bachelor’s degree is a 6-credit course, which includes an action research project. In reality, the associate's degree maintains a more conservative norm of mainstream child development while the bachelor’s degree expands with more progressive and liberal orientations to the field. This creates a tension for our students as we ask them to disrupt what they know from their Associates program and begin to rethink practice from a critical framework.

The main format for our program is an online environment, servicing students throughout Hawaii and other Pacific Islands. Through the use of Laulima, a Sakai online platform supplied by the university, and blogger.com, students engage with readings and discussions based in a variety of texts. The process begins with each student writing a question in response to the readings and then writing an initial post to a blog or discussion board. Then both the professor and peers respond to the initial post with more questions. These questions are meant to inspire deeper thinking and more questions rather than drive towards a specific answer. Our process is meant to help the students to develop clarity and discomfort in order to stimulate evolution in their thought processes and teaching practices. In a process that embodies Freire’s (1970) ideas of dialogue, respect, and engagement of students collaborating, our students have the space to disrupt “banking” notions of education.

Students spend the first weeks of the course reviewing resources describing a version
of Socratic dialogue (including a colleague’s paper on the Neo-Socratic method and the website [http://socratesway.com/](http://socratesway.com/) everyday.html) and the first posting on the discussion board or blog for the course is the students’ interpretations of these ideas in relation to their experiences and beliefs. This experience begins the process of students becoming critical thinkers. An example of this is depicted in the following student posting,

….When we stop to analyze or critique something that is when we use our minds and develop our answers to what we believe in. We cannot always accept everything everyone says because to them, it means something and have created that thought because of an experience, and to say you agree but not look into the situation, you may never know what really is out there.

Another student explains how the Socratic readings influence how he considers advocacy and teaching practices,

…To be true advocates in the field of ECE, we all need to look into ourselves and not be “sold” into one idea because it came from research or a text book. Besides the universal ECE shortcomings (wages, respect, gender equity) there are opportunities within our programs to advocate for or against something.

These two students, along with others in the class, were willing to question their source of information and act as “agents of change” based on what they learn. They were willing to disrupt expected assumptions in the field of ECE, through dialogue with their peers and professors, rethinking what is possible in teaching and learning and what could be enacted daily in their classrooms.

**Pedagogical Choices of Progressive Teacher Educators**

We encourage our students to experience teaching as an engaging, experiential process through the use of blogs and discussion boards. With each posting and familiarity with the process of responding to the readings through questioning, students begin to imagine early childhood education as something beyond what they already know. This includes developing and understanding of critical theory and how to use theory in order to disrupt common expected early childhood practices and beliefs. This process is how our students become advocates. This advocacy will be the source of their professional “voice” as agents of change. Bringing these elements of discussion into action is how these teachers to create a humanity-central environment for themselves and the children they teach. For example, in one blog, a student reflects on a reading from *Making Learning Visible* (2001), sharing her deconstruction of power ideas surrounding truth,

I know I occasionally have a hard time accepting information that seems counter to what I’ve learned. Like Howard Gardner wrote about on page 337, learning new paradigms isn’t always so easy. How do you un-think something you considered fact? Or, a bigger question could be, “What does it mean to know something?” This line of thinking takes me back to my philosophy classes discussing the concept of what is really truly real. Are your thoughts real? Are the things you can taste and touch (etc.) real? How can we ever really know the truth of life? Is there even such thing? And what, if anything, do these questions mean when working with young children?

Developmentally appropriate practice, teacher identity, standardization, and academic push-down are common characteristics of the ways in which early childhood education is and often understood by teachers. Readings introducing these “grand narratives” within early childhood education are offered to the students in order for the students to have a basic background to dispute. Alternative perspectives are also shared through the readings,
presenting other ways to see these practices. Our hope is that students consider how their experiences can impact the disruption of a practiced pedagogy and move them from efficient practitioner to transformative intellectual (Giroux, 1988) and an agent of change.

As early childhood teacher educators, we know that NCLB has taken away the beauty of childhood, interpreting each child as the same, meeting the same standards, without regard to culture or context (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998). Sameness continues as those with the power, politicians, policymakers, and administrators, impose academic push-down in hopes of ensuring, ironically, that no child is left behind. Ideas of push-down echo in children’s texts, further pushing childhood to the margin and placing academic push-down as the norm. Student accounts in the blogs depict how academics for young children are perceived by the students as both pervasive and problematic. Some of our students are Head Start teachers and have seen their paperwork increase as readiness testing and accountability rule their classroom time. Projects and play and emergent curriculum do not fit this paradigm.

One student discussed the victimization and rights of children from the academic push-down:

Tests and standards hold too much weight in our schools. In fact, they are more important than the well-being of the child. What kind of logic is this? I don’t understand why, when there is evidence to suggest otherwise and examples in other countries, parents and educators still insist on the earlier the better. I love Elkind’s (1981/1988/2001) phrase “an assault on childhood”. We are forcing our future generation to grow up too fast in a system that leads them to feel like they are failures. Imagine a future with no imagination, no creativity and little social skills. What kind of world are we creating?

In chat discussions through the online teaching platform, students tell stories about their friends, trained in early childhood education, who have left public school elementary teaching because the job was becoming so standardized and focused on high stakes testing. They felt they had to develop teaching identities as technicians for testing, rather than creative, child-centered teachers. Within our teacher education program, the development of identity is part of inspiring agents of change.

**Action Research**

Our students engage in change during our program through a capstone project using action research and a practicum experience. Action research is about social change (Lewin, 1946) and can empower communities to take action (Freire, 1973). Equity (Caro-Bruce, Flessner, Klerk, Zeichner (Eds.), 2007) and teaching practice (Britzman, 2003) are central to the action research process, creating a cyclic space for contemplation, doubt, and revolution. This experience furthers the students’ understanding of themselves as agents of change rather than experts in the rhetoric of standards and accountability (often defined outside of the community and construct of school). Being able to engage in action research throughout a teacher’s career is valuable to both teachers and students as it gives teachers the process in which to continually rethink practice in order to best meet the needs of the students and community.

Each student is expected to complete 120 hours in a classroom outside the classroom she/he may be working in currently, and also to collaborate with the teacher in the practicum classroom to complete an action research project. The purpose of the practicum is to utilize the experience as a mirror on current teaching practices. We expect students to become part of the practicum classroom, participating in the ordinary day and observing daily practice. Each student then returns to her own personal classroom to consider her teaching practice through
the action research process.

One student’s action research project focused on the question, "Will openness in teaching and learning help empower children’s learning experiences?" Before entering the action research process, this teacher thought she created a classroom based on holistic ideas of learning. She constructed "being a teacher" by responding to her students. Yet, after videoing herself teaching and reviewing her teaching practices, she recognized how she was manipulating her students as she attempted to “control” learning situations. According to the student,

Many of us as teachers and adults may think that we are providing rich learning experiences. But how can we define those experiences as rich when we are the one’s controlling the learning taking place? I speak from personal experience. I thought that I was fair and open as a teacher. But when I heard and saw myself on video for the first time I was pleasantly awakened. I saw myself trying to control the learning that was already taking place. There was no need for me to control the outcome of the activity, or achieving the objective. I remember the feelings of frustration that I felt at the time. Why? I ask myself. For the first time, I realized that I needed to let go of my urge to control the learning that was evolving right in front of me (Iorio & Parnell, In Press)

This identification in her practice positioned her to reflect on power and manipulation in all of her teaching. The analysis of her data inspired her to begin letting go of her own power as teacher and attempting to share power through conversations with the young children in her classroom.

Rules in the early childhood classroom were the focus of another student’s action research project. This student recognized how rules are embedded in the preschool setting and teachers often make and then enforce the rules. For her project, she wanted to investigate what the rules meant to the children, and how teachers’ perspectives on control, freedom, and risk would contribute to the children’s experiences with rules and throughout the classroom environment. This project included the student interviewing teachers and students in her personal classroom and the practicum site about rules. At her personal classroom, she also tallied the amount of times teachers corrected according to rules. This student noticed how her baseline data constructs the classroom environment and her role,

The data suggests that the children are being reminded of the rules on a very frequent basis. They all know there are rules though they are not sure why. Most children alluded to the need to comply with these rules or face a teacher-imposed consequence. Interestingly, none of them admitted to ever breaking the rules yet I know through prior experience that they have. The children know that I know this, as their teacher. I wonder how my position influenced their answers.

The change this student implemented included discussion with the children in the classroom to rethink the rules and then several related discussions with the teachers. Following the change, the frequency of corrections based on rules by the teachers dropped. Interestingly, when the teachers discussed this drop in corrections, they immediately attributed the decrease to the absence of certain children. The student’s analysis indicating a deep understanding of power and control in daily classroom interactions,

….two teachers pointed to sources outside of themselves to account for the difference in the number of rule reminders when I shared the results of my time-sampling observations, and both assumed the change was due to the absence of certain children from their group. Referring back to the children’s discussion of who makes the rules,
according to the children, the teachers are the keepers of the power and yet, the power to disrupt the norm was pushed off onto the children when the teacher felt less in control and was having to remind the children of the rules more often. Essentially, the teachers were looking for compliance to a set of standards that fulfill society’s expectations of the teacher/student relationship. When the children didn’t fit into the normal range of compliance, they were thought to disrupt the whole group. Perhaps the teacher felt the power was no longer in her hands.

This student's conclusions focused on how rules perpetuate a hierarchy of power within the construct of school, leave children with little or no power, and how modes of surveillance are constant in teaching practices. This student furthered the cyclic nature of action research by ending her project with even more questions: “Is it possible for teachers to let go of the idea of ‘teacher’ and relinquish the power and control of children? Can we allow children the freedom and respect to truly explore without being constantly under our watchful eye?”

Both of these action research projects illustrate how our program supports students in becoming agents of change. The action research project creates a space for students to question assumptions about policies and practices constructing early childhood education. The emphasis on critical perspectives within our program is evident as these look beyond methodologies in order to understand conceptions of power and how power dynamics contribute to the teaching practices. Both examples also show how giving voice to children is an essential part of practice as well as positioned the teacher to listen and respond to children rather than placing children as having to only respond to the teacher or the structure of school. The action research process gives students the chance to enact change. This experience carries forward into their teaching outside of the college classroom as they practice as agents of change.

**Relationships with Community**

Our program is informed by the community where our students teach as well as the global community. As our students dialogue through blogs and discussion postings and through the process of action research, our hope is that their work is furthering their communities while also inspiring new ways of action and change (Dewey, 1897; Freire, 1970). The critical component of all of this is a deep understanding and connection to the community. This takes several forms in our program including defining of identity in terms of community, connecting work to indigenous communities, and responding to the needs of local communities.

After reading several articles in regard in *Rethinking Early Childhood Education* (Pelo, 2008) focusing on sense of place in terms of connecting to the earth and its communities, students often comment in their blogs on how they define and understand their relationships with the local and global communities. Sense of place plays a large part as indicated by this student’s blog posting exploring how much the sociocultural and ecological contexts of lived experiences contributes to identity,

When compared to cultural and social identity, how much weight does one’s ecological identity hold? How much does one’s understanding, knowledge, and love for a specific place grow to encompass love for other places? Coming from the tiny, South Pacific island of Guam, I identify with island life. Island life on Guam centers on a few common values – love for yourself and your neighbors, a sense of community and looking after one another, respect for the elderly and authority, and belief that hard work pays off. I feel very blessed to have grown up in an environment where I was always looked after by family, friends, or neighbors. At
present, I am writing this from Guam, where I have been for the past month. I am lucky enough to visit the island every year and relish in the opportunity to come home. Being here gives me an appreciation for the little things. There are no distractions (or traffic) on the island and the sun is always shining. Time seems to stop, even if just for a brief minute, here for me every day. Never has it been more apparent to me that my ecological identity is woven into the fabric of who I am as an individual and a contributor to society.

We live in a culture that dismisses the significance of an ecological identity – just how detrimental is this type of environment and culture? Where can our nation be headed if we do not have an understanding of where we have been? When it comes to coexisting with nature, the Western world could stand to learn much from the Eastern world. We Westerners are more concerned with conquering nature and bending her to our will. In contrast, Eastern societies have lived in harmony with nature, coexisting together for centuries. We have harnessed nature and profited off of her. In turn, we have wounded her to a point almost beyond healing. When compared with the rest of the world and our relationships to the environment, the United States seems to be the most blatant offender of the environment. Does this lack of respect for nature stem from the United States being such a young country? How have older countries and their experiences of living off the land affected their views of the environment? How has the U.S.’s lack of living off the land affected our views of the environment?

Another student responded to this student in terms of her own experiences:

I feel that you’re right about appreciating the little things about where you come from. I experienced that myself when I went home (Kauai) just 2 weeks ago. Even though the islands are so close; unless you have truly experienced both; they are entirely different. The little things I appreciated were, getting in my car and driving down the road to my cousins house, taking a drive out to the north shore where my family is from and spending time with them, and being able to almost stop time for a minute and look out at that beautiful stretch of ocean that surrounds the island, these are the little things that you appreciate once you don’t get the chance to do them anymore. On my trip home I got to eat the most delicious Samoan crab that my dad had caught in nature like he does with most of the foods he eats. But like you said in your last question of your blog, many people in the US lack living off the land and yes it does affect how we view nature. Before buildings and skyscrapers our world was one big nature. What happened to it? Have people forgotten what beautiful things nature has to offer? Without nature how would our society be viewed? Have we lost the true value of nature?

Both students illustrate a sense of place, observing the small details of their communities and the ways these details might inform perceptions and decisions. A student’s racial/ethnic identity, self-assessment as a teacher and his/her epistemology (cultural and social “ways of knowing”) are formed by these perceptions and inform their decision-making. As part of the continuing dialogue, questions are offered by the professor to further connect community and teaching practice,

- How might an understanding of the historical, political, and economical choices of the United States in terms of ecology empower teachers to offer children ways to connect to the environment?
- Should teacher education include a course understanding ecology?
- How might an ecological focus impact how teachers understand the importance of children develop deep relationships with the local and global world?
• How might this focus aid in rethinking early childhood practices to build a sense of place, especially in an era where accountability seems to primary?

These blog experiences with community build to inform other work in the program, in particular, the action research and practicum experience. A Hawaiian student focused her action research project on Hawaiian Values. After a practicum experience in a Waldorf setting, she noted the deep presence of values in the Waldorf classroom. She wondered if her own classroom, based in Hawaiian culture and language, reflected the same level of deepness she viewed in the Waldorf classroom. The way she connected her work directly to the indigenous Hawaiian community as well as to her own community illustrates her understanding of how the community and classroom are connected.

Through her data collection, this student discovered the lack of Hawaiian values in particular parts of the daily classroom:

Based on my data analysis, the dining area in my family childcare environment did not represent a majority of the Hawaiian values I chose. Ironically, eating is an important aspect of the Hawaiian culture. It is through sharing of food that social and cultural exchanges occur. The values not present were malama [to take care of, to care for, preserve, protect, support] and laulima [cooperation, group of people working together]. My qualitative data showed that much of what was occurring in the dining area was a result of me doing for the keiki [children]. Having the keiki become more involved in preparing for meal times would result in the opportunity of the values malama and laulima to be present.

The change enacted through this project included preparing meals at the children’s level, changing the furniture so the children could gather comfortably, and having the children set the table with all-reusable materials (cloth napkins, ceramic plates, no plastic). According the student, “In enacting these changes, I hope to provide an environment that clearly shows the use of the values malama and laulima. I also hope that it provide more opportunities that, through the use of these values, keiki will learn more from each other as to what these values might mean.” An analysis of the change reveals how deep understanding of Hawaiian values offers a means for connection to the community.

Making a few changes to my child care environment brought great learning experiences for the keiki within my program. By reconceptualizing my dining area, I was able to provide opportunities that reflected Hawaiian cultural values. Values act as a point of reference in our judgments and our conduct (Project Zero & Reggio Children, 2001). It defines cultures and is one of the foundations on which society is built (Project Zero & Reggio Children, 2001). This idea defines the bigger picture as to why I believe using values as a foundation for teaching and learning is relevant to our everyday lives. School should be a place where values are transmitted, where values are discussed, and constructed (Project Zero & Reggio Children, 2001). The text describes that “to educate” also means to educate the intrinsic values of each individual and each culture, in order to make the concept of values extrinsic, visible, conscious, and shareable (Project Zero & Reggio Children, 2001).

This action research project is an example of connection to the indigenous community. Meeting the needs of the communities served, and embracing the cultures of our families beyond the indigenous community is a foundation of our work as progressive teachers in Hawaii today.

Another example of how we work in the community has been my (author Adler) consulting work with the Ho’okahua project with Early Head Start, Head Start and Kindergarten teachers at Kamaile Charter School, which is the catchment area of families in 4
shelters. As part of our grant, we are focusing on providing the project approach as a way for teachers to engage the children and their families in culturally relevant learning. It is inquiry based and comes from the interests of the children. For example, one Head Start teacher (who is part of the grant) really listened to her children, some who live in the shelter where the Head Start center is located. Her children referred to the shelter as a place (“my jacket is in the shelter”, or “we have a Christmas tree in the shelter”), but not as a home. So she queried her three- and four-year-olds about “What is a shelter?” to acknowledge their lived experiences, and to debunk the negative stereotypes of living in shelters and of being homeless.

The shelter project included lots of children’s drawings and documenting their observations in their journals, group problem solving, making models of a shelter, class discussions with student responses on chart paper, (which brought delight to parents as they read their child’s words), and survey work to gather data. One child asked if his home was a shelter since there were 21 people living there. His mother described how he surveyed family members on whether they thought their home was a shelter. In our presentation of the Shelter Project at the Hawaii State Early Childhood conference, she described how family members were confused why this 4-year-old was asking such complex questions of them. Using the definition the children had decided upon (A shelter keeps us out of the weather and keeps us safe), this child concluded that indeed, his home was a shelter!

One of our students, another teacher on the grant, shared that some of the Head Start children live in the bushes adjacent to her center or on the nearby beaches with their families. Their “home culture” is one of poverty as well as their Hawaiian ethnicity, both of which should be addressed with “culturally relevant teaching.” Our Hawaiian Head Start lead teachers’ commitment and cultural connection to their families has lead to respectful and meaningful learning experiences for the children. “All of your children are so smart,” the teacher of the Shelter project told her parents, “They did this project work themselves. I was just the facilitator”. She encouraged her parents to really listen to the voices of their children, for by doing so, they will learn so much.

The active connections to the community are essential to engaging as an agent of change. Our students are expected to make these connections throughout the program, beginning with blogging and continuing through action research while we, as the professors, are also connecting to the community, embracing the very commitments we expect of our students.

Teacher Educators Walking the Talk

The expectation of our students to be agents of change is the same expectation of us as professors and researchers. Holding to this expectation positions us to share power with our students as we encounter what it means to challenge traditional assumptions as early childhood educators. For example, when I (author Iorio) encountered homophobic students, I immediately began to find resources and ask questions that countered the heteronormative assumptions of early childhood education. This lead to the development of a documentary depicting the lesbian adults and their early childhood experiences as well as a teacher and grandmother advocating for gender variant children. The film has begun to create a space for both teachers and professors to discuss traditional early childhood practices that exclude and how to rethink practice in order to advocate for children.

I (author Iorio) am always in dialogue with my students, my colleagues, and myself in order to continue to create spaces for rethinking practice. I value developing relationships with my students that encourage collaboration and support. Through these relationships, students take risks, challenge their own understandings of the world, and rethink what can be possible in teaching and learning. When I consider this relationship, I imagine a connection
that is based in trust and respect, a foundation for creating a space where students can be in discomfort and evolve. Availability, creating spaces for honest reflection, sharing, and support as well as acceptance all contribute to the development of relationships between student and teacher scaffolding ways to engage and understand the content of coursework. This has engagement has influenced the constant revision of my coursework. Since our coursework is online, I have been utilizing the variety of technology available for online teaching. I have moved from discussion boards to the variety of blogging and wiki tools for discussion. I often found the tools in our current online platform flat and did not help the students connect with each other. After researching and reading several resources regarding online learning (including Uses of Blogs (Bruns, 2006), I began using blogger.com. The change in discussion from the students was remarkable as the students began to share more and reflect on a deeper level with each other. My willingness to understand my limitations as a teacher and to challenge my own teaching practices models the expectations of our program.

In another instance, one young student, who was feeling discomfort when asked to critique Developmentally Appropriate Practice (DAP), a predominant practice in early childhood education, could not believe that the Professor (author Adler) indicated that DAP was not accepted practice in all cultures for all children. I recall the student’s passionate query about how this “small Japanese lady” could tell her what she had learned for two years was “wrong”. For example, in some Asian school settings education of young children is didactic and teacher-centered, but this is countered by a collective social norm of nurturance and respect for developmental differences in childrearing practices.

Parents in my (author Adler) study of Hmong families in the Midwest (2004) believed in a separation of responsibilities between elementary school and home: teachers teach academics while parents teach social norms and respect for social systems. Unlike middle class Western parents, Hmong parents in the study were more interested in whether their children behaved and were respectful in school, than in their scores on tests and academic placements. These Hmong parents trusted that teachers “know what they are doing” and, no matter how well educated, they would not give assistance on academic issues, expect to have input on educational programs, or would directly challenge the curriculum or teaching (p.69).

As a teacher educator, I (author Adler) believe it is important to model ways in which we critique existing practices and find multiple perspectives to educational issues. As a result of my research, I am not surprised that many Japanese parents in Hawaii (mostly first generation or recent immigrants) favor academically oriented preschools over play oriented curriculums. The student that was disturbed by being expected to critique DAP was actually taught at an early age in the Philippines under teacher-centered pedagogy, yet when being “trained” as an EC teacher, she accepted the fact that differing rates of child development requires a child-centered or play oriented curriculum. Accepting authority was actually part of her personal Asian epistemology; thinking “outside the box” to analyze and challenge norms, part of our progressive pedagogy, required a paradigm shift. It seems to be the reverse of the pushdown issue previously discussed and illustrates our focus on finding multiple perspectives on issues.

Understanding our perceptions of ourselves as progressive educators, teacher educators, and researchers contributes to how we walk the talk. The documentary work(s) focuses on only one example of how we may be progressive teacher educators and scholars. Identity, professionalism, knowledge, and epistemology further inform how we engage with our students and as agents of change. For both of us, social justice and democratic education are about freedom and respect for the voice of all students and teachers, directly linking our work to the progressives and framing us as agents of change. By understanding our own
histories and positioning of how we have become agents of change, we are better able to listen and respond to our students in order to support their becoming as agents of change.

**An Agent of Change in Action**

We have been speaking about how our program inspires agents of change, but what happens when our students graduate and practice in the world? The story of one of our first graduates is relevant to this question. Shanda, a graduate from our program and now a graduate with her master's degree in Educational Foundations, has spent over 11 years in the early childhood field. She believes teaching and learning through the arts humanizes us as it creates learning situations engaging us in dialogue. Further, reflection defines how Shanda considers her own practice, often interrupting familiar practices in order to see another perspective. This is evident in her own work as she recognizes how arts have been placed in the margins in schools as accountability drives the contexts of even the early childhood classroom. In order to understand the power of the arts, Shanda became involved in community of at-risk youth engaging in “graffiti” by actually learning the art as well as creating spaces for the youth to practice “graffiti”. The creation of these spaces contributed to a shift in the community perception of both “graffiti” and the at-risk youth. Her master's project included revisiting this experience through an autobiographical, ethnographical methodology and comprehending the impact of the arts on disrupting assumptions in education and society. Shanda shares in the closing words of her paper,

> I am personally invested in our future by acknowledging the present interests, talents, and cultural knowledge of our youth. And I hope that you the reader are also motivated to take a stand against the power structures that dehumanizes us by looking within and asking yourself, “Why do I want to teach?” The movement starts with you.

Through these words it is evident how she calls for change not only in herself but also in people and community around her. These experiences are now present as she opens a new preschool classroom in the university children’s center incorporating a central focus on the arts and awareness of power hierarchies as well as how to listen to and respond to children. When asked how she is agent of change, Shanda shares,

> I can only change my situation by changing myself. This means re-evaluating what and how I teach that respects children as individual human beings. How I choose to live my life, my values, the decisions that I make as a teacher affects the lives of my students. Because I am willing to evaluate myself, it helps me to better understand the situation that I may be struggling with--and change becomes a natural process. You cannot let fear control your actions of change. (personal communication, 6.18.2012)

**Conclusion**

Being an agent of change enacts a process of becoming. The process may begin with encounters with knowledge and models of the past. It continues by using these encounters as frames for self-reflection, offering spaces of discomfort and evolution, while understanding of identity. Action research becomes the vehicle for practicing change, comprehending positioning as teacher and learner, questioning policies and practices, and engaging in agency. The becoming of our students as agents of change is evident in their action research choices and their later decisions as working early childhood educators. Summing up this process, one student illustrates her own becoming,

> The trusting relationship is the foundation and then the teacher and the child co-construct knowledge, skills, language and more with pleasure and emotional
sharing. Teacher is a co-constructer of children’s future, not a person who “teaches”. I didn’t think we could “teach” young children, because they learn through doing/play on their pace and level, but I also didn’t have the idea of we co-construct children’s knowledge, skills, creativity, language, thoughts and their young lives. Those wonderful “happenings” happen in relationships among and between children teacher and community.

This student’s rethinking of what it means to teach, the critical importance of relationship, connection to the community, and sharing of power with children all construct the teacher as an agent of change. The disruption of teacher as an agent of surveillance through this rethinking furthers the future of teaching practices based in response to children rather than at children through rhetoric and scripted ideas.

As we consider our own place as teacher educators in the process, we come to better understand what it means to advocate and support resistance to traditional assumptions and expectations about early childhood. We take our professional obligations seriously, but with humor and compassion for our students’ culture, knowledge, and epistemology. This is done within an articulated program with Hawaii Community Colleges, online, and with the belief, articulated by the Head Start teacher to her parents: “Our students are so smart and bring such rich experiences to their learning!” We try to listen, respect their cultural knowledge, co-construct new ideas, and learn from them, which often causes us to inquire more. Thus, this is the process we use to inspire our students to become progressive early childhood educators and continue our journey as ardent educational progressives.
References


Scope of the IJPE

International Journal of Progressive Education (IJPE) (ISSN 1554-5210) is a peer reviewed interactive electronic journal sponsored by the International Association of Educators and in part by the Graduate School of Library and Information Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. IJPE is a core partner of the Community Informatics Initiative and a major user/developer of the Community Inquiry Laboratories. IJPE takes an interdisciplinary approach to its general aim of promoting an open and continuing dialogue about the current educational issues and future conceptions of educational theory and practice in an international context. In order to achieve that aim, IJPE seeks to publish thoughtful articles that present empirical research, theoretical statements, and philosophical arguments on the issues of educational theory, policy, and practice. IJPE is published three times a year in four different languages; Chinese, Turkish, Spanish and English.

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