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New Directions In Research On Education Reconstruction In Challenging Circumstances

edited by

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Chapter One: New Directions in Research on Education Reconstruction in Challenging Circumstances: An Introduction to the Field

Tom O'Donoghue and Simon Clarke

Introduction

There has been a burgeoning of research on education over the last four decades. This development has been accompanied by a profusion of publications in the form of academic books, chapters, and papers in refereed journals. In their reporting of theoretical and empirical research, there is much that is informative for both generalists and specialists working in the field of education regarding the *status quo*. Much less prevalent, however, are works that open up broad new areas for deliberation and for research. Those scholars who are exceptions in this regard have provided two types of work. The first of these are works that attempt to open up new research directions within education studies in relation to such matters as education access, participation, pedagogical practices, and outcomes at different education levels (as in primary, secondary and university levels), along with providing expositions on new research approaches.

Much less prominent are works that address a broad range of topics across a broad range of foci. This is understandable since most education research is undertaken from a traditional social science perspective that requires one to engage in empirical inquiry after clearly narrowing down one's topic and one's research questions. Yet, works that address a broad range of topics across a broad range of foci are equally valuable for generating streams of consciousness amongst readers,

stimulating thought about topical and divergent areas of research, and promoting creative ideas about how to address them.

This book was conceptualised from the latter point of view. It addresses a variety of new directions in research related to education reconstruction in challenging circumstances. While the argument for adopting such an approach is as outlined above, we are also mindful that the exercise should not become one of presenting a set of totally disconnected chapters. Thus, what is offered needs to be seen as being bounded within a broad framework on what constitutes the nature of education studies. Accordingly, the next section of this opening chapter outlines such a framework. Attention then turns to why research conceptualised in relation to it needs to be viewed in terms of the particular context within which it was undertaken. It is important that this point be emphasised at the outset since it is crucial to keep it in mind when considering the chapters offered in the rest of this book, and which are briefly mapped out at the end of this chapter.

A Framework for Considering the Nature of Education Studies

This section of the chapter provides a framework for considering the nature of education studies as a distinct field of study within universities. The account is based on a more extensive one provided already by O'Donoghue (2016, 2017). It takes as its starting point the fact that, historically, the study of education emerged within programmes for the preparation of teachers. While initially the emphasis in such programmes was on deepening one's knowledge in one's teaching subject areas and on engaging in teaching practice, slowly, but surely, student teachers came to be also exposed in their courses to some history of education and psychology of education. Both subjects were offered to place teaching on a professional footing, the former being aimed at locating it within a great tradition and the latter at providing a scientific basis for pedagogical approaches.

Little by little various other theoretical strands were added to courses. These included the study of the progressive education movement, child development, and the antecedents of what we now term philosophy of education and sociology of education, while throughout, a practical focus was also maintained. In this way, a third strand developed in courses of teacher preparation, namely, one aimed at producing teachers able to reflect on education at the broad societal level. While this strand became known by a variety of terms, 'education studies' emerged as the most common and neutral of them.

Education studies eventually became a central component of teacher preparation programmes and was generally well received by staff, students and education authorities. In some universities, particularly in the USA and in continental Europe, the field also developed as an area of study not connected with teacher preparation

programmes at all. Sometimes this strand in the development of the field was located in schools of psychology, in schools of pedagogy, and in 'schools of didactic'.

Over time, a confluence took place between the two strands mentioned above. Nevertheless, the associated syllabi in many countries by the late 1960s and early 1970s, consisted of such a disconnected set of academic areas that educationists were forced to devote themselves seriously to defining the nature of education studies in fairly precise terms. In Britain, the philosopher of education, Hirst (1974), made a major contribution to the debate in his distinction between 'forms of knowledge', 'fields of knowledge', and 'practical theories'. Over history, he contended, human beings mutually constructed such specific modes of thought, or ways of knowing, as philosophy, mathematics, physical sciences, social sciences, morals, religion, literature, and fine arts. These 'forms of knowledge' are complex ways of understanding experience which are publicly specifiable and require justification. Each deals with different concepts, possesses a different logical structure, contains distinctive expressions which are testable against experience, utilises different techniques and skills for exploring experiences, and defines its own criteria for distinguishing true from false and good from bad. Also, each form of knowledge has developed specialist subjects, or disciplines, within it.

'Fields of knowledge' are interdisciplinary studies. In Hirst's terms, they consist of selections from different forms of knowledge, and also from subject disciplines within them, which are organised around a central unifying concept. Examples are geography, women's studies, and peace studies. 'Practical theories', on the other hand, are defined as being composed of relevant knowledge from the various forms of knowledge and from subject disciplines within them, which are organised around certain central practical problems in order to help one to understand these problems as fully as possible and to assist one in coming up with possible solutions for dealing with them. Medicine fits into this category since it consists of knowledge organised around a series of medical problems. Engineering, law, architecture and education can be conceptualised in a similar manner.

Around the same time as Hirst was expounding his views, Broudy *et al.* (1967) at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign in the USA were designing a model for professional preparation in education which was consistent with Hirst's views. Their starting point in this regard was a justification for the autonomous existence of professional areas of study, or what Hirst called 'practical theories'. On this, Broudy and colleagues (1967) adopted the following position:

- For an area of study to justify an autonomous existence it must have a set of special problems that direct and focus its enquiries;
- For an area of study to be professionalized it must use and organize facts and principles taken from diverse disciplines (e.g., chemistry, physics, and psychology) around the demands of its own problems;

- If an area of study is to be professional, it has to utilize practice in order to illuminate theory and to use theory as a guide to practice.

Overall, the argument is that a profession is related to engagement in a practical enterprise; it is goal oriented. This was summarised by arguing that law, medicine, agriculture, engineering, and education, as areas of study, should have distinctive social functions in rendering service to clients. To this end, a professional field of study generates rules or practices, as well as principles or generalisations that guide practice.

From this position, a schema for education studies as a professional area of study was developed. A modified version of this can be represented as follows:

	Education Problem Areas				
	Policy	Curriculum	Teaching and Learning	Leadership	Teacher Preparation
Philosophical perspectives					
Historical perspectives					
Psycho-social perspectives					
Socio-cultural perspectives					

It indicates that we can speak about engaging in academic study and research in areas identifiable from left to right. For example, if interested in studies within the philosophy of education, one becomes concerned with drawing from existing knowledge within philosophy to help promote better understanding, and come up with suggestions for improvement in, the areas of education policy, curriculum, teaching and learning, leadership in education, and teacher preparation. Equally, education studies can be organised by proceeding from top to bottom in their schema. This means that one can start with a contemporary issue within one of the major education problem areas and investigate it from the position of its philosophical, historical, psycho-social and socio-cultural aspects, or from a position that adopts a combination of them. It is when viewed from this perspective that it makes sense to talk of the study of 'education policy studies', 'curriculum studies', 'teaching and learning studies',

'leadership studies in education', and 'the study of how best to prepare teachers' (as distinct from studying specifically to be a teacher).

Broudy and colleagues' identification of the five major education areas is also extremely helpful when considered in relation to the manner in which they are organised from left to right in the schema outlined above. There is nothing haphazard about this arrangement. The implication is that in any education system, from the national level right down to the classroom level, we should initially be clear about our education policy. It is only in the light of this that we should make pronouncements about curriculum. Furthermore, it is only when we are clear about the curriculum that we should pronounce on matters of teaching and learning. Once we are clear on all of these areas we can pronounce on leadership in education. Finally, we can then go on to pronounce on teacher preparation, both pre-service and on-going.

To bring this section to conclusion, it has been argued that education studies developed in different, yet related, ways. The position subscribed to in this chapter is that the approach developed by Broudy and colleagues has the greatest utility. One aspect of it, however, that is not sufficiently stressed by many when engaging in their education research projects is the emphasis placed on the importance of taking cognisance of socio-cultural matters. In particular, many education researchers, we hold, seem to consider that the results of research generated from populations located within particular contexts can be generalised universally. The folly of subscribing to this view is now addressed.

The Importance of Paying Attention to Context When Considering Education Research

Braun *et al*. (2011) are some of the champions of the position that education policies are informed by various commitments, values and forms of experience, and that these should be made explicit in frameworks for policy enactment. They also hold very strongly to the importance of taking cognisance of the reality that policies are "enacted in material conditions, with varying resources" (Braun *et al*., 2011, p. 588). In this connection, they conceptualise four sets of contexts: the 'situated contexts', the 'professional contexts', the 'material contexts' and the 'external contexts', while recognising that disaggregating them can sometimes be an artificial exercise since, in certain instances, they are interconnected and can overlap.

To stress the importance of considering 'situated contexts' is to recognise that the histories of education institutions and the associated matter of their reputations, can be alive within the collective consciousness and can have an influence on key stakeholders. The notion of 'professional contexts' refers to somewhat less tangible context variables, including "values, teacher commitments and experiences" (Braun *et al*., 2011, p. 591). The notion of 'material contexts' refers to such matters as staffing,

budget, buildings, available technology and surrounding infrastructure. Finally, the notion of 'external contexts' includes such matters as local authority support, inspectors' reports, league table positions, legal requirements and responsibilities, along with the relationship that any particular education institution has with another.

There is a tradition within the discipline of 'comparative education' on emphasising the proposition that the possibility of any set of educational ideas and practices proposed for any context being adopted successfully is maximised when attention is paid to the nature of that context. Elsewhere we have elaborated on this proposition in detail (O'Donoghue & Clarke, 2010). In particular, we have highlighted the research of comparative educationists indicating how apparently well thought-out ideas on education change have floundered because they have involved inappropriate transnational education-knowledge transfer. By such transfer is meant the process which involves the exchange of theories, models and methods for academic or practical purposes among countries.

Back at the turn of the twentieth century, Sir Michael Sadler, British historian, educationist and university administrator, was at pains to stress that national education systems could only be understood by first of all understanding the national contexts in which they functioned. The most oft-quoted position of his is as follows:

> We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. A national system of Education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties, and 'of battles long ago'. It has in it some of the secret workings of national life. (Quoted in Higginson, 1979, p. 49)

The essence of Sadler's conclusion is that national contextual forces must be understood and that it could be futile to borrow an education practice or innovation which had evolved in one national context and transplant it into a different societal, including local, context.

Sadler's position was very much central to the thinking of a group of later world-leading comparative educationists, including Isaac Kandel (1881-1965), Nicholas Hans (1888–1969) and Friedrich Schneider (1881–1969) (Wolhuter *et al*., 2007). At the most fundamental level, they stressed the vital importance of paying attention to such factors as geographical environment, the economy, culture, religion and social differentiation. Notwithstanding the influence of their work on academics, policy makers in many contexts were either oblivious to their insights, or chose to ignore them, as the process of transnational knowledge transfer continued into the twentieth century. The folly of this approach became particularly evident in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, when the predominant model being adopted for such transfer between

industrialised nations and developing nations was one of imitation and intervention; of attempting to solve problems in non-Western countries by utilising Western knowledge (Kumar, 1979; O'Donoghue & Clarke, 2010; Useem & Useem, 1980).

During the 1970s, heed began to be taken of the wisdom of the likes of Sadler, Kandel, Hans and Schneider as the failure of many ambitious education innovations made donors, lenders, recipients and borrowers considerably aware of the complexity and context-dependence of educational change (O'Donoghue & Clarke, 2010, p. 11). Academics within the fields of curriculum studies and educational administration were particularly active in the field. Prominent among these was Hargreaves (1993, p. 149), who argued as follows on why innovations in education frequently fail quite disastrously:

> ….in grafting new ideas onto schools, we do it with so little knowledge about the nature of the everyday world of teachers, pupils and schools that our attempted grafts (and various forms of major and minor surgery) merely arouse the 'anti-bodies' of the host which undermine our attempts to play doctor to an educational patient. He went on to argue that it is 'only when we understand the precise nature of the host body can we design our innovatory grafts with any confidence that they will prove to be acceptable' (1993).

This was an echoing of Fullan's (1982) argument that to introduce change that promises more success and less failure, the world of the people most closely involved in implementation must be understood. Concurrently, policy makers were advocating the adoption of flexible, iterative and incremental strategies (O'Donoghue & Clarke, 2010). In similar vein, Carron and Chau (1996) argued that one of the foremost reasons for suboptimal implementation of new educational projects is that planners do not consult sufficiently with those who have to implement their plans.

It might be thought that by the turn of the twentieth-first century the argument running through this section of the chapter so far had been embraced universally. This, however, is not so. On the contrary, some of the developments of the past two decades, which have involved greater centralisation of many aspects of education have led to calls for the invention and discovery of sure-fired prescriptive models in all aspects of education that would lead to easily generalizable solutions for all contexts. Those who have embraced such thinking are clearly ignorant of the still-compelling argument made by William James back in the 1890s, when, regarding the function of the study of psychology for educationists, he stated that one makes a great mistake to think that it can provide definite programmes, schemes and methods of instruction for specific classroom contexts. Rather, he went on:

Psychology is a science, and teaching is an art. An intermediary inventive mind must make the application, by using its originality. The science of logic never made a man [*sic*.] reason rightly, the science of ethics never made a man behave rightly. The

most such sciences can do is to help us catch ourselves up, check ourselves, if we start to reason or behave wrongly; and to criticise ourselves more articulately if we make mistakes. A science only lays down lines within which the rules of the art must fall, laws which the follower of the art must not transgress; but what particular thing he shall positively do within those lines is left exclusively to his own genius . . . and so while everywhere the teaching must agree with the psychology, it may not necessarily be the only kind of teaching that would so agree; for many diverse methods of teaching may equally well agree with the psychological laws. (James, 1958, p. 15)

Eisner (1983) put forward a similar position in arguing that because of the changing uniqueness of the practical situations that make up the education domain, only a portion of professional practice can be usefully treated in the manner of a prescriptive science (O'Donoghue & Clarke, 2010, p. 73). The gap between general prescriptive frameworks and successful practice is, he held, dependent more on the reflective intuition, the craft, and the art of the professional practitioner than on any particular prescriptive theory, method, or model (O'Donoghue & Clarke, 2010, p. 73).

A body of educationists who study educational leadership have, however, been somewhat exceptional in recognising the importance of attending to context if one is to maximise the possibility of successfully enacting educational policies and associated practices. As early as 1996, Gronn and Ribbins (1996) posited clearly that the approach to educational leadership in any particular circumstance needs to take that circumstance into account. Dimmock and Walker (1997), arguing in like vein, were quick in supporting this position. Bridges (2007) followed by questioning some of the assumptions of the 'evidence-based practice' movement. In particular, he called into question the view that generalisations derived from large population studies can lead to recommendations at the national level for implementation at the local level. He went on:

> You cannot logically derive lessons from a single specific instance from such generalizations. They always have to be linked to consideration of local conditions which might well point to a different recommendation…a teacher or school may test out different teaching strategies in their own environment and find out 'what works' for them. The fact that this enquiry was small scale and local does not invalidate it as a reliable basis for local practice even if it might be regarded as an unreliable basis for national policy without some further work. (Bridges, 2007, p. 2)

Thus, Bridges concluded, one cannot treat local and national decisions as if they have exactly the same requirements.

This brings us back to where we started at the beginning of this chapter, and particularly to the work of Braun *et al*. (2011, p. 585), who argue that it is important to take context seriously. They hold that policies are intimately shaped and influenced by education-specific factors, even though in much central policy-making the associated

constraints, pressures and enablers of policy enactment tend to be neglected. Instead, policy-makers "tend to assume 'best possible' environments for implementation: ideal buildings, students and teachers and even resources" (Braun *et al*., 2011, p. 585). To this, they add three further points. First, while one should always try to capture the full range of contextual factors in any situation, such a list can never be exhaustive. Consequently, and speaking specifically in relation to schools, they argue that any framework one uses to this end should be seen "as a heuristic device that is intended to stimulate interest and to ask questions about the circumstances of policy enactment in 'real' schools, rather than cover all possibilities" (Braun *et al*., p. 595). Secondly, and related to the latter point, context is "dynamic and shifting, both within and outside of schools" (Braun *et al*., p. 595), with possible changes taking place in staff and student profiles, including attitudes. Thirdly, while it is crucial to pay attention to Thrupp and Lupton's (2006, p. 312) argument that "there still tends to be much more focus on schools' differential internal organisation and practice . . . than on diverse 'external' contexts", one should also never lose sight of paying attention to "the most 'material' of contexts – the buildings and budgets, available technologies and local infrastructures" (Braun *et al*. 2011, p. 595).

The Particular Focus of the Book

Both the particular approach to education research outlined in the first section of this chapter and each of the three points made by Braun *et al*. (2011) and noted above, informed the thinking which led to the commissioning of the remaining chapters of this book on new directions in research related to education reconstruction in challenging circumstances. We view 'challenging circumstances' as having a variety of types. Elsewhere (Clarke & O'Donoghue, 2013, 2016) we have illustrated what such variety can mean specifically in relation to school leadership. Clarke and Wildy (2004), for example, reported investigations into the ways leadership was understood and practised in the distinctive environment of the small, remote school, Walker (2004) provided insights from his study of the idiosyncratic characteristics of leadership in multi-ethnic schools, and Fitzgerald (2003a, 2003b, 2004) drew attention to how educational leadership might be practised differently by females, by indigenous leaders and by female indigenous leaders. Also, Shah (2005) and Sullivan (2006) opened up another avenue for research by focusing on leadership in the context of faith-based schools. Shah (2005), in fact, was concerned specifically with illustrating how learners from diverse philosophical and ethnic backgrounds conceive of, and perceive, education leadership, and also with illustrating that how they receive it is bound to interact with their learning experience and performance. In a later work (Shah, 2008) she also highlighted how the student population across much of the world is increasingly reflective of diverse cultures, religions and ethnicities. This rich diversity,

she argued, could become a challenge for leaders in education, teachers and policy-makers in the absence of an understanding of the diverse sources of knowledge that people draw on for directing their beliefs and daily practices. Shah's (2008) conclusion is that education leaders need to be aware of the need to draw on diverse ethnic knowledge sources to inform and enrich approaches towards managing diversity. A similar position was taken by Jansen (2007) in relation to providing leadership in societies in transition, including democratising societies.

A similar range of challenging circumstances are outlined in the chapters which follow, which also illustrate how education research can be both theoretical and in the form of critique, with the latter even being in the tradition of the long-established review essay, just as much as they can be based on empirical research. Specifically regarding empirical research, we have favoured the presentation of qualitative studies undertaken within the interpretivist paradigm. In this respect, we have been influenced by the argument of Clarke and Wildy (2010) that comprehensive, professional knowledge bases embedded in the realities of workplaces found in education institutions and in the environments in which they are located should be made available in a variety of ways. It was this argument that led us to conclude that interpretive approaches to research are potentially fruitful insofar as they can help to depict the 'lived' experience of practitioners and describe accurately the realities of their work in given contexts.

The final concept that is central to the focus of this book and that has not been considered already is the contemporary phenomenon that has been termed 'education restructuring' and that has been taking place over the past 25 years in a great number of countries. At a macro-level, it has involved the central education authorities in the countries, states or provinces in question accepting prime responsibility for identifying and promulgating system aims and targets which schools and higher education level institutions are expected to draw upon in generating their own development plans. Increasingly, these authorities have been adopting student outcome approaches to restructuring curricula, so that aims and targets at school, college and centre levels can be couched in terms of student achievement. At the same time, it has also involved a shift from centralized governance to decentralized school and college-based management. The focus is on change at the whole-institution level, primarily affecting governance, management and administration. Concurrently, initiatives in restructuring at the micro-level have been aimed at 'reforming' teaching and learning. The concern has been to introduce a more flexible, responsive and student-oriented education by targeting changes in work organization, pedagogical practices and learning processes.

The Chapters

This opening chapter has provided a framework for considering the chapters that follow in relation both to each other and to education studies as a whole. The first six chapters are concerned with issues to do with education reconstruction in challenging circumstances particularly at the university level. Chapter Two, by Matthew Malcolm, takes as its starting point the observation that now, at the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, liberal arts education is growing as quickly in East Asia as it is diminishing in the US. Adopting the approach of the extended review essay, he also notes that the nature of liberal arts education in East Asia appears to be distinct both from classic European liberal arts, and current US models of liberal arts.

Chapter Three, by Teresa O'Doherty, continues the theme of university education, albeit in relation to the other side of the world. She highlights the fact that, contrary to developments in other jurisdictions, initial teacher education programmes in Ireland have, while seeking to revise and refresh the approaches taken to teacher preparation, consolidated the position of the foundation disciplines within them. Chapter Four, by Joseph Steinberg, outlines a particular approach to the teaching of literacy in a changing world. This is followed by Chapter Five, by Victoria Valdebenito, Tom O'Donoghue and Lesley Vidovich which details developments in Chile which reflect an international trend towards the provision of undergraduate studies within a university college system on the US model, while postgraduate studies are provided through graduate schools. The remaining chapter in this section, namely, Chapter Six, by Patrick Swanzy and Anthony Potts, considers quality assurance in higher education in developing countries, with particular reference to Ghana.

The next selection of chapters, Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten, are centred on schools in Indonesia, Rwanda, Cambodia and Serbia, respectively. The particular lens adopted by those authors who engaged in the empirical research for the chapters, namely, Dwi Est Andriani, Gilbert Karareba, Thida Kheang, Jelena Rakovic, Simon Clarke and Tom O'Donoghue is that of leadership. In each case the concern is with issues faced by school leaders in particularly challenging circumstances in the countries in question, the first three of which are developing countries, while Rwanda, Cambodia and Serbia are all post-conflict countries.

The remaining four chapters are focused on broad issues in 'troubled' circumstances. In Chapter Eleven, Fiona Hayward provides an overview of benefits and challenges of learning in times of conflict. In Chapter Twelve, Grant Rodwell and Nina Maadad consider a useful approach to researching Islamophobia and moral panics in schools. In Chapter Thirteen, Alex Robbins details a project in Colombia for youth peace building through the digital arts. Finally, in Chapter Fourteen, Angela Evangelinou-Yiannakis, in a review essay, considers the particular case of schooling and education in Lebanon.

It was deemed appropriate not to provide a concluding chapter as the preceding ones have been offered deliberately to address a broad range of topics across a broad range of foci in order to generate streams of consciousness amongst readers. To have tried to bring all of this together into a synthesis would have been to go against the desire to stimulate thought about topical and divergent areas of research, and promote creative ideas about how to address them.

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Chapter Two: The Development of Liberal Arts Education in East Asia

Matthew R. Malcolm

Introduction

In East Asia, the twentieth century was a time of catastrophic change. Many countries endured major devastation during the Second World War, and a number experienced revolution or newfound independence. Governments in China, Korea, Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and other countries saw that these tumultuous changes brought the need and opportunity to seek national unification and economic development through strong involvement in systems of education. In some countries, including China, Taiwan, and Indonesia, elements of mandatory general education were introduced to higher education, in order to communicate and consolidate government ideology, and to prepare a common-minded workforce for the task of economic rejuvenation. When combined with the influential Chinese heritage of top-down, rote-based instruction, the region came to be characterised by higher education curricula that were science-heavy, teacher-driven, and exam-based.

Broader historic education practices were not entirely overlooked, but were significantly diminished as these nations sought to promote fast economic growth. At the same time, the influence of European and American liberal education models had a small impact, particularly through the education efforts of Christian missionaries. However, it was not until the end of the twentieth century that the East Asian region began to see a surge of interest in US-style liberal arts education. This came at a time when globalising pressures drew attention to some of the shortcomings of models of education marked by economic rationalism and ideological homogeneity.

Considered against this background, the volume *Liberal Arts Education and Colleges in East Asia: Possibilities and Challenges in the Global Age*, edited by Insung Jung, Mikiko Nishimura and Toshiaki Sasao, and published by Springer in 2016, is to be greatly welcomed. The contributors represent liberal arts departments and institutions across China, Korea, and Japan, as well as one longstanding liberal arts college in the US, and one quite new liberal arts college in Europe. This chapter proceeds by providing a brief analysis of each contribution, before moving to consider the book's overall strengths and weaknesses. Following this, fruitful areas for further reflection and research are considered.

Perspectives on the Growing Role of Liberal Arts in the Curricula of East Asian Universities

In setting the context for the discussion, Jung provides an overview of the history of liberal arts that draws attention to its historic strengths and present global challenges. Beginning with its indebtedness to Western philosophical heritage, the historical survey moves quickly through the European development of the education model to focus on its continued refinement in the US. Given the influence of the US on Asian liberal arts, this focus seems appropriate. The survey considers the most recent adoptions of liberal arts education across East Asia, and notes the problems that it faces: a lack of understanding among potential stakeholders, the cultural preference for education specialisation, the expectations set by employers of graduates, and the lack of such external support as government financial support.

Jung goes on to commend Chopp's (2014) conception of liberal arts, highlighting the three foundations of critical thinking, moral and civil character, and using knowledge to improve the world. Differences between the settings of the US and East Asia are noted. These include approaches to teaching, which in Asia are traditionally teacher-driven and examination-focused, and the education environment, which in Asia is usually the university department rather than the US-style residential college. It is flagged that liberal arts is much more self-consciously international in character in Asia than in the US or Europe, where its education model is more culturally familiar.

These themes of the history and nature of liberal arts are considered in greater depth by other contributors to the volume. Akira Tachikawa provides a much more detailed history of liberal arts since the medieval period. Although the sharp division between science and the humanities may be somewhat simplistic or even anachronistic (Hannam, 2010), the point is well made that by the seventeenth century, the centre of liberal arts shifted from Aristotelian logic to mathematical natural philosophy. Tachikawa gives special attention to the subsequent development of liberal arts in the United States. The early colonial colleges moved from the study of biblical languages to a focus on mathematics, while after independence science

became a staple subject. This focus on science increased with the development of research universities in the nineteenth century, but the World Wars of the twentieth century brought scepticism regarding the progressive potential of the scientific enterprise, and a return to the wisdom of the ages was found in the humanities. Tachikawa concludes that any future liberal arts college must succeed in combining the natural sciences and the humanities in an integrated curriculum.

Tachikawa's analysis is indeed interesting for the Asian context, at a time when a pragmatic investment in science and mathematics has become an entrenched feature of education (Leung, 2001). Given that a related feature of East Asian education is the orientation of education towards state economic interests (Marginson, 2010), one wonders how colleges that emphasise the humanities will fare in such a setting. Can the humanities flourish in East Asian higher education as areas of significance in their own right, regardless of economic or pragmatic payoff? This tension is highlighted throughout the book, sometimes being implicit in assumptions or commendations of approaches, and at other times being put forward for open contemplation.

Yang directly compares Eastern and Western models of education. He notes that the major direction of influence has been from West to East, with East Asia ironically embracing US models of liberal arts at a time in which such models are facing increasing criticism and disillusionment in the US. He notes that it is hard to imagine how hierarchical, education-specialized, vocational-minded Asian cultures could fully embrace an education model that emphasises breadth, student-centred pedagogy, and critical thinking. However, he also points out that critical thinking may be culturally relative. If East Asian cultural strengths such as 'communality' could be integrated with the best of Western education traditions, a new form of higher education might emerge. As Yang recognises, this would require that East Asian institutions would exercise both courage in articulating US assumptions that are unhelpful, and creativity in integrating Eastern and Western traditions.

Other contributors to the volume frequently exemplify the points of tension noted by Yang. Ka considers the case of Handong Global University (HGU) in South Korea. He is employed by this institution. This is not necessarily a problem, but one may wonder how free he felt to express critique, particularly in an education environment that has the tendency to be heavily hierarchical and sensitive to international reputation (Hairon & Dimmock, 2011). At times his case study sounds like an advertisement, stating that HGU received awards because it was applauded for taking unprecedented steps to reform the traditional, often ineffective, undergraduate programmes that prevailed in Korea.

Given the fact that liberal arts in Asia is a mixed-heritage enterprise, it is interesting that Ka begins by noting that something similar to a liberal arts education has been happening for centuries in South Korea: Sungkyunkwan University, established 1392, for example, was based on Confucian principles and aimed for centuries to provide a holistic education. Today however, liberal arts does not fare so well. It appears to be

most successful when it is limited to the first year of a degree, giving undergraduates time to choose a field of specialisation. This observation illustrates the fact that the modern Asian adoption of liberal arts seems often to be utilitarian, and does not always fit 'ideal' descriptions that come from this education model's ancient pedigree.

HGU, a Christian university, seeks to distinguish itself in this context, though in attempting to prepare students to face a 'global community', a degree of utilitarianism is perhaps implied. Further, while at times the benefits of liberal arts education are expressed in terms of creating broadly cultured and globally engaged citizens, the success of this institution is expressed in terms of graduate placements and jobs in global corporations. Again, there seems to be an unacknowledged tension here between the formational and utilitarian functions of higher education.

Ka provides an overview of the undergraduate curriculum at HGU, and points out that, unlike any other Korean higher education institution, students and professors are residential, and are grouped together in small interdisciplinary working teams. He also points out that because international rating systems do not generally acknowledge the quality of teaching, the institution is now trying to push for more research to be undertaken. One wonders to what extent the unique teaching environment will be able to be maintained if this direction is pursued. Also, while Ka discusses an ancient Korean heritage of holistic education, there is little further discussion of what distinctively Korean education might look like, since 'globalisation' is regarded as an obvious good, to be embraced and pursued.

In another case study, Nishimura describes the International Christian University (ICU) in Japan. He notes that, as in many other Asian contexts, specialized knowledge and skills are privileged over general education. In this context, ICU attempts to be different, though tensions between American and Japanese founders have created difficulties in trying to bring together different education heritages. Although Nishimura works there, he seems to engage in more self-criticism of what is involved than is evident among some of the other contributors. This institution values student residency and places importance on a Christian ethos. Intriguingly, once again, 'success' is explicitly measured in terms of statistics showing graduate placements, even though liberal arts itself is said to be valuable because of its benefits for well-rounded, spiritually competent citizenship. Again, there seems to be an underlying tension here.

Nishimura also points out a number of challenges for his institution. Most notably, the vision of international involvement comes at a cost for faculty, for whom English in many cases is a second language. Also, the desire to embrace diversity seems to come at the cost of excellence in depth. Further, the breadth and international dimension that once made the liberal arts unique are now being claimed by the research universities, dwarfing and diminishing the influence of smaller teaching-focused institutions.

Thompson and Jung explore the case of another institution that attempts to be unique in Japan. Miyazaki International College (MIC) is a private liberal arts college,

which aims to be rigorously international and rigorously undergraduate-focused. It closely follows a US model and receives assistance from Pomona College in the US. As with a number of other East Asian liberal arts departments, all instruction is in English.

Thompson and Jung outline challenges that the young institution has faced and also point to numerous achievements. Once again, while the stated intention of the programme is to produce good international citizens, evaluation of success takes the form of analysis of career accomplishment and graduate study. One wonders if there is a need for broader means of evaluation. MIC has, in fact, been experimenting with new ways of assessing critical thinking skills, so there is clearly a consciousness that traditional means of assessment and evaluation may not quite fit the model of a broad undergraduate citizenship programme. In looking to the future of the college, the authors point to similar problems raised elsewhere among East Asian liberal arts' educationists, including the overshadowing presence of research universities and the lack of funding and enrolments.

In another case study, Yu Chai explores adaptations of liberal arts for Fudan University (China) and Lingnan University (Hong Kong). Just as reference was made above to a Confucian tradition of holistic education in Korea, so Yu Chai acknowledges the historic Confucian education in China, which was about self-cultivation and was essential for imperial service. But, over the past two centuries, Western influence has combined with a series of powerful, if very different, governments, with the result that education has emphasised the transmission of government-defined national core values and the development of skills required for economic modernization.

While European and US models of liberal arts were influential in China in the early twentieth century, Mao's China enforced specialisation for the sake of economic improvement. Since the demise of Mao, this has been relaxed. Fudan University followed this pattern. In 2005, Fudan College was formed. Here, first year students reside together and take liberal arts units. Wen points out that the government-mandated political and ideological courses continue to occupy about one third of the general education curriculum. This raises the question of whether a Western-style program that emphasises student-centred pedagogy and the development of critical thinking can really flourish in a situation in which the curriculum serves a utilitarian government agenda. Is the development of rigorous critical and creative thinking among students worth the risk that such students might challenge the status quo? If this risk is avoided by a tightly controlled curriculum, will the resulting liberal arts program still be successful in forming creative and critically minded graduates?

On a positive note, Wen points out that Fudan University has undertaken a number of attempts to draw on Eastern as well as on Western heritage to come up with 'Confucius Institutes.' Lingnan University has Christian origins and pursues a US-style liberal arts approach. Like a number of other institutions represented in the volume, it

values student residency and attempts to produce globally aware citizens. At the same time, as Wen notes, many students are very practically and professionally motivated.

As with a number of the other institutions also, the Chinese ones put a strong emphasis on internationalisation, yet struggle to attract international students. The challenges they face reaffirm persistent recognition throughout the volume that there are great hurdles to overcome as utilitarian-oriented Asian cultures seek to implement an education model based on Western ideologies.

A further case study, which examines general education reform at National Taiwan University (NTU), comes from Huang. Again, this author is employed by the university about which he reports. But whereas in certain other contributions this appears to correlate with effervescent promotion, this case study seems to evidence the author's frustration at the slow movement of the university in response to the advice of the Ministry of Education. General education, he says, was not fully enacted until the 2004 academic year, partly due to the narrow, territorially-defensive attitude of many of its departments and institutes. Although it is not mentioned in the volume itself, it is relevant that Huang is (or was) 'National Chair Professor of Ministry of Education,' which perhaps explains his apparent frustration at the slow movement of NTU.

Huang points out that Taiwan doesn't have US-style liberal arts colleges, but that a 'general education' component of courses is mandated and supported by the Ministry of Education. The aims include exposing students to multiple perspectives and preventing overspecialisation. Huang notes the problem that students, who are generally vocationally minded, often view general education as providing 'easy credits.' His reflection contributes to this volume's useful, if scattered, consideration of the impact of cultural heritage on education expectations; he states that the attitude of students may arise from certain characteristics of Chinese culture, especially regarding college education as preparation for the professions. Also, his reflection on this is tantalisingly brief. The reader cannot help but wonder why Chinese culture might now be like this, given that its Confucian heritage had formerly contributed to models of holistic education. And how can modern liberal arts be shown to be relevant in this environment?

Huang goes on to suggest that a mismatch exists between university administrators and those who have a vision for transformative education. These include university administrators who seek industry relevance and commercialisation, while the founding principles of higher education hold less sway. Further reflection on distinctively Asian barriers to liberal arts education reform would enhance this volume (Hallinger, 2010).

In an account that moves outside of East Asia to gain a US perspective, Grigsby is effusive in her praise for the college at which she works. This college, she hopes, will continue to be a leader among liberal arts colleges in offering students a global education that has a high impact, promotes deep learning, and leads to successful outcomes. As in the introduction to the volume, Grigsby commends Chopp's (2014) three foundations of liberal arts education, and particularly emphasises the importance

of residency and small group discussions. The college makes use of 'high impact' learning approaches which foster creative and critical engagement. These include seminars, research, study-abroad programs, and capstone courses. Given the need to create globally capable graduates, her Pomona College puts special emphasis on internationalisation, and she urges East Asian colleges to follow its example.

The advice, however, might appear naïve to some East Asian readers; in the US, students and lecturers from overseas are willing to queue to get in, perhaps due to the cultural hegemony of the US and the current international reputation of Western degrees. In Asian universities, gaining international students and professors is a much greater challenge and requires consideration of complex factors beyond the need to enhance student numbers (Ka, 2007). As attested to in other chapters of the volume under consideration, undiscriminating Westernisation of the curriculum has for a long time been a problem in some Asian universities (Altbach, 1989), and liberal arts in Asia is already quite international in character, very often involving instruction in English. The recommendation that such institutions improve their international character in order to attract more students comes across as being somewhat hollow. Also, Grigsby does in fact conclude that East Asian universities ought to use this moment in time to make the concept of liberal arts education uniquely East Asian.

Klein Bog and Van der Wende offer a European perspective in considering the example of Amsterdam University College (AUC). In setting the scene for their discussion, they offer an extremely helpful typology of arguments for the importance of liberal arts. These include arguments for interdisciplinary knowledge, arguments for employability of graduates, and arguments for holistic citizenship. Looking across the various contributions in the volume under discussion, one can see that these different types of arguments for liberal arts are frequently in tension and are often unrecognised as being distinct. In fact, it may have been helpful if this distinction had been reflected on by the different contributors, as the definition and importance of liberal arts are clearly contested issues in East Asia.

AUC itself is a residential honours college, offering an international liberal arts and sciences bachelor's program. One of its distinctive features is that it places a strong emphasis on science within the curriculum. As with Pomona College, it strongly values internationalisation. Again, however, there is little critical reflection on the assumption that 'globalisation' is positive and inevitable.

In turning their thoughts to East Asian applications, the authors also suggest that programs should take a diverse global approach. However, it should be recognised that in an Asian setting, the value of 'diversity' is constrained much more explicitly than in the West by the political and social expectations of unity (such as the values of *Pancasila* in Indonesia, or the authority of the family across many Asian societies). Diversity for diversity's sake is less of a self-evident value in East Asia than it is in the post-Christian secular ideologies of the West (Sim, 2006). It would be useful, then, for

the contributors to have offered some reflection on why 'diversity' is worth pursuing beyond its relationship with the so-called inevitability of 'globalisation.'

In an attempt to move from the case studies to draw together commonalities and challenges, Yonezawa and Nishimura note that the different case studies represent a variety of understandings of liberal arts. This was inevitable, given that a classic Western mode of education was being developed and modified in cultures that have been shaped by Confucianism, Buddhism, Communism, and other influences. They discern four main varieties of 'liberal arts' in East Asia, namely, (1) specialized studies in humanities, (2) liberal arts combined with studies based on the local needs, (3) general education serving as introductory undergraduate education and (4) forms of undergraduate education based on the concepts and values of East Asia.

Yonezawa and Nishimura identify a number of key influences behind these different expressions of liberal arts, which further help one to understand the mixed heritage of Eastern and Western cultures. They then attempt to consider challenges that lie ahead. In particular, they recognise that liberal arts' education in East Asia has often been pragmatic, trying to produce graduates who will help post-World War Two societies to 'catch up' to the West and then become global leaders. Therefore, the focus has largely been on liberal arts as preparation for, or as a supplement to, economically viable specialized education, rather than on the inherent value of a liberal education for citizens. One key challenge, then, will be the move from 'pragmatic values' to 'pedagogic values.'

Ohe advocates cultivating intercultural communicative competence (ICC). This means that foreign language education should involve not just the learning of other languages, but also the development of sensitivity to other cultures. Ohe notes that Asian liberal arts' curricula generally offer a wider range of foreign languages than European liberal arts curricula, though English tends to be very dominant as it is regarded as a sign of global competence. Ohe also has a number of suggestions for enhancing ICC through language programs and internationalising initiatives. These sorts of initiatives speak to the need for East Asian liberal arts' institutions to overcome the learning of English for merely utilitarian and business reasons. The reader might wonder how successful these measures will be if the underlying cultural issues that pull one towards utilitarian language learning are not concurrently addressed. Perhaps, though, cultural change might be sparked by praxis.

In an exploration of how liberal arts institutions might enhance the practice of teaching and learning, Jung and Bajracharya examine the use of digital technologies. They survey digital technologies that are available to serve education goals in East Asia. At times, their exploration appears to be uncritical or one-sided in its acceptance of technological applications. They hold that studies show social media to be a reliable, accessible, and cheap means of promoting student-teacher contact and student-student engagement.

Given the tendency in East Asian university administrations toward economic rationalism, as noted at various points in this volume, one concern that ought to be noted here is that East Asian liberal arts curricula might resist or dispense with the expensive practice of having small class sizes with dedicated tutors. While the in-class use of technological devices with small groups may work well, the challenges and problems will be far greater in settings where there are large groups of pragmatic-minded students (Gikas & Grant, 2013). An exploration of these problems and potential pitfalls would thus be extremely useful.

The authors do note, however, that the use of certain technologies may promote collaboration, engagement, and reflection, rather than the traditional Asian model of veneration of the teacher. This insight could be explored further, as it is at this point that the chapter comes close to fulfilling the promise that the cultural tensions identified previously in the volume would here receive further discussion and application, particularly in terms of the need for East Asian liberal arts' departments to improve their pedagogic values.

In another attempt to offer practical suggestions for East Asian settings, Sasao and Hatta explore the link between faculty well-being and institutional attempts at internationalisation. In particular, they raise the question: is there a personal cost associated with the ambiguously-intentioned advocacy of 'internationalisation' in East Asia? They suggest that the pressure for East Asian faculty members to be engaged in cross-cultural research and to teach in English results in stress that should not be overlooked.

This is indeed an important issue. However, while the discussion of the problem itself is stimulating, one is let down by the tedious description of an ill-suited survey that attempts to quantify the situation. The survey was conducted with self-selected respondents, but we are not told about why the particular departments were invited to participate, or how representative the respondents were. The survey appears to have asked respondents to provide numerical scores on a large number of questions. The authors concede that such a survey can only hope to provide indicative results and that it is difficult to draw firm or general conclusions. The results themselves appear close to inconclusive, although indicating that perhaps there is some sense of well-being being linked to institutions' efforts to support internationalisation. The resulting policy recommendations for East Asian liberal arts' institutions are correspondingly very broad and banal. Despite the initial promise of the topic, then, this would seem to be the weakest contribution to the volume.

It might be reflected, then, that the important cultural tensions identified in this volume have only been partially addressed, while more practical matters have been considered. That is, contributors have considered how language acquisition, technological pedagogy, and faculty well-being might be improved, but little attention is given to how the cultural, social, or government factors behind the *status quo* may need to be considered in order to achieve long-term success.

In moving towards final recommendations, Jung, Nishimura and Sasao begin by attempting to draw together 'foundations' of liberal arts education institutions. They say that these institutions place great importance on relationships between faculty and students, small residential community, and collaboration and exchange, in a broad range of disciplines. However, the careful reader will note that these values are not evident in all of the case studies. Certainly, the diversity of approaches to liberal arts across East Asia sometimes involves small classes or communities, but it also often involves large classes in very large university departments.

The authors go on to draw attention to an apparent tension between the value of concern for the ethical and inner life, and East Asia's utilitarian and career-driven cultures, where the liberal arts are increasingly valued for their potential economic utility. However, the discussion here is a little unsatisfying: should we seek to change this culture? Should we settle for the economic rationale? What is wrong with a merely economic approach? Are there more fundamental philosophical issues that have not been articulated here? And could Eastern philosophical resources be drawn upon in considering these issues? For example, the Indonesian educator, Alwasilah, has elsewhere pointed to historic Islamic education in Indonesia as a promising resource for re-promoting the value of holistic education (Alwasilah, 2012). Similarly, one might point to the Confucian conviction that "all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides" (Mondschein, 2016, p. 349), and ask how this cultural background might generate fresh discussion on the place of liberal arts in Asia.

Jung, Nishimura, and Sasao go on to consider varieties of practices in East Asian liberal arts curricula. Although one might have hoped to see here some editorial reflection on what is distinctively Asian in East Asian liberal arts, the discussion is lacking in this regard. Rather, they consider issues that are common across liberal arts programs in East Asia. Again, however, this amounts to a reminder of previous discussion, rather than an attempt to summarise and evaluate results. Some consideration of the relative importance of the 'common issues' would also have been instructive.

Finally, the authors consider 'remaining issues.' These are well chosen. They include problems of governance, the distinctive role of Christianity in East Asian liberal arts, curricular issues, and the problem of university evaluation systems. This is a helpful outline of important areas for further research.

In an 'afterword' from a US perspective, Schneider suggests three goals for what she calls liberal education, which are similar to Chopp's three goals for liberal arts, already mentioned. In highlighting the goal of 'broad knowledge,' she brings together the economic and ethical motivations for liberal arts that have been in tension at numerous points in the volume, suggesting that in a global environment, all people need intercultural competence, both as citizens and for careers. This is valuable, as it is one point at which a key tension within the volume receives attempted resolution; perhaps the economic and ethical motivations for liberal arts can be harmonised. One

wishes for a follow-up volume in which this sort of reflective cogitation could receive further space.

Reflections from an Insider

The volume that I have surveyed here does provide a good overview of curricular developments in East Asia as they relate to liberal arts education. In particular, the case studies are helpful. At times, they bring key problems to the fore and some new ideas are shared. For example, the inclusion of science as a key part of the curriculum at Amsterdam University College is important to help one to reflect upon the Asian context. The partially-lost influence of Confucian tradition on holistic education in Korea is similarly worthy of careful consideration for those operating in Confucian-influenced cultures.

The editors have done a fine job of discerning key challenges. The recognition of tensions between East and West is especially crucial and is a major insight of the volume. It is clear that for the future of East Asian liberal arts, the tensions between Eastern and Western cultures in terms of motivations, pedagogies, and outcomes will need to be carefully negotiated. The overall vision presented in the volume is that the pursuit of liberal arts in East Asia has the opportunity at this time not just to reproduce or reclaim elements of Western heritage, but also to freshly consider how the enterprise might have a worthwhile future there.

At the same time, the book has some drawbacks. Although it ostensibly describes 'East Asia,' the region of South-East Asia appears to be excluded (that is, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and Myanmar). While this is understandable for a volume of this size, it shows that further work remains to be done on analysing changes in Asian education.

At a few points, as noted throughout this chapter, there is a lack of critique of the phenomenon of globalisation. It was noted in the volume that attempts at internationalisation by institutions may bring with them dangers for the wellbeing of faculty members, but further reflection on the various critiques of globalisation and internationalisation that may be relevant for East Asian educational institutions, such as that of Ka (2007), would be helpful.

One issue that has been noted at a number of points so far is a lack of reflection on the impact of contributors speaking about their own institutions. That is, the volume does not show substantial awareness of the complex factors of loyalty, freedom, and employer expectations that are at stake when faculty members write case studies about their own institutions. This is particularly an issue in relation to East Asian contexts. Indeed, the very question of limited academic freedom comes up in this volume as being an East Asian problem, as it did over 25 years ago (Altbach, 2001).

Further openness about the locatedness of the authors would also have enhanced the volume.

The heavy influence of government and bureaucracy is mentioned, but is not explored in any depth. The issue of a potential mismatch between government and university administrators, and passionate educators, is one that ought to be explored for the East Asian region, even though it would require tact and sensitivity. This points to a broader issue about the volume, already noted above; there are important social, cultural, and government factors that influence the enactment of liberal arts curricula in East Asia, yet at times the volume attempts to move straight to pragmatic solutions to problems (such as improving the use of technology), rather than also considering ways in which the broader influences might be interrogated.

A number of other points raised by the book are also worthy of further consideration. These can be expressed in terms of four tensions that the book has exposed. First, there is the tension between economic motivations and character/citizenry motivations. Throughout the volume there is a lack of clarity regarding the benefits of, or motivations for, having liberal arts curricula. Some contributors, as has been noted, seem to measure the success of liberal arts education in economic and career terms, while elsewhere commending it for different reasons, such as producing well-rounded citizens. But if one promotes liberal arts for its cultivation of character and citizenship, as is common (Roche, 2010), how can one then quantify its success in terms of statistics of graduates in further education or jobs? Further, should there be some critique of the economic mindset? Is the utilitarian adoption of liberal arts betraying the heart of a 'liberal' enterprise, or is it just noting another of its benefits? It would be particularly interesting to consider how the presence of this tension in East Asia relates to its slightly different expression in the US (Brint *et al*., 2005).

Secondly, there is the tension between diversity and coherence. At numerous points, diversity is celebrated as a value of liberal arts education, and the embracement of the related values of breadth, intercultural competence, and international presence is frequently urged. But how can these values be held in a way that will neither startle sensitive government decision-makers, nor deny important cultural values of unity and loyalty? While Asia might be said to favour loyal conformity, and the West to favour diverse independence (Kim & Markus, 1999), how might these find appropriate cohesion in a liberal arts program?

Thirdly, there is the tension between internationalisation and locality in the introduction to the volume. Internationalisation is said to be a notable feature of liberal arts education in East Asia. Yet, it is acknowledged in other parts of the volume that it is a lot harder for internationalisation to be as expansive in East Asia as it is in the US or Europe because there is much less student and faculty interest in coming to Asia. There is also the problem of the over-Westernisation of liberal arts' curricula, perhaps due to local curricular features being deemed to be less valuable for cross-cultural

literacy and, thus, international employability. How might East Asian liberal arts' programs find an appropriate balance? On this, the question of how a multicultural world fits with a Western bias in liberal arts curricula has been discussed in the US over the past several decades (Pratt, 1992), and such material could be usefully examined by East Asian practitioners.

Fourthly, there is the tension between residency and large scale practicality. Residency is frequently mentioned in the case studies as being important, yet the insight that it is not normally practised in Asia is not examined in detail. Also, this value will often clash with East Asian economic impulses, for which small class sizes and student residency, as has been known for over twenty years, are simply not realistic (Stevenson & Lee, 1995). Is it possible to pursue the liberal arts in such a setting? What might it look like? What adjustments or compromises might be made which could maintain the core values of a liberal arts education?

Conclusion

I have attempted to offer an 'insider' analysis of this useful volume, exploring the past, present, and future of liberal arts in East Asia. To my mind, the book demonstrates that, in some cases, East Asian universities are adopting liberal arts' practices because of convictions about character and citizenship (often arising in Christian education settings); but in many other cases – and in much evaluation of the benefits of the liberal arts – East Asian institutions and administrators are drawn to the more pragmatic reasoning that it will lead to global competency and employability of graduates. The book shows that the practice of liberal arts in East Asia expresses tensions between the 'Western' values of diversity and enquiry, and certain 'Eastern' values of social unity (dating back many centuries) and economic expediency (dating back to the twentieth century). It shows that the pursuit of internationalisation is quite different in an East Asian setting compared with a US or European one, and that social and government expectations may need to be carefully addressed in the enactment of liberal arts in the East.

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Chapter Three: Reconstructing Teacher Preparation in Ireland and the Foundation Disciplines of Education

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Introduction

Similar to developments internationally Irish teacher education has experienced significant change over recent years. Prior to the recent phase of reform, teacher education programmes had remained relatively static in their structure and orientation for many decades and this resistance to change has meant that the differing intellectual traditions associated with the study of education were maintained. Irish teacher education has been both intellectually fragmented and institutionally fragmented: in the main, elite universities provided consecutive postgraduate programmes for second-level teachers, while colleges of education provided undergraduate concurrent programmes for primary level teachers as well as teachers of applied subjects at second-level. Within both structures, which had persisted for many decades, the 'foundation disciplines' had retained prominence and, in the case of second-level teachers, the inclusion of the study of the history of education was one of the few requirements necessary to satisfy registration.

Teacher education has experienced significant reform and revision since 2012. Nonetheless, Irish teacher education has preserved many traditional components of its programmes, in particular the dominant position ascribed to the study of the foundation disciplines. While there have been significant moves to blend the academic knowledge tradition of university teacher preparation programmes with the practical knowledge tradition of the colleges (Furlong & Whitty, 2017), and to significantly reduce

institutional fragmentation, the place and future of education studies in Ireland has been re-affirmed and preserved.

Contrary to developments in other jurisdictions, initial teacher education programmes have, while seeking to revise and refresh the approaches taken to teacher preparation, consolidated the position of the Foundation Disciplines. This chapter looks at the evolving place of education studies within Irish teacher education, in particular over the last decade, and provides an example of how the study of the foundation disciplines has been reconceptualised within one HEI.

Teacher Education in Ireland - Culture and Legacy

As is the case in many countries, the study of education in Ireland is closely connected with the study of teacher education and preparation. Although the evolution of education studies and teacher education in Ireland has been documented in greater detail elsewhere (Coolahan, 2004; O'Donoghue *et al*., 2017; Walsh, 2006) it is important to provide a brief overview of how the different intellectual traditions associated with the various sectors evolved is important.

Teacher education for primary level teachers had been, from its establishment, located in teacher training colleges outside of the university sector. In contrast to the approach taken by the Kildare Place Society in 1814, which promoted the monitorial system of teaching, the teacher preparation programme established by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (CNEI) in 1837, emphasised the 'intellectual' approach to teaching; where 'simultaneous instruction' of 'drafts' (groups) was promoted. Professor Robert Sullivan, the first professor of teaching methods appointed to the state teacher training college, played a central role in establishing a tradition and structure within teacher preparation. His lectures, which he published in *Lectures and Letters on Popular Education* (1852) provide a valuable insight into both how the system developed and the composition of the training programme. Referring to the quality of teacher being trained he stated:

> The Commissioners of National Education are gradually training up a new and improved class of elementary teachers ... It is now an admitted fact that the 'hedge schoolmaster' is fast disappearing before the intelligent, disciplined and respectable teacher. (Sullivan, 1842, p. 19)

Professor Sullivan advocated that the teacher "lead the children from the known to the unknown by such gradual steps as to require no effort on their part" (Sullivan, p. 72) and he included an article on the work of Pestalozzi in his volume of lectures. The programme in the college at Marlborough Street in Dublin included sections on the 'principles of teaching', 'teaching methods' and the content of the various lesson books which formed the core of the school programme. In addition, the students were

engaged in class teaching for at least one hour per day in the model schools (male, female and infant), while on Saturdays the male teachers were engaged in practical agriculture and horticulture at the Commissioners' farm (CNEI, 1856, Appendix G. p, 193). The teacher preparation programme was initially a mere four-and-a-half months in duration and as a consequence it was particularly intense and stressful:

> …their [the students] minds are absolutely distracted with an incredible variety of matters…they have neither time to prepare nor to digest; they are so over-worked that, towards the end of their course, their energy- and very often their health is gone … this programme shows that no part of the teacher's time is unoccupied. With so short a course, and such a vast variety of subjects, it is obvious that the training must be more or less superficial. (CNEI, 1856, p.173).

Initially, teacher training was provided in non-denominational colleges in Dublin for male and female candidates, with the subsequent establishment of 25 regional model schools, where teachers could also be trained.

Building on and acknowledging the contribution of Sullivan's lectures, the *Handbook of School Management and Methods of Teaching* (Joyce, 1863), which became one of the most influential texts in nineteenth century Irish education, emphasised the practical and immediate aspects of education; its author noted that "while carefully avoiding all mere theory, I have endeavoured to render the instruction in it plain, useful and practical" (1863, Preface to the first edition). In the first year over 2000 copies of the *Handbook* were sold and the subsequent year the text was revised and reprinted. In the preface to the second edition Joyce stated as follows: "I have scrupulously excluded everything except what I thought would prove directly and practically useful" (1864, Preface to the Second Edition). The *Handbook* was a primary text for all teachers in training, but was also geared towards addressing the needs of the many untrained teachers within the system. The fact that teacher training was controlled and provided for by the Commissioners caused significant disquiet among the hierarchy in all of the Christian churches, leading to a Catholic prohibition on attending both the model schools and teacher training colleges in Dublin. This meant that "too few teachers were trained, for too short a time, in too few colleges" (Walsh, 2006, p. 39).

Given the demands within the system, the early editions of Joyce's *Handbook* included directions on the 'mechanical arrangements' of schools to guide the teacher on the dimensions of a school house, and how to arrange the school furniture and manage a multi-level school timetable, along with basic directions on how to teach the core curriculum at the time, which was to be laid out in the Commissioners' *Lesson Books*. However, in later iterations, much of this material had been condensed or omitted. Also, in the second section, the exposition on 'methods of teaching' was extended and became the primary focus of emphasis.

In 1884, the teacher training programme had been extended to two years in duration, and, reflective of the international movements in education, the 1887 edition of the *Handbook* included a new chapter on 'kindergarten'. Joyce articulated a strongly progressive philosophy of child-centred education, where "the teacher should direct the child's mind in the process of discovery or self-learning, by encouragement, by questioning, by illustration, and by sympathy. He should teach the child how to think" (Joyce, 1887, p.85). The methods and philosophical stance adopted by Joyce were very much in contrast to the payment-by-results system which was a reality in schools until its abolition in 1899.

The recognition of Catholic-run denominational teacher training colleges in 1883 led to the establishment of single-sex training colleges under the auspices of religious congregations and by 1900 there were seven recognised colleges, overseen by the Commissioners. The curriculum for teacher preparation was broad. Also, in addition to studying the principles and philosophy of education as exemplified in Joyce's *Handbook*, the pace and content of the programme were dictated by the necessity to attain mastery in the various branches of the programme of instruction in national schools. This programme was extended in 1904 to include reading, writing and spelling, grammar, composition, arithmetic, kindergarten, manual instruction, drawing, object lessons, elementary science, cookery, needlework, singing, physical drill, Irish, French, Latin, arithmetic and algebra, geometry and mensuration, and instrumental music (CNEI, 1905, p. 58). The staff and students in the teacher training colleges were overwhelmed by the intensity of the programme, with the authorities in the recently established Mary Immaculate College in Limerick stating that "the strain towards the end of the session" became "excessive ... partly due to the number of examinations by the Board's Officers" (CNEI, 1911, p.14).

By the time the first steps were taken to establish chairs of education in the universities, a tradition of teacher preparation for primary level teachers had been established – one that was located in denominational, single sex institutions, where the the study of education was focused on three specific areas: the principles of teaching, the methods of teaching, and teaching practice in schools, where students had as little as 30 minutes of relaxation a day. Also, even in the non-denominational teacher training college, students were expected to live a disciplined and monastic-type life.

Following Independence in 1921, Ireland was "more concerned with the preservation of the past than with the future" (O'Connor, 2014, p. 197), with the promotion of the Irish language and Gaelic culture becoming the primary focus of the primary school system. Competence in and capacity to teach through the medium of Irish became a priority for primary level teachers, and much of the teaching in the training colleges was through the medium of the language. Just as the primary school curriculum was narrowed to make way for a nationalist agenda, the preparation of primary school teachers was also restricted. Furthermore, given the limited availability of Irish-medium texts, student teachers relied heavily on their lecturers' notes. The

academic requirement to engage with current literature in the field of education was diminished and libraries became outdated and under-utilised. Students also experienced a heavy work load, with as many as 30 scheduled hours per week being prescribed and with little time being made available for reflection and research. On this, Coolahan (2004, p. 6) has observed that there was a "sub-culture which grew up in the colleges that might be termed anti-intellectual', while Hyland (2014, p. 124) described Carysfort Training College as "disappointing and unchallenging", where "access to the very limited library facilities was strictly controlled", and regretted that the educational atmosphere was not what she had expected of a third-level institute with such high calibre students. Hyland considered that she had a lucky escape when she left Carysfort College in 1959 after a three-month period and opted instead for a career in the civil service. The Department of Education closely monitored the work of the colleges and their "financial and educational autonomy" was quite limited (HEA, 1970, p. 17), as opposed to the providers of second-level teacher education who enjoyed high levels of autonomy within the preserve of the universities.

The first university chair of education was established at Trinity College Dublin (TCD) in 1905, followed by chairs at the National University of Ireland colleges in Cork (UCC) and Dublin (UCC) in 1908, and in Galway (UCG) in 1915 (O'Donoghue *et al*. 2017, p. 43). From the outset, it was considered that teacher preparation for second-level teachers required little more than having a mastery of the subject matter to be taught. An exception was TCD, which, while not offering formal programmes in the study of education, held examinations in 'history and theory of education' and in 'practice of education' in 1898. (O'Donoghue *et.al*., 2017, p. 41).

The Report of a committee (the Dale and Stephens' Committee) commissioned in 1904, recommended that the German pattern of university graduates undertaking a postgraduate programme in education would be the most appropriate teacher preparation route for secondary teachers in Ireland (Dale & Stephens, 1905, p. 80). It recommended that such a programme should involve practical experience in schools, as well as studies in 'the mental and moral sciences bearing on education' and in 'theory and history of education'. As a consequence the one-year, part-time Higher Diploma in Education (H.Dip) was established in 1914. Following the establishment of a national registration council in 1918, this became a required qualification for recognition as a teacher in secondary schools.

The recommendations of the Dale and Stephens' Committee were endorsed by the registration council and shaped the content of the H.Dip for many decades. The associated programme of study at UCD remained relatively static until the 1960s and included:

- The principles of education, including the application in school work of psychology and logic;
- General history of education in Western Europe;

- Methods of teaching, both general and special;
- The general principles of school organisation
- Principles of general ethics;
- Principles of general psychology
- A course in two primary degree subjects designed to illustrate the teaching of these subjects in schools. (cited by O'Donoghue *et al.,* 2017, p. 99)

The public perception of the H.Dip was poor and teachers themselves were critical of it, as exemplified by the comments of one, who stated: "[it] only lasts a year and most can stick it out for that long. Mention of it to practising teachers generally evokes anger or amusement" (cited by O'Donoghue *et al*., 2017, p. 100). Education departments within the universities were under resourced and low status, and the chairs of education were frequently left unfilled (Coolahan, 2004, pp 6-7). H.Dip students spent from 9am to 4pm teaching in schools, attended lectures at a university in the late afternoon, and thus had little time or energy to devote to study. Overall, then during the first decades following Independence, the structures and provision of teacher education remained highly intractable and the traditions laid down in previous generations that promoted sectorally segregated and differential teacher preparation programmes persisted.

A Decade of Reform in Education Studies in Ireland (1965-75)

Reflective of the modernising impact for the introduction of free education second-level education, the associated expansion of provision, the prospect of Ireland becoming a member of the European Union, and the politicians' commitment to economic planning, Ireland's Higher Education Authority (HEA) initiated two reviews, one of higher education in general and the other focusing on teacher education. The *Report of the Commission on Higher Education* (1967) recommended significant reforms in relation to the position and status of education departments within universities. It stated:

> In the universities, education should cease to exist on the periphery of university studies and should be established, and be seen to be established, in the mainstream of university work. The isolation of teacher-training colleges and training courses from the rest of the higher education system should end… (HEA, 1967, p. 238).

The subsequent *Report on Teacher Education* (1970) became the blueprint for the reform of teacher education in Ireland: it recommended that preparation programmes for primary school teachers be established as degree programmes and be of three

years' duration. To rebuff the objections that teacher education might not be comparable academically with degree-level studies, the Report asserted:

> We believe pedagogics, including the practical side, may be as much an academic discipline as are the practical and laboratory sectors of science, medicine or other such areas of study (HEA, 1970, p.14).

The *Report* was critical of the compartmentalised approach to teacher preparation for primary and post-primary school teachers and recommended that new and closer ties between the colleges and the universities be established in order to raise the status of the existing teacher training colleges (HEA, 1970, p.18). While it had been suggested to the review that all teacher education should be re-located to the universities, the *Report* rejected this proposal, saying: "In our view the Training Colleges, with their long tradition and vast accumulation of knowledge, skills and expertise, should continue to have the responsibility for the training of primary teachers" (HEA, 1970, p. 18). In relation to the preparation of second-level teachers, the *Report* recommended that the H.Dip. should become a full-time one-year programme and that the extent of teaching in schools by participants be significantly reduced. In addition, it recommended the establishment of a new college to provide undergraduate and concurrent teacher education programmes for subject specialists, particularly in the areas of woodwork and metalwork.

Following on from the recommendations of the HEA, the teaching profession became an all-graduate workforce, courses were revised and extended, and a three-year BEd programme for primary teachers was established in 1974. The term 'training colleges' was replaced by 'colleges of education' and new alliances and accreditation processes were developed between the colleges and the universities. Colleges became co-educational, staffing levels were increased, and new and extended library facilities were provided. The study of education formed the core of the programme and comprised three distinct areas: the 'foundation disciplines' (philosophy of education, sociology of education, history of education, and psychology of education), pedagogy of curricular areas, and 'teaching practice'. However, those programmes which focused solely on 'education' were considered to be inherently pass degrees, while those that dedicated 40 per cent of the programme to the study of an 'academic subject', were considered to be 'honours degrees' and graduates of these programmes attracted a higher level of remuneration, reflecting, as in the UK (Hirst &Peters, cited by Whitty and Furlong, 2017, p.21), a perceived limited capacity of the study of education to satisfy 'degree worthiness' within the traditional colleges. Although external examination processes were now required by the affiliated university, the Department of Education continued to control the number of students recruited to the colleges as well as their funding, and the Inspectorate examined annually 10 per cent of final year students on teaching practice.

At second-level, the preparation of teachers for the humanities and 'academic' subjects continued within the universities, albeit in a revised full-time, one-year programme, while new practically-focused colleges such as Thomond College, Sion Hill, and St Angela's, were established to provide dedicated concurrent undergraduate education for specialist teachers in the areas of woodwork, engineering, science, home economics, and physical education. The resulting binary approach to second-level teacher education created a new dynamic within the second-level system and reflected the expanding comprehensive nature of the second-level curriculum and the dichotomy between academic and vocational provision (Gleeson, 2004).

There was an expansion of the role of research in Irish educational life and suitable platforms for the dissemination of research and the holding of professional and academic conferences were now required; reflective of the establishment of the British Education Research Association in 1974, the Reading Association of Ireland was established in 1975, and the Education Studies Association of Ireland (ESAI), established in 1977. The ESAI adopted an interdisciplinary approach to education studies, recognising and valuing the breadth of education provision and experience within all sectors. Universities now established taught postgraduate programmes and education studies were for the first time studied at postgraduate level, and disconnected from teacher preparation courses. Teachers who completed a master's programme were paid additional increments by the government, and engaging in postgraduate study was encouraged. There was a new-found energy and excitement around education. Overall, as Coolahan has concluded, the "decade 1965-75 was a momentous one for the teaching career and for initial teacher education in particular" (2013, p.15).

2012 - Reform of the Nature and Content of Education Studies

The legislation establishing the Teaching Council of Ireland in 2001 marked a watershed in Irish education, as the Council became the regulatory body responsible for the development and maintenance of standards for all aspects of the teaching profession, including reviewing and accrediting initial teacher education programmes, as well as developing policies and frameworks to promote the professional development of teachers throughout their careers. Although not established until 2006, and working through the auspices of the Department of Education and Skills (DES), the Council began by creating a register of teachers and thereafter turned its attention to the quality of teacher education programmes. Initially, it piloted reviews of programmes with providers of primary and post-primary programmes (2010). In both cases it identified the over-crowding of programmes as a concern and called for an extension of their duration. However, the Council did not have the authority to extend the duration of the programmes as the decision to make such significant changes resided

with the Minister for Education. Following the poor performance by Irish teenagers in PISA 2009, which "shocked" the educational system, the DES recognised that it was opportune to reform teacher education (Hislop, 2011, p. 18). A new national strategy for literacy and numeracy was launched in 2011. Embedded within it was a detailed action plan to "improve the quality and relevance of initial teacher education" (DES, July 2011, p. 32). The plan indicated that initial teacher education for primary teachers was to be extended to four years from 2012 and that at least 25 per cent of the programme would include school-based professional development. It further indicated that the study of humanities/academic subjects within the BEd would be replaced with a range of optional courses which could comprise no more than 20 per cent of the programme and which would contribute to the enhancement of the professional knowledge and pedagogical skills of teachers (DES, 2011, p. 32). It further indicated that all consecutive/postgraduate initial teacher education programmes would be extended to two years, beginning in September 2014, and that on these courses approximately 40% of students' time should be school-based.

Almost immediately (August 2011) the Teaching Council issued criteria against which new programmes would be evaluated: *Initial Teacher Education: Criteria and Guidelines for Programme Providers*, *(*2011a.), and *Initial Teacher Education: Strategy for the Review and Professional Accreditation of Existing Programmes* (2011b) were published. The Teaching Council identified the core components of initial teacher education programmes as being 'foundation studies' and 'professional studies', clinical/school placement, plus, in the case of primary school teachers, the Gaeltacht Placement (residency in an Irish speaking region) and for post-primary teachers the 'subject disciplines', which were to comprise 50 per cent of the programme. The Council advised that the foundation studies should:

- include curriculum studies, the history and policy of education, philosophy of education, psychology of education, sociology of education;
- through macro curriculum studies, develop students' understanding of, and capacity to critically engage with, curriculum aims, design, policy, reform, pedagogy and assessment;
- enhance students' understanding of the Irish education system, locate it in context and enable students to think critically about it;
- provide research-informed insights into student teachers' understanding of the practices of teaching, learning and assessment;
- illuminate key dimensions of the professional context in which the thinking and actions of teachers are carried out;
- provide the basis of a strong professional ethic in teaching.

It further noted that professional studies should include:

- subject pedagogies (methodologies) and curricular studies;
- pedagogical content knowledge;
- communicative skills;
- learning by student teachers, with ample opportunities for teamwork and enquiry-base initiatives with colleagues. (Teaching Council, 2011, p. 13)

Furthermore, the Council specified mandatory content areas which were to be incorporated into all programmes (Teaching Council, 2011, p.14). They were as follows:

- Early Childhood Education (Primary)/Adolescent Learning (Postprimary)
- Inclusive Education (Special Education, Multiculturalism, Disadvantage, etc.)
- Numeracy
- Literacy
- Gaeilge (Primary)
- The Teacher as Professional/Reflective Practitioner/Researcher
- Developing a Professional Portfolio
- Parents in Education - Co-operation and Collaboration
- The School as a Learning Community
- Preparation for School Placement
- Teaching Learning and Assessment including School and Classroom Planning
- Differentiation
- Behaviour Management
- ICT in Teaching and Learning
- Legislation Relevant to School and Classroom
- The Teacher and External Agencies

The Council recommended that programme providers would bring traditional academic knowledge and practical knowledge into a relationship so that subject boundaries that had fragmented teacher education programmes would be dissolved. It also proposed that the areas within the programme should be balanced and that their inter-relationship should be made explicit (Teaching Council, 2011, p. 12).

Reflective of the high level of control that the DES had retained over teacher education for primary teachers, the colleges of education were given just one academic year in which to radically reconceptualise their programmes. This timeframe put intense pressure on the college providers who, while welcoming the opportunity to radically extend and review their programmes, were cognisant that compliance with the timeframe was essential so as to maintain the accreditation of their programmes, which were the mainstays of their institutions. The consecutive programmes, which were located primarily in the university sector, were allocated a more generous three-year period in which to revise their programmes.

The Teaching Council's 'guidelines' (2011, p. 10) and explicit directions had a significant impact on the nature of education studies within programmes. Providers were required to situate their programmes within a conceptual framework which was to be informed by research and "should begin with clearly identified theoretical statements and should provide a rationale for the model of ITE adopted by the provider". The programme designers were to indicate evident "linkages between the programme aims and the conceptual framework" and while ensuring that all content was 'relevant', they were also to create programmes which "should facilitate student teachers' personal development and their growth into their professional role, enabling them to become responsible, trustworthy, effective, reflective practitioners".

While naming sub-disciplines within education, the Council required providers to illustrate how each area and module integrated theory and practice, and how academic knowledge and practical knowledge could inform one another, be made relevant to one another and be blended into the same modules. The *Guidelines* stated:

> Specifically, foundation studies should be integrated into the programme in a way that is meaningful for student teachers and modules should explicitly focus on connections between methods courses and the social context of practice in classrooms and schools (Teaching Council, 2011, p. 10)

This blending of the various forms of professional, theoretical and practical knowledge was further emphasised, and programme providers were advised as follows:

> The foundation studies, professional studies, the school placement and, as appropriate, the subject disciplines, should be carefully planned in light of changing understandings of the nature of learning and the theory-practice relationship. There should be an appropriate balance in the programme provision for these areas and their inter-relationship should be made explicit. (Teaching Council, 2011, p. 12)

The Council advocated practitioner enquiry and teachers' engagement in action research was promoted as fundamental to recognising the teacher as a professional.

The *Guidelines* also identified that the extended period of study should include opportunities for reflective practice and research/enquiry-based learning (Teaching Council, 2011, p. 18), and that students should "have opportunities to engage in research as the foundation of their practitioner-based enquiry stance in the future" (Teaching Council, 2011, p.2 3). To support research-led and research-based teacher education, the Council stated that college lecturers should be "research active and take lead roles with regard to assimilating, conducting, publishing and supervising research" (Teaching Council, 2011, p. 19). Each provider was permitted to design and shape the programmes according to the values and conceptual framework they

identified, thereby allowing for variety and diversity between programmes and institutions.

While redesigning integrated foundation modules was not without difficulty and required a fundamental realignment of programme content, and students, in the main, experienced coherent and infused modules which addressed topics through the lens of the various sub-disciplines. The impact of encouraging students to both consume and produce research as part of their initial teacher education programmes, was significant. From students' first encounters with the programmes they were expected to read and critique published research and to acquire a competence in the basics of research methods. This gentle introduction to research and an awareness of the fundamental role that research has to play in their daily programme, whether on campus or in schools, were key to creating a new culture among future Irish teachers. In addition to ensuring that all assignments were contributing to building students' competence and confidence in consuming research, students were also encouraged to include references to appropriate literature in their classroom-based reflections.

The teacher as reflective practitioner had been a core aspect of teacher education programmes in the decades before 2012, and activities that promoted this long-established concept were readily incorporated into the reconceptualised programmes. However, if student teachers were to experience a programme where theory and practice - the foundation disciplines and classroom realities - were to be blended, and where research would be relevant for them, then the everyday questions with which teachers engage as part of their educational practice would have to become the focus of academic research. It is not surprising then that the challenge of enabling large student-teacher cohorts (approximately 590 ITE students per annum in one institution) to undertake authentic research with and in schools, proved to be testing. In particular, asking teachers, many of whom perceive research as an academic endeavour, irrelevant and distanced from the reality of classrooms, to facilitate student researchers within their schools, was problematic.

While the Teaching Council was also devising new policies in relation to the early induction and lifelong learning of teachers, articulating an expectation that teachers would engage in active career-long professional development and learning, these emerging policies which would create new and paradigmatically different expectations of the teaching profession, were yet to have an impact on the teaching community. In a response to the problem facing ITE providers, a group of teacher educators developed what became entitled as the Research Expertise Exchange (REX) project, where a digital bridge could be established between student researchers, teacher researchers and higher education researchers. The purpose of the new research oriented on-line platform was to connect teachers in classrooms who were experiencing an education problem, with a group of student teachers and their supervisors. The students working collaboratively, and under the guidance of their campus-based supervisor, would conduct a literature review for the teacher, engage in designing a piece of research in

collaboration with the teacher which had a real-world value and a purpose within their professional lives, and facilitate a partnership approach to education research dialogue. Although in its early stages of development, by autumn 2017 REX was being used on three campuses (Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick and NUIG) and had more than 800 active members, half of whom were students, with the remainder being teachers engaging in continuing professional development, and staff in higher education institutions. The REX platform provides a valuable and innovative scaffold to support teachers' and students' collective research projects, to provide professional conversations between teachers and student teachers, and to allow for the enactment of the blending of theory and practice, as envisaged by the Teaching Council.

The growth of a new cadré of teachers, irrespective of whether they undertake their teacher education programmes at universities or colleges, has been pivotal to the policy of the Teaching Council. The valuing of shared core values of the teacher-as-researcher within all initial teacher education programmes has done much to bridge the cleavage between the academic knowledge traditions of universities and the practical knowledge tradition of the colleges. The expectations that all beginning teachers, irrespective of their academic homes, are research literate and active, and committed to engaging in research as part of their life- long professional development, has done much to break a cycle of academic traditions which has persisted for generations.

Addressing Institutional Fragmentation: Mergers, Amalgamations and Clusters

In parallel with the reform of the content and duration of ITE programmes announced in 2011, the government initiated a review of the structures of ITE provision in 2012. The Minister requested that the HEA "engage with the initial teacher education sector so as to identify possible new structures for teacher education based on a reconfiguration of existing provision … to envision innovative strategies so that Ireland can provide a teacher education regime that is comparable with the world's best" (Hyland, 2012). An international panel chaired by Professor Pasi Sahlberg was convened. It included Professor Pamela Munn and Professor John Furlong. Within the context of a policy to increase collaboration within higher education, it was encouraged by the government to "think openly and put forward initiatives to transform higher education in Ireland" (Sahlberg, 2012, p. 6). The *Report of the International Review Panel* characterised high quality internationally recognised teacher education systems as "university-based with high quality instruction on both pedagogy and pedagogical content knowledge, a strong focus on research as a basis of teaching and learning, systematic clinical practice in school settings, and real internationalisation of the institutions providing initial and continuing teacher education" (Sahlberg, 2012, p. 18). The Panel advocated

that teacher education should be research-based, with teaching being underpinned by research (Sahlberg, 2012, p. 21), and it acknowledged the prohibitive impact of the highly fragmented structures in Irish education to creating the critical mass required for high quality research. As a consequence, the Panel recommended that teacher education provision be transferred from the colleges to university sites, creating not only opportunities for higher quality research but also bringing about a sectoral continuum, where single institutes could prepare professionals to work in early childhood, primary, post-primary, and adult and further education sectors. The Panel recommended that two colleges be discontinued colleges and that the remainder would merge or integrate with their accrediting university, to create six clusters (Sahlberg *et al*., 2012).

The HEA adopted the Report in its entirety and the move towards the 'universitisation' of teacher education and the breaking down of the binary and differing academic traditions of teacher preparation, had a dramatic impact on the system at the same time when the colleges were being required to fast-track the reconceptualisation of their programmes. While both measures were certainly complementary in their philosophy and vision, their implementation challenged fundamentally the nature of primary-level teacher education in Ireland. Some colleges were adept in reading the emerging political landscape and had agreed to a closer alignment than previously with their accrediting body in advance of the Panel's report (the Sahlberg Report) being published: Froebel College had agreed to merge with Maynooth University (2011) and Marino Institute of Education had established a joint trusteeship with Trinity College (2011), thereby retaining its autonomy and its commitment to its mission. Others responded quickly and positively to the opportunities embodied within the new policy: St Patrick's College (primary, Catholic institution), Mater Dei Institute (post-primary, Catholic institution), the Church of Ireland College of Education (primary, Anglican college), along with the Department of Education, DCU (post-primary, civic institute) became incorporated into the Institute of Education at DCU. The creation of this new institute, comprising 145 staff from the various colleges, working collaboratively within six departments, has been the most dramatic representation of the blending of academic cultures and traditions, to generate a new and formidable force within teacher education.

The design and formation of the new Institute has undoubtedly been challenging, but the transfer of all staff and students to the renovated and extended St Patrick's Campus, now within DCU, was achieved by September 2016. The process of integrating the academic cultures and traditions of the four entities will undoubtedly take time to embed, but the common shared academic platform within the university has the capacity to radically reform the work and underlying principles of initial teacher education therein. The Institute is now the largest provider of teacher education in the State with 4,000 students. It has established a range of research centres, including two University Research Centres – The Centre for Evaluation, Quality and Inspection (EQI),

and the Anti-Bullying Centre (ABC). Two externally funded research centres have also been established – The Centre for Assessment Research, Policy and Practice (CARPE) – and, from January 2018, a Centre for Research in Early Childhood Education. Both of these centres are led by funded Chairs, and have the capacity to lead innovative research in Irish Education.

Of the two institutes that the Review recommended be discontinued, one is still accepting student teachers (GMIT). The other, St Patrick's College Thurles, has been incorporated into Mary Immaculate College, Limerick (MIC) as a post-primary teacher education department and one of seven departments comprising MIC's Faculty of Education which educates teachers from all sectors - early childhood, primary, post-primary, and adult education. However, while collaborating with its accrediting body, the University of Limerick, MIC is now one of two Catholic primary school teacher education colleges remaining in the Irish system. It is also clear that it is determined to retain both its mission and its cultural and professional tradition and autonomy.

In the west of the country, St Angela's College in Sligo has become more closely aligned with NUIG, but the incorporation envisaged and initially agreed in 2014 is still under negotiation. Other colleges and institutions have been collaborating with one another, as is the case with Cork Institute of Technology (CIT) and University College Cork (UCC). In some instances the goodwill to work collaboratively does not extend to incorporation or integration, as in the case of UCD and Trinity College. In contrast to the expectation that the quality of teaching and research within colleges could benefit from becoming integrated into their accrediting university, this argument cannot be extended to the potential clustering of the two university departments in these universities, both with separate university autonomy and proud academic heritages.

In autumn 2017 the HEA initiated a review of the progress made within the provision and structures of Irish teacher education within the five years since the Sahlberg Report (2012) was issued. Prof Aine Hyland was commissioned to prepare a comprehensive background paper for this review and she accompanied Prof Pasi Sahlberg who conducted site visits to each of the clusters/integrated providers over a number of days in May 2018. There was a positive engagement by all providers with this review. The publication of Prof Sahlberg's 2018 report is awaited with great interest.

Conclusion

Teacher education policy and traditions in Ireland have been growing and developing since the establishment of a training programme by the Kildare Place Society in Dublin in 1814. Institutions which were established in the nineteenth century continued to ensure highly reputable standards over the next two centuries (Sahlberg, 2012). Their history, culture and imprint on the psyche of the nation should not be under-estimated,

and the level of affection with which they are held in communities across the State is evidenced by the persistently high number of Leaving Certificate students who place these colleges top of their list when submitting their applications to the higher education system. Nonetheless, the dominant and practical tradition associated with such colleges, which are smaller than universities and narrow in their academic scope, has challenged the capacity of their staff to provide research-based ITE which can compete internationally against larger centres of teacher education. This inherited tradition, where supervision of school placement is as valued as supervision of doctoral research, has served to create the conditions leading to the recommendation that they be incorporated into the university sector.

The blending of the practical and academic traditions to ITE within research-driven provision, as recommended by the Teaching Council, further created an environment where the boundaries between education traditions could be dissolved. Driven by a concerted government policy to achieve greater cohesion and modernisation within the higher education system, the infrastructure of teacher education became the 'low-hanging fruit' within a wider system where reform is difficult to achieve. While there were 19 providers of nursing education in 2012, the same number as ITE providers, these programmes were located within institutes of technology or universities, and, given their autonomy and status as 'designated awarding bodies' within the system, they were not subjected to sectoral or structural reform. However, the different academic traditions of teacher education, and the recognition of colleges as 'linked providers' accredited by the universities, made the colleges vulnerable to closure, amalgamation and merger.

The move to amalgamate colleges of education into universities and to converge approaches to teacher education is a global phenomenon; while we might consider that there are specific losses to the system by the reduction in the variety and type of ITE provider, what is significantly different about teacher education in Ireland (when compared with the situation in Britain for example) is the commitment to ensuring that education studies are located within the academy, are driven by research within higher education institutes, and that knowledge of and induction into the foundation studies is recognised as a core competence in ITE. The reduction and potential loss of denominational teacher education provision which is a by-product of the integration of colleges within the universities, reflects a growing secularisation within Irish society. The capacity for the integrating colleges to retain their identity and denominational traditions within the civic university is one which is being worked out currently. While there will be some continuing tension within the system as to how many clusters and institutions will be recognised as centres for the preparation of teachers, the overall thrust of the system is one where teacher education will merge both the academic and practical traditions, and continue to be valued and recognised within higher education.

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Chapter Four: Teaching Literary Ethics in a Changing World

Joseph Steinberg

Back in 1991, (Bruner, 1991, p. 4) argued that we "organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative-stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing, and so on." In other words, he stated that the way an individual's perceptions of reality facilitate interpersonal interaction is an act of narrative. Individuals coexisting within a social community must share certain conceptions, such as an implicitly shared understanding of time. For Bruner (1991, p. 6), this is best explained by the concept of "narrative diachronicity", an "irreducibly durative" sense of reality entailing a "unique pattern of events over time". His use of the phrase "intentional state entailment" is similarly suggestive (Bruner, 1991, p. 7). He uses this phrase to describe an aptitude that cognitive psychologists have subsequently rebranded 'theory of mind', which is defined as our "ability to explain people's behaviour in terms of their thoughts, feelings, beliefs and desires" (Zunshine, 2006, p. 6), our ability to "make inferences about the subjective experiences and knowledge of others" (Kidd, 2014, p. 15), and "our capacity to understand representations as representations, including the representations other minds may have of a scene" (Boyd, 2013, p. 118). Our theory of mind is exercised when

> […] we ascribe to a person a certain mental state on the basis of her observable action […]; when we interpret our own feelings based on our proprioceptive awareness […]; when we intuit a complex state of mind based on a limited verbal description […]; when we compose an essay, a lecture, a movie, a song, a novel, or an instruction for an electrical appliance and try to imagine how this or that

segment of our target audience will respond to it; when we negotiate a multilayered social situation […]; and so forth. (Zunshine, 2006, p. 6)

Bruner's suggestion is that an implicitly shared understanding of these two concepts, narrative diachronicity and intentional state entailment, allows for interaction with other human beings. He also argues for further intersections of socializing and narrativizing processes, including the idea of 'genericness' (both a property of stories and a way of assimilating information into pre-existing schemata), 'referentiality' (both a [meta]fictive trope and a way of distributing knowledge between individuals who share a point of reference) and 'canonicity' (both an index of literariness and the basis for conceptions of difference, which in turn stimulate the act of interpretation). Cumulatively, a strong argument is made for the centrality of narrative processes to both individual constructions of reality and to interactions between human beings. The clear implication is that the study of narrative complexity might allow for insights into individuality, cognition, interaction, socialization, consciousness and ethics.

It follows that, if narratives are as foundational to human experience as Bruner contends, they ought to be objects of study. The remainder of this paper pursues a pragmatic secondary question: how else might the teaching of narratives be justified, and which narratives ought to be studied? To answer this question, I review relevant philosophical and analytical studies alongside empirical and practice-based research. My focus throughout has been, through careful engagement with these sources, to suggest the value of teaching those texts loosely described as literary. A term immune to definition, 'literary' intimates not only formal, thematic, or conceptual sophistication, and not only enduring acclaim or notoriety, but an element of departure, with literariness suggesting the flourish of innovation, newness, a knowingness of cliché, an awareness of that which eludes representation. It is, of course, a shifting and historically contingent classification, but this characteristic affirms its interdependence with a world comprised of comparably malleable individuals. In short, then, this essay expands Bruner's argument for the centrality of narrative and explores its implications for the teaching of literary texts.

Where better to begin than with Nussbaum's effort to situate the novel as "a paradigm of moral activity." (1992, p. 148) Like Bruner, Nussbaum's argument hinges upon an analogy between literary discourse and her own discourse of moral philosophy: in her case, it is the contention that "the moral imagination is in some way like the work of the creative imagination, especially that of the novelist." (1992, p. 148) For Nussbaum, the seemingly individualistic act of reading fiction in fact invites readers to immerse themselves in states of being other than their own. Put another way, reading is an enactment of and invitation to care, the basis of a sense of moral responsibility, a sensibility integral to ethical conduct. Furthermore, Nussbaum contends that it is authors and readers of specifically *literary* fiction who are best equipped to perform ethical inquiry, as lyrical intensity particularizes, providing "ethical

relevance" and highlighting the "epistemological value of feeling." (1992, p. 175) Literary reading and, implicitly, the teaching of literary texts, is justified here based on its capacity to mimic being and induce empathy.

Compelling as Nussbaum's justification is, by construing the experience of literary reading as a simulation of ethical thinking or a greenhouse for empathy she risks neglecting literature's capacity to defamiliarize. In Bruner's terms, she overemphasises literature's 'referentiality' at the expense of its ability to defamiliarize lived experience, or disrupt 'canonicity'. Hale observes this tendency arising in Nussbaum's insistence that "novelistic aesthetics accomplishes the project of universalizing the individual subject" (2009, p. 316), an assertion repudiated by Butler's (2003) alternative account of literature's relation to ethical experience. For the latter, literature's ethical potential is not found in reading texts as paradigms for moral activity, but in transitioning between two states of awareness. In the first, a hypothetical reader is naïve, suspending disbelief and responding impulsively to the fictional world. In the second the reader is self-conscious, aware that the meaning made is the product of dialogue between individual and text, in pursuit of the shortcomings of one's own thinking. Moving between these two states echoes a Socratic dialogue, mulling over the question of how 'to be' through engaging an interior dialogue with the words of another. Here, the individual subject is not universalized but contested, shattered and reinvented in a cycle of (re)(de)construction by the oscillating reader (Butler, 2003). Butler vaunts (and practices, in her own writing) literary difficulty, deeming the ambiguities inherit in literary form an essential catalyst for this ethical process.

Findings from the fields of cognitive psychology and neuroscience provide an alternative yet related justification for the study of literature. Nussbaum's model of literature as an experience of empathetic imagining finds support in the identification of mirror neurons. These neurons fire in the brain's motor area both when an action is performed and when the action is observed, pictured, or described (Boyd, 2013). This component of neural architecture is uniquely elaborate in humans, inviting Boyd's suggestion that they are an evolutionary mechanism designed "to help us to understand and to learn from others, and perhaps to cooperate or compete with them" (2013, p. 113). Their prevalence might also explain why humans, from infancy, have "a far stronger motivation to share experience than have other animals, even chimpanzees […] this heightened motivation to share experience seems to lay the foundation for human ultrasociality" (2013, p. 113). The referential model of literature as a means of reiterating and sharing experience is imbued by these neurons with evolutionary significance; storytelling becomes a human adaptive mechanism capable of "partially reactivating relevant multimodal experiences in our past, involving multiple senses, emotions and associations" (Boyd, 2013, p. 113). This cognitivist perspective supports Nussbaum's argument by suggesting the pivotal nature of narrative as a tool of ethical teaching.

On the other hand, Butler's argument for the ethical value of difficulty, uncertainty, and ambiguity finds cognitive justification in the work of Zunshine (2006). Zunshine draws upon the insights of cognitive psychologists into the meta-representational capacity of autistic and non-autistic adults in order to suggest fiction's instrumentality as an exercise in theory of mind. In advocating this approach, which she deems "highly compatible with well-thought-through literary criticism", she begins by noting the tendency of "fictional narratives" to "rely on, manipulate, and titillate our tendency to keep track of who thought, wanted, and felt what and when" (Zunshine, 2006, p. 5). At its best, fiction both satisfies and creates cognitive cravings, as it "engages, teases, and pushes to its tentative limits our mind-reading capacity" (Zunshine, 2006, p. 4). Fiction may then be said to extend the limits of our mind-reading capacity in two ways. First, it may do so in an echo of Nussbaum's account, by allowing readers to 'try on' mental states "potentially available to us but at a given moment differing from our own" (Zunshine, 2006, p. 17). Second, it may do so, to echo Butler's explanation, by "delaying or disrupting" our cognitive processes, rendering us sensitive to them, and thereby indicating to our consciousness that our most crucial cognitive processes are functioning smoothly (Zunshine 2006). Literary difficulty, eliciting a pronounced delay or disruption in the act of interpretation before the reward of comprehension, is the trigger in this account of literature's relation to metacognition. As both Zunshine's (2006) selective analysis and Boyd's (2013) dissection of the narratorial layers in a passage from Nabokov's *Ada or Ardor* clearly demonstrate, literary fiction is uniquely suited to exercising readers' theory of mind.

The positions promoted by these philosophers, critics, and cognitivists have also been developed by educational practitioners and researchers. Alsup's (2015) fourfold rationale for the teaching of literary texts privileges their ability to develop critical thinking skills, elicit empathy, foster identification, and encourage social action. Since I have already established literature's connection to empathy, identification, and cognition, I shall focus here on the interrelation of narrative and social action. Tentatively, Alsup (2015) asserts that "with engaged interactions with narrative texts, readers do more than just have temporary feelings or compulsions to imitate characters"; they exhibit "prosocial behaviours" such as "increased helping behaviour and more thoughtful interactions with others" (2015, p. 72). Alsup's conclusion is somewhat limited by its modesty. In fact, considerable empirical research has subsequently emerged in support of it. For example, Adkins' study concluded as follows:

Sixty college students were randomly assigned to either a literature or film condition, completed the Vividness of Visual Imagery Questionnaire, the Transportation Scale, and the Fantasy Empathy Scale […] The results revealed a significant interaction between narrative type and mental imagery ability for transportation […] Participants with higher mental imagery ability were more transported and empathic in the narrative than those with lower mental imagery ability. (2017, p. ii)

As Alsup (2017) notes, this conclusion is further supported by Johnson who, through a study where pens were dropped in front of participants after they had read a piece of fiction, found that the fictive modelling of transportation and affective empathy translated into real-world behaviour as "individuals who experienced higher transportation and affective empathy were significantly more likely to help the experimenter pick up the pens" (2012, p. 152). Five experiments by Kidd (2014) find this increased ethical awareness to be even more pronounced in readers of specifically literary fiction, which Kidd finds "especially likely to challenge the conventional systems of meaning that support more schematic social cognition", thereby developing "a more flexible view of others that draws attention to the complexity of their subjective experiences, thus promoting ToM" (2014, p. ii). Kidd's hypothesis was supported by five experimental tests, where participants assigned to read literary fiction performed better on three different tests of ToM than participants assigned to read nonfiction, popular fiction, or nothing (2014).

Fiction's capacity to elicit prosocial behaviour is also demonstrated in a study conducted by Lee *et al*. (2014), which found that children who read a short story about the benefits of telling the truth were significantly less likely to provide false answers to a set list of questions than those who had not read such a story. While it is tempting to emphasise the correlation established between literature and prosocial action in these studies, one must note the foreshortened timespan and didactic nature of the texts chosen. At present, there is a dearth of empirical research into the capacity of non-didactic texts to encourage prosocial behaviour in the long term. This would be a fruitful area for further inquiry.

Now that I have reviewed significant theoretical, philosophical, psychological, and empirical support for both the instrumentality of narrative and the value of teaching literary texts, I wish to turn to questions of pedagogy and practice. How might a teacher modify practice to facilitate students' critical engagement with literary texts? How might an educator create an environment for ethical encounters between work and reader? If we accept literature's capacity to model prosocial action, despite the unnerving implication that it might equally model the opposite, how should texts be taught in light of this potential?

Raja *et al*. (2013) engage directly with the final question proposed. They advocate incorporation of world literature into classrooms as a political act; a means of teaching "against the grain, in opposition to the imperial imperatives of the global elite, and in the hope of changing and transforming the world" (Raja *et al*., 2013, p. 4). Traditional methods of teaching literature, seen by Raja *et al.* through a hybrid Marxist, feminist, and post-colonial lens, operate on an illusory notion of empathy whereby they ultimately "normalize the pre-inscribed global hierarchies of the neoliberal world, a world in which inequalities are essential and where the other can enter the metropolitan academy only as an exotic appendage or as a demonized marker of otherness" (2013, p. 2). Their account thus characterises canonical literature through a post-Foucauldian

frame, as a project of "disciplining, managing, and controlling human bodies and desires" (2013, p. 2). While I find their engagement with literature's prosocial potential and their emphasis on the untapped potential of emerging writers compelling, I am concerned that their approach seeks to replace literature underpinned by a market force with literature underpinned by an ideological force, without consideration for the element persistently foregrounded by the research: namely, 'literariness'. Instead, I find myself most convinced by an approach to teaching literature suggested by Yale Professor Amy Hungerford's adroit examination of literary production in contemporary America, in her seminal monograph *Making Literature Now*. Hungerford situates her study, which considers the work and material circumstances of a selection of contemporary American writers, as a project designed to archive the present: to "resist the creative destruction" of a consumer-driven marketplace by offering a "historical vision to counter the relentless abandonment of ideas, products, and workers that we accept, and even embrace, in capitalist societies in the service of innovation—innovation that has come to be taken as a value in itself rather than as a means to some end" (2016, p. 169). Encountering contemporary literature in the present, while situating the text against a body of canonical works to critically question its aesthetic and ethical qualities, enables the prosocial end privileged by Raja *et al*. without abandoning considerations of literariness.

By way of closing, I want to put into practice some of the principles discussed above by dwelling on the following passage from a contemporary literary work, namely, Michael Ondaatje's Booker Prize-winning novel *The English Patient*:

> Read him slowly, dear girl, you must read Kipling slowly. Watch carefully where the commas fall so you can discover the natural pauses. He is a writer who used pen and ink. He looked up from the page a lot, I believe, stared through his window and listened to birds, as most writers who are alone do. Some do not know the names of birds, though he did. Your eye is too quick and North American. Think about the speed of his pen. What an appalling, barnacled old first paragraph it is otherwise. (1996, p. 100)

Both the act of reading and the content of this passage offer an experience of literature's ethical potential. The anonymous yet eponymous patient, disfigured by burns beyond recognisability and mortally wounded, counsels Hana, his caregiver, to be patient. The syntax of this passage is its morality. Its instruction is to read aloud, at the speed of a writer's pen, and slowly.

It invites us to flex our mind-reading skills. The consciousness of the speaker, the patient, is inscrutable. If he is who we think he is, or who he implicitly claims to be, the memory of his lover may be echoed by Hana's presence. She, on the other hand, may be thinking of her father, finding a trace of him in this distended departure, this futile nursing, this proleptic mourning. Both, presumably, are thinking of Kipling, imagining

how he might have spoken. For most readers, mirror neurons will be stimulated by the mention of his name and the voice of the passage will flicker in a moment of cognitive misreading. These neurons will re-emerge when Hana is warned about the speed of her eye, a caution that reverberates with the reader virtue of the second person pronoun in another fleeting instance of cognitive dissonance. Finally, the eye rests on that word 'appalling'. The syntax alongside its long vowels lend it a softness, a steadiness. It is a resting place for the now-slowed eye.

I have yet to see a list of learning outcomes that identify 'slowness' or 'patience' as behavioural objectives. And why would they; they, like most values, are not specific, measurable, attainable, realistic, or time-targeted. In fact, they are the antithesis of the ultimate term. Values are generally a nuisance for authors of curricula, as they awkwardly sprawl across the artificial borders between subjects and disciplines and elude concise demonstration. Some curricula neatly resolve this problem by identifying 'critical and creative thinking', 'personal and social capability', 'ethical understanding', and 'intercultural understanding' as 'General Capabilities', as well as identifying where these capabilities are developed in content descriptions and bestowing upon teachers permission to 'find further opportunities to incorporate explicit teaching of the capabilities' if doing so strikes them as worthwhile. It does indeed strike me as worthwhile. The study of literature, I hope I have demonstrated, is an ideal forum for experiential engagement with these vital capabilities.

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Chapter Five: Transforming University Curriculum Policies for a Global Knowledge Society in Chile

Victoria Valdebenito Mac Farlane, Tom O'Donoghue and Lesley Vidovich

Introduction

Developments in curriculum policies and practices can be identified in relation to current university education in Chile. These reflect an international trend in certain constituencies of some universities adopting a liberal education model of curriculum at undergraduate level, with professional preparation coming at the postgraduate level. This has European and North-American influences and, in relation to particular Chilean universities, means that professional degrees are no longer delivered at the undergraduate level. Accordingly, students often have to be enrolled at university longer than previously and also have to spend more money than previously on their education (Vidovich & O'Donoghue, 2011).

A particular approach within the trend noted is where undergraduate studies are provided under a college system, while postgraduate studies are provided through graduate schools. In Chile, some universities have been undertaking curriculum change along such lines over the last decade. The origins of the change, however, can be traced back to the 1980s, when the country was under military dictatorship. Developments set in train at that point resulted in a shift within the nation to a neoliberal economic agenda and to the adoption of associated international models by some universities. Cognisance of this situation provided the stimulus for engaging in the study reported in this chapter. It was aimed at generating an understanding of contemporary curriculum policy trends at one such university.

The chapter is in two parts. First, the background to the current system of higher education in Chile is outlined. This is followed by a presentation of the results of the study.

Overview of the Higher Education System in Chile

Considered within the context of Latin America in general, Chile has a large higher education system in terms of provision. Also, it is a complex system organisationally (Bernasconi & Gamboa, 2015). During the 1980s, it underwent a radical redefinition such that it is now one of the most cited in research on higher education in Latin America. To understand why this is so, it is necessary to consider the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. In 1973, through a military strike, a socialist government was brought to an end and a dictatorship assumed power for 16 years. This development deeply affected the political landscape of the country to the present (Brunner, 2015). More than 40,000 people disappeared or were deemed to be 'missing' as a result of this process.

The military regime introduced a series of economic changes of a neoliberal character during its period in power and brought about an associated transformation of the education system overall. Government action was characterised by privatisation and decentralisation (Cox, 2003). Among the main political decisions taken were the transference of public schools to municipalities, the introduction of a voucher-per-student funding system for the primary and secondary school level, the loss by teachers of public employee status, the introduction of a national system for evaluating standards in education, and a progressive decrease in national education expenditure. By the late 2000s, reports of studies which had evaluated associated developments during this period were circulated and they indicated negative consequences, especially for teachers and students (Raczynski & Muñoz, 2007).

Before 1981, the higher education system consisted only of universities (Brunner, 2015). It was a one-level, one-sector system, comprising two state and six private-national universities. These universities were entitled to establish their own faculties and particular career paths for students, and to grant professional titles and academic degrees (Jiménez & Durán, 2011).

Funding of higher education consisted largely of public incremental financial support being made available based on previous budget allocations and a distribution formula loosely arranged according to enrolments. Students paid no fees. Selective admission was enforced on the basis of a national standardized academic test. Also, there was no general higher education law. However, to receive public funding and obtain the right to award certificates and degrees, new universities had to be legally recognised (Brunner, 1986).

During the 1980s and 1990s, higher education underwent a drastic transformation (Elacqua, 2011). Changes were directed at achieving three main goals. The first goal was to open-up the higher education system by producing rules for the creation of new institutions (Cox, 1993). The second goal was to create institutional diversification in a vertical three-tier system consisting of universities, professional institutes and technical training centres. The third goal was to partially transfer the cost of state-financed institutions to the students or their families, thus forcing them to diversify their funding sources (Brunner, 1993). Following the pursuit of these goals, private universities and professional training centres became lucrative businesses in the country (Mönckeberg, 2005).

The dictatorship of Pinochet ended in 1989. This resulted from a negotiated process between the dictatorship administrators and a section of the political opposition, namely, the Coalition of Parties for Democracy. The alliance consisted of the Christian Democratic Party, the Radical Party, the Socialist Party and the Party for Democracy (Cox, 2006). The 1990s opened with an important change taking place in the education system. The military regime approved of, and published, the *Organic Constitutional Law on Teaching* or 'LOCE' in its last day in office, namely, the 10 March 1990 (Cox, 2006). This legal framework still acts to regulate primary, secondary and higher education. It was designed to ensure that the changes established in the 1980s would be permanent. Thus, in 1990, the new democratically elected government became the inheritor of an education system based on deregulated market mechanisms, with little state intervention and a diversified funding model for public universities (Brunner, 1994).

The Structure of Higher Education in Chile

With the return of democracy in 1990, several changes were rapidly introduced. The period was characterised by the governing parties identifying education as a national priority (Raczynski & Muñoz, 2007). The associated changes can be seen as having progressed through three stages. The first stage was from 1990-95. This was characterised by the construction of the new basis for the education system. The second stage was from 1996-2000, during which efforts were made to support teachers' professional development and school improvement. The third stage was initiated at the beginning of 2000. Since then, there has been a focus on improving the quality of teaching within the classroom (Cox, 2003).

The Chilean higher education system consists of 182 institutions, with four types of establishments. First, there are 77 technical training centres offering courses of two years duration. They confer the qualification of 'senior technician'. Secondly, there are 43 professional institutes which confer higher level technical qualifications and non-degree-level professional qualifications. Thirdly, there are 59 universities which offer a

wide range of degrees. Finally, there are military institutions of higher education. These can also grant degrees (National Centre Tunig Chile, 2007).

Students who want to study at a university in Chile can choose between 'traditional' and 'private' universities. The traditional ones were created before 1981. These are in receipt of several types of State funds, including direct fiscal contributions and indirect tax contributions (Valenzuela, Labarrera, & Rodríguez, 2008). Also, they belong to the 'Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities' (CRUCH).

A new law, passed in 2016, established a gratuity system for less-well-off students studying in both, public and private universities. The name of the law is 'The Short Law of Gratuity'. It is associated with tax reforms that have been taking place in the country in order to finance new initiatives in education (Benedikter, Siepmann, & Zlosilo, 2015). However, the role of the State as the guarantor of the right to education has not changed; the Chilean State is just trying to solve a demand problem by providing gratuities rather than fully-financing the system (Huerta, 2016).

The number of postgraduate programmes on offer in the nation's universities has also increased, especially at masters' and doctoral levels. Indeed, there was an increase of 27.8 per cent in masters' degree programmes, from 655 in 2004 to 837 programmes in 2009. Over the same period, there has been an increase of 29.3 per cent in doctoral programmes, from 133 to 172 (Gonzalez & Jiménez, 2014; Munita & Reyes, 2012). Moreover, it is expected that the number of graduates with doctoral degrees will double by 2018.

Higher Education Policies in Chile Over the Last 15 Years

During the first half of the twentieth century the main aim of education policy in Chile was to expand access. Also, in order to promote the development of scientific research in the country through allocation of public resources, and through competitive contests, the *National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development* or 'FONDECYT' was created in 1981. This fund is administered by the *National Commission for Research, Science and Technology* or 'CONICYT'. It provides finance to encourage individuals and research groups to engage in research projects, regardless of discipline areas.

As with the rest of the sub-continent, policies related to programmes and institutional accreditation have been emphasized in Chile over the last two decades. In 1999, the *National Commission of Undergraduate Accreditation* (CNAP) was born. Its main aim was to design and propose a national system for quality assurance in higher education, and to conduct an experimental process of accreditation. Moreover, during 2006, Law 20,129 was enacted, which established a national system for quality assurance in higher education. Also, it created the *National Accreditation Commission* (CNA). This is an autonomous public body responsible for verifying and promoting

quality in universities, professional institutes, and technical training centres through institutional and programme accreditation (Ministerio de Educación de Chile, 2006).

During September 2009 the *General Education Law* (20,370) was published. This modified the 'LOCE', and created the *National Council of Education*, the legal successor to the *Higher Education Council*. The new council continues to license and accredit decisions taken by its predecessor. Another important agent is the *Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities* (CRUCH) already mentioned. It was established in 1954. This institution is a collegial body with a legally-constituted membership. It is composed of the presidents of 20 Chilean public and private universities. Its main aim is to coordinate the work of institutions that comprise what in Chile are termed 'the traditional universities'.

Chile is also part of MERCOSUR or the 'Common Market of the South'. This institution was established as a result of an economic and political agreement signed in 1991 by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela, to promote the free movement of goods, services and people among member states. The primary interest of its members is to eliminate such obstacles to regional trade as high tariffs and income inequalities.

Furthermore, Chile has been influenced by discussions following the introduction of the Bologna Agreement of 1999 (Amaral & Neave, 2008). In particular, its universities are seeking to elevate their positions in international ranking tables. Also, documents produced as a result of the initiation of the Bologna process, serve as a reference point in designing and developing programmes and projects related to accreditation and academic mobility through the *MERCOSUR Higher Education Area Project* (Veglia & Perez, 2011). Additionally, in 1999, following advice from the World Bank, the Ministry of Education in Chile launched a higher education policy-programme entitled *Improving Quality and Equity in Tertiary Education*, or 'MECESUP' (Universidad de Chile, 2015). The programme provided a competitive fund in an attempt to improve quality and equity through strategic planning, and through providing information for decision-making based on evidence and performance indicators. These matters became the subject of public discussion, and part of the conditions set by the State of Chile at the time, for distributing incremental resources in the tertiary education sector. It was also influenced by the Bologna process as well as by the Latin American *Project Tuning* (Reich, Machuca, López, Prieto, Music, Rodriguez-Ponce, & Yutronic, 2012).

The Education Crisis in Chile

Over the last decade, education in general in Chile has come in for severe criticism. Certain scholars spoke about what they called a 'crisis in education' (Monckeberg, 2005). Some saw it in relation to their perceptions of major contradictions and problems, mainly in terms of the quality of education that students were receiving in

public schools (OPECH, 2006). The situation, it was held, was revealed by the results of standardized tests, with major gaps existing between students' performance in the public school system and that of those enrolled in the private school system (Gregorutti, Espinoza, González, & Loyola, 2016). Others related this to social inequities in other areas of society, with Chile being one of the countries in the OECD with the highest levels of unequal distribution of wealth (OECD, 2014).

The support offered by the State was deemed not to be sufficient to address the 'education crisis'. In response, a variety of protest movements emerged. Dissatisfaction with learning methods and results was highlighted in the media in the first half of 2006. At the time, a new social movement, consisting mainly of primary school and high school students, focused on a series of related education problems such as quality of education, gaps within the system and inequities between private and public education. In response to their demands, the first government of President Bachelet drew up the new *General Law of Education* in 2006. It was drafted by the *Commission for Education*, a group formed by the government that year, which included a small number of personalities from academia, and from the primary and secondary school education sectors. The proposed law aimed to improve the education system, but it did not change the 'LOCE'. It was organized around four axes: teacher development, institutional framework, financing and superintendence. So far, however, significant changes have not followed.

Between 2014 and 2015, the teachers and students were back protesting. This social movement was considerable in terms of the amount of time and the number of people participating. During 2015, activities associated with the teachers' movement accelerated because of dissatisfaction with the aims of a government project called the *National Teaching Plan* (Radio Cooperativa, 2015). Also, students were mobilized to demand the revitalization of public education and an end to the profit motive in education (Tome, 2015). The approval of the Law for the gratuity in 2015 was a response to these demands.

The Study

The study reported in the next section of this chapter sought to generate understandings about how university actors and authorities decided upon, and made meaning of, the curriculum transformations at one university in Chile engaged in change aimed at adopting a liberal education model of curriculum at undergraduate level, with professional preparation offered at the postgraduate level. Associated research questions were designed specifically in relation both to the concept of a 'policy trajectory', namely, the context of influence, the context of policy text production, the context of policy enactment, and the context of outcomes (Ball, 1994; Ball, Hoskins, Maguire & Braun, 2011; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Vidovich, 2007; 2013) and

to the two levels at which it operated, namely, the meso and micro levels. People working at the macro-level are those working at the government level and warrant being studied separately. Those working at the meso-level are academics in important positions within the university, while those working at the micro level are those staff and academics located within each school and faculty within the University.

Two major qualitative research approaches were used, namely, interviews and document interrogation. The latter, was judged to be appropriate because of the nature of policy, which, as suggested by various scholars (Ball, 1994; Fairclough, 2003; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Taylor, 2004; Vidovich, 2013), can be considered to be both text and discourse. Most of documents used in the research were located in the public domain and were available online. Documents in private institutions were requested when the interviews were being conducted.

Data were also gathered using semi-structured interviews. This approach is valuable for collecting individuals' perspectives (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, & Namey, 2005). Thus, it was deemed appropriate for the study. Participants interviewed were selected through both a snow-ball technique and purposive selection (Miles & Huberman, 1994). A grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 2009) was used for the analysis of data. This involved drawing upon a set of procedures to generate inductively derived generalisations about the area of interest (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Issues relating to reliability and validity of data were carefully considered when conducting the study. Trustworthiness was addressed with the purpose of maintaining reliability and validity in the sense that these concepts are understood in qualitative research. Trustworthiness relates to the quality of an investigation and its results that make it noteworthy and 'ring true' to audiences (Schwandt, 1997). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), qualitative studies must satisfy the criteria set for trustworthiness. These are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. All of these were attended to when carrying out the study by adopting procedures advocated by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

The Research Results in Relation to San Carlos University

San Carlos University (pseudonym) is one of the oldest universities in Chile. It was founded in the late 19th century. One of the main aspects of the curriculum change that has been taking place here is entitled the 'college reform'. The associated change process was commenced in 2009. By 2017, the college programme had over 1,300 students. Not all students, however, are enrolled under this system, with some still studying under the old programme structure. Also, some people enrolled under the older curriculum model had, at the time the study was being carried out, transferred by choice to the new one.

Results Relating to the Context of Influences

The Perspectives of Participants Working at the Meso-Level

Under the influence of globalisation, higher education policies more and more are affected by international trends. Participants operating at the meso-level at San Carlos University identified a number of international influences on curriculum change. First, they pointed out that international organisations such as the OECD and the World Bank regularly drew attention to prestigious universities, including the University of Melbourne in Australia, and Columbia University and Harvard University in the Unites States, as role models.

A second international influence identified by participants working at the meso-level was international higher education accreditation. Indeed, participants working at this level judged that the new curriculum policy has been developed specifically to respond to challenges presented by the need for international accreditation in engineering and applied sciences. Associated with this were perspectives on the sort of graduate that is required to ensure employability beyond the confines of the country itself. This, it was argued, resulted in the embracement of a view that it is important to create international networks in the academic world in order to further the development of the Chilean economy.

Academics working at the meso-level also identified a third international influence operating to bring about a move towards having a liberal education model of curriculum for all undergraduates, namely, change in the concept of a 'university', its definition, and its role in society. On this, some academics working at the meso-level suggested that the Bologna process was particularly influential. It was this process, they claimed, that provided the spark leading to the curriculum changes adopted at San Carlos University.

In relation to national influences, academics working at the meso-level drew attention to the influence of the national government, changes in the demographic profile of students, and the influence of employers. In particular, they highlighted a view that the Ministry of Education in Chile has pressed for initiatives to be taken with regard to the curriculum. The Ministry, in turn, it was held, was influenced by changes occurring in the demographic profile of students. The belief expressed was that the Ministry was very much aware of the growth in the tertiary enrolments of students, many of whom were more politicised and had come from lower socio-economic backgrounds than their predecessors. Also, it was held, the Ministry felt that curriculum change was necessary in order to cater more appropriately for the growing number of female students at San Carlos University. This awareness, it was argued, was related to new pressures and feedback from employers seeking a more broadly and deeply educated workforce.

Academics working at the meso-level at San Carlos University also pointed to what they saw as local influences leading to the adoption of a liberal education model of curriculum at the undergraduate level, with professional preparation being offered at the postgraduate level. These influences included a positive memory of a previously-operating baccalaureate programme and of a 'general formation programme', which were along the lines of the new structure adopted. Equally influential, they held, was the positive experiences related by colleagues in relation to their studies in North American institutions under a liberal education model at undergraduate level, with professional preparation coming at the postgraduate level.

The Perspectives of Participants Working at the Micro-Level

Academics and other personnel working at the micro or classroom-level at San Carlos University also identified the influence of other higher education institutions throughout the world, and especially universities in the United States, as being significant in terms of providing models for the new curriculum changes. This, it was held, was not just because colleagues had experienced the liberal education model when studying overseas, but also because the University itself had established alliances with other universities around the world. What they witnessed on visits there prompted them to seek to model it at home.

Academics and other personnel working at the micro-level also identified what they considered to have been a local influence leading to the new curriculum initiatives. This, they said, was a dissatisfaction regarding the quality of the previous curriculum. In particular, they said, some had come to recognise that the nature of the general education provided under the previous curriculum was inadequate. They commented that they considered a general education to be necessary in order to broaden the learning experience so that graduates would be better equipped for work in the world. Consequently, there was also a certain push at the micro-level for change.

Results Relating the Context of Policy Text Production

The Perspectives of Participants Working at the Meso-Level

According to academics and other personnel working at the meso-level at San Carlos University, the current curriculum changes correspond with such international structures as the liberal arts curriculum model and the notion of receiving a college education before proceeding to professional studies. However, they also stated that these changes are such that traditional Chilean values in relation to the nature of a university education are being maintained due to a long-standing commitment to a liberal humanist ideology. The position expressed by academics and other personnel working at the meso-level, then, was that there has been an embracement of the new

curriculum as it is seen as a new way to preserve an old ideal, especially in relation to the development of students as persons. An additional attractive feature that was recognized by participants, they said, is a new desire for promoting inter-disciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. The new curriculum structures, they held, are seen as being particularly helpful in reaching this end.

Those working at the meso-level at San Carlos University also argued that the new curriculum structures have appealed because of the stress being placed within them on accountability. The fact that systems were being promoted that would result in certain programmes receiving their current status of having international accreditation was especially attractive, they said. It is for this reason, it was suggested, that a move towards ensuring that a competency-based curriculum design was adopted for each degree and course, gained approval of those working at this level.

Another reason yet again, according to participants working at the meso-level at San Carlos University as to why the new curriculum initiatives were accepted, is because the religious basis of the work of the University was not threatened. In fact, they said, acceptance was reinforced by the inclusion of spiritually-based units in the new curriculum. This, they said, also met with the approval of the parents of the majority of students.

The processes adopted in promoting the changes and bringing about their implementation were, in the view of those working at the meso-level, equally important influences at work at San Carlos University in ensuring they were accepted. In saying this, they were not oblivious to the fact that the process of gaining the approval of senior authority figures within the University for what was implemented was a top-down one. Rather, what was deemed valuable, they suggested, was that the process of designing degrees and units of work, including selecting specific content, was a bottom-up one. This was so because of a deliberate policy initiative, which led to a decentralised structure being put into place to assist in curriculum change. This meant, it was argued, that the members of each of the university's faculties and schools had to do much hard work, including engaging in many discussions and producing numerous reports. While those at the highest level of authority made the final decision on these, there was, in general, much satisfaction with the nature of those outcomes.

Nevertheless, some working at the meso-level did comment that they perceived there had been some resistance on the part of a few academics. These resistors, they held, were influenced by perceived threats to their individual interests and this led them to engaging in collective negative commentary. To this, it was added that some also expressed a concern that the new policies would have a negative impact on the quality of education at that University. In this connection, they pointed, in particular, to sufficient resources not being made available for the successful implementation of the new policies and that the outcome, as a result, would just be some minor, yet also negative, realignments of the existing curriculum. The general view, however, is that such voices had little influence, even though they proved to be irritating to many.

The Perspectives of Participants Working at the Micro-Level

Academics and other personnel working at the micro-level at San Carlos University also stated that one of the features of what was being advocated when the curriculum changes were being first mooted, and which was appealing to them and their peers, was that they were underpinned by an ideology promoting the importance of engaging in continuous improvement at their level. This, they argued, was consistent with their own core beliefs in relation to their work and of what should be expected of them. As they saw it, this is the best way for the University to proceed in order to ensure that its graduates continue to reach high standards. On this, they argued, they were also very comfortable in knowing that policy in this regard was driven in the first instance by the policy elite at the University working at the meso-level.

Results Relating the Context of Policy Enactment

The Perspectives of Participants Working at the Meso-Level

Academics and other personnel working at the meso-level at San Carlos University stated that the curriculum changes being enacted were having an impact, both positively and negatively, on staff, on students, and on the University more broadly. Specifically regarding the impact on staff, they held that the curriculum changes have changed the roles and functions of academics and others. This they see as having largely been a positive development, as most consider that what is taking place is both valuable and most effective.

Academics and other personnel working at the meso-level, as stated above, also identified some aspects of student life being affected as a result of the new curriculum policies and practices. In particular, they stated that the changes have had the positive benefit of extending the academic options available to students. This situation, they argued, is allowing students to perform better in teamwork and to work better in a multi-disciplinary fashion than was previously the case. Those working at this level also stated that they recognise heightened expectations amongst students regarding their own level of achievement. Furthermore, they argued, it has resulted in students having a more developed social conscience and a greater commitment to engaging with social justice issues than was the case with previous cohorts of students.

Staff members working at the meso-level also argued that the introduction of the new curriculum changes has meant that the University itself has a new and positive level of recognition and status both nationally and internationally. To this, they added that there has been a knock-on effect in so far as other universities in Chile are also benefiting from greater positive recognition than previously by their fellow institutions across the country, and also by universities overseas. To this they elaborated that graduates of San Carlos are seen no longer just as holders of a professional degree,

regardless of where they studied for it. Rather, the fact that they now specifically hold a San Carlos degree means that they have a major advantage in the workplace.

All of the perceived achievements are, in turn, perceived as being attributable not only to the value of the new curriculum model at San Carlos University, but also to the hard work in which participants operating at both the meso- and micro-levels in the institution engaged. There was also a belief amongst academics working at the meso-level that, as the years pass, graduates will find that they are well prepared to adapt to future changes, including those of a political nature nationally. The one thing they wish might now happen, they say, is that a small number of their colleagues who are still of a conservative disposition, will change their mindset.

The Perspective of Participants at the Micro-Level

Still in relation to the context of policy enactment, academics and other personnel working at the micro-level at San Carlos University perceived that the introduction of the new curriculum policies and practices has led to current students being more committed to their studies than were those in previous cohorts studying under the old model. They also perceived that they are more responsible individuals and that they were embracing wholeheartedly what is turning out to be a new scholarly tradition.

Conclusion

The background to this chapter is the emergence of a rapidly changing and highly competitive global knowledge society, where higher education is seen to be the driver of enhanced national and individual positioning. Associated with this development is the increasing number and variety of university stakeholders, spanning global to local levels, who are seeking to influence what is taught, how it is taught and how it is assessed. This has led to developments in university curriculum policies and practices of various kinds. One such set of changes relates to some universities adopting a liberal education model of curriculum at the undergraduate level, with professional preparation being offered at the postgraduate level. A set of universities in Chile has followed this trend.

Cognisance of the latter situation provided the stimulus for engaging in the study reported in this chapter, which aimed at generating an understanding of contemporary curriculum policy trends at San Carlos University in Chile. It is hoped that the results presented may now encourage others to map out a broader research agenda in the field, and not just in relation to universities in Chile, but internationally. This necessitates that attention be paid to geographical dimensions which span global individual-university levels, as well as historical dimensions. To do so would result in a strong foundation for the development of theory about curriculum policy transformations in a global knowledge era.

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Chapter Six: Quality Assurance in Higher Education in Developing Countries: Evidence from Ghana

Patrick Swanzy and Anthony Potts

Introduction

Quality assurance was at the heart of many efforts toward revitalizing higher education in Africa in the last decades of the 20th century. This did not occur in a vacuum. Rather, it was linked to such factors that have plagued global higher education systems as mass participation and diversification, globalization and internationalization, privatization, the decline of state funding, the development of new technologies, and the rise of the knowledge economy (Bigalke & Neubauer, 2009; Ginkel & Dias, 2007). Also, World Bank advice to African governments in the 1980s to invest more in primary and secondary school education than in higher education, coupled with economic recessions faced by countries in the region, resulted in limited resource provision to African higher education institutions (HEIs). This, in turn, had a negative impact on the higher education sector (Psacharopoulos, 1985).

The developments noted above seem to have heightened quality concerns in Africa, necessitating the institutionalisation of quality assurance as a way to assure quality in higher education. They embraced the core higher education activities of teaching and learning, research, management and community service (Swanzy, 2015). This was so, notwithstanding the fact that higher education institutions already had their own internal mechanisms for enhancing quality (Materu, 2007).

Recent developments in Africa point, in particular, to an increasing focus on using quality assurance as an important mechanism to make African higher education more efficient and competitive than previously (Kigotho, 2013; Ansah, 2015). The African

Union (AU) has introduced several initiatives. It has set up the Association of African Universities (AAU) to promote quality and excellence in Africa's higher education systems (Oyewole, 2012). It has also initiated the African Higher Education Harmonization Strategy to ensure comparability of qualifications amongst the African States. In 2011, the Tuning Africa Pilot Project was established to promote the implementation of a harmonization strategy and contribute to the development of a qualifications framework in five subject areas, in collaboration with nearly 60 African universities, the Association of African Universities, and other higher education partners. Furthermore, the African Quality Rating Mechanism encourages higher education institutions to assess their performance on a voluntary basis against a set of established criteria.

Figure 6.1. Political map of Africa, highlighting Ghana.

Quality assurance is also promoted at the sub-regional level. For example, the African and Malagasy Council for Higher Education (CAMES), the South African Quality Assurance Network (SAQAN), the East African Quality Assurance Network (EAQAN), and the Inter-University Council for East Africa (IUCEA) have all been established to coordinate and enhance the quality of higher education systems in various sub-regions in Africa (Materu, 2007; Alabi & Mba, 2012).

Concern for quality assurance is also high at the state level in Africa (Swanzy & Potts, 2017). For example, by 2012 more than 21 African countries had established national quality assurance agencies to oversee their higher education systems and a dozen other countries were at relatively advanced stages in moving in this direction (Alabi & Mba, 2012). Indeed, some African countries have made great strides on the matter, but accounts of what has been achieved are scarce in the quality assurance literature. One such country is Ghana. The remainder of this chapter focusses on Ghana's quality assurance landscape.

The Ghana Context

Ghana is a republic located on the west coast of Africa. It is bordered to the west by the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, to the east by the Republic of Togo, to the north by the Republic of Burkina Faso and to the south by the Gulf of Guinea. Ghana gained independence from Britain on 6 March 1957 and became a republic on 1 July 1960. The official language for school instruction is English. Ghana's population is nearly 26 million, comprising 51.3 per cent females and 48.7 per cent males. Life expectancy in Ghana is estimated as being at 61 years of age and adult literacy rate is 74.1 per cent (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Around 28 per cent of Ghanaians live below the poverty line, earning less than US$ 1.25 a day (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

Ghana is rich in such natural resources as oil, gas, gold, diamonds, manganese ore, limestone, silica sand and bauxite. The country is also endowed with great agricultural potential, including forests and significant tracts of savannah land with high agricultural value but these are not being fully exploited (Africa Infrastructure Country Diagnostic, 2010). Oil, gold and cocoa are Ghana's main export commodities. Its economy is the second largest in West Africa after Nigeria (African Development Bank, 2012).

The structure of Ghana's economy is made up as follows: services 50.2 per cent industry 29.2 per cent and agriculture 20.6 per cent (Government of Ghana, 2014). Also, the agricultural sector provides employment for more than 60 per cent of the country's total workforce (Government of Ghana, 2014). Ghana is an emerging economy and is currently classified by the World Bank as being a lower middle level income country. The vision is to attain fully-fledged middle income status by the year 2020 (Government of Ghana, 2013). Ghana wants to achieve this through manufacturing, modernised agriculture and sustainable exploitation of its natural resources, particularly minerals, oil and gas (Government of Ghana, 2013).

However, Ghana's current economy appears gloomy. The nation faces key challenges in its development. It suffers from a huge infrastructure deficit (Africa Infrastructure Country Diagnostic, 2010). This relates to electricity, water, roads, communication and transport. The annual infrastructure funding gap is about US$0.4 billion per year. Also, there is fiscal indiscipline on the part of the government (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015).

The country's currency (the Ghana cedi) is weak and continues to struggle against such major foreign currencies such as the US dollar, the pound sterling and the euro. The Ghana cedi depreciated 14.15 per cent and 31.2 per cent in 2013 and 2014 respectively, against these major currencies (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015). Indeed, Ghana's public debt stock as a percentage of GDP currently stands at 60.8 per cent (Government of Ghana, 2014), highlighting the nation's indebtedness. Furthermore, over reliance on revenues from the export of primary commodities makes its economy vulnerable to external market shocks. One consequence is that Ghana's quest to sustain its economic growth and seek competitive advantage in the globalised

knowledge economy requires her higher education institutions to graduate a highly skilled and knowledgeable workforce.

Ghana's Higher Education Landscape

Ghana's higher education sector was transformed drastically after 1992. Prior to then, the country's higher education sector comprised only three public universities (University of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and University of Cape Coast). However, an education reform initiated by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), a military government led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, led to the expansion of the sector. This was achieved through regrouping, rationalisation and upgrading of existing post-secondary school institutions to tertiary status and the establishment of new ones (University Rationalisation Committee, 1988).

Currently, Ghana's higher education sector includes universities and non-universities. The universities are a mix of public, private, national and international institutions, whilst the non-university sector includes polytechnics, nurse training colleges, colleges of education and several national or international specialized colleges (National Accreditation Board, 2016).

The higher education landscape of Ghana is made up of nine public universities, seven quasi-public institutions, eight technical universities, two polytechnics, 30 colleges of nursing, 42 colleges of education, and 65 private tertiary institutions (National Accreditation Board, 2016). The universities both public and technical are expected to offer academic programmes at bachelors, masters and PhD levels. The public universities offer academic programmes which are very theoretically oriented whilst the academic programmes of the technical universities have a strong practical component and are expected to offer vocational and technical graduates with a logical avenue for academic and professional progression (National Council for Tertiary Education, 2014). The non-university institutions, instead, offer sub-degree professional higher education certificates and diplomas (Gondwe & Walenkamp, 2011).

Enrolment in Ghanaian higher education has increased steadily in the last decades. Enrolment increased from below 9,997 in 1992 to more than 132,000 in 2010, representing an increase of 1,300 per cent (Bailey *et al.,* 2011). The total number of students enrolled in the sector as of 2015 stood at 396,264. Of these, 52.94 per cent were enrolled in public universities, 17.69 per cent in private universities, 12.61 per cent in polytechnics, 11.22 per cent in colleges of education, 3.03 per cent in colleges of nursing, 2.32 per cent in quasi-public universities and 0.19 per cent in colleges of agriculture (National Accreditation Board, 2016). Despite this growth in student numbers, higher education participation rates in Ghana stand at 16.23 per cent (Times Higher Education, 2017), less than the global average of 26 per cent. Gender

disparities also exist in the Ghanaian higher education sector. The proportion of female students is lower than that of males across all levels of higher education in Ghana, with the exception of colleges of nursing, where 75.3 per cent of the students are females (Government of Ghana, 2013).

Ghana requires her higher education sector to achieve a ratio of 60:40 between the sciences and the humanities to facilitate her development agenda. Yet, enrolments are skewed towards the humanities. For example, the science to arts/humanities ratio was 36:64 in 2001-02, 35:65 in 2002-03, 38:62 in 2007-08, 40:60 in 2010-11 and 33:67 in 2011-12 within public universities (National Council for Tertiary Education, 2012).

Higher education in Ghana is mainly funded by the government. Education expenditure as a percentage of total government expenditure is 23.2 per cent (Ministry of Education, 2012). Out of this, 21.6 per cent is allocated to the higher education sector (Ministry of Education, 2012). This falls short of the funds required by higher education institutions (Materu, 2007). The government of Ghana established the Ghana Education Trust (GET) Fund to provide additional funds for the development of physical and academic infrastructure at all levels of education (Bailey, Cloete, & Pillay, 2011). It is funded through value-added tax. Since its establishment, the fund has provided additional financial resources for major infrastructure developments. It also finances research and faculty development in the public higher education sector (Bailey *et al*., 2011). Nevertheless, in 2007 it was noted that public investment in Ghana's higher education sector was not able to keep pace with enrolments (Materu, 2007), thus heightening quality concerns.

History of Quality Assurance in Higher Education in Ghana

Quality assurance in Ghanaian higher education dates back to the pre-independence era when the first university, the University College of the Gold Coast, now the University of Ghana, was established in 1948 and was affiliated to the University of London (Girdwood, 1999). Immediately, it was subjected to the quality control mechanisms of the University of London, including through the use of external examiners (Materu, 2007). However, this relationship was severed when Ghana gained independence in 1957.

In 1961, four years after national independence, the University of Ghana was granted powers to award its own degrees (Girdwood, 1999). As other early post-independence Ghanaian universities such as Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and the University of Cape Coast were established in 1961 and 1962 respectively, they were subjected to similar quality assurance mechanisms (Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, 2015; University of Cape Coast, 2015). After the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and the University of the Cape Coast had gained full-fledged university status, they joined the

University of Ghana as mentors of other newly established higher education institutions. Currently, Ghana's public universities are also deeply involved in enhancing the quality of education delivered by non-chartered Ghanaian higher education institutions (National Accreditation Board 2016).

Factors Influencing Contemporary Quality Assurance in Higher Education in Ghana

The concern for quality higher education in Ghana just like other countries in the world has not occurred in a vacuum but is linked to several factors such as the expansion of Ghana's higher education sector, the decline in state funding, private participation, globalisation and the introduction of new technologies (Bigalke & Neubauer, 2009; Mohamedbai, 2008). These factors have raised the stakes of quality assurance in Ghana's higher education (Oyewole, 2012). Detail explanations of these factors are now provided in the following sections.

Expansion of Higher Education

Ghana's recognition of the competitive advantage a highly educated workforce offers countries in the emerging knowledge economy led to the initiation of higher education reform in 1987 (University Rationalisation Committee, 1988). This development activated demand for higher education. To be able to meet the growing need, Ghana expanded her higher education sector to include such non-university institutions as polytechnics and colleges. In addition to the traditional on-campus provision, programmes are now offered through distance and online modes (Mohamedbai, 2008; Sanyal & Martin, 2007). Variations in academic programmes cover the following: full-time and part-time learning; module-based curricula; competence-oriented, student-centred, non-degree studies; and continuing education (Schuetze & Slowey, 2002). This led to an increase in the enrolment of traditional and non-traditional learners. For example, enrolment surged from 9,997 in 1992 to more than 132,000 in 2010 (Bailey et al., 2011) and to 396,264 in 2015 (National Accreditation Board, 2016). Yet, Ghana's higher education participation rate hovers only at around 16.23 per cent (Times Higher Education, 2017), far lower than the global average of 26 per cent.

For some, a shift to mass higher education is central to higher education's role in Ghana's socio-economic development (Schuetze & Slowey, 2002). Yet for others, this development raises quality concerns and has led to the development of an argument that 'more means worse' (Lomas, 2001). As a result, Ghana established quality assurance agencies to regulate its higher education sector (Government of Ghana, 1992, 1994b, 2007). Additionally, various HEIs established internal quality assurance schemes to ensure continuous improvement in their academic programmes and to

mitigate the negative effects that large student numbers could have on quality education provision (Materu, 2007).

Decline in State Funding

As with global trends, funds allocated to higher education by the government of Ghana declined significantly in the past decade (Teferra, 2013). This has been associated with increasing concern for efficiency in the higher education sector (Mok, 2005), competing public needs (health, basic education, pension, infrastructure) (Johnstone, 2006; Ngolovoi, 2008), and strain placed on state resources by the expansion of higher education. Ghana's expenditure per student dropped sharply from US$6800 in 1980 to US$1200 in 2002 (Duwiejua & Newman, 2014). Ghana's education expenditure as a percentage of total government expenditure fell from 40 per cent in the early 2000s to 23.2 per cent in 2012 (Ministry of Education, 2012). Out of this 23.2 per cent, 21.6 per cent is allocated to the higher education sector (Ministry of Education, 2012). Nonetheless, this falls short of the funds required by Ghanaian higher education institutions. For instance, the funding gap in higher education over the last five years has been the following: 39.7 per cent in 2011, 79 per cent in 2012, 49.2 per cent in 2013, 46.6 per cent in 2014 and 41 per cent in 2015 (Newman & Duwiejua, 2015). The funding gap of 79 per cent indicated for 2012 was unusual and came about as a result of HEIs excessive demands for infrastructure maintenance provision in that year (Newman & Duwiejua, 2015).

The shortfall in funding in the sector is systemic even in South Africa, where major higher education growth and transformation has taken place (Teferra, 2013). Hence, HEIs are challenged to seek new revenue streams to put them on a sustainable fiscal path. Funding from student fees (especially distance education programmes), research grants, private loan schemes, university income generating programmes, and philanthropic support, represent a substantial part of Ghana's HEI budgets (Santiago, Tremblay, Basri, & Arnal, 2008). This development raised concerns amongst people in Ghana, with some arguing that it may reduce the State's regulatory influence and increase the autonomy of HEIs (Uvalić-Trumbić, 2007).

Digital Technologies

Even though Ghana has weak Information Communication and Technology (ICT) infrastructure, the adoption of digital technologies has affected the mode of HE delivery and pedagogy, and has facilitated collaboration between Ghanaian HEIs locally and internationally. Digital technologies seem to have offered alternatives to the traditional face to-face models of education by facilitating the acquisition of knowledge and skills which were hitherto confined to specific physical locations (UNESCO, 2005).

Currently some HEI's are able to offer online learning opportunities to students, thus increasing higher education access and diversity of the student population (Rovai, & Donwney, 2010). Teachers can now support their pedagogical approaches with computers, iPads and smart boards. Through interactive media, they are able to incorporate images, graphics, videos, animations and audio elements into their lessons (UNESCO, 2005). The availability of digital assessment tools has also enabled quick feedback to be provided on student progress.

Digital technology has also driven collaboration between HEIs. The internet has offered academic staff and students the opportunity to draw on a wide range of materials in a variety of formats (Liaw *et al*., 2007). Library resources are no longer confined geographically (UNESCO, 2005). Academic staff and students in some HEIs can gain access to their own institutions' library collections remotely. Yet, digital technology has also produced several challenges to higher education practitioners. Key amongst them is facilitation of fraudulent practices (Hallak & Poisson, 2007). These and many other concerns associated with the impact that digital technologies can have on the quality of higher education might have triggered the development of quality assurance processes to mitigate the perceived negative effects.

Globalisation

Globalisation has influenced Ghana's higher education system in various ways. It has helped streamlined higher education policies in some areas, namely access, curricula, research, funding, the use of information and communication technology and autonomy for faculties and institutions (Fägerlind & Strömqvist, 2004). Globalisation has also enhanced the mobility of students and academics. For example, foreign students studying in public and private HEIs in Ghana amount to 2785 and 12274, constituting 1 per cent and 18 per cent of the total student population respectively.

Globalisation also has led to new forms of education provision labelled as transnational or cross-border education in Ghana (UNESCO, 2004). Many students are enrolled in branch campuses of universities located in the global north and in twinning programmes. Some HEIs also collaborate with other institutions beyond their physical territorial boundaries to undertake scientific research projects. Nevertheless, Ghana seems to be at a significant disadvantage in the new globalized academic system. For example, the open door policy associated with globalisation has made Ghana function as an 'education dumping market' for developed countries (Prasad, 2009). Though this has had some positive effects, such as increased access and opportunities, transfer of knowledge, and the adoption of quality standards used by the HEIs in advanced countries, it has also increased the importation of 'degree mills' or poor quality higher education (Hallak & Poisson, 2007). This has ignited debate on the ability of Ghana to

guarantee quality higher education in the context of globalization where cross-border provision limits the regulatory capacity of the receiving country (UNESCO, 2004).

Quality Assurance Regulators

Ghana's higher education sector encompasses numerous regulatory agencies. These are the National Council for Higher Education (NCTE), the National Accreditation Board (NAB), the National Board for Professional and Technician Examination (NABPTEX), National Teaching Council (NTC), and Professional Associations.

NCTE is the lead regulator in Ghana's higher education sector. It derives its mandate from the NCTE ACT 1993 (ACT 454). Currently, the Act is being reviewed to reflect current trends in higher education (National Council for Tertiary Education, 2016). The agency advises the government of Ghana on policies relating to higher education and supervises the administration of higher education institutions. Its mandate also includes ensuring that the academic operations of higher education institutions are financially sustainable, serve the needs of the labour market, and support national development goals (National Council for Tertiary Education, 2016). In addition, NCTE seeks to prevent duplication of effort at both the system and institutional levels.

NCTE's approval of new academic programmes of HEIs precedes the processes leading to programme accreditation, an exercise which is within the remit of the National Accreditation Board (National Council for Tertiary Education, 2016). Although NCTE sets the norms and standards for Ghana's higher education sector, it only monitors their implementation through analysing data (Bailey, 2014). Also, even the performance of this function is limited, given NCTE's challenges regarding data availability and capacity (Bailey, 2014).

NAB is Ghana's main quality assurance regulator. It was established by the Government of Ghana in 1993 with the enactment of PNDCL 317, 1993. This legislation was later replaced by the National Accreditation Board Act, 2007, Act 744 (Government of Ghana, 2007). NAB's role includes, but is not limited to the following:

- Accrediting both public and private HEIs with regard to the contents and standards of their programmes.
- Undertaking academic audits of HEIs
- Determining, in consultation with the appropriate institution or body, the programme and requirements for the proper operation of that institution and the maintenance of acceptable levels of academic or professional standards;
- Determining the equivalences of diplomas, certificates and other qualifications awarded by institutions in Ghana or elsewhere.

- Publishing as it considers appropriate the list of accredited public and private institutions at the beginning of each calendar year.
- Advising the President of Ghana on the grant of a Charter to a private tertiary institution (Government of Ghana, 2007).

NAB has contributed significantly to the ways HEIs in Ghana manage the quality of their academic programmes, especially private higher education institutions which must comply with the requirements of NAB for their continued survival (Utuka, 2011). This notwithstanding, the National Accreditation Board (NAB) has come under an immense public scrutiny over its failure to perform its gatekeeping role effectively in safeguarding the credibility of educational 'products' sold to the Ghanaian public (Tsikata & Dotse, 2017).

The National Board for Professional and Technician Examinations (NABPTEX) was specifically set up to monitor the academic activities of polytechnics. However, with the delivery of academic programmes previously offered by polytechnics by other HEIs, NABPTEX now regulates these also. NABPTEX is backed by an Act of Parliament (Act 492 of 1994) (Government of Ghana, 1994b). It is responsible for curriculum enrichment, conduct of examinations and the award of Higher National Diplomas (HND). NABPTEX's current mandate covers only HND programmes, and not degree programmes offered by the polytechnics. The passage of the Technical Universities Act, Act 992 (Government of Ghana, 2016) which converted polytechnics to Technical Universities seems to threaten the relevance of NABPTEX in polytechnic education in Ghana.

The National Teaching Council (NTC) is the newest regulator in Ghana charged with improving teacher quality. It derives its authority from the Education Act 2008, Act 778 (Government of Ghana, 2008). NTC is yet to start operating fully, but it will be responsible for:

- co-ordinating of teacher education programmes in the country;
- developing and regulating standards for the preparation of professional development for teachers;
- ensuring HEIs responsible for training teachers adhere to the prescribed standards
- licensing and certification of teachers
- renewal of the teacher licence
- revocation of the teacher licence
- reviewing periodically professional practice and ethical standards (Government of Ghana, 2008).

NTC is currently receiving assistance from a Transforming Teacher Education and Learning (T'TEL) project supported by the UKAid to enable it start operating

(Transforming Teacher Education and Learning, 2018). It is hoped NTC's role will help improve teacher quality and the attainment of the highest professional standards for teachers in Ghana. However, some stakeholders of education see NTC as another bureaucratic entity and have speculated on its demise. NTC preparatory activities seem to be facing resistance from such stakeholders as the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) and the Teacher Trainee Association of Ghana (TTAG) (Opoku, 2017). Their members fear that the process for licence acquisition will be expensive and become fraught with corruption over time. These, coupled with the availability of only sketchy data on teachers, seem to be slowing down the smooth take-off of NTC.

Professional Associations are also involved in the enactment of quality assurance in the Ghanaian higher education sector. Examples are the Ghana Medical and Dental Council (2017), the Nurses and Midwifery Council of Ghana (2017), the General Legal Council (2017), and the Ghana Pharmacy Council (2017). They develop standards that guide their professions and maintain a firm and strong directive grip over HEIs who offer academic programmes related to their work (Ballim, Mabizela, & Mubangizi, 2014). They accredit study programmes, participate in accreditation panels set up by NAB, and participate in curriculum review exercises of HEIs (Ansah, 2016). Professional associations seem to have helped standardise the educational experiences that HEIs offer students, but they have also been criticized for duplicating the work of the NAB. Others have also been condemned for their minimal involvement in quality assurance (Ballim *et al*., 2014).

Quality Assurance Strategies of Regulators

Quality assurance activities in higher education involve the NCTE, NAB, NABPTEX, NTC, and professional associations, and the use of mechanisms by HEIs to complement the initiatives of these external regulators. In order to enhance the quality of education delivered by HEIs, the external regulators use various strategies. These include accreditation, audit, affiliation and moderation.

Accreditation is the main external quality assurance strategy used by NAB and professional bodies. These bodies evaluate a HEI as a whole or evaluate a specific academic programme against pre-determined criteria or standards (Vlãsceanu, Grünberg, & Pârlea, 2007). An HEI deemed to have met satisfactory standards is issued a specific letter or certificate indicating its accreditation status and the period for which the status is valid (Vlãsceanu *et al*., 2007). The certificate also specifies the various programmes and the levels at which they should be offered by the HEI. Accreditation issued by the NAB and professional bodies is not transferable and may be withdrawn if required conditions are not met. A non-chartered institution (in most cases university colleges) seeking accreditation from the NAB needs to establish proof

of affiliation with a public university before its application is considered by the NAB. Accreditation processes include self-assessments, document analysis, on-site inspection by independent experts, and a thorough system of assessment (Hayward, 2006). Acquiring accreditation is of utmost importance to HEIs because it enhances their legitimacy (Santiago *et al*., 2008) and facilitates their acceptance by Ghanaians and beyond. This has helped to safeguard the quality of education offered by Ghanaian HEIs. However, the strategy has been criticized for its focus on the achievement of minimum standards and for impeding innovation with regard to the internal quality assurance processes used in HEIs.

The NAB, through quality audits, determines whether a HEI has the capacity to assure the quality of its academic programmes and the services that support them (Kastelliz, Kohler, & Strassnig, 2014). Like accreditation, a quality audit is performed by independent experts hired by the NAB. Quality audit processes by the NAB include the following stages: preparatory phase, self-report, peer review/ site visit, peer report, decision/publication of the report and follow-up. Quality audit procedures by the NAB recognise institutional diversity by auditing HEIs and programmes against their own mission and objectives (Chalmers, Lee, & Walker, 2008). Yet, the relevance of the quality audit espoused by NAB has been questioned by stakeholders of Ghanaian higher education. The reason for this is that it is deemed to place emphasis on institutional processes, with an implicit assumption that if the auditee has implemented acceptable quality assurance arrangements, satisfactory outcomes will ensue (Chalmers *et al*., 2008).

To enhance the quality of education delivered in university colleges, NAB outsources its quality safeguard mandate to Ghanaian public universities through a strategy called affiliation. This requires non-chartered HEIs to be mentored by public universities for at least 10 years (Ansah, Swanzy, & Nudzor, 2017). Affiliation is meant to assist non-chartered HEIs to build their quality assurance systems as they seek a chartered status. NAB uses an instrument known as an 'affiliation barometer' to check the effectiveness of an affiliation relationship between a mentor and mentee institution. Affiliation seems to have helped enhance quality education delivery in university colleges but its relevance has been questioned by many. Affiliation has been criticized for being too expensive (Yankah, 2014) and for stalling innovation. Additionally, because of the unlimited number of university colleges that public universities can mentor, some public universities appear to be operating beyond their capacity.

Moderation and certification are the key strategies of NABPTEX (Government of Ghana, 1994a). The agency uses moderation procedures to enhance the assessment practices of Ghanaian polytechnics. In so doing, NABPTEX requires polytechnics to submit questions and marking schemes for end-of-semester examinations of HND programmes for moderation before they are administered to students. NABPTEX also reviews the marks awarded to final year polytechnic students by sampling their marked-answer booklets and giving them to independent examiners to re-mark.

NABPTEX does this to enhance the accuracy, consistency and fairness of assessments in polytechnics. Though polytechnics offer the HND programmes, certificates of these programmes are issued by NAPTEX. Moderation has helped raised the standards of polytechnic education, but the strategy has also been condemned as it is perceived to be 'all about marking'.

Quality Assurance Strategies of HEIs

HEIs, and especially public universities, have their own internal quality assurance schemes in place to assist them in achieving the quality they desire. Key amongst them is the selection of students and staff through transparent and merit-based recruitment processes (Swanzy & Potts, 2017). Vacant staff positions are overseen by a board known as an Appointment and Promotions Board. This Board is chaired by the head (Vice Chancellor, President, Rector, or Principal) of the particular HEI and is composed of other senior academic staff members. The board normally shortlists and conduct interviews for applicants whose qualifications and experience are relevant to the academic programmes they offer. This approach assists HEIs to recruit qualified staff and also to offer equal opportunities to applicants (Swanzy & Potts, 2017). Similarly, student admissions are facilitated by a Joint Admission Committee composed of senior administrative and academic staff. They take decisions on applicants based on their West Africa Secondary School Examination (WASSCE) results. This allows them to give admission to well-qualified students, but HEIs can also activate their affirmative action schemes to enable less qualified students to gain access (Opoku-Agyeman, 2013).

A common practice amongst most HEIs is course evaluation. HEIs obtain feedback from students on courses in which they participate. This is carried out at the end of teaching and learning activities of the course, usually before final examinations are taken. The course evaluation serves three evaluative purposes, namely, formative, summative and informative (Spencer & Schmelkin, 2002).

In their quest to maintain their standards, HEIs use external examiners to moderate examination questions, and marking schemes, and also to assess postgraduate research projects. Marks and grades awarded to students are sometimes moderated at the department level before they are published. This helps to ensure that an assessment outcome is valid, fair and reliable, and that marking criteria have been applied consistently (Bloxham, 2009).

Formal appraisal is another strategy used by some HEIs to enhance quality. These HEIs give questionnaires to students to evaluate their perceptions of staff job knowledge and of personal behaviours, measured against established standards (Swanzy & Potts, 2017). HEIs implemented this to identify academic staff members who fall short of their standards, but few then provide these staff with additional

training. Also, formal appraisal is over-used in HEIs and its outcomes are sometimes used maliciously by senior academics against junior staff.

HEIs use tracer studies to make their academic programmes relevant to Ghanaian society. They check on their graduates to determine the connection between the knowledge and skills they acquired during their training and the demands of the labour market. The results of the studies are taken into consideration during academic programme review (Swanzy & Potts, 2017). However, because tracer studies require huge financial commitment, this makes them a preserve of the well-resourced HEIs.

Barriers to Quality Assurance

Ghana is paying considerable attention to quality higher education and is increasingly recognizing the need for effective quality assurance mechanisms (Materu, 2007). However, this effort is being hampered by numerous factors. First, the cost involved in financing quality assurance militates against its effective implementation in the country. Apart from the cost HEIs by setting up a quality assurance directorate and manage their own internal quality assurance mechanisms, additional cost is incurred through their dealings with NAB.

HEIs which bear the status of university colleges also incur extra cost through their affiliation relationship with public universities. According to Alabi (2017), affiliation fees range from US$10,000 to US$15,000 as a one-off fee in addition to US$2,000 to US$5,000 that has to be paid annually for each programme run in university colleges. Additionally, an admission fee of US$15 per student is levied by a mentoring institution to be paid by an affiliate university college on behalf of each student (Yankah, 2014). Yankah describes the affiliation system in the country as a grand exploitation scheme designed to 'rip-off' nascent HEIs. Yankah and Alabi have therefore called for the abolition of affiliation as a quality assurance strategy.

A lack of experts in quality assurance in HEIs and the agencies mandated to regulate the quality of HEIs slows down quality improvement and accountability initiatives in Ghana (Materu, 2007). Currently, most of the heads of the quality assurance directorates in HEIs are senior faculty members with no formal qualifications in quality assurance. The same can be said about staff working at NAB, NABPTEX, NCTE and the professional bodies. Materu (2007) opines that effective implementation of quality assurance hinges on the availability of staff knowledgeable in the phenomenon. However, no HEI in Ghana offers formal academic programmes in quality assurance.

Policy copying is another factor that poses a threat to quality assurance at the State and institutional levels (Philips & Ochs, 2003). Some policies and practices related to accreditation, audit, moderation, certification and licensing espoused by Ghana's quality assurance regulators seem to exhibit traces of approaches followed by quality

assurance agencies in countries in the North. Similarly, policy copying is common with HEIs in Ghana. Some HEIs copy the policies and practices of other institutions they perceive to be successful either in Ghana or overseas. In most cases, the practice is pursued coercively through affiliation relationships that exist between mentoring and mentee institutions. Mentoring institutions compel mentee institutions to adopt their quality assurance policies and practices in order for them to be their affiliates and to sustain the affiliation relationship. The inability of both state agencies and HEIs to replicate the context in which these policies and practices are used hinders effective implementation of quality assurance in Ghana's higher education systems (Westernheijden, Stensaker, & Rosa, 2007).

Another challenge to external quality assurance implementation is the number of HEIs that the NAB has to supervise. Currently, the NAB has a low staff capacity but regulates over 120 HEIs. This seems to be putting pressure on the NAB, affecting its monitoring. By outsourcing its quality assurance mandate to public institutions through affiliation, the NAB could have disassociated itself with non-chartered HEIs, but it still deals with them. Similarly, public universities who serve as mentors are overstretched. They have no ceiling on the number of institutions they can mentor. For example, some mentoring institutions have over 30 affiliates. This seems to prevent the mentoring institutions from effectively performing their role as quality assurance gatekeepers.

Role duplication by quality assurance regulators is also another challenge to quality assurance. An HEI might have to deal with the NCTE, the NAB, the NABPTEX, professional bodies and mentor institutions. This sometimes raises conflicting demands and increases the cost of quality assurance. In HEIs, quality assurance practices appear to over over-concentrate on such programme areas as teaching and learning, curriculum design, research, student admission, staff recruitment, staff development, and student support services (Ansah *et al*., 2017). Even under programme areas, teaching and learning appear to take centre stage.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed description of Ghana's quality assurance landscape, highlighting the following: African initiatives with regard to quality assurance development, the composition of Ghana's higher education, when quality assurance was first introduced in the Ghanaian higher education system, factors influencing contemporary quality assurance, quality assurance regulators and their strategies, quality assurance strategies adopted by HEIs, and barriers to quality assurance. It is clear that the need for effective quality assurance is gaining ground in Africa at the continent, sub-regional and state levels.

Quality assurance in Ghana was first introduced during the colonial era. However, the current quality assurance initiatives have been triggered by the expansion of

Ghana's higher education sector, a decline in state funding, globalisation and the introduction of digital technologies. As result Ghana has placed its higher education system under the NAB, the NABPTEX, the NCTE, and the NTC. These agencies use such strategies as accreditation, audit, affiliation, licensing, certification and moderation to enhance the quality of higher education provision. HEIs have also established their own mechanisms to complement the initiatives of the external regulators. This suggests that Ghana has a robust quality assurance system similar to her peers in the Global North. However, they are being hampered by the cost of implementation, by a shortage of quality assurance experts, by role duplication on the part of regulators, by policy copying, and by the number of HEIs being supervised by the regulators.

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Chapter Seven: Charting Primary School Leadership in Indonesia: From Centralisation to Decentralisation

Dwi Esti Andriani, Simon Clarke and Tom O'Donoghue

Introduction

This chapter reports a study which was aimed at generating an understanding of leadership at the primary school level in Indonesia, a post-colonial and developing country, where the education system was highly centralised for many years before becoming decentralised. The particular focus is on the historical background to primary school leadership, recent developments occurring in primary school leadership, and issues of current concern to primary school leaders. The study was guided by the theoretical underpinnings of interpretivism. It employed qualitative methods of data collection including semi-structured interviews with school leaders, document analyses and unstructured non-participant observations. The data were analysed using grounded theory methods of data analysis, namely, open coding and analytic induction. Each of the three aspects of the study is now considered.

The Historical Background to Primary School Leadership in Indonesia from 1945 to 1998

The investigation of the historical background to primary school leadership in Indonesia was based on the assumption that the past has regularly influenced the present in various ways, including through influencing people's behaviour. It was recognised that it is not possible to comprehend current school leadership in Indonesia, broadly, without a clear knowledge of how it has evolved over time. Thus, the history of

education generally in Indonesia, and especially of primary school leadership, with reference specifically to the two periods of rule: the 'old order era', from 1945 to 1966, and the 'new order era, from 1967 to 1998, is considered. The commentary on this is divided into two periods because national conditions significantly changed from 1967.

From 1945 to 1966, the political situation of Indonesia was fragile. Despite the proclamation of independence on 17 August 1945, a war of independence against the Dutch was still being waged until 1950 (Djojonegoro, 1997). Also, after gaining full independence, many conflicts, rebellions, and separatist movements occurred and threatened national unity. In order to tackle the chaotic situation, the government adopted a 'guided democracy' approach that centralised power in the hands of the president (Djojonegoro, 1997; Rifa'i, 2011).

Despite the centralisation approach being adopted, the political situation in Indonesia remained unstable. There was much internal turmoil occurring within the country. The most severe rebellion took place in 1965, led by the Indonesian Communist Party (Djojonegoro, 1997; Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2011). Concurrently, the economic situation of Indonesia was weak. The country inherited heavy financial debts from the Dutch colonial state. In addition, agriculture and mineral exports were still controlled mostly by the Dutch and by the Chinese. The State also lacked an efficient tax-levying capacity, resulting in constant fiscal instability (Kimura, 2013).

The fragile national condition significantly influenced the developments of the national education system during this period. In particular, the national curriculum was established to replace the colonial curriculum. The main function of the curriculum was to facilitate the promotion of education for the purpose of cultivating patriotism and nationalism as a response to the weak political situation (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2011). Education was not yet promoted as a means to develop high quality human resources to support economic development. The priority of developments in education was devoted to expansion, with little attention being placed on education quality (Djojonegoro, 1997). Also, developments in education did not take place in a systematic way and not everything proposed was implemented as expected. As a result, national developments in education made slow progress during this period (Djojonegoro, 1997; Rifa'i, 2011).

From 1967 to 1998, the political situation was stabilised. In 1965, Mayor General Soeharto successfully tackled the most severe rebellion, known as the Movement of 30 September/Indonesia Communist Party. Soon after this, Soeharto replaced Soekarno as the President of the Republic of Indonesia (Djojonegoro, 1997). He accelerated the centralisation of governance in order to maintain political stability. This was considered to be necessary to ensure the establishment of a base of economic development and to build national unity (Kimura, 2013; Tilaar, 2004). Soeharto centralised authority in the military, the bureaucracy, the economy, and even in culture (Kimura, 2013). As a result,

Indonesia became a highly centralised and bureaucratic country for a long period, as did the national education system.

The stable political condition enabled systematic planning and implementation of national development during this period. The government instigated the five-year development programmes, namely REPELITA, starting in 1969 (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2011). The emphasis was on economic development by targeting the establishment of a balanced economic structure of industry and agriculture (Republik Indonesia, 1973). For this, it was necessary to plan in order to create skilled Indonesians who would also be nationalistic. Thus, unlike in the previous era, the emphasis of national education developments was on the expansion of education opportunities and the improvement of education quality and relevance (Djojonegoro, 1997; Rifa'i, 2011). The developments were aided by financial assistance from overseas from mainly developed countries and such multilateral agencies as the IMF, the World Bank, IGGI, The Asian Development Bank, UNDP, UNICEF and UNESCO, through loans or grants (Djojonegoro, 1997).

During this period, however, school leadership, including that of school principals, was still neglected. School principals were senior teachers who were assigned as principals based almost solely on the recommendations of provincial governments and without having prior training in leadership and management (Beeby, 1981). Their main responsibilities were providing education as mandated by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) to primarily build patriotism and nationalism. Any kind of improvisation or development in education was not expected (Tilaar, 2004). Thus, work performance was assessed and rewarded mainly on the basis of their behaviour in respecting authority, such as showing obedience, loyalty, and cooperation (Bjork, 2006).

Also, centralisation in governance that located authority for making decisions at the central government level had a significant impact on school leadership. It created a culture of dependency amongst civil servants, resulting in weak leadership. In primary school education, state teachers and school principals came to lack creativity and initiative. They always expected to receive guidance 'from above' to implement any education changes. In addition, for many principals their day-to-day work was mainly administrative. So, overall, they lacked the leadership capacity to initiate change (Beeby, 1981). A similar situation has been reported by others who have investigated how highly centralised education systems have had an impact on school leadership (Lee & Hallinger, 2012; Oplatka, 2004). In particular, the arrangement created weak leadership among school principals as indicated by lack of initiative and limited autonomy. They considered themselves primarily as executors of regulations and decrees issued from above (Çınkır, 2010; Oplatka, 2004). This historical inheritance still has an influence today.

Developments That Have Taken Place in Relation to Primary School Leadership from 1999 until 2016

The decision to investigate developments that have taken place in relation to primary school leadership from 1999 until 2016 arose from the recognition that it is instructive to know what the Indonesian government did to develop education and, in particular, to shape primary school leadership according to the education decentralisation framework, and how this may still be having an impact on the present. In 1999, there was a move from centralisation to decentralisation in education. It was driven by the financial crisis of 1997 that led to a political crisis, and which included disappointment with Soeharto's regime, the failures of highly centralised governments and a national call for a more democratic nation. It was also a response to a World Bank recommendation.

Decentralisation in education devolved authority for education management from the central government level to the local government level, with the central government retaining authority for the establishment of national education policies and standards to assure the quality of education nationally (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013). Authority for education management was also devolved to the school level by promoting school-based management (SBM). The argument is that SBM is an effective way to improve education quality and to achieve universal basic education (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013a, 2013b).

Under the decentralisation framework, developments in education nationally have been directed to produce a smart and competitive population to support extensive industrialisation driven by globalisation (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2011; Kementerian Pendidikan National, 2005). Accordingly, the expansion of education opportunities continues to receive priority. As part of this, the government became committed to implementing a policy of nine years of compulsory basic education from 1994, which was also related to the government's commitment to the International Declaration on Human Rights. Also, attention was given to improving education quality and relevance and making it competitive internationally (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013; Ministry of National Education, 2011).

The improvement of education quality and relevance nationally are sought through the promotion of standardisation and the adoption of 'education thinking' from developed countries. Accordingly, the national education standards' (NES) framework was established. It mandated the adoption of student-learning approaches, as originally developed in Western countries. Also, international standards developed in Western countries, including indicators used by OECD member countries and by the centres of training, industry, and international certification, were adopted. Furthermore, English came to be used as a medium of instruction in 'exclusive' education programmes, in bilingual classes, and in a wide range of student preparation programmes for participation in international student competitions. Low-cost

textbooks have been made available and ICT for e-learning and e-administration also have been substantially developed. The initiatives received support and financial assistance from overseas, mainly from developed countries and from such multilateral agencies as the World Bank, UNESCO, AUSAID, and USAID.

Major changes also have been made in relation to primary school leadership. Under the SBM framework, the responsibilities of school leaders, and especially of school principals, in school management have been broadened. Together with school committees, they are expected to be engaging in long-term planning and in transparent financial management, providing effective support to, and monitoring of teachers (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013), and engaging in ICT-based school information system management (Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional, 2011a). Furthermore, they are expected to be transformational leaders in curriculum and pedagogy (Ministry of National Education, 2006). Concomitantly, there have also been changes to the ways in which principals are prepared, developed, and supported. In this connection, the central government introduced a new principal preparation programme (PPP), a continuing professional development (CPD) for principals programme, and a performance appraisal (PA) for principals programme. Programme implementation is managed by the district governments. The aim is to produce and develop capable and professional school leaders (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013).

Perspectives of Primary School Leaders on Current Issues They Face and on the Strategies They Adopt to Deal with those Issues

An analysis of the current concerns that school leaders face in challenging circumstances demographically and geographically under the SBM policy, and of the strategies they adopt to deal with those concerns led to the generation of three broad themes, these being, 'people', 'management', and 'infrastructure'. Each of these themes will now be considered in turn.

Figure 7.1. Rural school on a mountain-top in Indonesia.

Participants' Concerns Associated with People

The participants' concerns associated with people can be classified into four types. They are connected with issues regarding student dropout and repetition, lack of parental involvement, teacher shortage, and lack of professionalism. Regarding issues associated with student dropout and repetition, participants highlighed three main interrelated influences. They are parent migration, marriage, and the unavailability of inclusive education. Participants reported that student dropout is related to parent migration. One of the participants reported an example of this as follows:

> Many parents here migrate to a big city and leave their children home with their poor and less educated relatives... Their relatives do not care if children go to school or not. They let children quit from schooling for working, marriage, or doing nothing.

> School leaders also reported that students getting married is another reason for dropout. One of the school principals gave his comment on this as follows:

> Parents allow their children to get married at a young age. So, last year, for example, we had a student dropping out because she got married. We talked to her parents to postpone it. They said they could not do it. The man has approached them for a long time to marry their girl.

> The circumstances above indicate why school leaders find it difficult to reduce the number dropping out of school as marriage at a young age is permitted.

Student dropout, according to participants, also relates to, as stated already, the unavailability of inclusive education. They reported that almost every year they have children with special needs enrolling in their schools as special primary schools are not available in isolated villages. These children, as a result, need to experience an inclusive education. However, the schools do not receive additional funding from the government to provide the learning resources required. The result is that the students have to study in mainstream classes. Consequently, principals say, they have difficulties in their lessons, often repeat classes, and even drop out.

School principals also highlighted issues associated with the low level of parental engagement in education. They argue that parents do not fulfil their basic responsibilities, feel reluctant to allocate money for education, and do not attend parent-school meetings. This, principals hold, is related to parents' low level of education and even illiteracy in some cases. Many are only primary school graduates and some never went to school at all. Thus, they do not have the capacity to help their children to learn at home and to do their homework.

Farming duties, school principals hold, is a further factor affecting parental involvement in their children's education. Most parents are farmers who often go to their fields at dawn and return home in the late afternoon. Such activity, principals state, can make it difficult for parents to fulfil their basic responsibilities to their children. As one of the school principals said:

> Most parents are farmers. They often go to the paddy field when their children are still sleeping. So, it is common that students here do not have breakfast before going to school and do not dress up and style their hair neatly.

In addition, some school principals reported that electricity to enable children's learning at home is often unavailable in houses.

Along with the two factors mentioned already, school leaders also highlighted that they consider the mindset of some parents to be unhelpful. One of the school principals interviewed in the study said:

> We don't have educational support from parents. Parents think that educating children is completely the school's responsibility.... often they don't attend the parent-school meeting.

The mindset that principals referred to is heavily influenced by the fact that many primary school graduates do not earn more than less educated people. As a result, it is not surprising some participants reported that during certain school days, parents may take their children to attend family events for several days or even weeks, or to help them to harvest crops at harvest time. Sometimes, they state, parents are also reluctant to spend money on buying school shoes and additional school books.

Participants in the study further stated that they encountered teacher shortages and lack of professionalism. They frequently do not have a full complement of teachers. In particular, there tends to be a shortage of sport and religion teachers. To alleviate this problem, principals employ unqualified local people.

School leaders expressed particular concern that the unqualified teachers they use often lack even a basic teaching capability. One of the school principals gave her view on this as follows:

> My two honorary teachers lack basic teaching skills. For instance, they are not able to teach good hand writing for students in early grades. I think it is because they graduated from Senior High School.

School principals also highlighted what they see as the low pay that their schools give to non-qualified honorary teachers. This, they believe, leads to poor commitment to teaching. At the same time, it also discourages school principals from requiring a high level of teaching performance.

Furthermore, participants highlighted that teachers lack the capacity to implement current education policies, particularly in relation to inclusive education, ICT for student learning and teaching administration, and the 2013 curriculum. The situation is compounded, they emphasised, because opportunities for teachers to participate in associated professional development are rare. One of the participants commented on this as follows:

> My teachers lack opportunities to participate in professional development managed by governments. These events are rare and only one or two civil servant teachers are invited from each selected primary school. Our honorary teachers are not eligible. Thus, teachers here may not have any professional development for years.

Also, principals hold, lack of information, isolation and poor financial support often make it difficult for teachers to participate in those professional development opportunities that they need. As one of the participants said:

> Teacher professional development is important for teachers to update their knowledge and skills. However, working in a remote area like this, we lack information about seminars or workshops available to my teachers. Besides, teaching duties and travel create barriers for us to participate in events far from school. Also we lack funding to support such activities.

To this, they added difficulties they themselves experience in relation to providing professional support for their teachers. These have to do with a culture in which older teachers carry more status in society than their younger superordinates. One school principal gave voice to this as follows:

> I feel uneasy to assess the teaching performance of my teachers, especially the elder, smarter, and more experienced ones like Mr T. He holds a masters degree. To my honorary teachers, I should not be demanding. They are underpaid.

He went on to say that the heavy workload often means that he does not have sufficient time to supervise teachers individually in the classroom.

School principals also reported the heavy demands of ICT-based administrative work required of teachers, including ICT-based teaching, curriculum and personnel administration. However, many lack the necessary ICT skills and often do not have their own laptop, while schools either do not have any computers, or have only a very small number. Internet access is often unavailable. All of this, it is held, can distract teachers from their teaching and thus reduce the quality of education being offered.

Participants further held that a low level of teacher professionalism is manifested in high teacher absenteeism. Teachers, they stated, are often absent or arrive late at school. The most common reasons given for this are having a long and difficult home-school journey to travel, especially in the rainy season, attending social or cultural events such as wedding ceremonies, birth celebrations, circumcision, death-related events, visiting relatives in a different district, having a second job, and travelling to the city to carry out non-teaching responsibilities. At the same time, principals hold that absenteeism is not so high when teachers live near their schools.

The other issue is associated with the principalship itself. School principals who participated in the study being reported here claimed to have a very heavy work load as a result of having a broad range of responsibilities in management while still having teaching duties. They also reported that they have insufficient support and facilities to enable them to do their work effectively. One of the participants gave the following example of this:

> Today I have a lot of work especially in ICT based financial and personnel administration. However, I don't have an administrative staff, my school only has one computer and internet connection is unavailable. At the same time, I have to teach many hours due to a teacher shortage. Conflicts often happen between these two responsibilities.

School principals further highlighted that their day-to-day managerial and administrative work is concerned very much with activities associated with the implementation of the programmes of the Sub-district technical implementation unit (STIU) of the District Education Office (DEO). They went on to state that it is a 'must' for them to participate in, support, and to facilitate all of the STIU's education programmes because they come under the management of the STIU.

School principals also emphasised what they see as their demanding supervisory tasks, and particularly responsibilities associated with teacher performance appraisal. As one of the participants stated:

> Principals are required to conduct teacher performance appraisal. So, I have to assess the teaching practices of my teachers. Then I type, print, and upload the results. It is really complicated, time consuming, costly, and significantly increases my current heavy administrative work.

The situations highlighted here indicate that supervisory tasks, particularly teacher performance appraisal, involve engagement in a very wide range of activities.

Regarding management responsibilities, participants claimed they have insufficient skills for the tasks expected of them. One of participants gave the following illustration of this problem:

> Today all school data should be online. Even, the results of teacher performance appraisal should be uploaded. I am minimally trained regarding ICT. So I find that principal's work is troublesome, very difficult.

They also stated that they are not well prepared for challenging leadership roles that arise in rural and remote areas, such as dealing with poorly motivated teachers, poorly educated parents, or poorly motivated students, and conflict between school personnel. On this, one of the participants gave an example of her difficulties in dealing with a conflict with the chair of the school committee:

> I have conflict with my chair of the school committee. He thinks we do something wrong with the SOA's budget. We have given him a detailed explanation about it many times. I don't know what else I can do. It is difficult to make him understand.

A further example of this was provided by another participant. He said:

> All I need as a principal in a rural and isolated primary school like this is strong leadership. I felt this when I had conflict with my school committees and teachers. I did my best to deal with it, but it was so complicated. I really got stressed.

Another participant went on to say that such situations illustrate the need for specific leadership preparation and development. He put it this way:

> I found that leadership is the most difficult task. We can delegate our work but not our leadership actions. If I make a mistake, conflicts may happen, and I may get less support. I see many principals feel the same, but we don't know how to be an effective leader. We need leadership training.

Principals consider the current principal preparation programme (PPP) to be inadequate to help them to develop the leadership skills they need. Also, only a few of them reported that they received training before being appointed, and those that did said that the training was not very helpful. One beginning school principal commented on this as follows:

> Before being appointed, I was trained for three months. However, the training courses were too theoretical and complicated to be applied here, a small, rural, and remote school. The leadership session was very good though. However, it was insufficient. I still need more leadership training.

They also claimed that they lack appropriate training to implement such technical initiatives associated with inclusive education and the use of ICT for administrative work and learning.

Participants' Concerns Associated with Management

Participants identified two issues associated with management. The first issue relates to difficulties in financial management. School principals claimed that this is as a result of the nature of the school operation assistance (SOA) grant. The grant is allocated to their schools based on the number of enrolled students, with the expectation that schools should no longer charge school fees. Thus, there is often not enough money as they have to finance student participation in a wide range of competition programmes managed by STIU. One school principal made a comment on this as follows:

> Our SOA's grant is insufficient. We send students to join many competition programmes as requested by STIU. It is costly as they are held in the city creating huge expenses especially for transportation. We often have to take a certain amount of money allocated for other educational costs to participate in these events.

Another participant made a similar comment:

> Ideally every year we should allocate the SOA grant for maintenance and learning facilities. However, there is always, no money left. Every year we have to participate in so many student competitions organised by the STIU.

The circumstances illustrated here indicate that the high cost of participation in student competition programmes results in an insufficient SOA grant being made to finance other education costs, such as providing adequate learning facilities, teacher honorariums, and school maintenance. The problem is especially acute in relation to

small and rural schools. They receive a smaller grant than their larger counterparts, yet they still have to implement a wide range of mandated government programmes and policies. In addition, and as already indicated, these schools usually employ non-qualified teachers and pay them out of their own resources.

The cost of transporting materials and supplies to remote schools for the provision of education can also be more expensive than in relation to urban schools. Furthermore, financial contributions from parents are often not forthcoming. School leaders highlighted that this situation is closely related to poverty. On this, one school principal stated: "We collect financial contributions from parents, just a little, 150,000 rupiah a year. Still not every parent can contribute. They are poor".

School principals also highlighted parents' views on free primary school education as follows:

> Given SOA's grants, parents think that primary education is totally free... This is wrong. The grant frees students from education operational costs but not from other costs such as buying uniforms, student worksheets, and supplementary books.

Such comments indicated that the financial contribution from parents is needed to finance educational costs that are not covered by the SOA grant. Further, school leaders added that it is also needed to finance improvements to a school's infrastructure that are not covered by the SOA grant, such as building landslide barriers, wells for sanitation, a school gate, and a school name board.

The other issue presenting difficulties in financial management is associated with having a predetermined budget allocation. One principal illustrated an associated problem as follows:

> We need to buy new tables to replace the broken ones, but we can't. The SOA manual mandates that budget allocations should give priority to operational costs. If we don't follow it, we will be in trouble.

A similar comment was made by another participant in a larger school:

> We have to allocate the SOA's grant to buy books we didn't need just because the SOA manual mandates us to buy books every year.

Overall, the view is that the top-down approach to school budgeting means that schools find it difficult to achieve sufficient efficiency and effectiveness in managing their resources.

The second issue is related to curriculum and instructional management. In line with the spirit of the decentralisation of education policy introduced in 2006, the central government replaced the 2004 curriculum with the School Level Curriculum (SLC). This

curriculum gives autonomy to schools to formulate curriculum and to manage its implementation (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 2011; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013). However, the school principals who participated in this study stated that they still lack autonomy in relation to curriculum and instruction as the local governments continue to interfere. One participant provided this example:

> It is difficult to develop effective teaching and learning. We have to use textbooks recommended by the STIU. The textbooks are developed based on the national curriculum and an assumption that students in early grades can read. Here, most students in early grades can't read as they do not have kindergarten. But we must use the books because the test items of final examinations are developed based on the textbooks.

The circumstance highlighted here indicates that school leaders can have difficulty effectively managing instruction because the textbooks provided by the STIU are not necessarily those that are deemed to be required.

School principals also highlighted issues associated with seeking to implement a new approach to pedagogy. The SLC mandates the adoption of a student-centred learning approach, namely PAKEM*,* at primary school level. School leaders raised various concerns associated with the initiative. One of them provided this illustration of the problem:

> PAKEM won't work here. The IQ level of our students is just fair... So, they need detailed explanations, many directions, exercises, and repetitions to comprehend their lessons. Such needs are even more evident for students who do not have kindergarten education and students with special needs...

Another participant offered a similar view. He said:

> If we apply the student-centred learning approach, our students will be slower in mastering their lessons.

In particular, the principals believe that this model is not suitable for the learning abilities of students in the circumstances in which they find themselves.

Referring specifically to the 2013 curriculum that was implemented in 2015 for one semester, and was then implemented nationwide in 2017 to replace SLC, one of participants commented as follows:

> The 2013 curriculum mandates the adoption of a thematic learning model. This is difficult. My teachers will be in a rush as students need a longer time to understand the lessons in such learning approach. Moreover, teachers often teach in two different classrooms at the same time while the approach needs full teacher

attendance. Also, we don't have sufficient instructional media to support this kind of learning.

Principals also experience difficulties with using and overseeing the use of the associated learning assessment model. This model is considered by them to be too complicated and too time consuming. As one participant commented:

The 2013 curriculum requires us to do qualitative or descriptive assessment and to not rank students. This is really confusing, complicated and time consuming.

Further, school leaders reported that the frequent changes that are made to the curriculum at the national level can disrupt the process of teaching and learning in a way that can diminish the quality of education.

Participants' Concerns Associated with Infrastructure

Participants revealed their concerns associated with infrastructure. These pertained to lack of education facilities. They claimed they have poor education facilities in their schools. Many have fewer than six classrooms and many existing classrooms are sub-standard in terms of size and quality. One of the participants made this comment:

Our classrooms for students in grade one and grade two are too small. It was originally one classroom that was divided into two with plywood. It is not conducive to support effective student learning as when one class is learning to sing, the other class gets disturbed.

Some also reported not having a school yard, sanitation, a room for a library, and a principal's and teachers' room because of a shortage of land.

School principals further emphasised that they lack appropriate teaching and learning equipment, including visual aids, especially for science. They also claim to be short of appropriate books for the library, sports equipment, an LCD projector, and instructional media to facilitate engagement in inclusive education and productive learning. Again, this problem is mainly attributable to a small school budget, compounded by inefficient distribution and supply of teaching and learning resources.

Principals also experience, as they see it, a poor physical environment at the school. In particular, they often encounter water scarcity in the dry season and have to negotiate difficult tracks and roads, especially in the rainy season. Additionally, internet connections are often unavailable, or are very unreliable. Some principals whose schools are located in remote villages with very small communities also reported that they may lack electricity. This restricts students being able to study at night. One of the participants gave an example of the general challenges as follows:

I have students who live behind the small hill over there. In the rainy season, the track from there to school is dangerous, narrow and very slippery as it is a soil base. Thus, in the rainy season, they are often absent. Parents do not let them go to school.

Another participant provided a similar illustration:

We do not have sanitation and there is a lack of running water. It makes us difficult to teach students about cleanliness and religious practices, for instance *wudlu* (Islamic ritual ablution before praying) that needs water. So, it really presents constraints to developing strong character and the religiosity of our students.

The overall situation, it is held, creates obstacles to school leaders in their pursuit of good quality teaching and learning.

Implications

Further Research

The area of educational leadership in a context of developing countries, including those ruled formerly by Europeans, has been neglected as a subject of academic attention. It is even more barren terrain in a context of challenging circumstances geographically and demographically where SBM is policy. It is hoped that this study will serve to promote such research. It might be worthwhile, for example, to conduct longitudinal studies on the perspectives of school leaders on how they deal with the contextual complexity in which schools in developing countries, and specifically in challenging circumstances demographically and geographically where SBM is a policy, are located. In doing so, it would be instructive to ascertain the extent to which there is variation in the strategies and leadership styles adopted by school leaders to deal with the problems encountered.

Another implication of the present study for further research relates to the need to conduct interviews with primary school teachers. Such interviews could be based on what school leaders in this study have reported about their teachers. In an assortment of comments, school leaders reported that their teachers, especially unqualified honorary teachers, lack professionalism. This would be a fruitful area for further investigation.

Furthermore, future research could investigate further expressions of societal culture and school leadership in Indonesia. It could also investigate the extent to which the societal culture contributes to effective school leadership in other Asian contexts. There was evidence in the present study that there can be a culture in which older teachers can carry more status in society than their younger super-ordinates, and that

this can influence the leadership practices of school leaders. It would be worth investigating the relationship between such matters and school leadership. Such research could help fill the deficit of educational leadership studies in non-Western cultures (Walker & Yu-kwong, 2010).

Policy Development and Practice

Addressing Student Attrition and Repetition and Low Parent Engagement

Despite the fact that the national government has provided the SOA grant that has freed students from having to pay tuition fees, students from poor families are still dropping out of school. This situation is related to complex contextual factors, including poverty, marriage, parents' mindset, and also unsuitable education for students with special needs. These problems need to be addressed if Indonesia is to successfully achieve universal primary school education. The government can reduce attrition by providing and ensuring that every low-income family receives additional financial assistance to meet the direct costs of schooling. It is also desirable that parents be educated about the purpose and importance of education.

Addressing Teacher Shortage and Lack of Professionalism

According to the education decentralisation policy, teacher management is devolved to the district governments, while the central government retains authority to determine the number of public servant teachers who can be employed (Ministry of National Education, 2011). As a result, while the devolution policy is intended to improve efficiency and effectiveness in teacher management, primary schools in rural, remote and low SES areas continue to experience teacher shortages. Accordingly, there is a need to establish a coordination mechanism for teacher recruitment and distribution between the central government and district governments.

   Certainly, the professional development of teachers has received attention. Governments have run a wide range of professional development programmes for teachers. However, these programmes are seldom available. Thus, it would be desirable for the allocated quota of teachers participating in government organised training to be extended. Also, as resource contraints and the isolation of schools can create barriers for teachers to participate in professional development, there is a need to empower existing 'teacher working clusters' (TWC) in which teachers from several primary schools located near each other are encouraged to work and learn together. This could be done by providing required resources and support for the TWC to operate on regular basis.

Leadership Preparation and Development

Since 2010, the central government has run a principal preparation programme (PPP) to guide district governments in preparing qualified school principals (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013). This programme has a standardised process for the recruitment, selection, and certification of principals. Part of the process is a 300 hour 'training to develop candidates' competencies to become principals (Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional, 2011b, 2011c). However, as the study considered here reported, to date, not all principals have attended PPP programmes. Many others only receive briefings on policy documents issued by district offices, or attend short management courses before being appointed (OECD/Asian Development Bank, 2015). Further, some have a perception that the courses are too theoretical, too complicated, and not applicable to challenging schools geographically and demographically. It is important that this situation be addressed as expeditiously as possible.

Certainly, leadership development for principals has received some attention. Among the relevant programmes is the continuing professional development (CPD) programme introduced nationwide in 2013. Put simply, it requires school principals to develop and implement an annual CPD plan consisting of self-study and learning activities on five principal competency standards through principals' working clusters (PWC) (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013). However, the study being reported here found that none of the school principals participated in this study was engaged in CPD activities through PWC. This is a matter that would benefit from attention by system administrators.

Also, providing PWC as a forum of continuous leadership development for principals who work in isolated areas could be very beneficial. There is a need to provide sufficient funding to support its operation. In addition, there would be value of adopting peer learning approaches. This learning could involve the use of such methods as narrative accounts and storytelling on leadership issues that are drawn from school leaders' experiences to enhance the personal learning of practising and aspiring leaders (Clarke, 2015). Along with this, mentoring programmes could be developed. Capable mentors can provide emotional and professional support for school principals who are isolated because of their disadvantaged school location, and consequently find it difficult to get access to professional help for dealing with real, actual, contextual leadership challenges (Msila, 2010). Further, it is desirable that mentoring programmes involve exemplary leaders, or retired successful school leaders who have worked in challenging contexts, along with experts from higher education institutions to provide various perspectives on how to deal with the challenges relating to their school situation (Msila, 2010; Ylimaki, Jacobson, & Drysdale, 2008).

Improving Efficiency in School Management

SBM has been implemented nationally since 2001. The essence of SBM is the devolution of authority for resource management to the school level (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2013a). The study reported here revealed that, under SBM, resource management is still less efficient than previous practices as school leaders still lack autonomy in the management of school budgets and in curriculum and instruction. It would be helpful, therefore, if authentic autonomy were granted to school leaders to empower them in managing their schools' resources while taking local conditions into consideration.

Improving School Infrastructure

This study reported here revealed that school leaders in challenging circumstances, geographically and demographically, face challenges associated with inadequate education facilities and dilapidated school environments. To some extent, they could harness contributions from parents and the local community to deal with these problems. However, the community and parents' contribution is often limited because of poverty. This is a further challenge that needs to be resolved if the quality of primary school education is to be improved.

Figure 7.2. Primary school teacher's house in rural Indonesia.

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Chapter Eight: School Leadership in Challenging Circumstances: The Rwandan Narrative

Gilbert Karareba and Simon Clarke

Introduction

This chapter is premised on the observation that leadership is context-bound and that country-specific studies need to be undertaken to understand how leadership is influenced by the context within which it is exercised. It specifically focuses on Rwanda, a post-conflict country that experienced a four-year war that ended with genocide in 1994. The chapter is based on a study that aimed to generate an understanding of the issues which are of current concern to primary school leaders in post-conflict Rwanda and of the strategies adopted by them in order to deal with those issues. A number of justifications for the pursuit of such an aim exist. First, education in post-conflict societies has been associated with a number of benefits, including economic development, alleviation of poverty, and the promotion of peace, tolerance and reconciliation (Karareba, Clarke & O'Donoghue, 2017; Paulson, 2011). The World Bank (2005) also referred to these benefits nearly 12 years ago as follows:

> Educational programming in post-conflict societies cannot be business as usual. Education has a critical role to play in the wider reconstruction of the society, from building peace and social cohesion to facilitating economic recovery and getting the country onto an accelerated development track. (p. 27)

Primary school education warrants, therefore, special consideration given that Rwanda is a post-conflict society, that primary education in the country is compulsory, and because it has a high potential to determine school outcomes.

The second reason for conducting research on primary school leadership in post-conflict Rwanda relates to the scarcity of empirical studies on the status of school leadership in post-conflict settings (Clarke & O'Donoghue, 2013). The study upon which this chapter is based was one contribution to filling this lacuna. Another reason yet again for engaging in the research is the persistent neglect by researchers of the importance of considering context in leadership (Karareba, Clarke & O'Donoghue, 2017; Vroom & Jago, 2007). This has meant that educational leadership literature has been (and continues to be) dominated by insights generated from the West and is impoverished by the lack of a contextual understanding of school leadership in such diverse contexts as developing countries (Oplatka, 2004).

As Rwanda is not only a post-conflict country, but also a developing country, the chapter contributes to understanding school leadership in developing countries. The following questions were addressed by the study upon which this chapter is based: 'What issues are currently of concern to primary school leaders in Rwanda, and how do they deal with them'?

The chapter is in four sections. The first section sketches out the background of how the present situation in Rwanda has been arrived at, especially in relation to education. The second depicts the research approach adopted in the study. The third section of the chapter presents, in the form of propositions, the results of the study. This is followed by a concluding discussion.

The Background

Rwanda, known as the "country of a thousand hills", is a land-locked country located in central Africa. It is bordered by Burundi to the south, Uganda to the north, the Republic Democratic of Congo (formerly known as Zaire) to the west, and Tanzania to the east. The nation was first colonised by Germany (1894-1916) and then by Belgium (1916-1962) after the defeat of Germany in the First World War (Nyarambi, 2009). Political independence from Belgium was gained in 1962 and the First Republic reigned from then until 1973, when it was overthrown in a military coup. This was followed by the Second Republic, from 1973 up until the end of the war and genocide in the country in 1994.

From 1894 to 1994: Education before the Violent Conflict and Genocide Era

French missionaries are credited with introducing formal education in Rwanda in 1900. Education was aimed at evangelising the Rwandan community and producing junior staff to serve German and Belgian colonisers. Prior to the 1920s, missionary education was essentially elementary, focusing on reading religious texts, memorising catechism,

singing liturgical songs in Latin, and reciting prayers (Erny, 2001). The French language was emphasised in a selective pathway within primary school education, being taught to members of future auxiliaries of the colonial administration (Erny, 2001; King, 2008). Also, only those who had followed this selective pathway of primary schooling could pursue secondary education.

The colonial period also saw a higher level of ethnic disparity in access to education. The three ethnic groups (Hutus, Tutsis, and Twas) making up the Rwandan population did not have equal access to education. During the period 1894 to 1962, Tutsis were given preference in schools, even though Hutus constituted more than 80 per cent of the population (New Internationalist, 2002). Indeed, from the early 1920s up until the end of the 1950s, "the consensus of opinion among Belgian administrators was that the Tutsi should remain the sole recipients of secular and missionary education" (Lemarchand, 1970, p. 74). The educated Tutsis served as interpreters, clerks, and tax collectors and could be appointed as chiefs, thus constituting "the embryo of a new category of functionaries which the administration used as a counterweight to the apathy or resistance of the older generations" (Lemarchand, 1970, p. 74).

Post-independence governments attempted to address the aforementioned education imbalance, albeit without much success. Marlow-Ferguson (2002) notes that the First Republic (1962-1973) opened the education system to all children. Postlethwaite (1995) agreed with this observation, demonstrating that the First Republic broke the Tutsi monopoly and addressed previous inequality by democratising access to education, and seeking to prepare all Rwandans for vocational life, for entry into the labour force, and for higher education. The Second Republic (1973-94), on the other hand, introduced an ethnic quota system to deal with imbalances in education. Under this system, ethnic groups in the country had to be represented in secondary schools in accordance with the number of people in each group (Twagilimana, 1996).

The Second Republic also restricted access to secondary school education. According to Postlethwaite (1988), only 2-to-7 per cent of primary school-grade graduates entered secondary schools during this administration. Consequently, over 90 per cent of primary-school leavers entered "an adult work market at around 11 or 12 years of age" (p. 577). Twagilimana (1996) notes that secondary education comprised those schools that educated future primary school teachers, schools that offered a general education, and schools that provided a technical and professional education.

Another pre-conflict hallmark of education in Rwanda was the education reform that occurred in 1977, again under the Second Republic. The goals of the reform were:

Democratisation of access at all levels of education, qualitative and quantitative improvement of the skilled labour force required by the economy, and then

promotion of the national language and culture through the education system while maintaining openness to the outside world through the teaching of foreign languages. (p. 829)

The implementation of the reform began in 1979 for primary education and in 1981 for secondary education. Twagilimana (1996, p. 123) highlights two objectives of the 1979 developments, namely, the "ruralisation" and "Rwandanization" of primary school education. The term 'Rwandanisation' is used by the author to clarify that the language of instruction was changed from being French to being *Kinyarwanda*, while the 'ruralisation' of primary school education refers to the introduction of practical training that focused on rural activities. Also, the length of primary school education was extended to eight years.

Notwithstanding the First and Second Republics' attempts to follow their own education agendas, colonial legacies, including a teacher-centred pedagogy, influenced schooling under these regimes. Prior to the 1994 genocide, the Rwandan education system was strongly influenced by Belgian traditions. Weinstein, *et al*., (2007, p. 65) reported that this meant that it was "constrained by the legacy of past political influences as well as traditional pedagogical practices". They go on to add that the "Belgian and French tradition of lectures with passive students influenced generations of students and teachers."

From 1994 to 1999: The Post-Conflict Education Emergency and Reconstruction Era

The post-genocide government re-established the primary school system very soon after the conflict ceased. Primary schools re-opened early in September 1994, just two months after the end of the war in July of that year, while secondary schooling resumed in October 1994 (Cantwell, 1997). The re-opening of schools very shortly after the end of the conflict contrasts with Machel's (1996) observation that education is not often prioritised by governments and international agencies during emergency situations. Indeed, local and international organisations as well as the Rwandan government were prompt in re-opening schools because they seemed to share a belief that only education could bring about the sense of normalcy and routine that were strongly needed by children.

Owing to the new government's lack of financial resources in the immediate aftermath of the war, local and international organisations assisted with providing and organising education assistance. UNESCO and UNICEF distributed school materials for children and trained teachers in their use and in dealing with psychological trauma (Cantwell, 1997; Obura, 2003). In addition, 200 NGOs provided non-accompanied, unhealthy, orphaned, and traumatised children with food, water, health care and

shelter (Cantwell, 1997; Obura, 2003). Notwithstanding this relatively successful intervention, however, Cantwell (1997) pointed out that the NGOs' activities seemed to lack coordination and some were ill-equipped for, and unfamiliar with, responding to emergency situations.

Other challenges that affected education during the 1994-1999 period included a lack of qualified teachers, a shortage of classrooms, high student attrition and repetition rates, a high teacher-student ratio, and poor salaries for teachers. The shortage of teachers was understandable; a good number of them had fled Rwanda as a result of the war, while others had either been killed or jailed for alleged involvement in the genocide (Hodgkin, 2006). Also, 32 per cent of pre-war and genocide primary schools were destroyed, (Marlow-Ferguson, 2002). In addition, there was a teacher qualification-related problem as evidenced by the fact that in 1997, just three years after the end of the war and genocide, 70 per cent of primary school teachers were still deemed to be underqualified (Cantwell, 1997). Furthermore, by 2004, only 51 per cent of primary-school age, had completed primary school education. This percentage was lower than the average completion rate in Sub-Saharan Africa at the time (Bridgeland, Wulsin & McNaught, 2009).

A Plethora of Education Changes from 2000 to 2017

Since 2000, many education changes and practices have characterised the Rwandan education system. These include the sudden change of the medium of instruction, the introduction of computers in the primary school system in a country where most primary schools do not have access to electricity, a very high turnover of ministers of education, and the introduction of education practices borrowed from English-speaking countries. An elaboration on each of these education changes now follows.

The French language had been the sole language of instruction before the war and genocide of 1994, and it continued to dominate the education system for the next 15 years. In 2009, however, the Rwandan government suddenly abandoned French and elevated the status of the English language. English was made the sole language of teaching and learning at all education levels, and French was no longer an official language and a medium of instruction in schools and higher learning institutions (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). While some academics attributed the change to Rwanda and France's souring diplomatic relations, others supported the government's explanation that English should merit special consideration on the grounds that it is the language of business and trade.

In 2008 Rwanda also started to introduce Information Communication Technology in primary schools. This took place mainly through the implementation of a 'one laptop per child' programme. The aim of the program was to improve education in the country by distributing low-cost, low-power, specially designed children's laptops. By the end

of 2012, Rwanda had distributed 210,000 laptops to 217 primary schools (UNESCO, 2014).

Another education change relates to a high turnover of ministers for education and a spate of new policies and practices that resulted from this. Since the end of the violent conflict in 1994, 13 Ministers have led the Ministry of Education. Each of these ministers attempted to implement his or her own ideology and strategies to address chronic education problems (Ntakirutimana & Kanamugire, 2016). For example, Minister Emmanuel Mudidi sought to deal with grade repetition and end-of-year academic dismissal of students by ordering that all primary and secondary school students be promoted to the next grade regardless of their academic performance (Ntakirutimana & Kanamugire, 2016). This order was not well received by many Rwandans, who thought it could lead to a lowering in the quality of education.

Another example of education change introduced by a minister has resulted in changes in the way that primary and secondary school leaving certificate examination results are presented. Since the end of the war and genocide in 1994, these results have been expressed in four different ways: first in percentages, then as a value out of 11, then as a value out of 55, and now as a value out of 73 (Ntakirutimana & Kanamugire, 2016).

There are also changes that have affected the primary and secondary school system, which may be considered to be cases of international borrowing. As many policy makers in Rwanda grew up in exile in English speaking neighbouring countries and went on to hold senior leadership positions in those countries, they tended to borrow education policies and practices from that with which they were familiar. Furthermore, the introduction of free universal secondary education in Uganda in 2006 can be related to the free Nine-Year Basic Education (NYBE) (six years of primary school plus three years of lower secondary level) introduced in Rwanda in 2009. Similarly, the name given to the source of funding (i.e. capitation grant) for Rwandan NYBE schools and the rules governing how this grant has to be spent seem to have been borrowed from the Ugandan NYBE policy.

The introduction of such subjects as the 'general paper' and 'entrepreneurship' as well as three-subject combinations (e.g. Mathematics-Economy- Geography) in secondary schools, and the teaching of elementary science and technology in primary schools, are other examples of international borrowing. These learning areas did not exist in Rwandan primary and secondary schools before the war and genocide of 1994. Again, it is most likely that they were borrowed from Uganda as they appear in the Ugandan Curriculum (Aga Khan Schools, 2009; National Curriculum Development Centre, 2008).

The above-mentioned changes occurred while education decentralisation was also taking place. Since the early 2000s, there has been a shift away from a centralised school administration to a decentralised one, and towards school-based management. As part of this process, responsibility for monitoring the implementation of centrally

designed education policies was devolved to 30 districts and 416 administrative sectors, a move that led to the creation of new leadership roles and bodies. These include district education officers, sector education officers, school management boards, and school-based management committees.

So far in this chapter an overview of education before the war and genocide and from the immediate aftermath of the conflict until the present has been provided. It portrays mainly macro-level and systemic changes and issues that have characterised education more generally during these periods. It is also instructive, however, to understand how macro-level changes and policies initiated at higher levels within the administrative hierarchy have been understood at the micro-level of the school. The study upon which this chapter is based was one contribution to delineating the contextual complexity characterising school leadership in post-conflict Rwanda. It focused on the challenges faced by individual school leaders as they perform their work and on the strategies adopted by them to deal with those challenges at the micro-level of the school.

The Research Project

Theoretical Framework

The study which is now reported was located in the interpretivist paradigm. The term 'paradigm' refers to a set of assumptions about the world and to what constitutes appropriate methods for investigating that world (Punch, 2009).

The study was undertaken within the interpretivist paradigm because it sought to reveal the meanings people assigned to situations and behaviours, and which they used to understand their world (O'Donoghue, 2007). Interpretivists believe that human and social actions have meanings and have to be interpreted and understood within the context of social practices. Understanding these meanings, which are constructed through interaction between human beings, facilitates an understanding of social reality and phenomena (O'Donoghue, 2007). Thus, in adopting an interpretivist paradigm the researcher had to show an interest in subjective meanings of reality, namely, the way in which individuals make sense of their world and the way in which they attribute meanings to it (Sarantakos, 2005).

Guiding Questions

The central research question was formulated as follows: What issues are currently of concern to primary school leaders in Rwanda, and how do they deal with them? It was aimed at generating theory on the issues that are of current concern to primary school leaders in the nation. Issues are taken to be matters affecting or having an impact on

people in their everyday lives; they are matters that interest individuals, or capture their attention, because they are important or affect them.

In addressing the central research question, individual interviews were conducted with participants. The following guiding questions, linked to the central research question, guided the data collection process:

- What are the challenges and influences that primary school leaders face as they perform their work?
- What is the nature of the context within which these challenges and influences arise?
- What are the strategies primary school leaders adopt to deal with the complexities of their work and the reasons behind those strategies?

Selection of Participants

Purposive selection and maximum variation selection were adopted. Participants consisted of six principals, six deputy principals and six representatives of parent-teachers associations (PTA) from six schools. Principals and deputy principals were interviewed because it was deemed that they were in the best position to report on the current concerns of school leaders. PTA representatives were also selected because they also are involved in school leadership and management. Their responsibilities included analysing major problems facing the school and proposing solutions, analysing the school action plan, and monitoring the discipline and conduct of school authorities, teachers and students (Republic of Rwanda, 2012). Furthermore, two sector education officers and two district education officers were interviewed to supplement insights from principals, deputy principals and PTA representatives.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews. Unstructured non-participant observation, however, was also employed as a means to inform the interviews, and to stimulate further data gathering questions. Grounded theory methods of data analysis, especially open coding, were used to analyse data (Punch, 2009). The analytic induction technique was then employed in order to formulate general propositions from the data. These propositions are now presented.

Results of the Study

Proposition One

> *The legacies of war, genocide and globalisation have had, and are continuing to have, an impact on the work of primary school leaders in Rwanda.*

One of the current concerns of school leadership that can be attributed directly to the legacy of war and genocide relates to conflict prevention in schools. Some participants reported witnessing segregationist behaviours in children that possibly emanate from what they learn from their families and the community environment. These ideas were mostly related to ethnicity. Furthermore, school leaders revealed that incidents related to genocide ideology have occurred in schools other than their own in the past few years. This mirrored accounts by Rwandan parliamentarians in a special report on the issue (BBC, 2008; King, 2014) and the results of research by others (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; Smith & Vaux, 2003). Unlike the present study, however, these studies have not indicated how conflict prevention is a challenge for school leadership, particularly in schools attended by children whose parents belong to the categories of perpetrators, victims, and innocent bystanders, as in the Rwandan case (Straus, 2004).

Relatedly, participants expressed concern about their teachers' lack of pedagogic resources on the Rwandan genocide and their lack of confidence regarding the teaching of the topic. The dearth of associated textbooks rendered the teaching particularly arduous because of Rwanda's "problematic" history and its "variegated interpretation" (Kiwuwa 2012, p. 62). In addition, teaching about the genocide requires making reference to ethnicity. The problem here is that the identification of Rwandans as members of ethnic groups (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa) was officially banned in the country in order to promote unity and reconciliation (Fussel, 2001; Power, 2013). Thus, referring to ethnicity may potentially be equated with harbouring genocide ideology (Amnesty International, 2010). On this, school leaders reported that teachers tend to avoid using participative teaching methods when considering addressing genocide-related topics in the classroom. This reveals a circumstance indicating how teaching and school leadership can be constrained by the legacy of conflict. The commentary here illustrates that conflict prevention and peace building are long-term processes that require people to explore and deconstruct identities and attitudes that led to the conflict in question, and that teachers and school leaders require formal guidance in order to contribute meaningfully to these processes.

Primary school leadership in Rwanda is also constrained by the implementation of the multitude of reforms generated both by the impact of globalisation and the legacy of conflict. Post-genocide education in the country has been characterised by endemic change. In this regard, participants in the study reported that leading centrally-prescribed reform is problematic for them as changes are required to be implemented

regardless of a school's capacity and teachers' readiness to embrace them. Participants stated that the 'one laptop per child' programme was a failure because of the lack of availability of electricity at most of the primary schools in the country. Another example of problematic education reform was the rapid switch that was made from French to English as the medium of instruction at all levels of education. This switch can be understood against the background of globalisation and the legacy of conflict infiltrating the post-conflict education system in Rwanda. In this regard, the elevation of the English language in a country whose schooling was long influenced by France and Belgium may be explained by the United Kingdom's heavy influence on Rwanda's education policy and planning in the post-genocide era (Schweisfurth, 2006) through its provision of aid. It can also be linked to the borrowing of education policy and practices from English speaking countries by powerful policy makers who spent their formative years in exile in English-speaking nations before the genocide of 1994 (Schweisfurth, 2006).

Proposition Two

> *The lack of teachers' and school leaders' professional knowledge and skill has undermined effective primary school leadership. This has been exacerbated by the inability of school leaders to provide professional support to their teachers.*

Participants expressed concerns regarding the low level of professional knowledge and skill of their teachers. They highlighted that the areas in which their teachers are in most need of professional support relate to the implementation of learner-centred pedagogy, the acquisition of English language competency, and the ability to impart knowledge and skills to children with special needs. Given that teacher-centred pedagogy was the most usual approach adopted during teachers' and school leaders' own formal education (Weinstein, Freedman and Hughson, 2007), they expressed some doubts about their capacity to support their staff in embracing student-centred approaches to learning. In addition, most school leaders have been exposed to the French dominated school system and are therefore unable to provide professional support and mentoring to staff in order to enhance their English language competency. Furthermore, the recent integration into regular classrooms of children with special needs also requires that school leaders provide support for teachers in the area of inclusive education, yet this, the participants claim, is an area in which they themselves are poorly equipped.

Effective school leadership, participants held, can also be undermined by poorly motivated teachers. This is not necessarily directly attributable to the legacy of the war and genocide; participants did not identify any challenges associated with inadequate security and safety in their schools of the sort which elsewhere has led to a lowering of teachers' morale and motivation during, and in the immediate aftermath, of war

(Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007). Rather, teachers perceived that the lack of both commitment and motivation was attributable to poor living and working conditions. Clearly, it is no easy task for school leaders to improve student learning when they are also having to contend with unmotivated and uncommitted staff (Hargreaves, 2003; Leithwood, Harris & Hopkins, 2008).

A further concern of school leaders emanates from the insufficient professional development opportunities available to them. In this connection, participants commented that they need to be provided with professional learning opportunities in such areas as accountancy, school leadership and management, and the English language. This need is not surprising since the initial preparation that school leaders receive in university programmes does not equip them particularly well for their leadership roles (MINEDUC-VVOB, 2011). This type of situation is also common in many developing countries (Bush & Jackson, 2002; Bush & Oduro, 2006; Harber & Davies, 1997; Oplatka, 2004; Otunga, Serem & Kindiki, 2008).

Proposition Three

Some concerns of primary school leaders can be attributed more to Rwanda's developing country status than to the legacies of the war and genocide.

The financial constraint that is faced by most of the schools that featured in the study being detailed seems to be due more to Rwanda's developing country status than to the legacies of war and genocide. Such factors as a large trade deficit, a non-competitive industrial sector, dependency on external aid, an agrarian economy whereby agriculture is practised on a small, often fragmented, piece of land, continue to define the low-socio economic development context of Rwanda (UNDP, 2013). Therefore, in keeping with other developing nations, Rwanda's lack of sufficient financial means and the poverty experienced by many households can impede the development of infrastructure in schools, the provision of educational resources, and effective teaching and school leadership (Bush, 2008; Otunga et al., 2008). Furthermore, as in other low-income countries which have recently attained high student enrolment rates, the financial constraints experienced by Rwandan schools have been aggravated by the ever-increasing number of children attending 'nine year basic education schools' (Otunga *et al*., 2008; Rogers & Vegas, 2010). Finally, participants also recognised that even before 1994, primary school leadership was constrained by high levels of student attrition resulting from childhood pregnancies, family poverty and the poor quality of education.

Proposition Four

> *A range of strategies has been adopted by school leaders to deal with their concerns. The managerial style of leadership that is part of those strategies, however, is far from being effective in addressing the adaptive problems facing school leaders.*

Participants reported that they adopt a range of strategies in their day-to-day work. Their school-based strategies include conflict prevention endeavours. Examples are the establishment and support of students' anti-violence clubs, field trips to genocide memorial sites, the organisation of genocide commemoration events, and a peer-to-peer learning strategy for dealing with teachers' lack of proficiency in the language of instruction, as well as for coaching and mentoring newly appointed school leaders, and in attempting to improve classroom teaching. In addition, school leaders may seek financial contributions from students' parents whenever faced with pressing financial problems to do with their schools. Furthermore, the *Ubuntu* worldview that is rooted in the Rwandan culture partly enables school leaders to address financial constraints facing schools. It contributes, for example, to the construction and rehabilitation of classrooms by the local population, thus allowing them to save on school infrastructure.

School leaders face problems pertaining to parents' inclination not to be involved in the education of their children and they adopt a range of strategies when tackling this. The strategies vary from discussing the issue with parents to reporting them to local administrative bodies. Collaboration between the school and the local administration is especially apparent when parents resist sending their children to school or when they are complicit in a student dropping out. Indeed, local administration authorities in Rwanda are able to fine parents who are deemed to be jeopardising the government's aim to increase access to education.

Another strategy relates to the leadership style adopted by school leaders. Managerial leadership approaches tend to be employed by school leaders when leading their schools. The literature indicates, however, that this style of leadership is relatively ineffective in dealing with the adaptive challenges faced by school leaders. The problems faced by school leaders and which have been described in this chapter are akin to those that Heifetz and Linsky (2002) portray as 'adaptive problems', or the kinds of problems for which we do not have ready answers and which take time to deal with (Fullan, 2005).

Conclusion

The study reported in this chapter, it will be recalled, was undertaken to address a research lacuna about school leadership in post-conflict and developing country

settings. It can be considered to be a response to Hallinger's (2011, 2016) argument that we need to obtain better understanding not just about 'what works' but 'what works' in different settings, and to add to it that we also need understandings about school leaders' perspectives of what works and does not work in their particular settings. In particular, the study has been offered as a contribution to research on leadership of primary schools in post-conflict Rwanda. Specifically, it set out to develop an understanding of the perspectives of primary school leaders on the concerns they have and on the strategies adopted by them in order to deal with those concerns.

To conclude, in order for education stakeholders in Rwanda to sustain the enhancement of primary school leadership into the future they will need to be aware of the following fundamental challenges that are currently prevalent:

- School leaders are required to implement centrally prescribed education changes regardless of the schools' capacity to embrace those changes.
- The poverty of households and the illiteracy of parents often hamper effective community and school leadership.
- As formal schooling has historically contributed to violent conflict, school leaders are currently challenged with ensuring that history does not repeat itself.
- There is a perceived lack of effective professional learning and development opportunities available for school leaders and primary school teachers.

It stands to reason, therefore, that primary school leaders need to be prepared, developed and supported as effectively as possible for the rigour of their roles, and that this preparation should be grounded in the day-to-day realities of schools, rather than being driven by normative models of leadership which often have little application to those realities and make it more likely that school leaders will encounter dissonance between how they are professionally socialised and what they actually experience in their roles.

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Chapter Nine: Charting Primary School Leadership in Cambodia: Starting Place and Destination

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Introduction

This chapter reports a study aimed at generating an understanding of leadership at the primary school level in post-conflict Cambodia. The particular focus was on the historical background to primary school leadership, recent developments occurring in primary school leadership, and issues of current concern to primary school leaders. The interpretivist paradigm guided the study. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews and document study. Purposive and maximum variation approaches were employed to select both schools and participants. The data were analysed using grounded theory methods of data analysis, namely, open coding and analytic induction.

   The results of the study highlight that no major developments occurred in primary school leadership in Cambodia until the post-conflict period, during which significant efforts were made to enhance the quality of primary school leadership through promoting decentralisation in school administration and through improving school leadership development and support. The results also highlight that school-level stakeholders encounter three broad sets of issues, namely, those relating to administration, to teaching and learning, and to the curriculum. Some of these issues may be attributed to 'general' developing world circumstances, including poverty and low economic growth, while others can be attributed directly to the legacies of armed conflict and genocide.

Figure 9.1. Map of Cambodia. Provided by the Commonwealth of Australia under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Australia licence.

The Context

Since 1998, following the end of the brutal genocide of the 1970s, the government of Cambodia, with support from donors and international communities, introduced a large number of education initiatives aimed at rehabilitating and reconstructing the primary school system. These were in line with education policies and prescribed strategies that focused mainly on promoting access to education, enhancing the quality of education, and promoting institutional development and capacity building for education decentralisation. Concurrently, however, it was not possible to inform initiatives with locally-produced research results since very little systematic enquiry has been conducted on school leadership and management at the primary school level in

Cambodia, and specifically in relation to the post-conflict period. More specifically, given the complex political, social and cultural background to the nation, it is unfortunate that hardly any research has been undertaken to examine the issues that primary school leaders confront and the strategies that they use to deal with them.

The situation in Cambodia, of course, is not unique. Rather it is in line with the fact that while an extensive range of research projects have been conducted on education leadership over the last three decades, most of it has focused almost solely on relatively stable countries economically and politically (Bush, 2014; Nawab, 2011; Oplatka, 2004). By contrast, there are relatively few studies that have focused on extraordinarily challenging circumstances (Bush 2008; Harris 2002) and, in particular, on such circumstances at the individual school level as they relate to post-conflict settings (Clarke & O'Donoghue, 2013). As a result, there is a poor knowledge base to draw upon to promote understanding of the context and the nature of school leadership in post-conflict contexts.

This chapter, as already indicated, reports a study undertaken to address the deficit mentioned above by seeking to generate theory on leadership at the primary school level in post-conflict Cambodia. The decision to focus on leadership at this level was taken for a number of reasons. First, the study was undertaken as a response to calls over the last 15 years for investigations that aim at understanding the context within which school leaders work in extraordinarily challenging circumstances (Harris, 2002), and especially as they relate to post-conflict societies (Clarke & O'Donoghue, 2013). More specifically, there remains a considerable lack of empirical evidence on the challenges that school leaders in post-conflict countries face, and on how they deal with them.

Secondly, the study's focus was a response to criticism that education policies and reforms in developing countries are often based on models extrapolated from studies on Western practices (Dimmock & Walker, 1998; Nawab, 2011; Oplatka, 2004). Given that Cambodia is a developing country, as well as a post-conflict one, the study reported here contributes to deepening understandings of how cultural context and politics shape conceptualisations and practices of school leadership in such settings. Also, it can be seen to be a contribution to heightening awareness of the importance of considering context and its influence on leadership practice (Gronn & Robbins, 1996).

Thirdly, the study provides insights on the relationship between leadership, school effectiveness and student learning outcomes. On this matter in general, it has been argued that the quality of school leadership can have a significant influence on school effectiveness and student learning achievement (Bush, 2012; Jacobson & Ylimaki, 2011; Leithwood & Massey, 2010). In particular, it is held that it can be a crucial factor influencing the achievement of universal primary school education, as promoted by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, and also in UNESCO's Education for All aim (EFA) (UNESCO, 2000).

The fourth reason for taking the particular focus in the study reported here related to the purported contributions that primary school education can make to economic and social change in developing countries (Psacharopoulos, 1985, 1994; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004). Particularly instructive in this regard is the evidence that education at the primary school level can help to improve the economic circumstances of individuals by reducing a nation's birth rate and mortality rate. It is contended also that it can help to promote democracy, social justice, human rights and tolerance in a society (Cohen, Bloom, Malin & Curry, 2012).

A final reason for undertaking the study related to contributions that can be made by reflecting on its outcomes. For example, in having the aim to understand the nature of the context within which school leaders in post-conflict Cambodia operate and the strategies they use for dealing with the complexities of their work, the view was that a contribution could be made to improving leadership preparation and development for Cambodian primary school leaders and teachers.

The nature of the aims of the study is consistent with the interpretivist paradigm, which provides approaches to enable one to examine social phenomena and develop an understanding of complex social institutions (Crotty, 1998; O'Donoghue, 2007). In particular, it can help one to understand the experiences of people from their own perspectives (Hennik, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). Given this situation, the data collection procedures adopted needed to be such that they could help to promote understandings of the particular situation studied (Merriam, 2009). To this end, not only were appropriate documents and participants selected to provide data, selection was purposive.

The total number of participants was 29. This cohort included school principals, deputy principals, representatives of school support committees (SSC), and education officers at different levels. They were selected from 15 primary schools located in five provinces, namely, Kampot (4 schools), Phnom Penh (1 school), Kampong Cham (2 schools), Siem Reap (4 schools), and Oddar Meanchey (4 schools).

The data were analysed using two grounded theory methods of data analysis, namely, open coding and analytic induction. Open coding facilitated the construction of conceptual categories grounded in the data through constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Punch, 2009). Analytic induction was then employed to relate themes and categories generated about the phenomenon to each other (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Attention is now turned to describing the main results of the study.

The Historical Background to Primary School Leadership in Cambodia from Colonial Times until 1998

The specific rationale behind investigating the historical background to primary school leadership in Cambodia is that the past regularly has an impact on the present in

various ways, including through influencing people's actions. As such, it was recognised that it is not possible to comprehend current school leadership in Cambodia, broadly, without a clear knowledge of how it has evolved over time. Accordingly, developments related to primary school education in general, and to primary school leadership in particular, were examined with reference to seven political regimes. These are the pre-colonial period (prior to 1863), the French protectorate and colonial period (1863-1953), the Sihanouk regime period (1953-1970), the Khmer Republic or Lon Nol regime period (1970-1975), the Khmer Rouge Regime (1975-1979), the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) period (1979-1989), and the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and coalition government period (1989-1998). The development of education during these periods progressed through a number of stages, namely, those of traditional education, the promoting of formal education, the destruction of the formal and compulsory education system, and the restoring and reconstructing of the formal education system.

Traditional Education

Traditional education existed amongst Cambodians before the arrival of the French. This took place at 'wat' schools, which focused on mastering and practising religious and cultural principles (Ayres, 2003; Bilodeau, 1955; Clayton, 1995; Fergusson & Masson, 1997; Osborne, 1969). Wat school education had no standardised curriculum, timetable, assessment or inspection (Bilodeau, 1955). Also, it did not promote universal access as it was available only for boys and young men. Furthermore, it had no practical use in the social world (Bilodeau, 1955; Steinberg, 1959). As a result, the country's population had low levels of literacy.

The Promoting of Formal and Compulsory Education

Traditional education weakened when there was a movement towards promoting formal and compulsory education in the country in the late 19th century (Ayres, 2003; Bilodeau, 1955; Clayton, 1995). This was particularly the cased during the French colonial period and then during the Sihanouk regime. While the French began to introduce a formal education system in Cambodia in the 19th century, it was limited to a small section of the population, primarily the children of the colonisers and those of local elites (Ayres, 2003; Chandler, 2008; Clayton, 1995; Osborne, 1969). The main purpose of this education was to produce a workforce to promote the French colonial administration in the country (Ayres, 2003; Bilodeau, 1955; Clayton, 1995). It was not until the early 20th century that the French started to introduce several administrative changes to facilitate mass participation in formal education and to encourage quality education in primary schools. These reforms led to the introduction of the 'khum'

school model, French-style teacher education, the issuing of royal instructions and the Cambodian Civil Code, and the modernising of wat school education (Ayres, 2003; Bilodeau, 1955; Clayton, 1995).

Efforts to promote formal and compulsory education in Cambodia were continued by the Sihanouk regime in the immediate post-colonial period. This regime viewed education as a means to develop individuals who could make a social and economic contribution to the development of the modern state (Ayres, 2003; Steinberg, 1959). Accordingly, significant efforts were made to expand access to education to reach a wide population. For this purpose, an increased annual national budget was allocated to the education sector. Also, there was an increase in the nation's education facilities and infrastructure, a significant growth in the enrolment rates, and changes in the primary school curriculum (Ayres, 2003; Bilodeau, 1955; Chandler, 2008; Fergusson & Masson, 1997; Steinberg, 1959). The latter included changing the medium of instruction from French to Khmer, restructuring the number of teaching hours per week, and producing teaching and learning materials written in Khmer. The efforts to expand and reform formal education during the two political periods under consideration, however, were hampered by a lack of economic resources, inadequate education infrastructure and facilities, a shortage of trained teachers, and a perception amongst many that the school curriculum was irrelevant (Ayres, 2003; Bilodeau, 1955; Steinberg, 1959).

The Destruction of the Formal Education System

The landscape of education in Cambodia shifted to one of destruction when the country suffered seriously from the political, social and economic dislocation of war. This began under the Khmer Republic Regime in 1970, which introduced new education policies with a focus on three key elements, namely promoting a connection between civic education and the economic and political ideologies of the regime, changing the language of instruction in schools from French to Khmer, and encouraging the participation of students in political projects (Ayres, 2003). The implementation of these policies was, however, constrained by the widespread occurrence of armed conflict throughout the country, leading to the emergence of refugees, disruption to learning, and the destruction of education infrastructure (Ayres, 2003; Chandler, 2008). The situation deteriorated when the Khmer Rouge Regime came to power in 1975. This regime, which aimed to build an egalitarian and agrarian society, led the country into a brutal genocide that resulted in considerable loss of human capital, and the destruction of socio-cultural and economic structures, as well as much of the nation's infrastructure (Ayres, 1999, 2003; Chandler, 2008). Only formal education at the most minimal level was maintained, with a focus on raising political

awareness and resolving production issues at Party meetings (Ayres, 1999, 2003; Bit, 1991).

The Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of the Formal Education System

After the collapse of the Khmer Rouge Regime in 1979, the education system was reconstructed, especially between 1979 and 1998. The mission began within what was by now the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), with the primary focus being placed on rehabilitating the basic education infrastructure and associated human resources to bring back 'normality' in the public education services. Special attention was given to establishing administrative bodies, reopening schools, repairing and establishing schools, and recruiting and training teachers (Ayres, 2000, 2003; Dy & Ninomiya, 2003; Pou, 2012; Ratcliffe, Patch & Quinn, 2009). This mission was accelerated by the coalition government that existed between 1989 and 1998. During these years, education reform initiatives were introduced to facilitate the reconstruction process. This included formulating legislative and policy documents to guide education reconstruction, introducing a 12-year education system, restructuring the primary school curriculum, and expanding access to education (Ayres, 2003; Dy & Ninomiya, 2003; MoEYS, 2007; Ratcliffe *et al*., 2009).

The rehabilitation and reconstruction of education was undertaken with significant support from NGOs, international multilateral donors and such international organisations as the International Red Cross, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, and the World Bank (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003; Ratcliffe *et al*., 2009). Numerous challenges needed to be tackled. These related to the lack of human resources, the destruction of physical infrastructure, dealing with psychological trauma, the influence of the Vietnamese government on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of education, inadequate economic resources, shortage of teaching and learning materials, high student dropout, low student attendance, poor quality education and lack of involvement by stakeholders in education (Ayres, 2003; Dy & Ninomiya, 2003; MoEYS, 1994; Pou, 2013; Ratcliffe *et al*., 2009; World Bank, 1994).

Developments That Took Place in Relation to Primary School Leadership from 1998 until 2015

The specific rationale behind investigating developments that have taken place in relation to primary school leadership from 1998 until 2015 arose from the recognition that it is important to gain an understanding of the Cambodian government's recent initiatives, and its efforts to develop education in the nation, in order to understand more fully current primary school leadership practice. To this end, recent developments in relation to primary school education and leadership at this level of

schooling in the post-conflict period were examined. Overall, the post-conflict period in question has been one of peace and political stability accompanied by steady economic growth and social development. Developments in primary schooling not only reflect the social and political interests of the nation, but also align with an international development agenda by promoting the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Education for All (which seek to promote universal primary education). A number of associated education initiatives were introduced to facilitate the realisation of this agenda. These include the formulation and implementation of various laws and policy frameworks which guided the development of primary school education, especially through the Cambodian National Plan for Education for All 2003-2015 (MoEYS, 2003), Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2001-2005 (MoEYS, 2001), 2006-2010 (MoEYS 2005a), 2009-2013 (MoEYS, 2010) and 2014-2018 (MoEYS, 2014a), Education Sector Support Programme (ESSP) 2006-2010 (MoEYS, 2005b), Education Law (Royal Government of Cambodia 2007), Policy for Curriculum Development 2005-2009 (MoEYS, 2004), Child Friendly School Policy (MoEYS, 2007), and Teacher Policy (MoEYS, 2013). Changes were also introduced to the governance and administrative structures of the education system to facilitate the implementation of initiatives.

The various endeavours undertaken resulted in impressive progress in the expansion of the provision of primary schooling to reach a wide population throughout the country. Enrolment rates increased rapidly, with many provinces achieving an over 90 per cent enrolment in 2015 (MoEYS, 2014b, 2015b; UNESCO, 2015). Impressive progress was also achieved in narrowing gender disparity in primary school education and in reducing the dropout rate at this level of education (MoEYS, 2014b; UNESCO, 2015). At the same time, the quality of primary school education was improved as primary school teachers obtained improved academic qualifications and a refined primary school curriculum was introduced. Nevertheless, multiple challenges remain that need to be tackled. These relate to such matters as 'out-of-school-children', low student learning achievement, inadequate education infrastructure and facilities, and a large student-trained teacher ratio gap (CCOSC, 2015; Hattori, 2009; MoEYS, 2014b).

Significant efforts were also made to promote development in primary school leadership. One such effort has been centred on promoting a decentralised school administration in relation to school budgets (Duy, Hang & Yos, 2001; World Bank, 2005), adopting a school cluster approach (Bredenberg, 2002; Pellini, 2007; Pellini & Bredenberg, 2015), and introducing school-based management. This has facilitated the transfer of some autonomy on school operation matters from the central office of education to lower-tier offices. In particular, it has promoted accountability in the utilisation of financial resources and has enabled local education stakeholders to become involved in some areas of school management. Overall, the approach can be seen to be a reflection of the commitment of the government, of donors, and of development partners, to promoting the key education policies of improving access to education, enhancing the quality of education, and strengthening the institutional and

individual capacity of the education system at all levels (Chhinh & Dy, 2009; Ratcliffe *et al.*, 2009; World Bank, 2005).

Another endeavour aimed at promoting the development of primary school leadership in post-conflict Cambodia relates to improving professional development and support for school leaders. This has involved implementing various school leadership and management projects seeking to develop the capacity of school-level stakeholders, and especially school principals, to enhance education outcomes. These projects have included the introduction of a mandatory management-training programme for school principals operating at different levels. Related projects have had a significant impact on educational leadership, with school leadership being part of the government's strategy to promote school effectiveness and improvement (MoEYS, 2013, 2015a).

Perspectives of Primary School Leaders on Current Issues They Face and on the Strategies They Adopt to Deal with those Issues

An analysis of current issues faced by primary school leaders, as seen by themselves, and of the strategies they adopt in order to deal with them, led to the generation of three broad themes, namely issues relating to administration, to teaching and learning, and to curriculum. Adapting the work of Winter (1982), these issues can be classified according to three levels, with each level relating to the perceived degree of impact the issues that fall within it have on the school leaders in their work. These three levels can be labelled 'inconveniences', 'impediments', and 'impending threats'. 'Inconveniences' refer to issues that are perceived to be a nuisance, but do not tend to generate great concern. 'Impediments' are issues that, it is held, can be tolerated for a while, but need to be sorted out eventually. 'Impending threats' are issues that, it is held, if not addressed soon, have the potential to seriously threaten the delivery of the education services. Each of these matters is now considered.

Inconveniences

The first level of inconveniences that do not evoke great concern, can be grouped into those relating to administration, teaching and learning, and curriculum. Regarding inconveniences to administration, participants drew attention to lack of community involvement, natural disasters, landmines, and psychological trauma. Specifically, regarding community involvement, while acknowledging that community members have become more involved in school management than has been customary, participants argued that this involvement is somewhat limited. Community members, they argued, continue to rely upon school principals and teachers to decide on matters relating to school budgets, to formulating school development plans, and to teaching

and learning. They also stated that natural disasters and landmines can constrain the ability of students to gain access to school and to remain in attendance. One school principal commented on the challenge of natural disasters as follows:

> One of the main problems we face in this school is flood which occurs every year. It has an effect upon the school facilities including tables, chairs and especially textbooks and teaching aids because the level of water is high and there is limited space to relocate those facilities. Also, when the flood is gone, we have to deal with mud and dirt left by the flood. We have to clean all classrooms immediately; otherwise, the mud becomes dry and it can be more difficult to clean.

These circumstances, they contended, are compounded by the fact that many school principals suffered a great deal from psychological trauma resulting from the armed conflict and genocide that has occurred throughout the country. Such traumatic experiences were reflected in the following comment of one school principal:

> I can't forget what happened in the 1990s when I began my job as a teacher in this school, the Khmer Rouge soldiers were around the community. Teaching and learning was frequently interrupted when they came to the community. Some teachers and principals were caught up and taken away from the community. I was lucky back then that I was saved by the head monk who was previously associated with the Khmer Rouge. I was suffering a lot at that time. I risked my life.

This trauma can continue to have an impact that may limit school principals' ability to perform their work effectively and to promote a democratic working environment.

School principals also highlighted a variety of inconveniences in relation to teaching and learning. These pertain to peacebuilding and conflict-prevention education, to deciding on what foreign language to teach in primary school, and to a lack of parental involvement in education. Regarding the first of these, and notwithstanding Cambodia's status as a post-conflict country, no major attempts have been taken to promote peacebuilding and conflict-prevention education in the school curriculum through specifically dedicated programmes. Rather, education in this area is often promoted by means of two more general approaches, namely the history curriculum and the conducting of public forums. In this regard, school principals widely recognise that the teaching of history in primary schools relating to war and genocide could have a positive impact on how future citizens will engage in society, but they also consider that much more could be done.

The change in the foreign language policy to the teaching of English as a school subject is also seen by school leaders as an inconvenience. School principals have welcomed the initiative, commenting that it can give students a chance to learn English formally and help to prepare the country for ASEAN integration. At the same time, however, they reported that two main concerns could act as inconveniences

hampering effective implementation of the curriculum. These two concerns are the lack of teachers with English language competency and the shortage of relevant teaching and learning materials. One participant explained the situation as follows:

> The Ministry has already published and distributed English textbooks to schools to be implemented. We have received the books which meant for grade 4, grade 5 and grade 6. The problem is that we do not have teachers who can teach English in this school. Some teachers here have very limited knowledge of English while others including me have never learned English at all. We don't know how to deal with this problem.

Another perceived inconvenience relating to teaching and learning pertains to a lack of parental influence on the learning of their children. Participants recognised that some parents through participating in various school activities that have a positive influence on the learning of their children have changed in the way they perceive education. In this connection, three major types of parental involvement in education were apparent. These are parental resourcing, parental school-based involvement and parental home-based involvement. Nevertheless, participants also expressed a concern that the involvement of parents in school remains somewhat limited. Many parents, it is argued, still pay little attention to the education of their children, make only a limited contribution of resources to assist their children's learning, and participate in very few school activities. One school principal made explicit reference to this issue as follows:

> Parental involvement in schooling is limited. Parents who understand the value of education tend to pay more attention to their children's learning. However, many parents of children below average tend to lack involvement in the learning of their children. I believed that if they paid attention to the learning of their children by helping them with homework, for example, their children would do better at school. We actually have students' learning records that keep parents informed about the learning of their children.

He concluded by saying that "some parents do not even read it. We invite them to school meetings to discuss their children's learning but they said they were too busy. We not only wrote to them but also called them".

School principals also identified two inconveniences that they connected with the curriculum. The first perceived inconvenience relates to frequent curriculum change. Several changes have taken place in relation to the national curriculum policy since the beginning of education rehabilitation in the 1980s. The first national curriculum policy reform was in 1996, with the establishment of associated curriculum committees to oversee the reform. The 1996 curriculum was revised in 2004, with changes being made to some key features, including the quantum of teaching and learning hours, and

subjects of study. All of these changes have created two particular concerns that could serve as inconveniences for school-level leaders. These relate to the limited knowledge and understanding of the curriculum changes amongst stakeholders and the shortage of resources available to support the implementation of the curriculum at the school level. Another perceived inconvenience relevant to curriculum is that of overload. As such, school principals revealed that there is an imbalance between the number of subjects prescribed in the school curriculum and the amount of time allocated for teaching them. This inconvenience can be a factor that undermines the effectiveness of curriculum implementation.

Impediments

'Impediments', which have a perceived impact on the primary school leaders' ability to perform their work in the best possible, or most efficient, manner, may be grouped into those relating to administration and those relating to teaching and learning. As far as administration is concerned, school principals reported multiple impediments. The first is political influence. There is an indication that the dynamics of politics affect primary school education, and especially school leadership practices, in a number of ways. These include the use of networks in processes of appointing school leaders, through procedures for the transfer of teachers, through financial contributions by teachers and principals to the political party with which they are associated, and through attendance at political party meetings. In relation to the latter, one school principal explained:

> To avoid any conflict and interruption to the work performance of civil servants, political party meetings are held on a Sunday. I am sometimes invited to attend the meeting. The meeting is held more frequently when there is an election. However, it is not much work. I have to be cautious as the school principal because I am being watched by other people (teachers) in the school.

Such influence, it is held, can exert a negative impact on the performance of school principals. In particular, it can create discrimination among school-level stakeholders and limit their participation in school development.

Another perceived impediment in relation to administration pertains to poor working conditions. Primary school principals are influenced a great deal because of a shortage of appropriate offices being available. The situation is particularly evident in schools located in rural and remote communities where there is often a shortage of classrooms. In addition, some participants commented on difficulties they experienced in getting to their schools owing to poor road conditions and floods during the rainy season. This comment from one school principal on the situation is enlightening:

One main problem facing our school relates to poor road conditions. We cannot reach our school during the rainy season because all roads become severely flooded. We have to use a taxi boat during this period as the level of water is as high as our waist. It is costly to use the taxi boat. A round trip can cost around 10,000 Riels (USD 2.5).

There is also a perception amongst school principals that they are not paid enough for their work.

Regarding impediments that relate to teaching and learning, school principals drew attention to the limited professional development opportunities and support available to teachers. Although more teachers are now trained in pedagogical knowledge and skills before they take up their position, many experience little prospect of ongoing professional development. One school principal commented on the matter as follows:

The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) has recently implemented a wide range of education reform, but little attention has been given to developing the capacity of teachers. I have not seen any programme that aims to prepare teachers to implement the reform. In general, teachers receive little professional support to improve their teaching ability.

Also, the professional support that is available for teachers, it is contended, tends to focus on introducing them to broad education changes and on familiarising them with what these changes entail. No systematic professional support with the specific purpose of promoting the teachers' capacity is available.

Impending Threats

'Impending threats' relate to the issues which school principals consider have the potential to have a significant negative impact on their ability to carry out their work effectively in the future. They have been grouped into those relating to administration and those relating to teaching and learning.

School principals identified two impending threats associated with administration. The first is the lack of professional preparation and development for school leaders. While significant efforts have been made to promote access to education, to enhance the quality of education, and to promote decentralisation, little attention has been given to promoting the effectiveness of school leadership and management. School principals are not required to engage in any formal leadership and management training before they take up their positions. Often, they are appointed on the basis of having a successful teaching record, the length of their experience, and according to the influence of social networks to which they belong, rather than on leadership potential and qualifications. School principals also tend to have few opportunities for

continuing professional development following their appointment. It is true that some professional development support is available for a minority, but the focus is usually on administrative matters relevant to communicating with the central office and on general changes occurring in education. This situation could eventually undermine effective school leadership and management.

Another perceived impending threat relates to financial constraints. Schools rely mainly on funding support from the government. This support is given to schools based on the number of students in the school and on its location. Before the funding is distributed, school-level stakeholders are required to formulate a school financial plan along with a school development plan and submit them to the district office for approval. However, participants consider that this process, which involves correcting and adjusting the budget before it is officially accepted, is often complicated. Also, the financial allocation, which is often insufficient, is pre-determined, in terms of how it can be spent, leaving minimal discretion for school-level stakeholders to utilise the budget for meeting the school's priorities and needs. One school principal commented on this situation:

> One problem with the school operation budget is that we have to spend it according to what is already decided. The budget is set into different accounts and subaccounts, each of which has its limitation. In principle, we cannot spend more than the amount set in each account and subaccount. This limits about ability to utilise the budget to meet our actual needs in the school. For example, less than 40,000 Riels (USD 10) are allocated to water usage, but we usually spend twice of this amount of budget on water usage.

This situation is amplified by the financial distribution often not occurring on time. These circumstances can have a negative impact on a school's operation as a substantial budget is usually required early in the school year.

Regarding impending threats relating to teaching and learning, school principals drew attention to the shortage of teachers, which they attributed to the country's legacies of armed conflict and genocide. Continuous efforts have been made by the government to address the problem, but it remains unresolved in relation to many primary schools, especially those located in rural and remote areas where working conditions are not attractive to teachers. In this connection, one school principal from a large rural school commented:

> There are only seven trained teachers in my school and this number is inadequate for the actual classes that we have. There are more than 700 students in this school including kindergarten. That is a real challenge for my school. All teachers have to do double-shift teaching- morning and afternoon. It is a headache. We need more teachers.

The situation can also apply to small remote primary schools. One school principal from such a school stated:

> The shortage of teachers has been a critical issue in my school. There are only two teachers in this school including myself. So we have to teach both morning and afternoon classes. It is quite difficult for me to take the responsibility as a teacher and as a principal. I sometimes cannot sleep at night as I have to prepare my teaching lessons and some administrative work at the same time.

Multiple strategies have been adopted by school principals to improve the situation. These include the redeployment of teaching and non-teaching staff, using double-shift teaching, recruiting teachers from other schools within the same school cluster, adopting multi-grade teaching, and using contract teachers. Here one school principal in Siem Reap Province explained how he dealt with the shortage of teachers using contract teachers:

> Because of the teacher shortage in our school, I have to recruit four contract teachers and I also borrowed three teachers from other schools this year… I am given the authority to recruit the contract teachers, but I have to request for financial assistance from the higher office of education to support the recruitment.

Another school principal from the same province commented on the qualifications of contract teachers as follows:

> Some contracts teachers had lower secondary education while others completed upper secondary education level. One problem they all have is that they lack relevant pedagogical preparation. They have limited knowledge and understanding of teaching methods and strategies and this can have an impact on the quality of their teaching.

However, the view remains that the teacher shortage could seriously disrupt education in the long term if not dealt with adequately.

The lack of school infrastructure and facilities is another impending threat for primary school principals. While acknowledging that the number of schools established with proper sanitation facilities and basic classroom equipment has increased significantly over the last decade, there are still schools without such facilities and equipment. Some school principals reported a shortage of classrooms in which to accommodate students. This can be a particular challenge for many primary schools in disadvantaged areas and for some schools in urban areas with a large population of students. There are even schools without proper roofs, walls, and floors. School principals also stated that there is a deficit of essential instructional and learning

materials, including textbooks, teachers' guidebooks, posters, maps, and technology-related tools. This impending threat is evident across all schools.

Implications

Policy Development and Practice

Rosli and Rossi (2014) identified two approaches often used in policy formulation and implementation. The first approach is a 'bottom-up approach', in which attention is paid to the importance of involving local education stakeholders in the process of policy formulation and implementation (Rosli and Rossi, 2014). The second approach is that of a 'top-down approach', in which it is assumed that policy makers have authority and autonomy in producing well prescribed policy objectives and a set of appropriate instruments for policy implementation nationally. Those adopting this latter approach often pay little or no attention to the role of local education stakeholders in the process of policy formulation and implementation (Rosli and Rossi, 2014).

Education policy formulation and implementation practices in Cambodia reflect the second approach noted above and has tended to open a gap between policy formulation and implementation. In this connection, there is an indication from the study reported here that recent education policies and strategies have been formulated with minimal or no involvement from school-level stakeholders, and especially from teachers and school principals. This observation concurs with the finding of Weinstein, Freedman, and Hughson (2007), who argued that education reconstruction plans in post-conflict countries often lack local sensitivity, and that the needs and voices of the most affected groups tend to be unheard. Consequently, the content of policy plans may not adequately address the practical challenges faced by the groups in question. Rosli and Rossi (2014) have commented that this kind of approach rarely leads to success owing to unrealistic expectations and resistance from education stakeholders involved in implementation.

Along with the inconveniences, impediments and impending threats considered in the previous discussion, the study also revealed that little support is available for school-level stakeholders to implement education policy plans. School principals reported that they receive minimal support when education reform takes place and are often not well informed about curriculum change. Thus, they hold, they may be thwarted in their efforts to translate proposed changes into practice as effectively as possible. Also, there is often a lack of resources available to facilitate the implementation of education policy at the school level. These deficits can constrain the ability of school-level stakeholders to fulfil the objectives that have been set. This situation calls for the introduction of an approach which would enable stakeholders at

all education levels in the country to engage in the process of education policy formulation and implementation.

Professional Preparation for School Leaders

There is a general indication that many primary school principals and deputy principals receive no formal or specific leadership preparation when progressing from being a classroom teacher to being a school principal. Rather, they have often been appointed on seniority, on having a successful teaching record, and through the influence of social networks, as opposed to having leadership potential. In addition, some primary school principals, and especially the senior ones who became teachers shortly after the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, have minimal educational attainment and lack preparation in teaching. Consequently, many of them have an impoverished professional knowledge base regarding what is required to perform their role. In these circumstances they face multiple challenges in their schools, including those related to financial, staff, and student management.

The importance of providing formal and specific professional preparation for school leaders is also reinforced by the increased recognition throughout much of the world that the role of school leaders has become more complex and demanding over the last two decades. The shifting landscape of development in education has led to a changing role for school leaders. For this reason, it is axiomatic that they need specific preparation to perform their work as effectively as possible. According to Bush (2008), there are four main reasons why initial preparation for school leadership has become crucial. They are "the expansion of the role of school principal, the increasing complexity of school contexts, [the] recognition that preparation is a moral obligation, and [the] recognition that effective preparation and development make a difference" (Bush, 2008, p. 26). These observations are just as applicable to Cambodia as they are to other countries. It is, therefore, highly desirable that school principals in the country are equipped with the requisite knowledge and skills for their new responsibilities and roles.

Professional Development of School Leaders

It has also been revealed that primary school principals in Cambodia have only limited opportunities to engage in continuing professional development following their appointment. The programmes that are available tend to be short-lived and focus on administrative matters and on change in education in general, with little attention being paid to leadership development. Also, they are often not accessible to primary school principals located in rural areas. Given these shortcomings, it is important to consider ways in which further professional learning opportunities for primary school principals

might be provided in order to support them in dealing with perceived challenges encountered in their roles and to promote school effectiveness and improvement.

The importance of professional development for school leaders of the type proposed is widely articulated by various scholars. Bush (2008, p. 106), for example, stated that "appropriate training, recruitment and selection do not ensure that principals are equipped with the requisite skills, attitudes, knowledge, and motivation to lead their schools effectively". Principals, he held, need further professional support if they are to succeed in leading their schools and promote education outcomes that can compete in an increasingly challenging global economy. Goldring, Preston, and Huff (2012) made a similar point, arguing that professional development for school leaders is of paramount importance if they are expected to lead teachers and students to accomplish high levels of performance and learning.

At the same time, while the importance of professional development for school leaders has been widely recognised, there is little agreement on what constitutes an effective professional development programme. Bush, Glover, and Harris (2007) have suggested that a rigorous professional development programme for school leaders should relate to the learning environment, learning styles, learning approaches, and learning support. Drawing from a review of the literature, Goldring *et al*. (2012) identified five key elements of professional development for school leaders. First, professional development for school leaders should be based on job-embedded instruction that enables participants to apply what they learn. Secondly, it must accommodate the needs of individual school leaders and stages in their careers. Thirdly, it must be long-term and provide various learning opportunities for school leaders. This suggests that professional development should take place in both a formal and informal environment. Fourthly, effective professional development should adopt a coherent curriculum which addresses conditions and activities that school leaders face in their daily work. Fifthly, it should create opportunities for school leaders to develop networking and consultation. It would be desirable for attention to be given to these five key elements when designing professional development programmes for school leaders in Cambodia, while being appropriately sensitive to how they may need to be adjusted or changed in response to the contextual influences that prevail.

Professional Development and Working Conditions for Teachers

While pre-service preparation for primary school teachers has been widely expanded in Cambodia over the last two decades, little attention has been devoted to promoting professional development opportunities for them. The outcomes of the study reported here certainly indicate that primary school teachers have few prospects for continuing professional development following their commencement of teaching. Consequently, teachers can often be lacking in up-to-date pedagogical content knowledge, the ability

to teach multi-grade classes and students with special needs, and the ability to translate policies into practice. These deficiencies call for an initiative to advance systematic professional development for teachers in assisting them to promote effectiveness in their teaching and in policy implementation.

The commentary here also highlights the importance of drawing attention to ameliorating the working conditions of teachers. While the Royal Government of Cambodia has made efforts to improve the living standards of public servants, teachers still, they say, do not receive sufficient remuneration to cover their day-to-day expenses. In response to these circumstances, some teachers take on extra teaching classes to earn additional income, while others make extra money by having a second job. This situation can exert a detrimental influence on teachers' professional capacity and on their impact in the classroom.

Further Research

Over the last 15 years, there has been increased attention to deepening understanding of the relationships between education, conflict, and education reconstruction in conflict and post-conflict countries. However, relatively little attention has been devoted to examining the area of educational leadership in these contexts and especially leadership at the individual school level. This has resulted in very few empirical studies that can help us to understand the context and nature of school leadership in conflict and post-conflict contexts at an international level.

The study reported here serves to highlight the need for further research on leadership at the individual school level in conflict-affected societies. In particular, it would be beneficial to pursue qualitative research agendas (longitudinal and case study) for investigating the perspectives of school leaders on the problems they face and how they deal with those problems in conflict-affected contexts.

Future researchers might also consider a more extensive adoption of comparative approaches to the study of educational leadership and management. This would enable the making of robust comparisons between school leaders' perspectives on school leadership practices across post-conflict contexts. Embracing comparative approaches would also assist researchers to develop a broad understanding of the contextual complexity of school leadership practices across cultural contexts. In this connection, Dimmock and Walker (2000, p. 159) have stated that the cross-cultural comparative approach "can embrace a wider rather than narrower perspective, incorporating school leadership, organisational structures, management, curriculum and teaching and learning, in order to present holistic and contextualised accounts".

In Cambodia, there is a further need to undertake research on school leadership which is inclusive of additional school-level stakeholders, and especially teachers and parents. The commentary here has identified a number of challenges encountered by

teachers, including inadequate opportunities for professional development, poor working conditions and their limited agency in pursuit of curriculum change. It would be potentially fruitful, therefore, to investigate teachers' perspectives on challenges facing primary schools that could generate new insights into primary school education and school leadership in post-conflict Cambodia. The lack of involvement by community members and parents in education is a further phenomenon that warrants greater academic attention by means of similar research endeavours.

Figure 9.2. The outside of a typical school in rural Cambodia.

Figure 9.3. Inside a typical classroom in rural Cambodia.

Conclusion

This chapter has chronicled the historical background to primary school leadership, recent developments in relation to primary school leadership in the country, and the issues of current concern to primary school leaders. No major developments occurred in primary school leadership until the post-conflict period. During this period, significant efforts were made to enhance the quality of primary school leadership through promoting decentralisation in school administration and improving school leadership development and support. It has also been shown that school-level stakeholders encounter three broad sets of issues relating to administration, teaching and learning, and the curriculum. Some of these issues may be due to 'general' developing world circumstances, including poverty and low economic growth, while others can be attributed directly to the legacies of armed conflict and genocide.

Hopefully, this chapter contributes to understandings of educational leadership in developing-country contexts, especially as it is argued that educational leadership and reforms in such circumstances have primarily drawn upon models taken from Western societies. Insights have been offered that may guide future research on educational leadership and leadership policy and practice in post-conflict and developing-country contexts. Given that existing research in the field of education and conflict has failed to fill the theory-practice gap (Karpinska, Yarrow & Gough, 2007), it is also hoped that these insights may assist in bridging the policy-practice divide. In doing so, the study reported here, as well as other research endeavours conducted along similar lines, could make a small, but valuable, contribution to the field of education and conflict. This is particularly the case in regard to the potential of such research to provide a solid body of professional knowledge on which to base advocacy to the international community and to inform the planning and implementation of effective policies and programmes that can enhance the efficacy of school leadership both in Cambodia, as well as similar contexts.

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Chapter Ten: School Principals and Societal and Education Changes in the Republic of Serbia

Jelena Rakovic

Introduction

Major changes have occurred throughout human history that significantly transformed the economic, cultural, and political systems in society. Some important European examples over the last 300 years include the French Revolution (1789-1799), the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), and the Russian Revolution of 1917. More recently, since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, post-communist European societies have been undergoing a transition from communism to democracy. Amongst the most challenging and violent transformations that have taken place in this regard have been those in the former Yugoslavia. Here, transformations have been influenced by nationalism, ethnic conflict and economic hardship.

Serbia is one of the successor countries of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). It is seeking to restructure its political, social and economic systems to become a member state of the European Union (EU). Indeed, the quest for membership of the EU was considered by some over a decade ago to be the single most important factor influencing change within the country (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007). Also, EU accession requires that this be a transformation from the former communist societal organization to a democratic one.

More specifically, the process of joining the EU requires that a number of conditions associated with the country's economy, trade, education, environment, quality indicators, effectiveness, and efficiency be met (Nicolaidou, 2008). In response, the Republic of Serbia has been undergoing the process of democratization for decades.

This has involved experiencing a set of transitions: from being a state-ruled planned economy to embracing market-oriented consumerism and competitiveness, from being led by socialist ideology to being a liberal democracy, from focusing on collectivism to adopting privatization, and from being ruled by a single political party to having a multiparty political system (Velikonja, 2009).

Specifically regarding education, the *European Commission's Strategy 2020*, has emphasised education change as being a priority that will enable sustainable development to take place (Alexiadou & Lange, 2014). Serbia has responded with an 'Education 2020 Policy' of its own. This policy points to the need to develop and improve the country's education system in order to boost employment and create conditions for the development of the knowledge society (MoE/RS, 2012). It also emphasizes that a failure to harmonize the education system in Serbia with EU requirements would end up with the country being isolated as it would not be competitive enough to attract foreign capital (MoE/RS, 2012).

The Serbian crisis of the last decade of the 20th century which was caused by wars, bombing and economic sanctions, brought the education system to a position of impoverishment. More than half of the nation's schools required renovating. Teaching resources were restricted to textbooks and other important teaching materials, and additional teaching aids were not available. Schools were also isolated from technological advancements in education and could not keep up with developments in that sphere. The education system, which used to rank highly among European countries, was now lagging behind many countries, with serious repercussions for the socio-economic development of the country. Such conditions pointed to the necessity for change.

The transitional reforms taking place in the country since the early 2000s is in accordance with the globalization of education policy in Europe, which includes decentralization, democratization, and de-politicization, as well as the abandonment of the 50-year long tradition of Yugoslav socialist education. Decentralization presupposes a higher degree of school independence than existed previously, as well as the right of, and a real possibility for, every citizen to participate in any level of education in any institution, under equal conditions. De-politicization is also meant to legally disable the political engagement of members of social organizations or institutions in education. In 2012, these principles formed a wide socio-theoretical base for the changes taking place in the education system.

Transition from socialism to democracy is a societal change that can influence the education system in any country where it operates. The clash that can exist between the two societal and political systems needs to be interpreted by the actors experiencing the change in order for implementation to progress smoothly. Thus, school leaders in Serbia need to make sense of the changing system in order to be able to implement what is required of them. They have to navigate between the

requirements of the education policy on the one hand, and those of school practices from the communist era, on the other hand.

At the time of undertaking the research reported in this chapter, however, little was known about how school principals themselves viewed their situation. The overall aim of the study was to generate theory on the perspectives of primary school leaders in Serbia on their work within the current political, social and economic situation in which the country finds itself. This was because of the importance of these personnel in the implementation of education changes in Serbia and because of their potential to influence students' learning through improved classroom practice. More specifically, it was considered that education policy and decision-making in Serbia would benefit from being informed on the issues that are of current concern to primary school leaders. Moreover, such understanding, it was held, could be of help in creating programmes for the preparation, professional development and support of primary school leaders in Serbia with the intention of improving education practice at the school level. Finally, it was held that future research on school leadership in other countries in transition politically, economically and socially, could be informed by the results of the research.

Figure 10.1. A view of Belgrade.

Background

The most recent stages in the historical development of Serbia are the period of Yugoslav socialism (1945-1991), the period of conflicts of the 1990s, and the period of democratisation of the country from 2000 onwards. By moving from socialism to

democracy, the centralizing influence of the communist government was replaced by a democratic, decentralizing one.

The historical, geographical, and political context of the region predisposed it for the adoption of strong centralizing power structures. Throughout much of its complicated history, the area was under the control of various multinational empires, including the Roman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire. The centralizing and dominating bureaucratic control of these empires slowed down the development of capitalism. Also, the vertical power structures that originated in, and were perpetuated by, the empires were maintained, being manifested in the desire for a state that would provide social security. They also provided opportunity for corruption and the abuse of power (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007).

Nevertheless, the weakness of the pre-World War 2 civil society and its lack of democratic experiences resulted in resistance to communism, the appearance of 'soft socialism', and the advancement of large proportions of society from an agrarian to an industrial standard of living and a disregard for lack of freedom. However, since resistance relied on a very small circle of intellectuals, there was no layer of society to take responsibility for democratization after the fall of the Berlin wall. Then, when the opportunity for democratization arose, the influence of nationalism overrode it. After the death of Tito, Yugoslavia's leader for more than three decades, power-hungry political figures took advantage of ethnic nationalism and manipulated the masses through fear and discrimination of 'the other' (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007). The resulting wars of the 1990s led to heinous war crimes being committed, to isolation, to industrial collapse, to criminalization of the State, and to the moral downfall of the society.

The difficulties the country and its people experienced in the process of democratization are also evident in the education system. It is an important motivating factor in promoting democratization. As such, the changes promoted did not originate from views generated within the education system itself. Rather, they took place as part of the political approach towards the European Union after 2000. Thus, authentic motivation on the part of education professionals, including school leaders and teachers, has not been evident. Indeed, the stated outcomes may not even be desired. In this regard, it was noted in 2011 that education professionals suffered from a superficial and formal conformity to the 'reforms' and to tendencies of avoiding the prescribed behaviour whenever possible (Jerković *et al*., 2011).

The population in post-communist Serbia is not opposed to capitalism and democracy as such. They are not confused by the voting options available in a pluralistic system. Rather, they seem to recognize that they live in a society characterized by, as Kojanić (2015) labelled it, 'immature capitalism', that replaced socialist self-management. It has been an unstable and confusing time for many, with many institutions of one system having disappeared and the institutions of another not yet properly formed. This, some claim, has led to uncertainty, structural corruption, and restriction of the individual's capacity for decision-making (Kojanić, 2015). Thus, there

is a tendency towards feeing nostalgic for the former communist system in society, including in education.

More specifically, in transitioning from communism to capitalism, there has been a lack of exposure to models of the new system, and so old practices live on. In education, such a situation can lead to "discrepancy between educational aims, at a rhetoric level, and mentalities, at a practical level" (Mincu, 2009, p. 71). In other words, individuals in the stage of transition are asked to change from doing something they are used to doing, to doing something they have never truly experienced for themselves. Thus, they may not be able to see any immediate benefits from one's adaptation efforts. This can result in fear about the future and strain the capacity of the population to hope (Losoncz, 2013). On this, Tanjević (2012) indicated that Serbia struggles with corruption in many areas, but points to 'institutions and infrastructure' as being the most affected. This is also related to centralized decision making, as government representatives are known to favour individuals with connections in the government itself.

Even when it comes to new legislative regulations, the implementation of strict rules may be postponed. Rather, compromises, that serve to support the *status quo*, may adopted. Nevertheless, it was reported in 2011 that there was now more competition than previously among school teachers, a public awareness had developed regarding the expenses involved in providing education, and students and parents were more interested in their own rights in education than previously (Jerković *et al*., 2011).

The country is strongly influenced by the focus in EU policy on economic competitiveness, which has generated a managerialist approach to school leadership (Clarke & Wildy, 2009). The proliferation of this policy means that school leaders in many countries, however, are often in a paradoxical position in which they feel that their primary responsibility is leading learning, while the rising demands for accountability are moving them towards a managerial role (Clarke & Wildy, 2009; Watson, 2009). Also, tension between the professional and the managerial role of school leaders reflects the decentralized centralism present in education systems. While "decentralisation pushes decision-making and discretion down to the school level, accountability is pushed up so that paradoxically principals feel they have more power but less room to move" (Clarke & Wildy, 2009, p. 357). School principals in this framework are held accountable for managerial agendas decided upon elsewhere (Clarke & Wildy, 2009).

Furthermore, schools are required to transform into 'learning organizations' in order to adapt to the education policies of privatization, local management, school autonomy, standardized testing and competition between themselves (Nicolaidou, 2008). The role of school principals is often new as well, as they become the managers of the education reforms in their schools. Furthermore, the challenge of dealing with the tension between the two pressures noted above is difficult because of the need for

principals to engage in learning how to manage a school and deal with the newfound autonomy (Clarke & Wildy, 2009).

In the case of post-communist countries like Serbia, changing the focus from centralization to decentralization in education may not be readily acceptable to leaders and practitioners since education systems in such contexts are still heavily centralized. Certainly, school principals may be well skilled in managing tasks set by the central authority. However, they can also place lower priority on relationship building and on developing visions or strategic plans for their schools. Moreover, they can be influenced by the past and find it difficult to break their old habits. Thus, inherited practices can remain relatively stable even as change is occurring (Melville, Jones, & Campbell, 2014). In this regard, O'Donoghue and Clarke (2010) have argued that, since inherited practices are an essential part of a cultural context, it is of vital importance to consider context in attempting to implement new models of thought and action.

In recent years, measures of school governance have been defined precisely, tending to enhance the ability and the quality of practices used to help schools meet education objectives (Pont *et al*., 2008). Current amendments in school legislation in Europe aim to improve quality by strengthening the autonomy of schools. These are accompanied by development processes initiated and governed by the schools themselves and linked to an external setting of standards of effectiveness and an increased control of outcomes (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005). A shift in emphasis has been noted over the last two decades or so, away from engaging with children and teachers and towards a more significant focus on finance and administration (Woods, Armstrong, & Pearson, 2012). Both require dedication from school principals and can lead to principals finding themselves locked between two areas of focus: the market, profit and productivity focus on the one hand, and the government, parents and society focus on the other (Ball, 2012). Being pushed towards being entrepreneurs, they can feel denied the opportunity to act as authentic leaders (Wright, 2011).

Special interest is placed on strategic management in terms of mid-term and long-term school development. The school principals' role as 'change agents' has never been more promoted as being important than it is today, being seen as a central link between state-driven reforms and school-internal innovation (Fend, 2011). However, as school leaders do not operate in isolation, contextual factors also have to be considered. School principals' actions greatly depend on their perspectives on the particular context in which they operate, since this is how they interpret the external environment and legal framework related to their practices.

In communist Yugoslavia, the position of a school leader depended on a social order that only gradually changed over time. At first, the education system was heavily centralized, but as the societal system changed from communism to self-management and market socialism, it became decentralized (Ristanović, 1981). Concurrently, the role of school leaders changed from that of being supervisors and controllers who

represented the centralized government, to becoming managers and facilitators who were required to respect the teachers' views in decision-making.

Since Serbia still retains elements of decentralization as well as centralization in education, one might conclude that such a background has made it easier to change the system to become a democratic decentralized one. However, research on school leadership in the country shows that this is not necessarily the case. Rather, it indicates that school principals are under pressure from the transition-related changes that have placed more responsibility on the school than previously (Andevski, 2004). There are indications that they are struggling to understand and adapt to tasks that require them to go beyond engaging in traditional activities (Andevski & Dudjak, 2011). It also appears that they are overwhelmed by responsibility and believe that change is not worth the effort, especially when taking into account the circumstances under which they work.

The working conditions of school leaders in Serbia are often perceived to be influenced by the adoption of poor selection procedures, corruption, nepotism and political affiliation (Andevski & Arsenijević, 2012). In such a context, it is required of the leaders that they create opportunities for school improvement and inspire staff to take responsibility and carry out change (Andevski & Dudjak, 2011). Overall, it seems that pressure induced by proposals for change has left school leaders struggling with additional responsibilities and adapting to new professional demands in a shifting and challenging context that relies on them to inspire and lead change.

The challenges faced by Serbian school leaders have also had an effect on education policy development in the country. It is recognized that school principals are highly educated, but that the area in which they lack expertise is in practical managerial skills for working in a modern school (Sajfert, Cvijanović, & Atanasković, 2009). Thus, in order to contribute to improving the quality of school management, the Ministry of Education developed competency standards for school principals which deal with leading learning and teaching in schools, with engaging in cooperation with parents, with being competent with planning, organization and control, and with leading personnel. They also have to deal with the matters to do with the law and financial and administrative management.

The perceived lack of managerial skills needed for school improvement within the current reforms has promoted research on how the characteristics of school leaders in Serbia relate to the characteristics required by the education changes taking place, which are promoting a democratic system. For example, research indicates that school principals can struggle with changes aimed at democratizing the education system, as well as with the implementation of distributed leadership. In this area, a few quantitative studies have examined the ability of Serbian school employees to adapt to the new educational structures and to harness the distributive leadership potential of their staff (Andevski & Arsenijević, 2012; Andevski, Arsenijević, & Spajić, 2012). The results demonstrated a lack of democratic orientation among principals, especially

when compared to school principals in Croatia. This may be attributable to the fact that the Croatian system had been democratized to a higher degree than that in Serbia as it has already joined the EU (Andevski *et al*., 2012).

Figure 10.2. A view of Novi-Sad.

About the Study

No empirical studies have focused in depth on the issues that school leaders face in implementing national policy, nor have they investigated the perspectives that school leaders have on societal and education changes. The results of the research project outlined in this chapter are offered as one response to this situation. Since the aim was to generate theory on the perspectives of primary school leaders on their work, a qualitative inquiry approach was undertaken. In qualitative research, phenomena are studied in their natural settings, so that they can be interpreted in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Furthermore, since the nature of the research aim required interpretation of social phenomena (O'Donoghue, 2007), the study was located within the interpretative paradigm.

Interviews were the main source of data. Data collection took place in the second half of 2015, commencing at the beginning of the school year in Serbia. Individual semi-structured interviews with 20 primary school principals were conducted in a variety of schools across the nation. These schools were selected purposefully to ensure diversity (Creswell, 2013; Punch, 2009). They differed in size, length of operation and location (city, town, rural area). By utilizing such purposeful maximum variation selection, the researcher sought to uncover as wide a range of perspectives as possible (Patton, 2002). Particular cities, towns and villages visited are not listed in order to protect the anonymity of the principals. This is particularly relevant in relation

to villages; because there is usually only one school per village, it would be very difficult to protect the anonymity of principals if the actual location was revealed.

Diversity in the selection of participants was obtained by choosing those who differed from each other as much as possible in terms of experience, gender and the location of the school in which they worked. Some of the principals were novices, some were experienced, and some were retired. The interviews were conducted at 12 different locations. There were 10 participants working at village schools, six at town schools and four at city schools. There were 12 male and eight female participants. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was digitally recorded. It was conducted in Serbian, the first language of the researcher and of all of the participants. Grounded theory approaches to data analysis made it possible to inductively generate theory from the data in an area where that had not been done before. This was accomplished through memo writing, open coding, axial coding, and extracting propositions (Charmaz, 2006; Punch, 2009; Oktay, 2012; Creswell, 2013).

Results of the Study

School principals in Serbia stated that they find themselves influenced by the social, political, and economic changes that have been taking place in the country. The associated process of democratization that the country is going through, they say, has been challenging for the society, including in relation to the education system and, thus, has also been challenging for themselves as school principals.

Influences as a Result of Social Changes

With the society in general, and the education system in particular, being perceived to be in a state of crisis, the position of school principals, as they see it, is being challenged. As one principal reported, when the society was more stable under the old Yugoslav regime, the education system was considered important and the school principals who worked within it enjoyed a certain social status they now regret having lost. He went to state: "Our profession used to be much more respected in society. We lost our dignity. Now anyone can lash out at us and we have to sit quietly and take it." The changes brought about by the conflict and by societal restructuring resulted, principals hold, in the emergence of an unstable context that does not bestow the same level of power on the school principal as previously.

Another layer of concern for principals associated with societal changes also exists. This concern was stated succinctly as follows:

We lost the morality we used to have. Parents work non-stop and cannot dedicate themselves to their children. Most of them are barely making a living. The main unit

of society is lost and that influences the whole society… Children can see that education is no means to get to a successful life. They see educated people unemployed, and questionable characters with all the money. They don't want to go to school.

This is representative of a view of school principals who seem to lament not only the loss of personal power within the education and societal systems, but also a loss of faith in the importance of education. To put it another way, school principals seem to be disappointed with the current view being promoted within society on the nature of education. As they see it, financial and moral difficulties are challenging not only the position of school principals in society, but also the purpose of education in general.

Influences as a Result of Political Changes

In the past, much of the power granted to school principals was possible because of the stability of the society. One principal gave voice to this when stating:

It used to be much easier to be principal. Everything was organized in schools, in the society. You get the job and everything would flow. In these turbulent times, it takes courage to be principal. No matter how young or old you are, you are a beginner. You cannot be prepared for everything that happens in our system… It is an insecure position and it's stressful.

As principals reported, attempting to exercise the power that they are supposed to have in a society in order to perform their duties properly is seen to be risky due to the instability of the system. In the absence of strong societal support, they are now exposed to pressures that they cannot predict. This situation makes them feel insecure and concerned about their own well-being. They claim also that it undermines their ability to do their job properly. Thus, they hold, they are often unsure as to the direction in which they need to guide their schools.

The changes in the political structure of the country have influenced the everyday work of school principals. Because the education system is not separate from society, school principals are under pressure to change their perspectives and practices in relation to their work in order to adapt to the changes in the political sphere. In this regard, one principal stated: "The political situation simply forces you into answering its demands and adapting to it. I believe… that principals should not depend on the political changes in the country. Unfortunately, that isn't the case in Serbia." The changes this school principal is referring to, as will be shown further, are twofold. First, they have to adapt to the way that politics influences changes in the education system at the central level. This refers especially to the education changes that the Ministry of

Education has introduced in the wake of political changes. Secondly, local politics has also had an influence on everyday life in individual schools.

As far as central changes are concerned, it seems that frequent political changes are taking their toll on the education system because of various associated and frequent education developments. School principals are the ones who have to implement these changes as they evolve. This view was made clear by one school principal, who commented:

> When the ruling political party changes, when we get a new education minister, those people feel the need to show how everything that the previous government has done was bad. Since the reforms started we have had 3, 4 or 5 different ministers and we really had to start over each and every time… We have to do it, those changes are based on the changes in law and legislation that determine how a school will function. We cannot avoid that kind of change. We can only make it milder and less stressful for our schools.

Other principals also commented on how challenging it is to try to adapt to new education developments being introduced every few years. Furthermore, as they see it, what adds to the challenges faced by principals is that these education developments are conducted primarily for political reasons rather than for education ones. They see their position as being compliant implementers of these changes even when they do not necessarily agree with them and with how they are conducted.

When it comes to local politics and its influence on school principals, it is held that belonging to a certain political party that is locally powerful can help a principal to perform his or her responsibilities. This is because principals sometimes receive additional support from the local government through unofficial means. A common view on this was encapsulated by one principal, who said:

> If you belong to a party and have important friends, things are easier for you… I didn't have problems with them. I got what I did from them and it was natural that I had to stick by some of their rules… I reacted when I thought something was wrong and they accepted me that way.

It is the norm, as the principal sees it, that being a member of the ruling local political party makes it easier to become a school principal in Serbian society. In exchange for their support, school principals, it is held, are unofficially required to abide by rules set by the party. Some described this as being almost the natural order of things, and of how matters are expected to be, possibly because their exchanges with the political party were relatively successful.

In other cases, however, the situation has been challenging for school principals. This can particularly be the case when ruling party representatives try to pressure them to either join their party or to make decisions that benefit their control over local

politics. The following observation from a school principal captures concern expressed about this:

> …the chief of local school administration asked all the principals in the municipality to join the democratic party of Serbia. If you had said anything, it's not like you would face direct consequences like losing your job, but it would be a kind of mobbing, constant pressure and threats. They threatened me with inspections, for example… I had to be ready and make sure my work was immaculate in the times of most turbulent changes when I wasn't even sure what I was doing with all the new laws and regulations. I could have easily made an honest mistake that I would have paid for seriously… They couldn't find anything wrong, and I got the highest mark for my school and all the paperwork… But then, because I received such a high mark, the report would never be sent to me or the Ministry. As if no inspection visit had happened. That was the pressure I felt.

As indicated by this comment, it is not unknown for principals to be threatened with having an inspection visit that might result in a negative outcome for them. This is a case of informal political relations at the local level being abused in relation to centralized reform initiatives. As a consequence, there can be additional pressure placed on principals in times of endemic education change as they are very anxious about making mistakes even when they do have sufficient support to implement the changes with fidelity.

Moreover, as the Republic of Serbia is being 'democratized', the move to a multiparty political system and the frequent changes in the political context have influenced how school principals are selected. As school principals see it, their qualifications and capabilities are less important than their political loyalties. One principal commented on this as follows:

> Whatever you do, there is no guarantee you will prevail. In our municipality, there were three wonderful principals last year who lost the position because they didn't do what the then party told them to do. There are also those that get the lowest marks every time they are inspected, and they still stick around. They become party members and they get support no matter what.

This points to the insecure position of school principals who need to satisfy both the formal requirements of their job and the informal requirements of the political climate that influences their job security. In an unstable social and political context of transition, being loyal to the ruling party and satisfying its demands is, as they see it, what can make a difference in a school principal's career.

A common view also expressed by principals is that because the role has formal responsibilities attached to it as well as meeting informal political requirements, many teachers do not wish to advance to the position of the school principal. In this regard, a

school principal commented: "I know many capable and talented people who were offered a chance to be principals, but who refused it. They didn't want to play the politics game." In other words, having a talent for leading a school and working in the education system is seen as not being sufficient for being a successful school principal. Instead, political connections are seen as being more important.

School principals also seem to be aware of the importance of politics even though they do not necessarily approve of it. On this, one principal stated: "I'm against hiring and firing principals just because the politics changed. You take someone who is not right for the job and you give it to him just because he is in your party. I know that that is what happens. Quite often as a matter of fact." Principals consider that their own positions may change as not only the political, but the economic situation, may change, and this, they hold, is not a good situation in which to be located.

Influences as a Result of Economic Changes

The situation seems to be especially unfortunate given that there cannot be effective education change without the involvement of school principals. With Serbia going through a process of transition in changing its education system to respond to new societal needs, school principals find themselves located between the policy demands in relation to the changes and the post-communist education context. In this context, school principals in Serbia see themselves as being the leaders of change. One principal recognized this when stating:

> The most important task of a principal is to change. If he does not and if he speaks negatively of change, if he does not lead the change, no change can be implemented and accepted and there will not be improvement and progress. A principal has to be informed, explain why things should happen, have a vision, and then teachers will accept it. There cannot be change without a principal.

Thus, even though they find the prescribed changes difficult to accept, school principals still conclude that it is their duty to implement them and to adapt them to the reality of their circumstances.

School principals also hold that they are not sufficiently prepared for, or financed to implement, the education changes successfully. They report on not having gone through training to understand how to conduct the changes and not having been provided with funds to help implement them. Principals further hold that education change initiatives take place too frequently. The following observation from one principal captures this concern:

> It is chaotic and stressful. They change the rules without telling us in time. That is how education reforms are done. No planning at all. We are in a constant state of

initiating reforms, and we never finish them. Sometimes, when we see how bad an idea was we are relieved that it was never implemented. But there were also some positive ideas that were started and never realized. There is no consistency in our education reforms.

Similar comments indicate that school principals consider that the education changes are chaotic, rushed and lacking in the availability of support for their development, especially when it comes to preparing them for their job. They hold that as they are the first ones to encounter the changes, the first ones to struggle with accepting them, and the first ones who need to adapt in order to implement them, they need extra assistance. In their view, they are being required to adapt to the new societal system at the same time as that system is established.

The problem, as they see it, is compounded by attempts to imitate foreign education systems. One school principal made explicit reference to this issue as follows:

I do not think we are behind theoretically. Maybe a couple of years, but we are aware of international education trends. The problem is implementing those trends in our system. It might work in Denmark or Finland, but you have to think about the economy, history, culture of a certain country. It is as if I tried to water a lemon tree and waited for it to grow here where it is too cold for it. Trends keep coming, we open our windows and doors to them, and then you see teachers not accepting it, parents not accepting, students not accepting it. It is a question of balance with our traditional values that work for us. I think we need to be more cautious and critically evaluate everything.

To put it simply, principals state that they are concerned that the changes are not relevant to the immediate needs of students, teachers, and parents.

The change that school principals mention most frequently is related to their main role in the education system. They maintain that they used to have mainly a pedagogical role, but that this is now being replaced by an entrepreneurial one. This is because the democratization process has led them towards focusing on the education market instead of working with their students.

A chief motivation originally in becoming a school principal, they hold, had to do with the role of a pedagogue. As qualified teachers, school principals saw their new position as providing an opportunity to advance in their career and to work on the improvement of their schools in terms of teaching and learning at a high level. One of the principals put it this way: "I didn't want to be principal for the sake of the title, I wanted to improve the teaching in our school, raise it to a higher level. And that is what I did, I gave it my all." By working on learning and teaching, principals felt they could help all of their students in ways they were not able to as classroom teachers, only to

find that dedicating oneself fully to improving pedagogy has become increasingly difficult. One school principal reported as follows on the shift of focus from pedagogy to management and the duality it implies: "In time, you have to pay less attention to leading teaching and more to being an entrepreneur."

Regarding having the role of an entrepreneur, Serbian primary school principals say that this means it is their responsibility to find additional funds to keep their schools running. Since it is impossible to rely on the State, they say, or on the Ministry of Education or the municipality, they feel betrayed and left to their own devices to make sure their schools are kept operating. Commenting on this, one principal stated: "The state gave up on schools and the principal has to be an entrepreneur who will know where to get funds, how to motivate people, how to apply for projects and how to modernize the school." They add that the responsibility they feel to seek out funds in a creative manner seems to be immense since they operate under the assumption it is up to them to save their schools from closing by ensuring there is financial support to keep their schools competitive.

Moreover, it seems that school principals see themselves as being inadequate in dealing with their entrepreneurial responsibilities because their skills are adapted to their roles as pedagogues, rather than to those of entrepreneurs. They are not confident in their new entrepreneurial role because they receive no professional training to prepare them for it. In this regard, the following comment from one principal is evocative: "I am not comfortable by the management side of it. It is not what I am good at… I always worked with children and had no need for management skills and legal knowledge. It certainly wasn't easy to handle it all at the beginning." Another put it as follows:

> I have a feeling that someone wants entrepreneurs in schools that would bring in money. But I still think that a school principal should be the best teacher in the first place. You have to understand how a school works in order to lead it. You have to understand the problems of students, teachers, and parents. It is not all about money. There is a trend of making principles entrepreneurs who are responsible for every single coin. If you place that much emphasis on economy, you lose the people who love working with children.

From the point of view of this principal, the government, with little money at its disposal, has abandoned school principals, leaving them to provide the necessary means from sources outside of the mainstream education system.

Conclusion

The study reported here, the first in the field, suggests that in order for education stakeholders in Serbia to sustain the enhancement of primary school leadership into

the future they will need not only to be aware of the fundamental challenges with which they are faced, but also be equipped to deal with them. In other words, they need to be prepared, developed and supported as effectively as possible for their roles. This points to the importance of immediately addressing the perceived lack of effective professional learning and development opportunities available for them. Furthermore, and in accord with the thrust of a principal argument running through this book, leadership development for principals and other school leaders in Serbia needs to be grounded in the day-to-day realities of schools. To ignore this argument would likely result in little progress and much failure.

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Chapter Eleven: Education in Emergencies: An Overview of Benefits and Challenges of Learning in Times of Conflict

R. Fiona Hayward

Introduction

It is vital that there be a strong desire on the part of the international community to provide for children caught in areas of conflict. Whether these children are in camps, are hosted by third party nations, are distributed within communities on a host nation, or are in displaced persons' camps within town borders, they are in need of a safe haven and in need of hope for the future. Education should be seen as having a major part to play in the generation of that hope.

In times of conflict, children can be caught in insecure and inadequate accommodation for many years and unless they are appropriately educated they have very little chance of lifting themselves out of poverty and of working to rebuild their communities or actively contributing to their host nations. Accordingly, it is essential that aid organizations and donors shift their focus from education as a post-conflict need, or a temporary fix, to being a permanent pillar in the provision of aid. In other words, it should be equal in importance to the provision of food, shelter, health and hygiene.

There are, however, many challenges associated with the provision of education under circumstances of chaos and trauma. This chapter provides a broad context for considering them. In doing so, the importance of taking cognizance of context is regularly stressed. This is to hold that solutions proposed for each situation must be

based on a sustainable, sensitive and future-focused plan, devised in consultation with all stakeholders, and thus ensuring benefit for all involved.

What Does Education in Emergency Situations Mean?

The United Nations Charter on the Rights of the Child makes it clear that education is a fundamental right of children. It states that all children have the right "to a name, to a nationality, to learn and use a mother tongue, and that refugee children have the same rights as children native to a host country" (UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. 1996-2017, np.). Further, in the year 2000, the World Education Forum recognized that the goal it had set to educate all children would fail unless special attention was paid to the education of those affected by crises. It also decreed that "states are obliged to provide education without discrimination and regardless of the individual's status" (Cahill, 2010, p. 13), including in relation to the children of refugees and internally displaced populations.

Considered within the context outlined so far, education needs to be seen as being not merely a tool of the state to educate citizens. Rather, it can provide the state with citizens who have an interest in the success of the state. This becomes a vital component of an emergency response. At a minimum, it can help to keep children safe, offer them a sense of normalcy and security, and keep them occupied so that their parents can be free to carry out various activities. In addition, by assisting them to interact with others, it can provide children with a means to help them in overcoming their fears, confusions and traumas.

When it is most effective, education in emergency situations can provide children with the opportunity to continue their interrupted schooling and complete it to certification level. In this way, a state in reconstruction can end up with educated citizens who can contribute to development in myriad ways. These can range from economic participation in a market economy, to actively working on, and supporting, the reconstruction of infrastructure, of social systems and of the social and economic capabilities of communities.

Emergencies can be divided into four broad categories: conflict, natural disasters, epidemic and man-made crises. Each is quite different. For example, a man-made crisis such as the poor management of land or water, and economic failure caused by corruption and poor governance, is very different to an epidemic such as the Ebola virus disease. Each type of disaster requires specialist aid and equipment and also a specialist response. For example, natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes require rapid responses and rebuilding. Also, while the need for aid and assistance may last for some time, the people affected can be empowered by the state and its supporters to begin the rebuilding and renewing of existing structures and systems very soon after the initial crisis has taken place.

Also, the conditions and features of conflict can rapidly change as contemporary socioeconomic and geopolitical connections alter and as power balances become unstable. Furthermore, each conflict is unique. One example in this regard is the internal, inter-communal violence that occurred in Rwanda. Another is that which took place in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, whose origin was in hostilities between two tribal groups, but expanded into a broader political arena to become a protracted and complex civil war. Another example is that which has eventuated from the power struggles between the warlords in Mogadishu.

Then there is internecine conflict, which can overlay other causal features such as the violence between Sunni and Shia Islam in Iraq. There are also the power vacuums and political instabilities that were created by the so-called 'Arab Spring' and that resulted in continuing violence in Libya and ongoing civil war in Syria. Furthermore, conflict can spill over borders to become a matter of international concern, as happened in the case of the conflict that took place between Ethiopia and Eritrea between 1998 and 2000.

The role of groups such as the 'so-called Islamic State' and the Taliban to influence and inflame existing volatility and tensions is a particular feature of recent conflicts. The actions of these and other radicalized groups have manipulated ideologies and government policies both directly and indirectly. Also, the ensuing emergency events have resulted in displacement and disruption of social support systems, including to education systems and institutions.

The Place of Education in the Management of Emergencies

Conflict and emergency situations can have the most far-reaching consequences for individuals, communities and nations. This begs a variety of questions in relation to the place of education in the management of associated emergencies, on which some answers have been already suggested: What, for example, might be the benefits and issues connected with providing quality education, and what does it mean to meet the short and long term needs and expectations of refugees and internally displaced persons. And what does education look like for children, their communities and states in this context.

For the purpose of this chapter, an emergency is defined as being a situation in which lives are endangered through military or other violent actions. The result of the violence is often large numbers of people moving from an area deemed unsafe and insecure, to an area identified as being a safer zone. The people usually move with urgency and take few possessions with them. Sometimes, people flee over borders and become refugees living in a host nation. At other times, they may flee to a place within their country of origin and thus become what are known as internally displaced persons. Also, on arrival, and regardless of their location, they may remain in one place

or be forced to relocate frequently. Furthermore, the situation that begins as a crisis may become protracted as fighting or instability becomes entrenched and prolonged.

The average duration of the 32 protracted refugee situations that were identified at the end of 2015 was estimated to be about 26 years (UNHCR, 2015, p. 20). In presenting such figures it is recognized that they can be incomplete, as refugee populations often move frequently and also because the processes used for estimating numbers for them can be inconsistent across jurisdictions. Furthermore, there are large numbers of refugees living within urban settings who may not be counted at all. Nevertheless, a report in 2015, of 12.4 million people being newly displaced within their own national borders is chastening. (UNHCR, 2015, p. 2)

Considering statistics like those outlined above indicates that the provision of education for both refugee children and IDP children should not be seen as being a stopgap measure. Rather, it needs to be viewed as being a fundamental necessity for the wellbeing and prosperity of the children and their future. By contrast, if education is not a priority in planning and providing for refugee populations, there will be large cohorts of illiterate and innumerate individuals and communities for host nations to support. Also, nations struggling to maintain peace and to reconstruct their economic and social infrastructure, may find it simply impossible on their own to provide for their repatriated populations, with the result that the cycle of poverty may become exacerbated and extended.

Recognizing the gravity of such situations, the World Education Forum pledge of 2000 emphasized that education in emergencies should be such that it meets the needs of education systems affected by conflict, natural calamity and instability and that programmes should be conducted "that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance and that help to prevent violence and conflict." (Sinclair, 2002, p. 21) She continued on this as follows in her *Planning Education in and After Emergencies*:

> The victims of conflicts and emergencies are people who have been through heartbreaking, and sometimes appalling suffering. Yet, in camps and settlements, villages and towns all over the world they very often look to education as their major, or even their only, hope for a decent future. Schooling is their greatest hope for a life that will transcend the poverty that breeds violence which in turn intensifies poverty. (Sinclair, 2002, p. 17)

The Save the Children Alliance Education Group stated, in like manner, that an appropriate education for emergency situations is one that "protects the well-being, fosters learning opportunities and nurtures the overall development (social, emotional, cognitive, physical) of children affected by conflicts and disasters." (Sinclair, 2002, p. 23) Both positions highlight two key points, namely, that children may feel the impact of events, actions, and realities associated with conflict and emergency situations for the rest of their lives; and that education is acknowledged by leading authorities as

being a means for providing not only immediate, but also medium and long-term benefits for them.

Overall, then, the child has to be placed at the centre of deliberations when possible responses to crisis situations are being considered. Wright (2006), on examining UNICEF's *Educational Strategy for 2006 – 2015*, deduced that a situation needs to prevail for the children of refugees and IDPs such that

- Schools are prepared to receive them and they have appropriate resources to support their learning in conducive environments;
- Parents are empowered to support children's learning;
- Children can freely get access to school and complete their schooling;
- Teachers are competent and well supported;
- Education systems are accountable, well managed and focused on challenges that affect children.

These same points, albeit stated differently, were also highlighted in the Mission Statement for the International Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) (INEE, 2010, Preface).

The INEE, in stating that all stakeholders should work together to ensure that all have a "quality education and a safe learning environment in emergencies and post-crisis recovery" (INEE, 2010, Preface), also listed 19 minimum standards organized around 'foundation' and four other domains, to provide guidance for putting an effective education programme in place in such situations. These are as follows:

- Foundation Domain Standards: These are standards to do with community participation, coordination and analysis;
- Domain 2 Standards: These are standards to do with access to schooling and with the learning environment;
- Domain 3 Standards: These are standards to do with teaching and learning;
- Domain 4 Standards: These are standards to do with teachers and other education personnel;
- Domain 5 Standards: These are standards to do with education policy.

They are offered as minimum standards to inform the development of programmes when constructing a national plan for managing disasters. These positions also constitute a planning tool for states in the fragile rebuilding and recovery phases of redevelopment seeking to redevelop their education systems such that they meet international expectations of transparency and accountability and therefore encourage donor participation.

There are also benefits and advantages to providing education in emergency situations that go beyond those that apply to the individual alone. These benefits are

often not just short term and isolated to a single situation. Rather, education in emergency situations is central to the protection and promulgation of human rights. It can help to support and enhance reconstruction in post-conflict situations, promote conflict resolution, enhance the development of problem-solving skills and capabilities, and encourage the practice of tolerance and respect.

Children who are in education settings are safer than when they are not, being less vulnerable to exploitation, recruitment and violence. This is of particular importance for girls, who are highly vulnerable to sexual abuse, exploitation, early marriages, unwanted pregnancies and trafficking. Families demand education for their children. It is their hope for the future, a route to normalcy, to better mental health and to better physical health for their children.

The Physical Infrastructure of Schools for Refugees

The INEE argues that not only does education give refugees and other displaced people a chance to maintain their dignity and to gain skills, it can also have more far reaching and profound implications. Indeed, education, it has been argued, can be lifesaving, a point stressed by many practitioners in the field. On this, Save the Children argues that education can save children from harm and even death by removing them as much as possible from harm's way. Education can also allow for the delivery of life saving messages on health and hygiene to be made, and for warnings about physical danger to be given. In North Sudan, for example, children were taught about the dangers of land mines and given health and hygiene information. After training in speaking and play building, they created simple dramas around these messages. They performed these for other children and for their communities. In this way they became the agents of social change and were helped in their efforts to try to regain control over their circumstances. (Save the Children, 2008)

Currently, many agencies see education as secondary to the three main pillars of emergency assistance: food, shelter, health and hygiene. It is not that education is considered unimportant, but many donors see education as a post-crisis need or as a recovery-phase project. This view is now shifting as donors and agencies acknowledge that refugee status is becoming a significantly more prolonged feature of conflict. The child protection model of the past is being extended to recognition that education must now become a fourth pillar in any assistance plan.

To ensure that maximum benefit is achieved from an education programme, expedient and thorough community consultation is essential. The more information that can be gathered about the needs and aspirations of the people to whom aid is provided, the more effective the delivery is likely to be. This can involve speaking to parents, children and other stakeholders. Also, assessing the needs of a population is essential for providing sustainable and culturally appropriate support that is

manageable in the given circumstances. Furthermore, concern for life needs to take account of the psychological well-being and the future of the individual. Individuals are members of communities, and the wellbeing of a community is only as good as the wellbeing of the individuals that live within it.

According to UNICEF, only 50 per cent of refugee children worldwide attend primary school, only 22 per cent attend secondary school, and only 1 per cent go on to be enrolled in a higher education institution. This is not difficult to comprehend when one considers the dire situation that can often prevail, which has been characterized as follows:

> Not only are large numbers of children killed and injured, but countless others grow up deprived of their material and emotional needs, including structures that gives meaning to social and cultural life. The entire fabric of their societies – their homes, schools, health systems, and religious institutions – is torn to pieces. (Cahill, 2010, p. 90).

So vital do some societies consider education to be that Afghani elders in one community, when told that education was not within the scope of a famine recovery plan being implemented, asked that food allocation be prioritized for the teachers in the village so that they would not leave. (Cahill, 2010, p. 97) Child-friendly spaces can also be established as soon as possible during the evaluation period. These can provide a space for children where they are able to interact with others and with adults, join in on activities that are fun and stimulating, play games, and be creative. Child-safe places have helped to reunite families and identify vulnerable children. They can also provide a platform for the identification of support structures to which communities wish to attach priority. (Save the Children, 2008)

Support structures are important for the psychosocial recovery of refugee children. Often, these children have struggled to travel, they have witnessed war and suffering and they have experienced great loss. They need time to recover some equilibrium. The following anecdote, perhaps, gives some perspective to the importance of children having the opportunity to live as children and of the life-long effect this can have:

> If you want to work with children effectively, you need to remember what it feels like to be a child. So for one (training) session, everyone becomes a six year old. They put paint on their hands and make a butterfly from their handprints…It's just one session. But in Sierra Leone, (local trainee staff) they continued to be six year olds for the rest of the workshop…in a twenty year civil war; it was like the childhood most of them hadn't experienced. Because of the war. (Pierce, 2016, p. 14)

Also, these places do not stop being important after immediate needs are met; children will always need safe places to be, and places where they can be children.

Many schools for refugees begin in tents where teachers, children, and other adults, including volunteers, can gather. Children need a safe, sheltered and conducive environment in which to learn. The initial gathering space must quickly become more sophisticated through the acquiring of materials, resources, desks, books, and even heating in some cases. The space provided can then evolve, becoming a permanent structure and being improved and adapted to meet the needs and expectations of the community as quickly and as practically as possible.

The challenge of providing education is very great in relation to displaced populations. Displaced within their country of origin, they have to face a government unwilling or unable to support them. Indeed, governments are often involved in the fighting that pushes people to flee in the first place. The people can find themselves surrounded by localized fighting and being forced to relocate frequently. Any construction they might attempt can be highly vulnerable and buildings that they may be able to occupy may end up damaged, unsafe, and lacking in electricity and in heating or cooling facilities.

Any implementation plan, then, needs to be robust, clear, and flexible, to accommodate the varying needs of children as they arrive; Zaatati Camp in Jordan saw 500,000 arrive between 2012 and 2013, with 55 per cent of the population being 18 years or younger (Lived Projects, 2013). Given the protracted nature of such emergency circumstances, a school needs to become a permanent structure built for purpose. Schools, wherever they are, can become a focal point for the community. As a result, they also need to be maintained as spaces without maintenance. Furthermore, as children arrive they need to be greeted with a pleasant environment.

Classrooms can become overcrowded and difficult to work in. Therefore, schools need to be able to expand and grow to meet not only their education needs, but also their psychosocial and physical needs. As they grow, so too does the need for resources. Also, as children progress through various grade-levels, their need for materials, for textbooks and for access to examinations and specialized training, can also grow. Thus, education and the provision of resources can necessitate making an on-going commitment that must also be wide in its scope. This is because education for refugee children is about more than learning to read and doing basic arithmetic. Children need a curriculum that is acceptable to the community and to the needs they will have once the emergency period is over.

As formal education begins, it needs to be presented in a professional manner by well- prepared teachers. On repatriation, refugee children will return to the schools in their country of origin or enter those within host education systems. The administrative authorities will need to know their level of attainment so that they can be placed and supported with appropriate programmes and resources. Therefore, not only do children need to be educated and not only do they need to complete their education, they also need to have it recognized and documented so that their achievements can

be recognized and valued. The professional qualifications of the teachers also need to be evidenced as this is integral to the support of the children's attainments.

In addition, it is important that the academic features of the curriculum be complemented by a clear focus on problem solving and conflict resolution skills. If children learn these skills within the formal school curriculum, then education can have a clear role to play in demonstrating how conflict can be addressed without there having to be recourse to violence. This message can be strengthened and the values of peaceful resolution and reconciliation can be reinforced when schools adopt non-physical methods and approaches to behaviour management.

An education component to an emergency response should involve doing more than just giving children something to do, and should go far beyond just providing a safe space. Rather, it should be offered as a key means of reconnecting communities, friends and neighbors, and of building new communities. Education can forge a sense of connectedness to place and to others, create a routine for them and help to normalize life for children and their families. Sinclair sums up this point when he states that education "can develop positive attitudes and reflexes, which are important to confront such situations as war and natural disaster" (Sinclair, 2002, p. 9).

By learning and achieving at school, children can regain their sense of competence and of achievement. This can restore their belief in their own control and agency. It can also give them an outlet for grief and a means by which they can express it safely. As they play games and make friends, they can practise social and language skills, engage creatively, and regain some of their sense of being children. As Cahill (2010, p. 100) has argued "the importance of education goes beyond just going to school and learning. For refugees it may be all they have". He also gave voice to the common refugee position on this when he stated: "We have to leave behind all of our possessions. The only thing we could bring with us is what is in our heads, what we have been taught – our education. Education cannot be taken from us." (Cahill, 2010, p. 100).

Education and Girls in Emergency Situations

In Pakistan, there appears to be a 90 per cent school drop-out rate for girls and it is usually associated with marriage and pregnancy. While the data available on this is limited, there is enough to suggest that girls in Grade 6 in primary schools are leaving school to marry. Other data shows that the more education a girl receives, the more likely it is that her own children will go to school. High school educated mothers are more likely to insist that children attend school. (UNHCR, 2015, np.) Refugee girls are far less likely to complete primary school than boys. In the Kakuma camps in 2015, only 38 per cent of girls were in primary school. (UNHCR, 2016, p 7) Such a situation can weaken the protective environments around girls and severely disadvantage them.

Women and children usually make up the majority of refugees as able-bodied men are often conscripted or join in the fighting. Indeed, 70 per cent of displaced persons internationally are women. Data on Iraq shows that 80 per cent of girls 15-17 years of age are not in any form of education (UNHCR, 2016, p. 6). This compares with boys at 69 per cent. Also, only 1 per cent of urban Afghani women are literate. An estimated three million displaced persons were in Iraq in 2014. Only per cent of the displaced children there had any access to schooling. Also, the figure can be broken down to show that 45 per cent of children in camps had access to education compared with 38 per cent not in a camp environment. Furthermore, 63 per cent of those children as a whole had lost between six and 12 months of education and 11 per cent had lost more than 12 months. Less than one per cent of girls complete primary schooling in South Sudan and 90 per cent of women are illiterate. The reasons for this include safety concerns for girls travelling to school, their safety at school, and the perceived belief that girls need to help in the home or to work to support the family.

For people in a situation of conflict, the likelihood that their children, and especially their daughters, will be raped, harassed or kidnapped on the way to or from school, is also of great concern. Thus, ensuring the children are safe from kidnapping, recruitment or other forms of exploitation is a priority for planning and implementing an education plan in an emergency situation. Evidence suggests schools can play a protective role in these situations.

The need to find, and the challenges of finding, durable and culturally appropriate solutions, is not an excuse for failure. Novel solutions need to be found and donors need to be convinced of their probity and value. The Salang Valley in Afghanistan had 19 schools and 15 of them were not even in tents. The Salang village elders demanded education and particularly literacy. With the support of an NGO, the girls and boys began learning work-based skills. The girls were offered such options as hairdressing and facial make-up, and literacy lessons were provided as part of the training. After a year of literacy work and 10 months of trade training, the students were offered places in a formal school, but few girls took up the opportunity. In response, religious leaders were given 15 days of intensive training in community education. They were then able to work in their communities to convince parents that it was not sinful in Islam for girls to go to school. (New Courier, 2005) The participation of girls grew and with their training they were able to find work and help support their families.

Many issues and challenges in promoting girls' education within refugee and displaced persons communities are also cultural and serve to reinforce the place of women and girls within a society. Few textbooks show girls or women in any capacity and those that do, tend to reinforce stereotypes and status. Another challenge is finding female teachers who can act as role models for girls. A challenge for the girls who wish to attend is that schools usually have fixed lesson times. Girls who have to work are not able to attend. Flexible lesson times or delivery systems are more likely to have girls learning through using on-line and other distance education approaches.

These can be modified for various circumstances and are most appropriate if girls and women are working together.

The facilities within a school can also be a barrier. Parents talk about security and privacy walls around schools and that the school is too far away for the girls to walk safely to it. Girls themselves also frequently worry about the lack of adequate and safely-sited toilet facilities. Furthermore, there is the matter of girls often being primary careers for younger siblings. On this, the provision of facilities at the school to care for young children while the girls are receiving their lessons have been shown to be effective in helping girls to be able to attend school. (New Courier, 2005, pp. 5-6)

Teachers can also be agents of change. They are usually educated and appropriately trained, and in many societies they also command respect. In Pakistan, in 2006, following the earthquake in the North West Frontier, approximately 50 per cent of those of the school population were girls. A novel solution was needed to get the girls into school. No qualified teachers were in the camp, and in a highly conservative society it would not be acceptable for a man to teach the girls. Women teachers were essential. Seven young teachers were recruited from another village with high enrolments for girls and high literacy rates among women. The young women selected were offered incentives, including additional salary and tents in which to live at the camp. Also, all of them were related to each other and a male relative came as a chaperone. The army provided security for the camp so that the women would be safe. These young women acted as role models and the enrolment and the retention of girls in the school improved and remained high throughout the life of the camp. (Cahill, 2010)

Girls, like boys, are also affected by schools in camps often being overcrowded, poorly resourced, and short of trained teachers. These factors, along with the costs of providing high schools, can be off putting. While in many developing countries 84 per cent of non-refugee children often attend lower secondary schools, only 22 per cent of refugee adolescents have the same opportunity. Creative and innovative solutions are needed to address this situation as many refugees are hosted in countries that are themselves struggling to educate national populations (UNHCR, 2015) Also, the issue is not just one of access to education, but of recognition and acknowledgement of attainment and achievement. Part of this must be the provision of opportunities to gain higher levels of education and progress beyond basic levels of literacy and numeracy into specialist areas and ultimately into higher educational institutions.

Conclusion

The years that students spend in school in refugee camps are very important years for them. Accordingly, education authorities need to be reassured of the quality of camp schools and arrangements need to be in place so that students gain access to

processes that lead to certification of their learning. Furthermore, there needs to be provision and recognition of, as well as support for, appropriate teacher preparation programs. These aspirations will only be achieved, however, if camp schools have properly prepared and motivated teachers, curricula that are appropriate to the students' circumstances, and students who are given the opportunity to sit for prestigious examinations. Funding agencies, donor attitudes, and education authorities need to have their views and activities very closely aligned to facilitate the attainment of such ends.

Close attention also needs to be paid to the expectations of parents and the students themselves, as well as to the effects of the presence of refugees on the population of the hosting nations. At the more practical, yet equally important level, arrangements also need to be made to ensure that teachers and their students have access to appropriate pedagogical material. Otherwise, neither teachers nor students will benefit from any education provided. At this point, it is valuable to recall once again the benefits education can give to students in terms of providing security, teaching the literacy and numeracy skills necessary to help one to seek employment, and providing family support. Neither can one ignore the benefits that may accrue to a nation actively engaged in rebuilding and reconstructing its infrastructure, of having a community of engaged and educated citizens who pay taxes.

The following words of Zlata Filipovic, herself a child of war and crisis, provide a valuable text for reflection in bringing this exposition to a finish:

> Go into cellars and hiding places, into refugee camps, or into the army. With them goes the future of their countries and of the world. They die; they are maimed, traumatized, broken, these same children who could be future leaders, civil servants, scholars, fathers, mothers and teachers. Some of us are incredibly lucky to have had the chance to return to our studies, but too many do not have that opportunity. (Cahill, 2010, pp. 80-81)

The challenge thrown out by such views is great but the benefits can be even greater. To ensure that children like Zlata obtain the benefits of education, communities and nations that have been torn apart by war must be empowered and supported to overcome the challenges facing them in order to give children access to safe education environments and to learning resources, whether in camps or in other settlements, without discrimination and regardless of status.

Education, then, needs to be recognized as a key feature in any plan or intervention in a conflict setting. It needs to be given equal priority with food, shelter, health and hygiene. Also, it can be a useful conduit for dissemination of information and for assessing societal needs. At present, however, there is often inadequate coordination of education efforts between agencies. This needs to be changed as coordination and

adequate oversight of schools and education programs in conflict settings are essential.

Education efforts also need an injection of targeted and 'ring-fenced' funding. The current amount made available internationally is just not adequate. Donors need to be shown the importance of investment in education in conflict zones and in developing an on-going commitment to it.

When planning for education is being undertaken it is necessary to take account of short-term, medium-term and long-term needs. Provision of safe spaces is also important. These will help in setting up programmes, in resourcing them adequately, and in the initial implementation of long-term planning. In such settings, there should be a careful investigation, identification and evaluation to ascertain needs and service-priorities. Also, while planning needs to have robust features, it simultaneously needs in-built flexibility as situations can change rapidly. Furthermore, resourcing needs to be both appropriate and sensitive to cultural norms, while at the same time not reinforcing negative gender and blame stereotypes. Finally, old patterns of social construction needed to be avoided when developing new curriculum models. To do otherwise could prove to be deleterious to the unification of communities.

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Chapter Twelve: Researching Islamophobia and Moral Panics in Australian School Education

Grant Rodwell and Nina Maadad

Introduction

For Australian Muslim students, their parents and teachers in schools and colleges, a series of events came in rapid succession to hasten the rise of Islamophobia in their communities during mid-2016. These included the rise of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party support in the Australian Parliament. Then came Donald Trump's endorsement as the Republican candidate for the US presidency. Coupled with these events, there has been a relentless series of terrorism acts associated with Islam across many Western countries, beginning with the allegedly ISIS-inspired attacks in Brussels, Orlando and Nice; ISIS is an acronym for the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, and by its Arabic language acronym *Daesh*. It is a Salafi jihadist militant group that follows a fundamentalist, Wahhabi doctrine of Sunni Islam (ISIS, ISIL or Islamic State, 2014).

A particular concern for many Australian Muslims, especially those with children and young people at school, was the re-emergence of Hanson's One Nation Party. In the lead-up to the July 2017 Federal election, the media was in a frenzy as it 'fed on' One Nation stories. For example, Hanson condemned Federal funding of Queensland Islamic schools (Hanson calls for Palaszczuk, 2016). Then there was media reporting on the massive support for her web page and her social media post stating that "a vote for me at the next Federal Election will be your insurance. The major parties will have absolute opposition to any more Mosques, Sharia Law, Halal Certification and Muslim Refugees. NO MORE! Share if you agree" (Pauline Hanson's Facebook post, 2015).

Following her win in the Queensland Senate vote, with four One Nation senators being elected nationally, it was reported she had stated that "it's time to turn the spotlight on Islam, and what's being preached in Australia's mosques and taught in local Islamic schools" (Federal Election 2016, 2016, np.). It was stated that "she wants to stop further Muslim immigration and halt the intake of Muslim refugees" and to have "surveillance cameras in all mosques and Islamic schools and for their teachings to be opened up to public scrutiny" and that "she advocates a ban on the construction of new mosques, and on the burqa and niqáb being worn in public" (Federal Election 2016, 2016, np.). This was Islamophobia of potentially massive proportions, a moral panic that could likely have an immense impact on Australian school and college communities. Of course, Hanson's One Nation success on an anti-Islam ticket at the 2016 Federal Elections is but one aspect of the phenomenon.

Even before the events described above took place, a 2015 university-based Australian study found that

> ….less educated, unemployed, older and Liberal-leaning [conservative] Australians [were] more likely to hold anti-Islam sentiments.… A survey of 1000 people found 70 per cent of Australians had low levels of Islamophobia, 20 per cent were undecided and 10 per cent were classed as 'highly Islamophobic', with Islamophobia defined as 'negative and hostile attitudes towards Islam and Muslims'. (Butler, 2016, np.)

Responding to the scenario painted so far, the purpose of this chapter is, first, to explore the issues involved in the adoption of a research methodology to explore the linkages between Islamophobia in Australia and moral panic theory. Secondly, it seeks to assess the impact of Islamophobia in Australian schools, while considering it in the light of moral panic theory. In doing so, it attempts to increase our understanding of the phenomenon for the purpose of school education policy development.

Triangulation: A Research Methodology for Studying Islamophobia

"Triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods", declared Paton (2002, p. 247). Building on research by Denzin (1978), Paton (2002, p. 247) also identified for different types of triangulation:

> (1) *data triangulation*, the use of a variety of data sources in a study; (2) *investigator triangulation*, the use of several different researchers or evaluators; (3) *theory triangulation*, the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data (emphasis in original).

This research approach is particularly suited to addressing central research questions on islamophobia and education. It can accommodate making use of sources, including interviews and printed sources, in the form of official documents, peer-reviewed journal articles, a variety of media reports and a non-peer-reviewed web-based article. To test the veracity of each source, these have to be triangulated against each other.

The media may play a role for its own ends in the development of a moral panic and in attempting to influence policy development and implementation. Therefore, all need to be careful with the use of the media as a knowledge source (Anderson, 2007). It is for this reason that news items were triangulated when the present authors were engaged in conducting the study reported later in this chapter. This approach takes account of recent research on public discourses, the media and education policy in order to elicit an understanding of possible political motives underpinning them.

Paton's (2002, p. 247) second use of triangulation is also important. This is 'investigator triangulation'. On this, Maadad comes to the research reported later in the chapter with a strong and demonstrated background in researching issues confronting Islamic refugee children (Maadad and Rodwell, 2016). This was important not only by way of expertise but also because of the need for a demonstrated empathetic understanding of the subject matter. Also, Rodwell's (2017a) research on the impact of moral panics on school education policy complemented Maadad's expertise.

Particularly regarding arguments for oral evidence as a primary source, Galgano, Arndt and Hyser (2008, p. 72) contend that its value stems from the fact that it can be constructed to triangulate evidence advanced from other sources, such as official documents and newspapers; "Because this source falls into the category of a created source - one intentionally generated through a planned and orchestrated oral interview - knowledge of the interviewer, intended audience, purpose, and point of view are critically important in weighing the value of the testimony". At the same time, they insist that oral sources must withstand the rigour of a critical evaluation like any other source. That is, they need to be triangulated against a variety of written sources.

In respect to the latter point, the authors also insist on the need for one to draw upon reputable peer-reviewed material. This, of course, is a criterion posing severe questions regarding the use of the Internet. On this, they stated that "the egalitarianism of the Internet, one of its great strengths, can also be a weakness, because there is no peer review process" (p. 26). Hence, there is a need to triangulate evidence gathered from the Internet with peer-reviewed secondary sources.

Finally, on this matter of an approach for the study of islamophobia and education, moral panic theory, especially that shaped to be in accord with school education policy as demonstrated by Rodwell (2017a) and, to a lesser extent, aspects of media theory and school education policy, can be drawn upon to meet Paton's (2002, p. 247) requirement for the third use of triangulation, namely, theory triangulation. Serving a central purpose of sustaining a narrative, this use of triangulation is essential to any

research effort to sustain the assertion that in education research 'theory is everything'. In doing so, it is recognised that much regarding media theory continues to unfold, especially in relation to social media, 'dog whistling' journalism, and school education policy.

Islamophobia Has an Impact on Australia's Schools: 'Hiding Weapons or Bombs in Her School Bag'

In a series of interviews with Australian Muslim families, Maadad (2016) reported on a parent in the State of Victoria, stating how life is becoming more difficult for her children and their schooling: "My daughter who turned sixteen last week, decided a year ago to leave school. It was a shock for all of us" (np.). For the parent, the daughter as she put it, "was doing very well, but suddenly became stressed, and started making excuses for not wanting to leave home and not having to go to school" (np.). After a while, the parents realised that feeling pressured and bullied at school had influenced her decision. What her friends and classroom peers use to call "only joking" was becoming very frightening and was disturbing her. All of this happened soon after the much-publicised Lindt Café attack in the Sydney Central Business Centre; "My daughter became a target for ridicule in school. She was called names, she was searched by her peers every morning to see if she was hiding weapons or bombs in her school bag, and she was asked on one occasion to explain 'what does the Quran teach all Muslims to make them do what they do?'" (Maadad, 2016, np.).

Some Muslim students, however, speak out in school in defence of their culture and their religion. Maadad (2016) reported how one South Australian mother declared how her 12-year old daughter said that if people start joking about what they heard on the television and ask her questions she would walk away. On one occasion, she told the classroom teacher about her concerns about being asked silly questions about war and Muslims. The daughter reported that students did not say anything to her after that. The same South Australian mother gave a different account about her twelve-year old son who does not say much about his schooling. The family was sitting down watching television one evening and on the news, there was the report about the 14 July 2016 massacre in Nice, and he said: "Ah hell, I will have to pay the price for what this idiot did in school tomorrow, it always becomes my fault" (Maadad, 2016, np.). The boy's ten-year old brother reported to Maadad (2016) that the boy further commented as follows: "Most times in my class I feel safe and comfortable, until something happens in Australia or the world that involves Muslims, and suddenly I become a risk for my class and school" (Maadad, 2016). The father then declared: "Parents feel schools do not monitor enough what is happening to some children. Like any form of bullying, this is becoming very frightening and the children seem to be targeted and blamed for crimes that they are not even aware of" (Maadad, 2016, np.). He further

stated: "the media is dividing the Australian nation. What they are trying to do is create this animosity between people of different religions and backgrounds and marginalise the Muslims" (Maadad, 2016, np.). Indeed, he concluded that "what is happening in the world with suicide bombers, shooters and attacks is not something all Muslims agree about at all. This is not what we are despite what the media is trying to create us to be. We need to stop generalising and stereotyping" (Maadad, 2016, np.). Further emphasising the pathos of this school education-based Islamophobia, Maadad, (2016), has affirmed how a ten-year old boy said: "I used to feel guilty and scared when a random person (someone I don't know and have never heard of) does something terrible million miles away from me" (np.). Indeed, he went on to say: "this really hurts me and makes me wonder what my friends think of me being from the same religion. I wish I could tell the world that religion has nothing to do with these idiots and that if they were really religious and believers, they will never kill or hurt anyone" (Maadad, 2016, np.).

Maadad (2016) has also reported how a sixteen-year old stated that she hoped that in the future there would be change in Islamophobia: "not many people know my religious background in school or at work and I would like to keep it this way. I don't wear the hijab or cover my head and this in a way keeps me away from a certain stereotype". Maybe one day, this teenage girl said, "when we all leave school and get into the workforce, religion will no longer be a barrier or an issue and we don't have to worry about saying who we are" (Maadad, 2016, np.). The teenager further reflected: "My mother was born in Lebanon and lived through a long bloody civil war that was established and flared on religious differences. She says that she fears something like that might be happening here and all because of how the media is painting certain pictures and playing about Muslims" (Maadad, 2016, np.). Also, as with all moral panics, the media is rarely absent in people's thoughts. In this regard, the girl concluded: "My mother believes that the way the media edits and delivers stories creates an ugly division between different races and plants hatred and confusion between them" (Maadad, 2016, np.).

Moral Panics for Whom?

Despite Waddington's (1986) and Thompson's (2011) concerns relating to the relevance of moral panic theory in 21st century research, it has extended its influence to the extent that by the first decade of the century researchers were using it in a variety of studies, including in relation to media, sex and health. This has taken place to such a degree that Cohen (2011) has questioned the extent to which researchers may possibly encourage moral panics in the wider society. Indeed, for Cohen (2011), there are "good" moral panics and "bad" moral panics, depending on an observer's particular socio-political stance and the way in which he or she might stretch the current

boundaries of meaning of the theory (Critcher, *et al.*, 2013, p. 7). Indeed, the boundaries of moral panic theory have not remained constant, but have been forever adjusting to fresh imperatives, such as the use of social media, and in particular by young people. This provokes questions regarding the wider socio-political implications for researchers engaging in moral panic discourse.

Constructing Moral Panics: "Daesh Are Coming After Us"

There have been ample examples of politicians orchestrating moral panics in collusion with a compliant media. Witness Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott's 2015 statement that "Daesh… are coming after us", thus amplifying Islamophobia in school education. In similar vein, witness Donald Trump's outburst concerning Muslims in the US. In this daunting tradition, both attempts at constructing a moral panic were connected to "risk society" (Tlozek, 2015, np.). The 2016 Australian Federal government election also saw the re-emergence of Hanson's One Nation political party. On her election, she flagged to Prime Minister Turnbull that she would be using her numbers in the Senate to pursue her party's negative policy regarding Muslims.

  Not surprisingly, most commentators argue that the politics of the construction of crises, outrage, panic and fear assumed new dimensions with the terrorist attack on Manhattan's Twin Towers on 11 September 2001. However, some research illustrates these claims to be problematic (Altheide, 2006). Moreover, Mythen (2014, p. 18) has demonstrated the central role the media has played in generating moral panic, writing of "the need to meet profit margins" leading to "exaggerated coverage of crime issues which are designed to pander to the apparent fascination about crime amongst the media audience". The same applies in relation to the rise of terrorist attacks.

  In investigating how newspapers responded to the politics of fear in constructing a particular culture subservient to political ends, Altheide (2006) examined news reports about terrorism in five nationally-prominent US newspapers. In particular, he investigated how news reports reflected the terms and discourse associated with the politics of fear and how decision-makers promoted and used audience beliefs and assumptions about danger, risk, and fear to achieve certain goals sympathetic with the politics of ruling parties. Qualitative data analysis of the prevalence of and meanings about the use of such words as 'fear', 'victim', 'terrorism', and 'crime' eighteen months before and after the attacks of 11 September 2001, demonstrated how terrorism and crime can now be linked very closely with the expanding use of 'fear'. Overall, a dramatic increase in linking terrorism to fear was reported. Also, there was a large increase in news reports linking terrorism to victims. Indeed, as Furedi (2007) puts it: "fear plays a key role in twenty-first century consciousness" (np.). All of this had a tragic symmetry with events in Australia under the Howard Coalition Government, and later the Abbott Coalition Government.

By 2017, Islamophobia had reached new depths, with women being prime victims. Furthermore, Iner (2017) indicated how schools and school surroundings can be settings for this phobia. In a cruel twist for Australians, Hanson, in a bizarre attempt at publicity, was shown on national TV news reports appearing in the Australian Senate in a burqa (Morgan, 2017). Also, and tragically, horrified Australians soon awoke to the news of an ISIS-inspired massacre in Barcelona, Spain (Barcelona: Australian boy Julian Cadman missing, 2017). Research is yet to be conducted on how these events affected the lives of Australian Muslims.

The Rise of Islamophobia in Australian Society

Donald Trump in the US 2016 presidential campaign, and also on Scottish soil following the June Brexit referendum, continued to fuel Islamophobia (Vitali, 2016). As with Hanson's stunt in the Australian Senate, there appeared to be ample mileage in politicians promoting Islamophobia. For example, Australian Prime Minister Abbott increasingly used moral panic as a political device and the Australian media during 2015 had made many comments on the topic. Barnes (2015), writing in the ABC's *The Drum*, declared that "one of the consequences of Abbott's scare politics will be increased harassment of Australians from the Middle East and of Muslims". He went on to state that "the racism and prejudice of Australia is unfortunately tattooed across the underbelly of this land and as we saw when the Howard government reacted to 9/11 it did not take much for irrational attacks on Muslims and Australians from the Middle East to ramp up" (Barnes, 2015, np.).

Sport also has provided an arena for much of the Islamophobic-based moral panic. For example, in Australia at the beginning of the 2016 Australian Football League (AFL) season, there was a flurry of media-fuelled reports of crowd-based incidents, with people holding large banners condemning the presence of Muslims in Australia and the building of mosques. At least one AFL supporters' group condemned the actions of a woman who unfurled a provocative banner, stating 'send them back' during an AFL match between the Kangaroos and Melbourne at Hobart's Bellerive Oval in early April (AFL condemns offensive banner, 2016).

By the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, Islamophobia in Australia, was beginning to cast very ominous dark shadows. In one incident, a charity group had submitted a proposal to build an Islamic school in the semi-rural suburb of Camden, located on the outskirts of Sydney's southwest. This is a rapidly growing district, with a colonialist past. Opposition to the proposal was signaled immediately. On this, Al-Natour (2010) recorded that "after two rallies, over 3000 objections to Camden Council, the involvement of several politicians, the distribution of several anti-school petitions and flyers, the formation of an anti-school residents" group, and the placement of two pigs' heads and an Australian flag on the proposed site, Camden Council rejected the

application' (np.). For Al-Natour (2010), "the drive behind these hostile actions to the proposal was fueled by the representations of the folk devil deviant". In her lengthy research project (Al-Natour, 2010), moral panic theories regarding folk devils are used to make sense of the Camden controversy.

Australia's history of multicultural education and overall community-wide tolerance in Whitlam's and Fraser's Australia of the 1970s, was in retreat. During October 2015, Islamophobic demonstrations occurred in Ballarat (Bendigo Mosque, 2015, np.). Also, Melbourne's Federation Square quickly became a focal point for similar demonstrations (Ahmad, 2015, np.).

Social Media: 'A Typology of Online Hate'

"Without question, ISIS hates LGBT people", declared Givens (2016) in the *Advocate*, an American bi-monthly LGBT-interest magazine. Of course, as with most moral panics, Givens was not only reporting news, he was adding to the moral panic insofar as school students as well as adults had access to his article. Also, he was responding to the Orlando massacre in June 2016, with numerous videos showing men accused of homosexuality being thrown off roofs, or stoned to death. "But" he said "there's also the idea to deal with that terror and hate are different" (Givens, 2016, np.). In the early days following the massacre, there was confusion as to whether the killer's motives were homophobic or Islamophobic; "Labels matter and in times of confusion, this distinction matters as the story develops" (Givens, 2016, np.).

Illustrating the vital role that social media can play in moral panics, 'the Council on American-Islamic Relations of Florida', a group dedicated to promoting positive perceptions of American Muslims, held a press conference via *Facebook Live*. Its leaders condemned the attack and showed solidarity with the LGBT community (Givens, 2016). By the time of the Orlando massacre, however, social media fed into moral panics in a vast number of ways. School and college students, of course, like adults, had gained access to these social media feeds.

Three years earlier, the attack on a British soldier at Woolwich in May 2013 led to hate crimes being committed against Muslim communities in the UK. This sent the social media into a feeding frenzy. Awan (2014) reported that there was a series of incidents, including Muslim women being targeted for wearing the headscarf and mosques being vandalised, "while street level Islamophobia remains an important area of investigation, an equally disturbing picture is emerging with the rise in online anti-Muslim abuse" (Awan, 2014, p. 133). On examining 500 tweets from 100 different Twitter users to see how Muslims were being viewed and being targeted by perpetrators of online abuse via the Twitter search engine, Awan (2014, np) argued that "Islamophobia on social media must be given the same level of attention [by the authorities] as street-level Islamophobia".

Maadad (2016) through her interviews with Australian Muslim parents and school-aged children confirmed that a similar situation prevails in Australia. One participant reported how a sixteen-year old student had stated:

Some things that get posted [on Facebook] about Muslims are not always jokes, they are mind-games to stress people and make them aware of their neighbours. We are scared of having family gathering and going out in groups because people look at us with doubt about our intentions. I find these things offensive. Why do we have to put up with that?

The social media, however, as Maadad (2016) has also shown, can act as a kind of safe haven for students. As one participant put it, "there are some positive chats that people share on Twitter and Facebook about Muslims, and how as a nation we should stick together and not let these situations influence and divide our community" (np.).

Islamophobia in Schools: 'Terrorists', 'Paedophiles' or 'Immigrants'

Internationally, moral panics can spread from schools and colleges to the wider society. On this, Lacassagne (2013) wrote: "A few years ago, France adopted a controversial law banning all religious signs from public schools. This was mainly a reaction to the increasing number of young Muslim girls wearing a veil (covering just the hair) and refusing to participate in some curricular activities, in contravention of a court ruling of 1989" (p. 237). By 2009, a collective hysteria about Muslim women wearing the burqa, emerged in French society. This imbroglio soon found its way to the National Assembly which set up a commission on the topic. Consequently, there was a complete ban on the wearing of the burqa in the public sphere. In connection with this matter, Lacassagne (2013) has commented: "With some ease the issue came to cross almost all political party lines. Numerous articles and blogs in newspapers revealed the 'burqa affair' to be a highly contentious topic that bears all the hallmarks of a collective moral panic" (p. 237). Also, according to Lacassagne (2013), a "range of volatile emotional responses continue to be expressed by French citizens on this matter" (Lacassagne, 2013, p. 237). The media quickly weighed in, with the various media outlets immediately devoting "considerable attention to the issue by publishing many editorials, news and 'expert' articles on the subject. Less commonly, they published 'real-life' stories of actual women wearing the burqa. The key television networks orchestrated organised debates" (Lacassagne, 2013, p. 241).

Milmo (2015) documented how teachers' unions and anti-racists have recorded an increase in Islamophobic incidents in schools, with Muslim pupils in British schools increasingly likely to be taunted as 'terrorists', 'paedophiles' or 'immigrants'. This intensified following the 2015 Charlie Hebdo massacre in Paris. Indeed, he went on to comment:

…in one case, a teenage Muslim pupil at a school in Oxfordshire was… allegedly slapped and called a 'terrorist' by classmates after a teacher raised the murders of 12 people at the French magazine in a classroom discussion and suggested Muslims should be 'challenged' by the display of cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed. (Milmo, 2015, np).

Milmo (2015) also noted that the boy told his parents he did not wish to return to school. Such circumstances have had tragic parallels in Australian schools and colleges, as recorded by Maadad (2016).

For Australian governments, through their various agencies, but particularly through the national curriculum, "there have also been government demands for ethnic/religious schools to teach 'Australian values'" (Poynting & Mason, 2008, p. 244). At present, "there is no legal basis for such prescription and proscription, which operates rather by hectoring and harassment and the implied conditionality of the remnants of multicultural funding" (Poynting & Mason, 2008, p. 244). Clearly, this is 'discriminatory, in that it is directed only towards Muslims. It also represents a dangerous trend in terms of undermining the right to religious freedom enshrined in "a number of international treaties to which Australia is a signatory" (Poynting & Mason, 2008, p. 244).

Words are the most common weapon of school bullies", reported Irshad (2016, np) in 2016. "But", he went on, "anti-Muslim sentiment in schools is increasingly manifesting in physical attacks, particularly against girls who wear the hijab". Following the Paris attacks, "three boys allegedly beat up a sixth-grade girl wearing a hijab, calling her 'ISIS' " (Irshad, 2016, np.). Even the year before the Paris attacks, a "2014 study by a Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) study found 29 per cent of students who wore the hijab experienced offensive touching or pulling of their scarves" (Irshad, 2016, n.p.).

"Students ask girls with headscarves, 'Why do you wear this? Can you take it off? I want to see your hair!'", recounted Rizga (2016). This was following the 2015 Paris attacks. Moreover, it was noted at the time that "in recent months, anti-immigrant rhetoric has spiked across the country - and in local and national politics" (Rizga, 2016, np). Also, at the same time, reports of threats and attacks were on the rise in schools across the US. A "seventh grader in Vandalia, Ohio, threatened to shoot a Muslim boy on the bus ride home from school, calling him a 'towel head', a 'terrorist', and 'the son of ISIS' " (Rizga, 2016, np). There were numerous similar incidents. For example, "a sixth-grade girl wearing a hijab in the Bronx was reportedly punched by three boys who called her 'ISIS" (Rizga, 2016, np). Rizga (2016) also reported that even before the Paris and San Bernardino attacks, a "2014 survey by the Council on American Islamic Relations found that 52 per cent of Muslim students in California reported being the target of verbal abuse and insults. That's double the number of students who report being bullied based on gender and race nationwide" (np).

Eight years before the Paris attacks, considerable research focussed on Islamophobia in US schools. Ramarajan and Runell (2007) reported how "kindergarten is an appropriate time to begin teaching civic involvement, social- emotional skills and the religions of the world, for both developmental and academic reasons" (p. 90). They supported their statement with research indicating that children can exhibit racist attitudes as early as when they are in preschool (Aboud & Fenwick, 1999). On this, "even toddlers can form negative prejudices in an environment with 'clear ethnic friction'" (Cameron *et al*., 2001, p. 124. Ramarajan and Runell (2007) also demonstrate how "these writers drew to the Bar-Tal study that demonstrated that "Israeli children as young as two-and-a-half years old rated a photograph of a person more negatively when the person was identified as 'Arab'" (np).

Dog-Whistling Islamophobia: Journalism, Politics and School Education

Fresh from the Howard years of Australian Federal government, Bossio (2008) examined research by Poynting and Noble (2003) into 'dog whistling' in Australian political discourse. Coupled with racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia, race featured strongly in early research on dog-whistle political discourse in the nation, feeding directly into education policy in the form of the push for a national history curriculum.

As Sydney's southern suburbs, that part of Greater Sydney known as The Shire, were beset by mob violence for a second day in early December 2005, the then leader of the Australian Greens, Senator Bob Brown, said that the Prime Minister had "failed the nation". Brown accused John Howard of engaging in dog-whistle politics. Not for the first-time, Howard was the target of such an allegation. These same accusations had been levelled against him over his attitude to the right-wing One Nation's Pauline Hanson in 1996, and then following his 2001 spoken words on asylum-seekers. These events and their associated moral panics, and risk-society policies fed directly into the development of the Australian curriculum for the subject 'history' (Rodwell, 2017b).

Exploring the 'Panic' in Moral Panics

Moral panics are generally short-lived, as described by Cohen (1972/2002) on his moral panic work concerning perceived deviants of the youth culture. Not so with Islamophobia, which seems to be more like a volcano as it continues to rumble away, and periodically erupt violently. Moreover, Critcher, *et al*. (2013) conveyed the disproportionality of moral panics: "The term 'panic' neatly invokes a sense of knee-jerk response that is not carefully measured or balanced, and is prone to exaggeration and distortion" (p. 10).

"Panic, like moral" is "employed as a pejorative term, used to refer to those who lack restraint, who need to exercise self-control, or who otherwise need to get a grip"

(Critcher, *et al*. (2013, p. 10). Labelling a socio-political-cultural phenomenon as being a moral panic almost invites the moral entrepreneurs to take another and closer look at the event. Also, as Critcher, *et al*. (2013, p. 11) argue, often there are conspiratorial notions surrounding moral panics. They may be strategically manipulated or refocussed, so as to draw away from the contentious issues that present a threat to the moral order.

Over-Stretching the Notion of Moral Panic?

We need to remind ourselves of the central role in original moral panic theory of the 'folk devil'. This refers to a person, or group of people, who are portrayed in folklore or the media as outsiders and deviants, and who are blamed for crimes or other sorts of socio-political-cultural problems. On this, Critcher, *et al*. (2013, p. 18-19) have stated that "one of the core disagreements in moral panic studies is whether or not a particular case needs to have a folk devil for a moral panic to occur". Consequently, moral panics need to be considered on their merits, and particularly so in the case of the moral panics which seem to lack clearly definable folk devils, while at the same time manifesting genuine fears and anxieties as society passes through generational change such as witnessed with Islamophobic moral panics in schools and colleges (Garland, 2008).

Moral Panic Theory at Work: Challenges to Cultural and Social Norms

Often moral panic involves issues related to sexuality and challenges to cultural norms. For example, in the US, the civil rights and women's liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s dramatically altered society's rules about sex, race, and gender. Any large-scale shift towards social liberalism tends to create a fearful moral panic among social conservatives, who believe these trends could lead to the unravelling of Western civilization and the pillars of stability. Witness the moral outrages associated with the suffragette demonstrations - women seeking the right to vote, a century or so ago (Jorgensen-Earp, 2008). Or again, witness the perceived excesses of the legislative program of the Whitlam years in Australia, or the changing nature of Australian society and culture in the face of increased Islamic migration.

In the UK, Cohen's (1972, 2002) pioneering research into the State, government policy and youth culture, was conducted during a time of moral panics associated with challenges to social norms. The manner in which 'mods' and 'rockers' were portrayed by the media in the 1960s was the starting point for his theory. His research was based on the media storm over a violent clash between the two youth subcultures on a 1964 bank holiday on an English beach. Though the incident only resulted in some property damage and no serious physical injury to any of the individuals involved, several

newspapers published sensationalist articles surrounding the event. Cohen examined articles written about the topic and noted a pattern of distorted facts and misrepresentation, as well as distinct simplistic depictions of the respective images of both groups involved in the disturbance. All of this data contributed to what has been labelled his 'processual model'. Within it, the role of the media is central in the projection of a moral panic.

Moral Panics and Young People

Krinsky (2008) wrote that scholars working in fields as disparate as media studies, sociology, cultural geography, history, area studies, and criminology "have used the notion of moral panic to cast light on a variety of controversies and crusades, not least those involving young people" (p. 2). His (Krinsky, 2008) own collection of contributions includes topics on public panic and the condemnation of children and youth. Thompson (1998) considered possible reasons that research on moral panics so often engages with youth issues: "The subsequent development of the sociological analysis of moral panics in Britain continued to focus, like Cohen's initial study, on youth cultures, and for good reasons. No age group is more associated with risk in the public imagination than that of 'Youth'" (p. 44). However, "imagined risks to children also lie behind many moral panics, especially those concerning the alleged breakdown of the family, but apart from the relatively rare cases of children who commit murder… children are not usually regarded as a source of risk" (Thompson, 1998, p. 44). Youth are in an invidious position. They "may be regarded as both at risk and a source of risk in many moral panics. This is not surprising "in view of the transitional status of this age group, occupying a position between childhood and adulthood" (Thompson, 1998, p. 44.). In Thompson's view, researchers in Britain tend to investigate moral panics involving youth because youth are extraordinarily prone to controversy and are equally likely to be seen as being threatened by a rising social problem, or as the problem itself, even in the course of a single moral panic. Almost by definition, adolescents are problematic.

The Media and the Construction of Crises and the Discourse of Fear

Crime and fear dominate media news' reports. This is so despite how "objective indicators of risk and danger in American life suggest that most US citizens are healthier, safer, and live more predictable lives than at any time in history" (Altheide, 2003, pp. 9-10). One reason crime is so popular is that "it's almost always linked to 'fear', 'the most basic feature of entertainment in popular culture" (Altheide, 2003, p. 10). Consequently, "this emphasis has produced a discourse of fear: the pervasive communication, symbolic awareness, and expectation that danger and risk are a

central feature of everyday life" (Altheide, 2003, p. 10). Also, "the discourse of fear has important consequences for social policy, public perceptions of social issues, and the demise of public space" (Altheide, 2003, p. 10). Thus, "citizens… are becoming more 'armed' and 'armoured,' and the promotion of a new social identity - the victim - exploited by numerous claims-makers, including politicians, who promote their own propaganda about national and international politics" (Altheide, 2003, p. 10). The position held by the current authors is that the same connection between fear and public policy exists in relation to the construction of fear by the extreme right politicians linking it to Islamophobia in schools and colleges.

Media Chimes In, Aided by Advertising Imperatives

Over twenty years ago, researchers recognised the rising influence of the media on the politics of fear and panic. McRobbie and Thornton (1995) observed, that 'moral panic' is now a term regularly used by journalists to describe a process which politicians, commercial promoters and media habitually attempt to incite. Indeed, for these British researchers, a standard interview question put by them to Conservative MPs was: "are they not whipping up a moral panic as a foil to deflect attention away from more pressing economic issues?" (p. 559). Moral panics seem to guarantee the kind of emotional involvement that sustains the interest of media generally, as well as the ratings of news and true crime television. McRobbie and Thornton (1995) even assert, that the media is willing to take some of the blame, noting a newsreader discussing "'new juvenile crime' on BBC2's *Newsnight* asking, 'Is it not the media itself which has helped to create this phenomenon?'" (p. 559).

Once the unintended outcome of journalistic practice, moral panic, seems now to have become a goal in itself (McRobbie & Thornton, 1995). Rather than there being periods to which societies are subject to it, 'every now and then', moral panic now has become a means by "which daily events are brought to the attention of the public" (McRobbie & Thornton, 1995, p. 559). Indeed, it is

> ….a standard response, a familiar, sometimes weary, even ridiculous rhetoric rather than an exceptional emergency intervention used by politicians to orchestrate consent by business to promote sales in certain niche markets, and by media to make home and social affairs newsworthy, moral panics are constructed on a daily basis" (McRobbie & Thornton, 1995, p. 559).

The media has assumed a special role in the construction of moral panics, as it embarks upon a 'moral crusade' against the identified folk devils. For instance, if it chooses, the media can target negatively and demonise groups or the educational products of groups, as is the case with Islamophobia in schools and colleges. In many Western societies, many right-wing nationalist groups are provided with point and

purpose when a mosque is proposed for a regional centre. Over twenty years ago, with a pointer to what might happen in school education, Miller and Reilly (1994) argued that moral panics can be used to change public opinion and thus act as a form of 'ideological social control'.

Moral Panics and the Social Media

The moral panic paradigm underwent major changes with the advent of such social or participatory media as Facebook and Twitter during the early 21st century; so much so that national academic conferences were devoted to interrogating these influences ('Participatory Media', 2015). Indeed, the transformation of the media landscape invited researchers to "rethink the dialectic between 'media' and 'moral panic', by focusing on the ways in which participatory media enables the public's participation in moral panic" ('Participatory Media', 2015). It was concluded at the Social Media and Society Conference held in Toronto, Canada in July 2015 that the co-production of moral panic, via media participation, can be analyzed to document how individuals, through their relational links, trigger, maintain and propagate moral panic or how these forms of moral regulation affect sociability, notably those stigmatised by the controversial subject. This can cast new light on

> ….how mediatisation of social relations, stemming from participatory media, leads to renegotiating a number of democratic balances. These include the relationship between private and public spheres as well as the role of publics in constituting collective dynamics, such as the formation of public. (Participatory Media, 2015, np.).

Of course, the exact role of social media in the moral panic surrounding Islamophobic moral panics in schools and colleges awaits theorisation based upon empirical research that needs to be conducted.

One matter raised at the participatory media and moral panic conference in July 2015 that is deserving of enquiry regarding the role of social media in moral panics is the rethinking of "the publics' role and types of participation" (Participatory Media, 2015, np). The conference stressed how 20th century pioneers of moral panic theory invoked the public as an entity of "a partly irrational faceless and nameless crowd, empowered by collective strength. They insisted that relational dynamics between individuals fundamentally changes when agglomerated into a huge crowd" (Participatory Media, 2015, np). While "publics were then at the centre of analysis in an attempt to characterise the clustering of individuals, nowadays, they are often relegated to secondary roles" (Participatory Media, 2015, np). Often, such 20th century moral entrepreneurs, claim-makers, social movements and political parties in moral panics were household names. With the new role of the social media, "it is precisely

this anonymous mass, the agglomeration of individuals, the crowd of people, that makes the fabric of moral panics and embodies the strength of this collective entity, and in turn the potency of the concept of moral" ("Participatory Media," 2015), which begs the question: how does the increasing, often anonymous, leverage of social media affect the development of moral panics?

By the second decade of the 21st century, the notion of moral panics was coming under severe criticism from researchers. Particularly, they argued, the foundations of the moral panic myth, its politics, and the hidden world of progressive panics, are a part of sectional interests by certain socio-political groups, political elites, and, more recently, elements of extreme right politics. The role of a compliant media and the almost unknown role of social media have been vital in generating the moral panic in a society beset with anxieties surrounding risk. Often, this is the case with moral panics related to sex education, where the only people panicking are some extreme right-wing people, while members of school communities directly involved with the program - students, teachers and parents have no problem with it (Rodwell, 2016).

Conclusion

Maadad's empathetic insights into Islamophobia and school education has been an important starting point in indicating the need for the adoption of a triangulation-focussed research methodology to study Islamophobia in schools in Australia. Rodwell's understanding of moral panic theory and its impact on school education can be combined with Maadad's work to form another prong to investigator triangulation. Critically, data triangulation in the form of Maadad's interviews and Rodwell's scrutiny of the various printed sources - official sources, media reports, peer-reviewed articles and non-peer-reviewed articles - provide a framework to sustain a narrative and argument. Together, they indicate the need to refer to the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data.

While moral panics associated with racism have existed in school education for decades, and to varying degrees, Islamophobic moral panics are comparative newcomers. Indeed, they are even contemporaneous with the onset of social media and dog-whistling journalism. In that sense, these moral panics may be regarded as the most recent socio-political phenomena having an impact on Australian school education.

An examination of the impact of social media on Islamophobia is vital. Online bullying amongst school and college students has been well researched, but only now is attention being paid to Islamophobic online bullying. Further research associated with social media and Islamophobia is warranted, especially regarding how social media affords a positive influence by providing a safe haven for families being inflicted by it.

The political and social issues associated with Islamophobic moral panic also brings into focus necessary changes that need to be made to moral panic theory. Apart from the role of social media - both positive and negative - political motives of moral entrepreneurs and political elites play an important role in the 'new' moral panic. As right-wing political groups assert their presence in various ways, and are aided by the general media, as well as social media, the shock waves of the social disturbances are being very rapidly experienced by Australian Muslim students.

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Chapter Thirteen: Youth Peace Building Through the Digital Arts with Colombian Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Communities

Alexander Robins

Introduction

In 2017, a ceasefire signed between the FARC and the Colombian Government heralded the end to the World's longest running conflict. This conflict had produced the World's largest refugee population of 7.4 million. Also, it had almost pushed the nation of Colombia into 'failed-state' status. Having transitioned to becoming an OECD member, the world now looks on at post-conflict Colombia and the struggle being undertaken to make it a fair and equitable society for all citizens. A strong education system has a key role to play in this process.

This chapter opens by examining the history of the conflict. It goes on to provide an overview of the nation's education situation. The position of Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities in the country is then considered. This is followed by an exposition on how digital arts medium could enable Indigenous and Afro-Colombian youth to be more 'visible' to the nation.

History of Conflict

The historical roots of the conflict which has raged in Colombia over the past 70 years started with *la violencia.* This is the term used for the ten-year period of rural civil war (1948-1958) fought between the Colombian conservative and liberal parties. The

catalyst was the 1948 assassination of the popular liberal politician and presidential candidate, Jorge Eilecer Gaitan. Conservative elites encouraged conservative-supporting peasants to seize the agricultural land of liberal-supporting peasants. This provoked peasant-to-peasant violence throughout Colombia. *La violencia* is estimated to have cost the lives of at least 300,000 people. It was fought by paramilitary forces, with all groups being known collectively by the pejorative term, *bandoleros*. A further 700,000 civilians were injured and over one million people had to abandon their homes and property.

La violencia did not acquire its name simply because of the number of people affected. Rather, it also came from the gruesome manner in which most of the killing, maiming and dismembering was done. Also, the killings took place predominantly by hand. In 1953, under the command of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, Colombia's military took control of the country. An amnesty for all armed groups was announced and most *bandoleros* took the opportunity to demobilize. One group, however, under the leadership of *Tirofijo*, changed its political and ideological inclinations from liberal to communist. This led to the evolution over the next decade of the Communist Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia or *FARC*.

The FARC was officially formed in 1964 and waged a predominantly rural war against the State for the next 52 years. This resulted in more than 250,000 deaths, of which 80 per cent were civilian. The conflict between FARC and the State also produced over 7.4 million Internally Displaced People (IDP's). These are people who are refugees within their own country. It is estimated that 40 per cent the reader of IDPs in Colombia are children and adolescents (UNICEF, 2013). Thus, alongside Syria, the country currently holds the world's highest refugee population (UNHCR, 2016).

While the conflict has been predominantly between the Colombian State and the FARC, drug cartels and other smaller guerrilla groups have also been involved. The FARC's original political aim was to redistribute wealth along communist lines within this country of great inequity. The aims became somewhat 'broader', however, from the 1970s onwards and it became involved in widespread kidnapping, murder, extortion, and the taxation of drug and mineral production. At the same time, the FARC was an effective form of local government in Colombia's largely undeveloped remote and rural departments, providing education, healthcare and employment in regions where the government's writ did not run.

In the 1990's the Colombian government seemed increasingly unable to control its own borders and internal security was flimsy at best. The USA decided to provide military aid under its 'Plan Colombia'. Over US$10 billion was spent on the Colombian military. At the same time, massive amounts of human rights abuses occured and the FARC guerrillas were beaten back into the more remote departments of the country.

The Colombian Government and FARC guerrillas eventually arrived at a consensus for peace. Negotiations started in 2014 in Havana, Cuba. Two national referendums on peace followed. The first, the '2016 National Plebiscite for Peace' failed to bring about

peace. Adjustments were made to the plan on offer and the 'Second 2016 National Plebiscite for Peace' was held in November. This resulted in a majority of voters accepting the peace plan.

The 20 July 2017 marked the official end to hostilities. Subsequently, President Santos was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for the leading role he took in the negotiations which brought about this situation. The FARC agreed to demobilize, disarm and enter civilian life. Nine 'Zones of Disarmament' were selected across the country where former guerrillas had their safety guaranteed and demobilization could occur. This process was monitored by the United Nations. The FARC leadership now entered the political arena, having been given five permanent seats in the Colombian Congress and five in the House of Representatives.

Nevertheless, Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities continue to find that their views and voices are not represented very much in the 'mainstream' Colombian dialogue on peace. Indeed, neither Indigenous nor Afro-Colombian groups had been allowed to play any part in the peace negotiations, even though their rural territories are predominantly the combat zones where the conflict had flourished for decades; they have suffered the vast majority of changes to lifestyle, and they comprise the bulk of the nation's IDP population. Also, the majority of the FARC's 7,000-guerrilla army are currently demobilized either in their villages, towns or in new communes in Indigenous of Afro-Colombian territories.

Overview of the Education Situation

Colombia is the fifth largest country in South America and has a population of 47.6 million. More than 25 per cent of the population under 15 years old (OECD, 2014). Furthermore, the population is growing fast, with a 1.4 per cent annual population-growth, which is double the OECD average (OECD, 2015a). Afro-Colombian and Indigenous people comprise the country's largest minority groups, representing 11 per cent and 3 per cent of the total population respectively (OECD, 2015c).

The majority of Colombia's population (76 per cent) live in urban areas and rates of urbanisation vary significantly across the country (OECD, 2015d). In general, population and high levels of development are concentrated in certain departments and municipalities within the four cities of Bogota, Cali, Medellin and Barranquilla. Predominantly, in the East of the country, the sparsely populated rural areas face particular challenges in terms of infrastructure, security, poverty and development (OECD, 2015d).

Approximately 33 per cent of the country's population live below the poverty line (OECD, 2015d). Overall inequality in Colombia is very high, ranking 0.539 on the World Bank's Gini Coefficient. This is comparable regionally to the situation in Haiti and Honduras (World Bank, 2015). Furthermore, across regions in Colombia, poverty rates

vary a lot, and are much deeper in rural communities. For example, they even reach 55 per cent in La Guajira and 66 per cent in Choco. (OECD 2015a, 2015c, 2015d).

Education opportunities in post-conflict zones and disarmament zones, and for displaced people, are limited. Indeed, in some places they are non-existent (Amnesty International, 2017; OECD, 2015d). In 2013, close to 110,000 students were recorded as being displaced, a number four times higher than in 2005 (MEN, 2015).

Colombia does not have a rights-based education system and is the only country in the region where primary school education is not free (World Bank, 2003). Even though the constitution of 1936 and of 1991 enshrined the principle of free compulsory education, successive governments levied school fees. According to Tomasveski (2004), there are two ways of interpreting this situation: free education is seen to be just a subsidy for those otherwise unable to pay or it is an integral part of the right to education. The first definition defines education as a responsibility that is shared between the State and the family, while the second treats it as the sole responsibility of the State.

Colombia's Education Department produces no statistics on access to education disaggregated by race, ethnicity and religion. It also lacks an education strategy based on human rights. A UNHCR special rapporteur on education recommended that a commitment needed to be made to strengthen the protection of economic, social, cultural and education rights of all citizens (UNHRC 2010). An internationally accepted norm on the right to education is based on the 4A's model: education must be (1) available; (2) accessible; (3) acceptable; (4) adaptable (Tomasveski, 2004).

Schools, teachers that run them, and education in general, are core parts of building strong local communities. However, the UNHCHR special rapporteur on education noted that 691 teachers were murdered in the decade 1994-2004 (UNHRC, 2013). Also, not one murder was solved by government agencies, and teaching staff are not included amongst groups benefiting from measures of government protection. Furthermore if a teacher is threatened and forced to move, but fails to gain the status of 'threatened teacher', he or she will face disciplinary proceedings for abandonment of post. (Tomasvesksi, 2004).

Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Communities

The geographical realities of Colombia's land and maritime borders dictate very much where conflict occurs. This has often been in Indigenous and Afro-Colombian territories. Legal and illegal mineral extractive industries increasingly bring conflict to here. The environmental damage caused by legal and illegal extractive industries includes widespread de-forestation which can leave communities vulnerable to catastrophes such as the two huge landslides which killed more than 1,000 people in Mocoa and Villa Garzon in Putumayo (Amnesty International, 2017).

For decades, Afro-Colombian and Indigenous citizens have found their lives completely immersed in a conflict of which they have no ownership. They have the misfortune of living in places where armed groups choose to fight. Proportionally, also, they have suffered far more human rights abuses than other Colombian citizens (IDMC, 2014). The Colombian Constitutional Court (2009) established in Session 004 of 2009 reported on this as follows.

> Some indigenous communities in Colombia are in danger of being exterminated – culturally & physically- due to the internal armed conflict… and that they have been victims of very serious violations of their individual and collective fundamental rights and International Human Rights.

It also states that "there is no doubt that the merciless and systematic way Colombian Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities have been victimized by a conflict from which they are completely aside and have stated, many times, they are autonomous and neutral, asking the illegal armed groups to respect their lives, their collective integrity and their lands.

In Session 005 of 2009, it also established that

> … the impact on individual rights of the members of Afro-Colombian communities caused by forced displacement, the consequences of the forced displacement, the confinement and the resilience have a disproportionate impact on the collective rights of these communities and on their cultural survival possibilities. The internal armed conflict and the pressure from agrarian and mining projects in ancestral territories, has generated the rearrangement of the collective territories and of the possibilities of participation of the community authorities, that breaks the territorial integrity and autonomy of the Afro-Colombian people. On top of these pressures, there is a weak protection system and non-implementation of some of the rights recognized to the Afro-Colombians. This situation has generated violations to the territorial rights, to participation and autonomy, to cultural identity, to the development within their own cultural aspirations, and to the food security and sovereignty, besides civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights.

Moreover, according to the Colombian Constitution (1991), there should be special protection both individually and collectively, for Indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants. Furthermore, a number of constitutional articles emphasize the reinforced protection that should be given not only to them as individuals, but also to the communities to which they belong.

The Colombian Constitutional Court (2009) stated that Afro-Colombian and Indigenous communities continue to be victims of systematic racial discrimination. Such discrimination is still not legally prohibited, nor is there a strategy, as required under international human rights law, to eliminate it. Tragically, the two groups are

subjugated to 'oblivion' in the national state of Colombia and are largely 'invisible' in media and academic fields (Oyola & Milena, 2015).

The notion of invisibility can be linked to slavery and even to the reports of early anthropological studies of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous people, which permeated popular representations of these minority groups. Indeed, it was used to describe the situation of indigenous and black people in regard to the Colombian Nation. The invisibility was understood to be the result of a process of 'whitening', marginalisation and exclusion of black communities and individuals (Friedman, 1992.)

According to Friedman (1992) the invisibility in socio-cultural processes is a strategy that ignores the present, history and the rights of individuals. Its exercise implies the use of stereotypes understood as absurd reductions of the cultural complexity that pejoratively blur the reality of the groups, which are victimised in that way. Colombia's Constitutional Court (2009) in 2009 session 004 also stated that the situation constitutes an emergency that is both serious and invisible. While many Indigenous groups are attacked, displaced and disintegrated throughout the national territories by armed groups, the government and its society continue to claim that they are proud of the nation's multicultural character and its ethnic riches. The state of fear among communities created by the armed conflict, the pain caused to individuals, families and Indigenous communities by the various crimes that they have endured, the fear of experiencing atrocities again, and the despair and scepticism in relation to a State that has not reacted as required by law, have, as a result, continued in the individual and collective memory of the people.

An example of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous invisibility in Colombia includes the geographical representation of Colombia's Pacific lowlands as being empty land, even though Indigenous groups have lived there for thousands of years and Afro-Colombian communities have lived there for centuries. Another example is the recent loss of a huge area of disputed Afro-Colombian maritime territory to Nicaragua. This has been widely accredited to government complacency.

Digital Inclusion for Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Youth

For peace to be long term and comprehensive it is essential to build a new national identity for youth who do not speak Spanish and live in virtual isolation from the Colombian mainstream. On this, the digital arts' medium could enable Indigenous and Afro-Colombian youth to be more 'visible' to the nation. To this end, self-documentation of their lives, community and opinions could be undertaken.

Warschauer (2003) noted over a decade ago that the ability to access, adapt and create new knowledge using information and communication technology (ICT) is critical to social inclusion in today's era. In Colombia's more remote communities, digital arts' technology and training could be made available to children and young adults

monitored by organisations like UNHCHR. Through the medium, they could express who they are, what they want, show the world their lives, tell their stories, and speak about their languages.

More broadly, the lack of access to digital technologies and the resulting lack of digital literacy skills in marginalized minority communities entrenches disadvantage and prevents full participation in contemporary society (Leung, 2014). This situation prevails not only in developing countries but also in developed countries with Indigenous. Education could be a key factor in addressing the deficit (Leung, 2014). For example, digital outreach work could enable Indigenous and Afro-Colombian youth in Colombia to demonstrate their existing skills in digital arts. Simply providing them with access to the Internet and training them in new technologies, however, would not be sufficient to solve the digital divide. Neither can the digital divide be narrowed without one having an understanding of how digital technologies have already been adopted by people in remote communities (Featherstone, 2013).

Currently, a proposal is being developed by a group, to which the present author belongs, to establish a digital presence by such communities in Colombia, to help young people to become digitally literate in self-representing their stories, their views and their wishes regarding peace. The Australian Human Rights Commission has given in-kind support through the donation of digital equipment. In facilitating digital self-documentation by children in communities envisaged to be least affected by the peace process in Colombia an archive of digital work is being built up. It is anticipated that it will be based on the core theme, 'Our Land - Our Body'. If successful, the work will be displayed on websites and in its books, and a photographic exhibition will be held at the National Museum of Memory-Bogota.

A wide variety of technologies has been harnessed for the project. They are to be combined to produce digital peace packs (DPPs). Each DPP will be distributed to regional community schools where children and young adults will receive training in its use. It is envisaged that community participants will be keen to use the digital equipment. They will start off the documentation process by relating their perspectives. This is a world first initiative in which children will document their lives and the peace that they have inherited.

It is also envisaged that national expressions regarding peace for Afro-Colombian and Indigenous Colombians will be given voice through the expression of strong spiritual associations to land and cultures. The use of digital arts media means that they will be able to express this through multiple sources and through such media products as calendars and books to help promote peace nationally and internationally. Stored centrally in Bogota, the DPPs will be sent to a variety of areas in the country. Each will consist of five waterproof I-pads, one Go-Pro HD mini camera, one Canon D30 high definition SLR camera and a Pelican waterproof case, one Mac laptop computer in a Pelican waterproof case, one Manfrotto professional tripod, and 10 Olympus Tough G4 waterproof cameras.

A team member accompanied UNHCHR Colombia personnel on their November 2017 visits to Putumayo Department and San Andres Department. These Departments are in the northern and southern borders of the country. Planned trips to Choco Department and Baujo Cauca Department were postponed because of security and weather issues.

Community consultation took place to ascertain the levels of interest in the project at Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Community Schools. The project team demonstrated the technology and the possibilities of producing digital art with cameras and I-pads. Children were also encouraged to learn, experiment and produce digital art over the week-long visit to each community.

Youth and community processes were refined during a staff visit in early January 2018. A list of interested communities to be contacted has now been drawn up and a timetable has been prepared to commence the gathering of digital images. Also, a multi-media campaign will be started to create a national picture of what peace means to Indigenous and Afro-Colombian Children. It has proposed three communities to be the first ones where the digital arts' peace building initiative will be undertaken: The first is in the Putumayo Department. Historically, this department has had the highest rate of displacement of people in Colombia. Petroleum production is the root cause of this. In the 1960s, Texaco and Ecopetrol began constructing pipelines and drilling for oil. Thousands of Indigenous people were displaced in the 1980s by the oil operations. Among the worst consequences of the exploitation are health problems (disease, skin infection and parasites), water and air pollution, malnutrition, economic pauperisation and loss of culture. Indigenous groups such as the Inga, Kofan, Awa, Huitoto and Coreguaje have been seriously affected, with many fleeing traditional lands and flocking to the regional capital Mocoa, or south into refugee camps in Ecuador.

The second school is in Bellavista, in Choco Department, which is positioned on Colombia's Pacific coast. It is one of the wildest and most undeveloped regions in the country, where travel is mainly conducted by canoe or boat, and communications technology is very basic. Centuries ago, Afro-Colombians escaped slavery and found safety in this area. The presence of the FARC and paramilitary groups was substantial in this region until the peace process was finalised.

The third school is in the Archipelago of San Andres, Providence and Santa Catalina. This lies far to the north of the mainland. Here, the Colombian Government recently lost huge Afro-Colombian maritime territories to Nicaragua at The Hague's International Court. The Afro-Colombian community faces a grim future, with widespread unemployment, environmental destruction, loss of food self-sufficiency, and serious population congestion; San Andres is the most densely populated island in the Caribbean, with about 145,000 peoples in eight square miles. The islands also have the geographical misfortune of lying 60km away from Central America, which is a major narcotic-traffic route. Over 800 people of the male population of Providence Island

(total 5,000) are incarcerated in jails around the Caribbean, Central and North America, are dead or are unaccounted-for.

Conclusion

Art is an expressive vehicle for communication and includes a diversity of forms including visual, literary, performance, and movement-related arts (Shank &d Schirch, 2008). Many peace-building organisations like UNHCHR do not have a full-time artistic dimension. Perhaps the arts are marginalised within the peace-building field and viewed as the 'soft' approach (within the already 'soft' field of the arts) when compared to the 'hard' issues of conflict and violence. Furthermore, peace-building practitioners frequently come from social science backgrounds and are often unfamiliar with arts-based peace building approaches. Conversely, within the artistic community, many artists feel that their art needs no socio-cultural explanation; no explicit reason for existence. Art, for them, is, as the saying goes, 'for arts sake', and any attempt to make it political and transformative for the community betrays the self-expressive nature of art (Shank & Schirch, 2008). The assumption underlying the project outlined here is that art has the potential to be a successful method of 'waging peace' by helping to reclaim public space, heal trauma and create collective memory that could empower communities. The results of the project are eagerly awaited and the hope is that they will be very positive.

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Chapter Fourteen: Schooling and Education in Lebanon: A Review Essay

Angela Evangelinou-Yiannakis

As the Syrian War continues to rage, with devastating results not only for its citizens but also for the global community, the book *Schooling and Education in Lebanon: Syrian and Syrian- Palestinian Refugees Inside and Outside the Camps*, by Nina Maadad and Grant Rodwell (2017) and published by Sense Publishers in Rotterdam, is timely and an essential read for all those involved in education, policy and reform. The authors present a poignant study, pricking the conscience of the reader, especially where the plight of Syrian refugees is concerned. The call for a humanitarian solution to the problem of schooling and education for the children of Syrian and Syrian-Palestinian refugees could not be louder. Furthermore, the focus of the book, being the schooling and education that is being received (or not being received) by the refugee children, points directly to the future and the effects that today's schooling and education will have on this generation of young learners.

Today's efforts by government and education authorities in Lebanon, and world charitable organisations, are shaping the future of our global community, not just those of war-torn Syria and a recovering Lebanon. The book suggests that it is everyone's concern to try to help in some way and on some level that will have a positive impact on the young victims of this long-standing and complex civil war. It also poses questions of equity and fairness in its exploration and exposition of the 'pedagogy of the displaced'; a term used throughout, and at the end of each chapter wherein the authors summarise the perspectives of the key stakeholders and how these, in turn, affect schooling and education for refugee children in Lebanon. What is being done, and what more can be done to give these children a fair, even remote chance of

success in life, or at least a break from the chains of migratory despair, is a key theme running throughout the book. By the end, the reader is left saddened, yet also hopeful that more can be achieved in relation to the magnitude of this humanitarian crisis.

The book is set out in a logical sequence. In Chapter One it outlines the setting. On this, it deals with the geo-politics of the area, the conflicts of the Middle East over the past decade, the communities affected by these conflicts, and the plight of the refugees and their children. Chapter Two focuses on the refugees in Lebanon, thus outlining the specific context of the study on which the remainder of the book is based. The third chapter deals with the provision of schooling and its challenges, specifically in relation to the refugees inside and outside camps in Lebanon. Chapter Four hones in on the experiences of the children, offering centrality and credence to the purpose of the study reported in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Five moves outwards from the centre, looking specifically at the concerns of the parents in relation to the education that their children are receiving in the host country. Still within close proximity to the central focus of the children's experience of schooling and education in Lebanon, Chapter Six is concerned with the perspectives of the teachers and the challenges they encounter in relation to the education on offer. A further step back is the approach adopted in Chapter Seven, which deals with the community's concerns and responses. Finally, Chapter Eight provides insight into the support offered by the State and into its policies, as well as the role of the global community through various charitable organisations. A concluding chapter then follows, reiterating the key results of the study and offering recommendations for improvement. The content of each of these chapters is outlined in more detail later on in this essay.

An appendix and a comprehensive reference list at the end of the book point to the thorough and careful approach undertaken by Maadad and Rodwell in conducting this well-documented, logically-organised, and highly relevant study. Also, a poignant and most apposite quote is found in the Dedication, taken from the Lebanese poet and writer, Gibran Khalil Gibran's book, *The Prophet* (1923). This sets the scene and tone of the book. Reiterated below, the quote demonstrates the timeless philosophy of the value and 'place' of children in society through the ages:

> Your children are not your children. They are the sons and daughters of life's longing for itself. They come through you but not from you, and though they are with you, yet they belong not to you (Gibran Khalil Gibran, 1923, as cited in Maadad & Rodwell, 2017, p. 7)

With this moving statement about children, the book proceeds to offer the reader the results of the study, the questions raised along the way, and the challenges that need to be overcome so that children of refugees can "have a normal childhood and to dream of their future; a future they create for themselves so that they can live their lives

as we did before them." (Maadad & Rodwell, 2017, p. 7). In thanking various people within the acknowledgements section of the book, the authors repeatedly refer to the concern they had about their safety when conducting the research and how various individuals protected them within the volatile environment in which they found themselves.

The preface of the book makes a distinct political statement through its direct reference to former Australian Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, and his funeral on 27 March 2015. It refers deliberately to the significant number of Vietnamese refugees present, thus making an indirect but pointed comment on Australia's current tight, if not unnecessarily frugal, response to the almost decade-long Syrian refugee crisis. The outward-looking, philanthropically-motivated Fraser is positioned to stand apart from the recent past and current inward-looking and economically-driven Australian prime ministers and their politics. In fact, the authors refer to the current Australian political scene as being a "dark shadow" (p. 13) as far as immigration policy is concerned. This comment is then followed by a direct reference to the Australian Coalition government's policy of Operation Sovereign Borders as being a 'closed book', in relation to asylum seekers and a blemish on the very moral as well as the political fabric of the country. Reference could also have been made to Fraser's predecessor, Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, whose government completed the dismantling of the White Australia Policy. Together with Whitlam's advocacy of a multicultural Australia, it paved the way for Fraser to continue in this vein.

In the preface also, Maadad reveals her identity and motive for undertaking her study. In doing so, she outlines the desire she has, as a Lebanese Australian to investigate the Syrian Refugee Crisis at close range in order to collect data and report on the issue of the education of Syrian and Syrian-Palestinian children displaced by circumstances. Maadad also attributes her motivation to travel to Lebanon to undertake her study to fellow Lebanese Australian, Joseph Wakim (2013), and others like him who claim that "Australians have much to learn from Lebanon in respect to refugees" (Maadad & Rodwell, 2017, p. 18).

The figures quoted with regard to Lebanon's acceptance of Syrian refugees are intended to shock and point the finger at an inward-looking Australia; one that the authors determine is lacking in a "global perspective" (Maadad & Rodwell, 2017, p. 14). Again, one or two other examples of what the authors believe constitutes a 'global perspective' would have helped to enhance and cement the point being made. Examples such as Greece's humanitarian efforts in accepting and accommodating multitudes of Syrian refugees, albeit in relatively spartan conditions, and in what is known to be a long-term era of economic crisis for the country, is an equally inspirational example; an estimated 5,000 Syrian children attend schools in the Greek education system (Lakasas, 2017, p. 36).

The Introduction to the book clearly states the goal, which is to "provide insights into the education and schooling of children inside and outside Lebanese refugee

camps" (Maadad & Rodwell, 2017, p. 15). It elaborates on this by adding that the book seeks to present the perspectives of the various stakeholders, including the children, their parents, teachers, community leaders, politicians and bureaucrats regarding the schooling provisions and education opportunities on offer. Brief background information is provided on the camps and on how they are scattered all over Lebanon. Specifically, the work centres on two Syrian and two Syrian-Palestinian camps, and eight schools within these. The 48 respondents represent the stakeholder groups mentioned. The study is directly related to the "refugees that fled Syria during the armed conflict of 2011" (Maadad & Rodwell, 2017, p. 15).

The qualitative nature of the study undertaken becomes apparent from the explanation of the way in which the researcher conducted the study 'in the field'. Accordingly, a face-to-face, personalised approach was taken. This involved speaking with the various stakeholders in an effort to understand how they are dealing with the enormous changes in their lives because of their dislocation. The authors expound on the methods of data collection and analysis used, and the theories that emerged regarding the schooling of refugee children. They then refer to the "pedagogy of the displaced" (p. 22), which they attribute as being based on Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed" (p. 22). They also refer to 'conflict theory' which has, in turn, informed their own theories.

Part one of the Introduction concludes in an uplifting way, offering hope for the human condition through the sheer will and persistence that humans have to succeed against all odds. Furthermore, the book can be seen as being a 'call to arms' for future teachers and for universities, through their work in initial teacher preparation programs, in addressing such global issues as the mass refugee crisis of Syria and Palestine, and how to deal with the education of the children of such crises.

Part two of the Introduction is entitled 'an international tragedy: The tragedy of the displaced'. It provides specific background information on the Syrian conflict, including facts and data, thus putting the reader in the midst of the crisis, and giving a sense of the enormity and magnitude of the human tragedy at hand. It sets the scene clearly for what is to follow. Even more pertinent is that we, the readers, are asked to see the tragedy from the perspective of the children and from the perspective of their education, or lack thereof.

Chapter One is entitled 'Geopolitics, Middle East Conflicts, Communities and Refugee Children'. It opens with a reference to the large number of refugees from North Africa who were making dangerous journeys to Italy in leaky boats in 2015. It then stands back to provide some historical background to the trouble brewing in the Middle East and in North Africa ('Arab Winter'), tracing it back to December 2010. This set the scene for the ongoing and current conflict in Syria.

'Social conflict theory' is brought into focus at this point in an effort to explain some of the events, at least, in part. Functionalist theory is mentioned as offering a balance to 'conflict theory'. These theories prepare the reader to think critically about the

schooling and education that the refugee children receive in the camps visited by Maadad. The reader is also introduced to the concept of the Islamic State (IS). The link between 'power politics', social conflict theory, and the refugee camps across the Middle East is then explained. In particular, the role of schooling and education in assisting in community building is posited. Charitable organisations and global conventions for protecting the rights of children are highlighted near the end of Chapter One in an effort to draw attention to the efforts they are making. The concept of 'educationalisation' is also brought into focus, and the role that it plays in the education of refugee children becomes the new reference point of the book from here on in.

Chapter Two is entitled 'Refugees in Lebanon: The Context'. It relates the Syrian refugee crisis to that shared by many other countries, making the fundamental point that everybody suffers and, in particular, children, whose chances of receiving an education and, therefore, a livelihood, are robbed because of circumstances beyond their doing or beyond their control. It focuses also on the nature of the support provided to refugees in Lebanon, and the education offered to refugee children. A key theme running throughout is the robbing of children's futures through the collapse of public institutions, including schooling through civil wars, and governments not being able to maintain social order. The chapter includes a literature review, supporting the authors' claims that such crises have 'roll-on' effects on education and, in turn, on economic development and social policy.

The chapter then focuses on the type of schooling offered to Syrian and Syrian-Palestinian children of refugees in the camps in Lebanon. It discusses one of the key outcomes of education; that of community building, supporting this notion through the literature reviewed. Furthermore, the chapter sheds light on the types of refugees who exist within the one context, and how their experiences can differ significantly from one region to another. It ends with reference to formal and non-formal education, and the benefits of each.

Chapter Three is entitled 'The Provision of Schooling and Challenges for Education for Refugees Inside and Outside Camps in Lebanon'**.** Here, the distinction between 'schooling' and 'education' is made early on, the contention being that Syrian children suffer from a lack of provision of schooling rather than education. Maadad and Rodwell (2017, p. 52) say that schooling "is culture-bound and not universally accepted."

The schooling of girls is raised as an area that is still posing challenges, with twice as many girls as boys not attending school for discrimination reasons. The authors bewail this fact. They make the point that educated women serve themselves, their families, and their communities well and are, therefore, a benefit to society as a whole.

The chapter goes into considerable detail regarding the social construct of refugee communities, referring to Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy theory of 1970, and to how such theories can help to change host and global communities, as well as the displaced themselves. They see schooling and education as the key to addressing the

limitations of such socially-constructed communities, and a way of liberating refugees from economic helplessness. They also see it as a way of regaining a lost generation of children.

The 'pedagogy of the displaced' concept is developed further in this chapter through a description of the types of schools in Lebanon and the access that refugee children have to them. The description is based on data collected while travelling through Lebanon, witnessing the types of schools that exist whilst interviewing school leaders, teachers, parents and children. The chapter concludes with the poignant point that children are the same everywhere in the world; and have the same needs, wants and rights. Yet, Syrian refugee children have very few, if any, rights, despite the efforts being made by governments and education authorities, including in Lebanon.

Chapter Four is entitled 'Children's Experiences'. It hits home hard with a discussion about the exploitation of children in refugee communities, inclusive of child brides, who are often deemed by their parents to be one less mouth to feed. Health and social issues also emerge from the bartering processes involved, often with parents trading their daughters in return for rent-free accommodation for themselves. A consequence is that traumatised children are being forced prematurely out of childhood.

The authors also detail other challenges that exist in the schooling of refugee children in Lebanon, and the variations in education found across the country. The picture is bleak. Makeshift or 'tent schools' have been set up to accommodate children in the camps. However, sub-zero winter conditions, no heating, little food, and inappropriate clothing, all seriously hamper efforts to educate children. Anecdotes from refugee children interviewed by Maadad pepper this chapter, adding credence and an element of emotion to the data presented. The 'human spirit' is referred to as prevailing under such dire circumstances and conditions, and reference is made to the first steps towards community building through a "process of having students working with a teacher in a relatively planned and structured manner, complying with acceptable standards." (Maadad & Rodwell, 2017, p. 78)

Broader issues, such as the growing tensions between the Syrian and Lebanese communities within Lebanon are also touched on in this chapter, and reference is made to the government's efforts to relieve them. Specific reference is made to challenges that present themselves in the schools, such as the medium of instruction being French or English and not Arabic, as is the case in Syria. However, the authors also highlight the support structures that the Lebanese authorities have put in place to help Syrian children. They include afternoon shifts in schools dedicated primarily to refugee children, and extra language classes to lift their competency levels. The chapter concludes by reminding readers that refugee families place less value on education and more on survival.

Chapter Five is entitled 'Parents' Concerns Regarding Schooling'. The central guiding question underpinning the research project on which it is based is outlined as

follows: 'What are the parents' concerns regarding the schooling of their children in the refugee camps and elsewhere?' Two related sub-questions are: 'How do parents support their children's schooling?' and 'How do parents address the concerns regarding their children's schooling?'' The qualitative approach adopted in the research project is exemplified well here. It involved the researcher visiting the homes of refugees to conduct interviews. The refugees described the desperate situation of their circumstances. The results reveal that for many refugee families the affordability of education is non-existent. As a consequence, their children are often sent to work as soon as they can so that they are able to play a part in supporting the family. Some families are luckier than others but the possibility of the children of all receiving a post-secondary school education is slim.

All families interviewed reflected on a past and better pre-civil war life in Syria. Some positive comments regarding the support provided by the Lebanese government were articulated but, for the majority of families, survival comes before education. Positive statements were made by some of the families interviewed regarding the support offered by Lebanon's Ministry of Education, including no school fees, free school equipment and study materials, after-school classes for extra tuition, and transportation. Additionally, support received from private sources and from charitable organisations was mentioned. Overall, the chapter balances the mixed views held by parents on the teachers, some of whom are deemed to be compassionate and supportive, whilst others are deemed to openly favour the Lebanese children.

Chapter Six is entitled 'Teachers' Perspectives and Challenges'. The chapter begins with a literature review of this topic. It then presents the researchers' general observations on teachers in Lebanon. The chapter provides an outline of the types of schooling that exists in Lebanon and the rules regarding teacher registration. Schools, desperate for teachers, have employed under-qualified staff or volunteers, some of whom have remained in the system. The anecdotes from various school principals are poignant in regard to the humanitarian aspect of the teaching profession, that is, employing people who have a compassionate edge and can help the traumatised refugee children. This is seen by some school leaders as being more important than employing a registered teacher. Nevertheless, strict registration compliance exists in Lebanon and heavy penalties apply to schools that employ non-registered teachers.

The chapter introduces the reader to camp schools, in which most teachers are non-registered. These teachers are very capable individuals who are helping to lift the morale of the refugee children, whilst also providing them with basic literacy and numeracy skills. Some provide special classes, including in dancing. Life skills are also taught.

Detail pertaining to the curriculum in Lebanon is then provided, and the specific problems of the language of delivery are highlighted for the reader to understand further the complexity of the situation. Stories relating to internal politics, such as Lebanese families complaining to school principals about the free education received

by Syrian refugees in contrast to their own situation of having to pay for the same services, are also related. The chapter concludes by stating that the Lebanese government has responded positively to the crisis but, despite its efforts, many thousands of refugee children are missing out on their 'right to education'. The solution offered is the provision of more funding for more schools and for the training of teachers.

Chapter Seven is entitled 'Community Concerns and Responses'. A global, holistic picture of the situation is provided. Problems such as having only temporary camps, and penalties that apply for having permanent camps, are discussed, as are the stricter laws and restrictions on entry to Lebanon that have applied since 2014. These, in turn, affect the children as families who do not have the necessary paperwork cannot register their children in formal schooling. Consequently, many refugee children are educated by volunteers in camp schools, offering an informal education that is not recognised by the Lebanese government. Known as Education Centres, they are funded by NGOs but when the funding runs out they close. As the centres have no official standing, the children do not receive official achievement documentation at the end of their studies. Hence, their education is often not recognised by other formal schools.

The chapter also relates tragic stories of personal loss. The work of organisations such as UNICEF to provide affordability of schooling and safety for the children, is praised but the key goal of these families is again stated strongly; namely, survival over education. Despite the best efforts of such organisations, the tragically high statistics of child labour paint a dark picture. Again, with Lebanon's schooling resources being stretched to the limit, the authors propose that more funding is required.

Chapter Eight is entitled 'The State and Policy Support'. This chapter is concerned with the support that the Lebanese State provides as a host to the refugees in terms of the schooling of refugee children. It outlines both the positives and negatives of the Ministry of Education's initiatives, and offers solutions. Much of the good that has been put in place is undermined by ongoing violence, hostility, discrimination, and lack of education support for refugee children. Whilst the afternoon shift in classes has assisted in overcoming some of the challenges, tragic housing and living conditions can undermine efforts.

The chapter also discusses the value of non-formal education programmes, which focus on water, sanitation, and child safety issues. It is stated that such programs have been positive in many ways, including by providing an affordable option for refugee families. The chapter goes on to list the key education provisions offered by Lebanon to Syrian refugees.

The final chapter provides a summary of the key results of the study reported and the main points made throughout the book. Reference is made to the 'politics of hostility' versus the 'politics of hospitality'. The reader is invited to consider these and then to act. We are reminded that refugee children are the victims of a socially-

constructed catastrophe not of their making. The chapter ends with a comment on teaching, stating that it should proceed from the point of existing knowledge possessed by the children and how the children make meaning of the world. The challenges are formidable for teachers, and even more formidable for society. The book calls everyone to do something about the crisis at hand.

Figure 14.1. Beautiful Lebanon.

Figure 14.2. Historic Lebanon.

Conclusion

The authors present a balanced study. The chapters are well sequenced in terms of taking the reader on a journey through Lebanon, experiencing along the way the perspectives of the various stakeholders on schooling and on the education of Syrian and Syrian-Palestinian refugee children. Within each chapter are headings and sub-headings to guide the reader and provide clarity. Another strong feature of the narrative is the use of photographs, with children being shown in their various schooling

situations. The photographs in each chapter evoke an immediate emotional response from the reader, enticing one to continue reading.

Maps, charts, graphs, and other tables are used effectively to support key points made. Each chapter has a conclusion and a list of references at the end, while there is also a comprehensive reference list at the end of the book. This is important for those contemplating engaging in future studies in the field. The writing style is straight-forward and honest, without losing its academic edge. Overall, the book is an important study on the plight of refugees and on the schooling and education of their children in Lebanon. It should command attention and respect from its readers. It is also likely to inform those who are distanced from the tragedy of the Syrian War, and to leave an indelible mark on their conscience. Furthermore, it invites engagement in similar studies on the schooling and education, or lack thereof, of refugee children elsewhere.

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