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Editorial

Intercultural Education

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This special issue of the journal, Educational Research for Social Change, focuses on intercultural education. More than a decade ago, Florio-Ruane contended that the "explosion of intercultural contact in our historical moment challenges us to rethink our social and psychological explanations of learning and development. ... We must teach with the insight that culture is bound up with learning" (2001, p. 28). More recently, a number of authors have grappled with the intriguing, but often elusive, concept of intercultural education and this is reflected in their publications (Aguado & Malik, 2009; Akkari, 2012; Botha, 2010; Canestrari & Marlowe, 2013; Crose, 2011; MacPherson, 2010; Maramba & Velasquez, 2012). The concept of intercultural education presents a different stance to that of multicultural education, as evidenced by Cushner (1998, p. 4) when he explained that interculturalism "implies comparisons, exchanges, cooperation, and confrontation between groups."

Interculturalism in education presents many dimensions that need to be considered when striving towards promoting cultural awareness, respect, understanding, and acceptance. Some of these dimensions deal with matters of curriculum, language, and culturally responsive pedagogy or teaching. The pivotal role of curriculum when promoting intercultural competencies was highlighted by Botha (2011, p. 22) when she said "the importance of developing and implementing strategies for infusing interculturalism into the curriculum must not be under-estimated." MacPherson (2010, p. 282) stated, "When learners from diverse backgrounds come together, the curriculum becomes an intercultural practice regardless of the intention of the teacher, school, district, or system."

Another challenge brought by cultural diversity to the teaching and learning context is that of language. Crose (2011, p. 388) identified challenges of "language barriers, differing learning styles, preconceived cultural traits, and the development of methods to effectively assess all students in a culturally diverse classroom." Language is also the vehicle for conversations and stories that can be used to create space in the curriculum to explore own and other cultures and thus to connect with each other (Nieto, 2009).

Intercultural challenges demand new ways of teaching and so the notions of culturally responsive teaching and culturally responsive pedagogy present themselves. Killen (2010, p. 31) stated that "if teachers explicitly acknowledge the legitimacy of the beliefs, languages, cultural practices and 'ways of knowing' of students from all cultural groups, they can teach in culturally responsive ways and create learning experiences that make the content meaningful for all learners." Marx and Moss (2011, p. 36) echoed this when they contended, "culturally responsive teachers must know themselves and their students as cultural

beings and understand and accept the role culture plays in learning. To be culturally responsive, pre-service teachers must first become culturally conscious and interculturally sensitive."

The contributors to this special issue have all addressed one or more of the above-mentioned challenges in intercultural education, these being of crucial importance to diversity in general and to interculturalism in particular. Sarah DesRoches explores and raises doubts about interculturalism as basis for an equitable model of civic education. She considers how important it is to not overlook issues of unequal power relations and to sufficiently consider important complexities when civic identities are formed in Québec. She argues that Québec is perpetuating social and political dynamics and discusses the omission of residential schooling from several of Québec's curricula.

Tamsin Meaney deals with another issue relevant to the school classroom when she contends that intercultural education explores the responsibility for the construction of culture by mainstream society. She examines her role in mathematics teacher education programmes in New Zealand, Australia, and Sweden, and focuses on raising students' awareness of intercultural understandings. She used various approaches to match local circumstances and to help preservice teachers reappraise the role that mathematics education has in marginalising some children's cultural backgrounds.

Lyn Webb and Paul Webb report on a study also located in a mathematics classroom, but this time in a township school in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. English, the language of teaching and learning, was not the main language of either teachers or pupils in the study therefore isiXhosa (the mother tongue of the children) was integrated into the lessons through the use of exploratory talk in order to build a community of practice. Teaching strategies that appeared to improve pupils' mathematical skills were identified and included group work, judicious questioning, implementation of second language teaching techniques, and the development of a positive classroom climate.

In her article, Casey Burkholder also looks at the matter of language in the intercultural context. The school success of non-Chinese speaking (NCS) secondary school students in Hong Kong's education system is mediated through English, and their future opportunities are mediated through both English and Cantonese. NCS students are expected to learn Cantonese to become integrated into the community. The way NCS students experience interculturalism in Hong Kong is problematised in this article and they asserted that the term NCS refers to much more than just not speaking Chinese. Evidence from the study suggests that the policy goal of making NCS students "local" is not yet penetrable to ethnic minority NCS students in Hong Kong.

Finally, Martinus van der Merwe and Tanya Bekker explore the impact that teachers' pedagogical choices could have on inclusion and exclusion in the multicultural classroom, and how these relate to culturally responsive teaching. They consider the beliefs, thinking, and dispositions of a group of teacher education students within the domain of the characteristics of culturally responsive teachers, prior to the students embarking on an extended period of work-integrated learning. Findings from the research indicate that these students appeared to make pedagogical decisions and choices based on culturally responsive, profession-based, or rules-based stances.

The issue also includes a book review by Avivit Cherrington which offers some thoughts on *More and Better Teachers for Quality Education for All: Identity and Motivation, Systems and Support* edited by Jackie Kirk, Martial Dembélé, and Sandra Baxter. Although the publication does not deal directly with intercultural education, it does so indirectly because interculturalism and increased access to education are closely related. The book addresses the internationally important issue of access to Universal Primary Education, and the value of in-depth investigations of teachers' lived experiences to enhance the understanding of the

complexities and challenges in education is brought to the fore. Cherrington believes this book makes a significant contribution to current debates about quality education.

The report on the colloquium that was presented by the Intercultural Education Unit (ICEDU), Faculty of Education, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, in August 2012, testifies to the interest in interculturalism in this country and elsewhere. Presenters at the colloquium hailed from across the globe—Kenya, Sweden, and the USA. The presentations addressed crucial issues in interculturalism: language, personal experiences in a foreign country, an Afrikaner student teacher's experiences in a farm school, and many more. They were all very well received by the audience and many lively debates ensued. The ICEDU believes that colloquiums such as this provide opportunities for participants to discover differences and, subsequently, to rise above such differences; opportunities to create new social spaces and to conceptualise the university through an intercultural lens.

This issue of Educational Research for Social Change has touched on some aspects of interculturalism in education, but much more remains to be explored in this arena. Some examples of areas that need further research are the following:

- The absence of intercultural education as described by Wekker (2009, p. 151) when she contended that race or ethnicity is ignored as "ordering mechanisms" for the curriculum and that a deficit discourse is the main mode relevant to students and academics of colour in the higher education sector in the Netherlands.
- The fact that intercultural education sometimes targets only some of the relevant people. In this regard, De Rezende (2009) highlights the need to extend the experience of an intercultural programme constructed to educate indigenous students, to non-indigenous students too.
- How to negotiate different value systems in the intercultural curriculum, as identified through research reported on by Mostafa (2006) and Rostron (2009). It seems that the closer the value systems are to each other, the easier it becomes to accommodate both (or more) systems, but when the differences are more pronounced, huge challenges emerge.

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Intercultural Citizenship Education in Québec: (Re)Producing the O*ther* in and Through Historicised Colonial Patterns and Unquestioned Power Relations

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Abstract

Beginning with a discussion of Québec Interculturalism, as articulated by its most prominent exponents, I explore and raise doubts about interculturalism as a basis for an equitable model of civic education. Specifically, I focus on inadequacies related to the tendency of Québec interculturalists to overlook issues of unequal power relations (especially inequalities between newcomers, established citizens, and Indigenous populations), and not sufficiently considering important complexities that arise in the formation of civic identities. My contention is that, due to its long and arduous attempts to escape the homogenising forces of colonial power, Québec is perpetuating social and political dynamics that assert the Québécois identity as both fixed and dominant. Drawing from the writing of Albert Memmi, I discuss the omission of residential schooling from Québec's history curriculum as a manifestation of Québec's longstanding and unresolved relationship with colonialism. The omission of residential schooling from the Geography, History, and Citizenship curriculum is an act of misrecognition implicitly supported and condoned by the assumptions embedded within the intercultural policy.

Keywords: Québec; Geography, History and Citizenship Education; Diversity; Colonialism; Albert Memmi.

Introduction

In 2007, after a series of incidents that highlighted the recurring tensions surrounding cultural diversity in Québec, the government commissioned renowned philosopher Charles Taylor and historian Gérard Bouchard to conduct an extensive, province-wide, consultation; the aim of this consultation was to "take

stock" of attitudes and practices of accommodation[1] in the province. The commission consisted of focus groups, public forums, and a report entitled, *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation* (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008a). The commission and the recommendations that it produced received much attention in the media (Montpetit, 2011) and in academic circles (Adelman, 2011; Dupré, 2012; McAndrew, 2007). In their final report, Bouchard and Taylor (2008b) offered a portrait of how organisations, individuals, and institutions reconciled what is often labelled an "old-stock" Québécois identity with a relatively recent influx of cultural diversities. They also produced a number of recommendations that aimed to ensure that "accommodation practices conform to Québec's core values" (p. 34). One such recommendation was that public institutions such as schools take interculturalism more seriously. This entailed integrating the core values of the policy into institutional, social, and political spaces.

The ways in which Québec's intercultural model prescribes accommodation and theorises diversity has clear implications for citizenship education in this province. Reconciliation, integration, and dialogue constitute significant theoretical components of the model and also reveal a great deal about the demands of intercultural citizenship. Supporters of the intercultural model claim that it provides the basis for fostering social cohesion, while at the same time acknowledging the attributes of a diverse social and political landscape. From this perspective, interculturalism provides a sound theoretical foundation for an approach to civic education that reinforces shared membership in a national community while also promoting principles of equal treatment (regardless of cultural or religious affiliations). However, when the model is scrutinised from a philosophical perspective and through the lens of citizenship education, its shortcomings with regard to issues of power and identity come into view; it reveals the lingering distinction between Québécois and *other,* deeply engrained within the province's psyche.

The unproblematic ways in which the intercultural model treats exceptionally prickly power relations become especially visible when considering the treatment of Indigenous cultures within the civic education curriculum; this is exemplified by the absence of narrative around Québec's dark history of residential schooling of Aboriginals from the Geography, History, and Citizenship program. My contention is that the forced silences in the citizenship education curriculum provide a potent example of how Québec's intercultural policy is re-enacting many of the injustices it claims to be working to remedy. The terms set out by the intercultural policy, from my perspective, offer only an exclusive inclusivity; explicitly, the model boosts diversity as central to the progress of Québec, however, diversity is only really acknowledged and promoted when it does not risk disrupting established power dynamics.

Interculturalism in Québec: coordinating diversity

Aiming to maintain a national community, the policy's mandate is to coordinate diversity for the sake of supporting coherence. Bouchard and Taylor (2008b) described interculturalism as a "policy or model that advocates harmonious relations between cultures based on intensive exchanges centred on an integration process that does not seek to eliminate differences while fostering the development of a common identity" (p. 287). Intercultural integration, therefore, encourages all citizens to view themselves as part of, and contributing to, a dominant political community while at the same time maintaining their distinct cultural affiliations and identities. The politics attached to the French language in Québec have shaped perceptions surrounding civic identity and therefore how the Québécois view, appreciate, and engage with diversity. "Historically, the main impetus for the increasing salience of the discourse on Québec citizenship has been language—the idea of the French language as the primary vehicle for the preservation and flourishing of

[1] In their report on the state of reasonable accommodation in Québec, *Building the future: A time for reconciliation,* Charles Taylor and Gérard Bouchard have defined reasonable accommodation as "a form of arrangement or relaxation aimed at ensuring respect for the right to equality, in particular in combating so-called indirect discrimination, which, following the strict application of an institutional standard, infringes an individual's right to equality" (p. 7). Examples of practices of accommodation might include authorised absences for religious holidays, serving kosher meats in schools, or the presence of prayer rooms for Muslim students on university campuses.

Québécois identity" (Gagnon & Iacovino, 2004, p. 29). Québec's adoption of an intercultural policy is the culmination of years of struggle to reconcile the province's primary aim, maintenance of the French language, with pressure to adapt to the realities of globalisation. These adaptations, or reactions, have had profound influence on Québécois' ability and willingness to recognise otherness as potential for constructive possibilities, or as a tarnishing of Québec's national identity. Indeed, each of these moments have further entrenched the false perception that Québécois culture and identity is stable and static, thereby stabilising the belief that pluralism taints an established and pristine culture. Waddington, Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier, and Schwimmer (2011) have identified these moments as the Quiet Revolution, Canada's adoption of the multicultural policy, and the "moral contract." They offer concrete indications of the expectations surrounding citizenship, specifically in relation to diversity, for citizens of Québec, namely, how must the Québécois accommodate and integrate the other while preserving their own identity? These touchstones tell the story of how the Québécois have been expected to understand and encounter the other, and how these expectations have shifted in recent history.

A Historical Overview in Three Moments

The first moment that might be viewed as the beginnings of Québec Interculturalism was the Quiet Revolution. In 1960, the election of Liberal premier Jean Lesage ushered in a period of social and political transformation within Québec. Before this, Conservative politics, deeply entwined with the Roman Catholic Church, secured Québec's resistance to social and technological modernisation. Within the context of the Quiet Revolution, a number of interventionist governmental practices designed to insulate Québec from Anglicisation were implemented. The paradoxical nature of Lesage's project was that he campaigned in favour of moving away from traditional values without a complete upheaval. "The term reassured nervous Quebecers—francophone, anglophone, and allophone—that the long-overdue transformation in the governance of a modernized, urbanized, and rapidly secularizing Québec society was not going to be unduly disruptive and destabilizing" (Behiels & Hayday, 2011). As a very specific moment in Québec's history, the Quiet Revolution was a reaction to increased awareness of shifting demographic realities within the province. This was pivotal to the construction of its interculturalism because it set in place social, political, and cultural structures to ideologically insulate Québec from the rest of Canada. These practices might be viewed as the embryonic stages of interculturalism because they instantiated boundaries between so-called Québec and Canadian cultures.

The second key moment in the construction of intercultural policy was Québec's rejection of the Canadian multiculturalism instated in 1971 (Waddington et al., 2011, p. 314). The basis of Québec's adoption of an intercultural policy arose out of a desire for a sense of independence from the rest of Canada. The inclination to carve out its own space and to define its own distinct identity led to a categorical rejection of the pan-Canadian multicultural policy. As Waddington et al. (2011) argued, "Québec's opposition to multiculturalism is grounded in the belief that the Canadian government's policy of multiculturalism is a betrayal of Québec's historical status within the Canadian federation and undermines Québec's grounds for seeking greater political autonomy" (p. 314). According to this view, under the multicultural model, Québec would be relegated to one of many minority cultures within the Canadian panorama of cultural diversity – and this is a cause of contention. From a Québécois perspective, adherence to the multicultural policy would subvert its distinct historical trajectory and reference points, its unique contributions to the Canadian identity, as well as its aim to preserve the French language. In other words, interculturalism is viewed as offering a means of partial or limited integration within Canada, releasing the Québécois from the fear of loss of their linguistic culture while providing a sustainable means of remaining within Canada.

The third and final significant moment in Québec's adoption of interculturalism is the moral contract. In 1970, the Liberal government produced a document entitled, *Au Québec Pour Bâtir Ensemble*,[1] that defines

[1] In Québec, Building Together

the nature of integration in Québec. While main proponents of the intercultural model (Bouchard, 2011) argued that this contract was aimed at all members of Québec society, others argued that its subtext indicated that the responsibilities associated with integration lay solely on newcomers. Bertelsen (2008) wrote:

> *For the Québec government, this "moral contract" identifies the three critical points with which arrivées*[1] *must agree if they wish to join Québec society. Agreement on these tenets is essential because it produces the grounds upon which successful integration can be achieved (p. 50.)*

The contract defines integration according to the following three tenets: a society in which French is the common language within the public sphere; a democratic society in which participation and exchange is encouraged; an open society that values the contributions of pluralism and liberal democratic values (Ministère des Relations avec les Citoyens et de l'Immigration, 2001). Québec pluralism is therefore framed as French speaking and openly secular. According to Bouchard (2011), the moral contract is meant to clarify the rules of engagement for both newcomers and established Quebecers. For newcomers, it outlines their rights and responsibilities as they enter Québec society. For established citizens, it clarifies the parameters of integration from a specifically intercultural perspective. However, the policy outlining the moral contract offers a very different perspective on who is responsible for integration; the policy explicitly places the onus on newcomers. This is indicated in the title of the document itself: *Le Québec une société ouverte: Contrat moral entre le Québec et les personnes qui désirent y immigrer* which can be translated as, *Québec is an open society: Moral contract between Quebec and persons wanting to immigrate*. Currently, the discourse around this contract reflects the policy's perspective on integration, pinpointing newcomers as its target audience (as exemplified by Bertelsen's statement above). This accepted misunderstanding reifies the perception that the responsibility of integration falls only on those from outside Québec. The moral contract reinstates a pervasive belief that there is, and can be, a strict delineation between identity categories: Québécois/other.

The narrative thread that runs through these moments (leading to the implementation of the intercultural policy) is the construction of a fixed and exclusive identity, which necessarily creates and constructs others. The concept of the other, made famous by scholars such as Edward Said (*Orientalism*) and Simone de Beauvoir (*The Second Sex*), refers to an opposition of the same. The other implies that there is a core (same) set of values, assumptions, physical characteristics, or epistemologies that are legitimate, relegating all divergences to other. The repercussions of being othered include being confined in one's life choices (Frye, 1983), being silenced, or being cast in specific and always derogatory lights. Othering depends on having an established core against which to determine and define those who are not situated within this core. The narrative of the intercultural model is a narrative of othering. The tacit assumptions that inform the narrative of the Québécois identity rely on fixed constructs of ethnic identity as well as religious affiliation, instilling cultural beliefs and practices that (re)create others. Needless to say, all attempts at cultural integration are significantly inhibited by the continual defining against what many view as integral to Québec's identity. This is because, paradoxically, Québec has existed as the other within Canadian social and political landscapes, living under the constant fear of being subsumed, silenced, and then vanishing. One of the many effects of this fear is that policies and practices focused on integration have actually focused on differentiation (preserving nationhood) rather than the complex power dynamics involved in cultural integration. The moments that informed the implementation of the intercultural policy also informed its approach to integration and, as a result, the intercultural model has a particular approach to reconciling similarity with difference within a nationalist framework. In the following section, I interrogate some of the assumptions embedded in the expectations surrounding integration. To do this, I explore three central premises upon which the model is constructed: harmonisation, reconciliation, and dialogue.

[1] newcomers

Harmonisation from an Intercultural Perspective

Bouchard and Taylor (2008a) defined harmonisation as a set of practices that seek "to promote purposes and collective ideals such as equality, cooperation and social cohesion" (p. 51). It also promoted "the creation of new forms of solidarity and the development of a feeling of belonging to an inclusive Québec identity" (p. 51). Harmonisation refers to the procedures designed to include, integrate, and accommodate various identities within the dominant Québécois cultural community. Dialogue constitutes the basis of harmonisation practices in Québec; it is described as a practice to be honed by individuals and institutions. As a means of heightened interaction, rather than mere coexistence, dialogue is forwarded as a distinguishing component of Québec's intercultural model. It "refers to a tenet of interculturalism according to which the process of constructing a common political culture takes place through encounters, democratic interaction, and cultural exchange among citizens of various cultural origins and values perspectives" (Maxwell, Waddington, McDonough, Cormier, & Schwimmer, 2012, p. 433). In this sense, dialogue frames civic participation as an essential component of integration within the intercultural framework.

Dialogue, in its ideal form, reconciles the majority/minorities (Québécois/newcomers) duality. This limiting construct situates citizens in one of two categories. According to Bouchard (2011), this dichotomised construct of citizenship must simply be viewed as a point of departure, and that through practices of integration an increased culture of *mixité*[1] will emerge. Maxwell et al., (2012) have argued that interculturalism "focuses on identifying and implementing means by which to encourage cultural and religious groups to enter into a national dialogue" (p. 432). Dialogue is the process through which citizens encounter themselves within the Québécois culture, rather than apart or even alienated from it[2]. As Jones (2004) pointed out, "[i]n its ideal form, dialogue between diverse groups dispels ignorance about others, increases understanding, and thus potentially decreases oppression, separation, violence, and fear" (p. 57). From an intercultural perspective, the "common culture" occurs *in and through* dialogue; it (re)affirms individual identities while encouraging exchange of social and political perspectives. Ideally, dialogue lessens the perceived gaps between cultural groups, facilitating encounter from less prejudicial positions. Integration, harmonisation, and dialogue comprise the unique civic demands of how diversity ought to be theorised and negotiated within Québec. For proponents of this model, its implications for citizenship require a complex and nuanced appreciation of cultural diversity as well as the ability to negotiate multiple, at times competing, values. Accordingly, intercultural values are viewed as essential to the promotion of the French language while inclusive values are encouraged throughout the province. The question of effective inclusion, however, is a subjective one that deserves further discussion.

In 2008, Bouchard and Taylor encouraged the people of Québec to begin working towards resolving the political conflicts that continue to plague the province; "Let's move on," they urged (Québec intellectuals promote wave of 'interculturalism,' 2011). They were confident that recognition of difference is possible through the promotion of shared histories and a common language. The next section consists of two components. First, I question this optimism on the basis that the intercultural model discusses inclusion of diversity without offering a significant analysis of the implications of existing linguistic, religious, and cultural inequalities. Essentially, I consider Québec's intercultural model in light of its treatment of otherness, identity, and recognition. Following this, I raise the possibility of the intercultural model as a product of a long and complex relationship with colonialism. Specifically, I argue that these deeply engrained colonial dynamics are being (re)produced in and through the intercultural model; this is evidenced by exclusion of the violence caused by Québec's residential schools from the provincially mandated civic education program.

[1] entanglement

[2] Borrowing from Taylor's *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition* (1994), Meer & Modood (2012) discuss identity formation in and through dialogue, specifically within an intercultural context.

Exclusive Integration: Dialogue in Québéc's Intercultural Model

Debates on what constitutes reasonable accommodation and discussions around how to support a healthy intercultural society converge upon the concept of integration. As Bouchard and Taylor (2008a) explained, "the theme of integration in a spirit of equality and reciprocity will guide our analyses and proposals. This concern will imbue the entire debate on accommodation and all of the questions stemming from it" (p. 12). My interest here is on their use of *equality* as a guiding premise. Their reliance on the assumption of equality as being possible, and in fact optimal, leads them to a flattened appreciation of the deep social and political crevasses that have shaped the history of this province. For example, the Quiet Revolution[1] offers a meaningful example of how intensely the people and province of Québec believed that protection from otherness was essential to preserve their linguistic heritage. It was a provincial ethos that, to this day, has symbolic remnants, including the crucifix on Mount Royal and in L'Assemblée Nationale. The fierce intent to preserve Quebec as a cultural relic remains etched in the minds of many Québécois. The expectation that the citizens of Québec will buy in to a model of integration that requires a response/ability towards the other seems to overlook the deep seeded and unequal power dynamics that have defined Québec for centuries and that, in many ways, remain. A more careful consideration and analysis of historicised power dynamics and how they shape attachments to social and political communities would allow a more complex appreciation of how to overcome historical tensions that may continue to isolate these communities from one another. Such an analysis might also call into question the very language of equality to discuss issues of power and identity, and how this language reifies divisive power dynamics.

From critical and social justice perspectives, dialogue is championed as a tool for social change (Boler, 2004; Freire, 1993). As a practical strategy and philosophical framework, dialogue is often theorised as an effective tool in mediating and negotiating difference. However, within these literatures, these discussions also emphasise dialogue as a source of disruption, conflict, and tension. Dialogue, as a political act, involves shifts in perspective and is therefore an act of antagonism. Participants in dialogue are required to listen, to discern, to critique, and to analyse from different perspectives, thus potentially (probably) causing fundamental disorientations. Despite the messiness of the process, Bouchard and Taylor (2008a) theorised it largely as an act that contributes to, rather than potentially detracting from, harmony. They described the process of dialogue in sanitised and sanguine terms: "Through the deliberative dimension, the interveners engage in dialogue and the reflexive dimension allows them to engage in self-criticism and mend their ways when necessary" (p. 52). It is not that dialogue cannot contribute to more informed and therefore harmonious relations, but rather that the process must be entered into with an understanding of the complexity involved. Accounts of dialogue, specifically within a context that is working through historical discord, must offer a more critical and nuanced depiction of it as an uncomfortable and even antagonistic practice; it must engage with the complexities of how unequal relationships continue to shape these conversations to avoid reinforcing the Québécois/other dynamic. My critique of the intercultural model's reproduction of otherness can be further elaborated using the work of post-colonial author Albert Memmi (1991). His writing is both applicable and relevant here because he offers a nuanced analysis of how colonial undercurrents continue to re-emerge in political spaces, particularly around issues of diversity. In the following section, I draw out some of Memmi's insights to elucidate how the intercultural model in Québec echoes hundreds of years of unresolved psychic violence as a result of colonialism, particularly in its treatment of otherness.

Albert Memmi and the Colonial Mind

Albert Memmi's (1991), *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, offered an elaboration of the psychic dynamics of colonisation, detailing the inner worlds of the coloniser and the colonised. The section that is of relevance

[1] In 1960, the election of Liberal premier Jean Lesage ushered in a period of social and political transformation in Québec. Previous to this, Conservative politics, deeply entwined with the Roman Catholic Church, secured Québec's resistance to social and technological modernization. Within the context of the Quiet Revolution, a number of interventionist governmental practices designed to insulate Québec from Anglicisation were implemented.

here is his writing on how colonised populations respond to their histories of degradation and loss. Memmi (1991) argued that there are two manifestations that are most likely to occur, either "in succession or simultaneously" (p. 120). The colonised's response is "either to become different or to reconquer all the dimensions which colonisation tore away from him" (p. 120). In other words, the colonised is likely to attempt to erase or engage more deeply with his or her lost past. While parts of Québec, certainly Montreal, have become increasingly multicultural and multilingual, the intercultural policy is a prime example of its attempts to reassume or reassert its linguistic heritage. In Québec's intercultural discourse, "reconquering" is forwarded as cultural maintenance and/or preservation. In this sense, what might be considered oppressive overreactions are viewed as essential practices for the preservation of the French Québécois culture.

Memmi (1991) pointed to how xenophobia is engrained in the consciousness of the colonised, reinforcing distinctions between perceptions of self and other. "Considered *en bloc* as *them, they* or *those*, different from every point of view, homogenous in a radical heterogeneity, the colonized reacts by rejecting all the colonizers *en bloc*" (p. 130). The forces of colonisation reinforced categorised notions of identity and otherness. As a perpetual other, the colonised would have difficulty moving past the structural accounts that have defined their encounters for so long. Echoes of this understanding of identity reverberate within the intercultural model. Interculturalism places significant emphasis on self/other, as illustrated by the majority/minorities duality discussed above. The intercultural model does not theorise this duality as an end in that it advocates agreement and mutual understanding; the general inattention to power imbalances renders these attempts suspect. As Memmi (1991) has articulated, peoples who have endured cultural loss and threat of assimilation cling to their heritage with a heightened fervour, which impedes more complex and nuanced considerations of who they are in relation to others. The intercultural model makes gestures toward reconciliation, but does not take on the lingering undercurrent of emotions and resentments that play a significant role in shaping the ethos of the province, particularly as it relates to cultural integration. Nowhere are these undercurrents as striking as within the Geography, History, and Citizenship Education program and its treatment of others, specifically Aboriginal populations. Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship curriculum offers a meaningful example of how the model overlooks significant social and political inequalities that are entrenched in Québec's history, specifically those of Indigenous voices. I will argue that, as a product of the intercultural policy, Québec's curriculum actually limits possibilities for inclusive civic participation by further silencing the histories of already marginalised populations in the province.

Quebec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education Program: (re)producing otherness

The role of schools in an intercultural context is to encourage a space in which students *enter into* intercultural ways of understanding themselves in relation to diverse social and cultural populations. Schools are integral to the intercultural project because they are significant to both students' enculturation and also as social institutions. Education, then, might be viewed as a midwife to the intercultural model in that it is necessary to the manifestation, or the embodiment, of the intercultural ideal. This process of negotiating diversity requires a language and a set of dispositions. However, because it is precisely in the context of education that intercultural ideals are manifested and revealed, so its limitations are also brought to light. In the next section, I elucidate how Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship curriculum does indeed reflect intercultural ideals and consequently does not pay sufficient attention to the undercurrents of power that shape past and present politics. Specifically, I argue that the omission of the atrocities of residential schooling of Indigenous populations in Québec's Education Programs (henceforth QEP) exemplifies a deeply complex relationship to colonialism. In its treatment of Québec history, the absence of this set of Indigenous histories provides an explicit illustration of how Québec's colonial past continues to play a more important role in today's social and political realities than is often acknowledged.

The QEP is made up of traditional field-specific disciplines, such as English, math, and science. However, it moves away from the traditional model, in which subjects are taught in isolation, toward a more holistic model of education. As Morris (2011) pointed out, "each subject area in the QEP was elaborated with reference to overarching objectives, a set of cross-curricular competencies, and what the Ministry referred to as 'broad areas of learning'" (p. 191). There are three overarching aims in the QEP: to construct a worldview, to structure an identity, and empowerment. The Ministry is explicit about how the general aims of the QEP ought to focus on promoting civic ideals. For example, the ministerial document introducing the curriculum indicates that schools are responsible for preparing students "to contribute to the development of a more democratic and just society for the purpose of understanding their roles as constructive citizens" (as quoted in Morris, 2011, p. 191). A significant facet of the civic worldview that the curriculum aims to advance is an intercultural approach to facilitating and negotiating diverse perspectives and cultural practices.

Geography, history, and citizenship, clustered as a single course within the curriculum, includes interrelated and discipline-specific competencies that promote civic engagement. This course is premised upon these three guiding competencies that thread throughout the curriculum as does intercultural policy: first, to perceive the organisation of a society in its territory; second, to interpret change in a society and its territory; third, to be open to the diversity of societies and their territories (Ministère de L'Éducation, du Loisir, et des Sports, 2006). The civic values that shape the QEP reflect intercultural civic values in that they focus on interrelationships between groups, theorise culture as perpetually shifting, and promote the recognition of diversity; they deal with the organisational structures of territories, how they shift, and the power dynamics associated with these shifts. The rationale is that through learning about land, how it is organised and why, students will gain an important account of the social, political, and cultural dynamics that establish these shifts (Ministère de L'Éducation, du Loisir, et des Sports, 2006); this supports the notion of continuity through historical thinking and the historical method. In a general sense, the history curriculum requires that students contextualise historical events to better understand how they shape today's social and political landscapes, and to view identities as shifting and contingent upon various dynamics. There is therefore a clear link between learning history and the construction of identity in a democratic context. "The study of history . . . helps students to understand and accept difference by making them realize that . . . similarities exist within differences" (Ministère de L'Éducation, du Loisir, et des Sports, 2006, p.186). This inter-subjective approach to history education, in which similarities are emphasised and differences are celebrated, is designed to disrupt strict categorisations and othering. However, these intentions are undermined by the significant gap, or silence, in the curriculum surrounding Québec's treatment of Aboriginal populations. Despite its claims to inclusivity, Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education program renews entrenched power dynamics by enforcing silence around Québec's atrocious treatment of Indigenous populations.

Residential Schooling: A forced gap in Québec's curriculum

Residential schooling for Aboriginal peoples became compulsory in 1920; the last residential school in Canada closed in 1996. The history of residential schools, in which First Nations children were taken from their homes, confined to dormitory-style living conditions, and subjected to physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, has left deep scars on these populations. This government-led initiative extricated Aboriginals from their communities for the purpose of extinguishing their language and culture. In Neeganagwedgin's (2011) discussion of the effects of residential schooling on women, she articulated how these institutions reified the dominant construction of Aboriginal as other*:*

> *While ideologies about the inferiority of Aboriginal people become more and more rampant, the opening of residential schools in Canada . . . reinforced that perceived inferiority of the 'Other' in the treatment of many of the children who attended these schools. (p. 19)*

Residential schooling in Canada was the manifestation of hundreds of years of dominance over Aboriginal peoples and indeed this mindset continues to reverberate.

In May 2013, the Québec Native Women Inc. published a *press release* and petition requesting that "the history of Aboriginal peoples and residential schools be included in high school curriculum" (Arnaud, 2013). In this statement, they contend that the violent histories of Aboriginals in Québec continue to be perpetuated in Québec, though in different forms. The following articulated the crux of their argument, *"The ignorance of the history of Aboriginal peoples in which Québec and Canada is maintainingtheir peoples only perpetuates the racism we have to cope with too often,"* said Viviane Michel, president of Québec Native Women. *"The stigma and discrimination that our people have to face daily continue the cultural genocide that began with the Indian Act and residential schools. We need understanding to embark on a healthy voice of cooperation between nations"* (Arnaud, 2013).

Their position is that the lack of education about residential schooling has enforced an unconsciousness surrounding the realities facing Indigenous peoples, thereby renewing racist social and political patterns. The omission of these histories from Québec's curriculum presents us with a logic of how these cycles are sustained: gaps in the curriculum feed into gaps in perception and understanding (perhaps even compassion), thereby opening up opportunity and permission to re-commit acts of othering. There is currently an imposed silence on the histories of Aboriginals in Québec and Canada, which, according to Michel, perpetuates legacies of racism and maintains deep imbalances of power.

The absence of education on residential schooling in Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education program is one example of the province's internal and deeply complex relationship with colonialism; indeed, one of the effects of this relationship is the hesitation to discuss the ways in which (colonial) power shapes identity[1]. It also provides an illustration of how the complex layers of colonialism unfold. The ways in which Memmi (1991) described the responses, justifications, and mindsets common to a colonised people resembles the social and political ethos cultivated within the intercultural policy. This is illustrated in two primary ways. First, interculturalists embrace only the Francophone identity as the Québécois identity, which stabilises a Québécois/other power dynamic. Othering includes, among other things, systemic processes of silencing, as illustrated by the lack of Indigenous histories told in the curriculum. These processes also involve clinging to constructed notions of who "I" am to point the finger at who "they" are. As Memmi (1991) argued, it is the pattern of colonised people to cling to what distinguishes them; these processes of differentiation reify, reinforce, and in fact, construct difference. He clarified, "what makes him different from other men has been sought out and hardened to the point of substantiation" (p. 132). The substance of what is perceived as difference is a reaction, or a coping mechanism, to deal with the years of living within a culture under threat.

Secondly, the absence of histories of residential schools in Québec's curriculum offers a concrete example a problematic relationship with colonialism. The province's identity has very much been constructed in and through its position of minority status in Canada. Its politics have often been centred on necessary self-legitimation and protection against dominant Canadian values. Memmi (1991) shed some light on this dynamic: "The colonized's self-assertion, born out of a protest, continues to define itself in relation to it. In the midst of the revolt, the colonized continues to think, feel and live against and, therefore, in relation to the colonizer and colonization" (p. 139). This relationship to power, as a marginalised nation that needs to persist to have its voice heard, is troubled when the issue of indigineity, land, and certainly residential

[1] It is worth noting here that in Bouchard and Taylor's final report on reasonable accommodation (2008b), Aboriginal issues were not broached. They state, "It is with regret that we had to remove from the out [sic] mandate the aboriginal question. . . . First, we feared that we would compromise our mandate by appending to it such a vast, complex question" (p. 34). They go on to explain that, despite their exclusion from the final analysis, various groups representing Aboriginal voices were invited to attend the public consultations.

schooling in the province arises. This could be what Memmi (1991) has labelled, “assuming the identity of the colonizer” (p. 136). Adopting the identity of the coloniser can take on many forms, one of which could be to become a coloniser, reproducing patterns of violence and humiliations. The recognition and acknowledgment of a history in which Québec exerts western imperial power does not fit into the self-conception of Québec as marginalised, disempowered. Within a framework that attempts to stabilise the construct of Québécois, its own history of attempted cultural genocide is particularly difficult to metabolise. However, since this pattern has been left relatively unexplored in the province it is, in many ways, doomed to repeat these cycles of xenophobia and alienation.

Conclusions

The study of history is the study of power. History education, therefore, ought to engage students in the complexities of power so that they can gain a sense of how these continue to play a role in contemporary societies. The acknowledgement of asymmetry does not delve into deeper conversations around why certain newcomers might face more obstacles than others (for example, why a Caucasian Parisian and a Haitian may have very different experiences of the immigration process to Québec). Québec’s historical legacies have shaped its current relationships with certain cultural and religious groups. These relationships are complex and continually shifting. The intercultural acknowledgment that newcomers are disadvantaged in some ways only speaks to a very superficial understanding of identity, power, how these have been enacted historically, and how they appear today. Civic education provides a necessary space to engage with these questions.

The catalysts for the implementation of intercultural policy are all marked moments in the history of Québec. Their combined significance is that they sought to create a well-articulated distinction between Québec and the rest of Canada for the purpose of preserving the French language and, indeed, Québécois culture. The issue here is that the policy promotes openness toward inclusion and the understanding that the Québécois culture itself will shift with increased immigration within the borders of its own society. While the understanding is that the French language will constitute the “frame” that will contain (and maintain) the Québécois culture, the nature of the frame itself is exclusionary. The historical moments that produced the policy were reactions against increased diversity and exclusion, thereby creating a difficult problematic to negotiate when it comes to instilling and enacting the policy.

My questions surrounding the adequacy of interculturalism as a framework for civic education arise out of an analysis of how power is treated with this model or, more precisely, how it is not sufficiently considered. Diversity, at its very core, assumes multiple and competing power plays over who has access, who has less, and the means through which this access might be distributed more equally. To understand the nuances of diversity, in theory and in practice, the question of power is an essential one. Relatedly, to consider the civic implications of diversity in a meaningful way, educational practices need to (re)consider the social construction of boundaries (societies, nations, etc.) in and of themselves so as to avoid engaging with only the veneer of difference. In considering Québec’s intercultural model on cultural diversity (and its pedagogical implications) I question if diversity can be approached meaningfully without being entrenched in discourses on power and difference, particularly within a colonial context.

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Upsetting the Norms of Teacher Education

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Abstract

Traditionally, multicultural education is not seen as something that those from the mainstream need to concern themselves with unless it is as a holiday fill-in activity. Intercultural education on the other hand explores the responsibility for the construction of culture by mainstream society. In this article, I explore my role in the delivering of mathematics education courses in teacher education programs in three countries: New Zealand, Australia, and Sweden. I focus on my attempts to raise mainstream as well as minority students' awareness of intercultural understandings. Different approaches, including the use of storytelling, were used to match local circumstances but all had the same aim of making preservice teachers reappraise the role that mathematics education has in marginalising some children's cultural backgrounds.

Keywords: Mathematics Education; Teacher Preparation; Intercultural Education; Multicultural Education; Responsibility.

Introduction

Although in many countries of the world, school students come from a range of different backgrounds, most teacher populations do not share this diversity (Bartell et al., 2013; Norberg, 2000). As a fair-skinned, blue-eyed woman from a middle-class background, I am fairly typical of many teachers, especially teachers of the first seven years of school in Western countries. As a teacher and later as a researcher, I have worked with communities with whom I did not share a first language or culture and learnt much as consequence. On the other hand, as a teacher educator, the preservice teachers I work with closely resemble me in both appearance and home background. With them, I have wanted to raise issues that had become important to me from my work with Indigenous communities in Australia and New Zealand, migrant communities in Australia and Sweden, and refugee students in New Zealand.

> *What I am trying to convey is that when queer teacher educators embrace what makes us who we are, when we acknowledge how our life experiences have shaped us or suborned us, when we can help preservice teachers hear a sound where there is silence; it is only then can we become teacher educators of some consequence; it is only then that we can, in equal measure, inspire and confound, instigate, and originate*
>
> *(Turner, 2010, p. 298).*

Although Turner wrote this about revealing his sexual orientation to his students, it could apply equally to those of us whose life experiences have left us with a desire to upset the norms that present certain students and certain knowledge as having more right to be taught and, simultaneously, other students and other knowledge as having no right to be taught. If we want to help preservice teachers understand how privilege and oppression work in our society, then we need to find ways to raise these issues (Bartell et al., 2013; DeFreitas & McAuley, 2008) and to help our preservice teachers determine ways to work with future students that do not continue to reproduce inequities. For me, this is a form of the care that I have for my preservice teachers (Gore & Zeichner, 1991).

> *White elementary teachers are often ignorant about racial inequality; if confronted with inequity, feel blamed for injustices and act defensively toward presentations on issues of social inequality and White privilege; tend to approach issues of inequality from a personal perspective rather than as societal, systemic, and institutional manifestations; and want to be told what to do in a multicultural classroom, how to teach "others" rather than to explore the impact of their attitudes on multicultural teaching effectiveness*
>
> *(Bartell et al., 2013, p. 224).*

As teacher educators, care for our preservice teachers extends to helping them better understand these issues, not just so that they can then act on them when they are teachers, but also because there are conforming elements in society, including neo-liberal approaches (Sleeter, 2008), that contribute to a colour-blind approach in education being seen as the safest one to adopt (Norberg, 2000). Teachers' professionalism is under assault in many places around the world and preservice teachers need tools for understanding how their work is constructed by society so that they are then better able to contribute to a more equitable society for their students (Sleeter, 2008).

As a mathematics educator, I face preservice teachers who have often had poor experiences of learning mathematics (Meaney & Lange, 2012) and hold perceptions that mathematics is a culture-free subject (Bishop, 1994) that is too difficult to include in an intercultural approach to education (Caneva, 2012). Yet my reading of research literature and my own experiences have shown me that mathematics is culturally formed and is based on an underlying set of values that can produce a cultural dissonance between it and some students' home backgrounds (Meaney & Lange, 2013). In an earlier paper, Bishop (1990) argued that mathematics and by implication mathematics education is not benign but acts as a cultural imperialist force. He stated, "one must ask: should there not be more resistance to this cultural hegemony?" (p. 63).

Consequently, a promising approach to these issues is to consider how to integrate multicultural or intercultural education in mathematics education courses. Amongst other things, these educational approaches develop understandings about how different groups can recognise the value in each other's cultural practices, including mathematics.

Policies supporting multiculturalism have been implemented by governments since the 1970s. For example, in Australia the then prime minister, Malcolm Fraser (1981), stated:

> *Multiculturalism is concerned with far more than the passive toleration of diversity. It sees diversity as a quality to be actively embraced, a source of social dynamism. It encourages groups to be open and to interact, so that all Australians may learn and benefit from each other's heritages. Multiculturalism is about diversity, not division—it is about interaction not isolation. It is about cultural and ethnic differences set within a framework of shared fundamental values which enables them to co-exist on a complementary rather than competitive basis. It involves respect for the law and for our democratic institutions and processes. Insisting upon a core area of common values is no threat to multiculturalism but its guarantee, for it provides the minimal conditions on which the well-being of all is secured.*

> *Not least, multiculturalism is about equality of opportunity for the members of all groups to participate in and benefit from Australia's social, economic and political life. This concern with equality of opportunity is dictated by both morality and hard-nosed realism. I am talking here about basic human rights, not benevolence which the giver bestows or withdraws at will. No society can long retain the commitment and involvement of groups that are denied these rights. If particular groups feel that they and their children are condemned whether through legal or other arrangements to occupy the worst jobs and housing, to suffer the poorest health and education, then the societies in which they live are bent on a path which will cost them dearly (p. 3).*

Although these sentiments still pull on my heart strings, recently governments world-wide have distanced themselves from multicultural policies for a range of reasons, including a perception that they were divisive rather than inclusive (Meer & Mohood, 2012). An alternative policy is that of interculturalism or intercultural dialogue (Meer & Mohood, 2012) with some researchers using the terms multicultural and intercultural interchangeably (see César & Favilli, 2005). In education, the term intercultural education has been in circulation for almost as long as multicultural education (see Caneva, 2012). For example, in Italy, intercultural education has been the basis for setting up school programs that include immigrant groups. Milione (2011) described interculturalism as a form of integration that "offers a search for a sensitive and changeable balance between identity and differences, within an inclusive process based on participation, comparison, and mutual exchange" (p. 176). Although multiculturalism also expects dialogue between people from different groups (Meer & Mohood, 2012), in schools it was often the teacher who made decisions about what activities were included, and how they should be introduced. This has led to a realisation of the fears that Zaslavsky (1973) expressed forty years ago:

> *Teachers must be careful that they do not introduce cultural applications as examples of "quaint customs" or "primitive practices". . . . They must inspire students to think critically about the reasons for these practices, to dig deeply into the lives and environment of the people involved. It is so easy to trivialize the concept of multicultural education by throwing in a few examples as holidays approach (p. 53).*

Interculturalism, with its insistence on dialogue, does not seem to face the same risk of trivialising cultural knowledge. It also seems to provide opportunities for discussion of not just ethic differences, but also about how privilege and oppression operate to offer different life chances to different groups within societies. However, in order for preservice teachers to engage in mutual exchanges of ideas, they need to understand how they are positioned through processes of privilege and oppression within their society; a task that many teacher educators do not find easy to facilitate (Mueller & O'Connor, 2007).

In this paper, I explore my practices as a teacher educator in three countries by considering them as examples of intercultural education. Although much has been written about the need for mathematics

teachers to develop skills to ensure equity and social justice are achieved in their classrooms, very little research has looked at teacher educators' roles in preparing teachers for this (Sleeter, 2008). As a mathematics teacher educator who has worked in several countries and who cares deeply about these issues, I wanted to explore how I promoted the issues with preservice teachers. This follows from exploration of my role as a researcher/curriculum facilitator in Indigenous communities (Meaney, 2004) and as a professional development facilitator (Lange & Meaney, 2013).

Autoethnography

This article is not a traditional research paper. Rather, it draws on my recollections of lecture and workshop material to explore the influences that affected what I offered. As such, it is an autoethnographical account of my work as a mathematics teacher educator. Drawing on the work of Reed-Danahay (1997), Burdell and Swadener (1999) defined autoethnography as "a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context. It is both a method and a text" (p. 22). As Afonso wrote about her use of autoethnography, "rather than offering definitive answers, I intended for the reader to engage with my text in reflective thinking, or pedagogical thoughtfulness" (Afonso & Taylor, 2009, p. 276), so I use this methodology to explore issues in my work as a teacher educator but do not present answers to specific research questions.

In this paper, I describe a few activities and place them within the wider societal and university background. I chose to write about these activities because I retain strong memories of their implementation because of the dilemmas that were presented to me to resolve in one way or another:

> *[Dilemmas] capture not only the dialectic between alternative views, values, beliefs in persons and in society, but also in the dialectic of subject (the acting I) and object (the society and culture that are in us and upon us*
>
> *(Berlak & Berlak, 1981, p. 125).*

Although the preservice teachers I came in contact with are discussed generally in this paper, I do not provide any written or spoken material from them; rather, I draw on my recollections of their responses in trying to make sense on my own actions within the contexts. The material, therefore, is not provided so it can be analysed empirically but, rather, to provide information about my actions within the social contexts in which I was operating. It is analysed in the final section by identification of the factors that affected my ability to plan activities that would promote intercultural dialogue.

This article describes my learning journey as I trialled ideas, changed them, rejected them, and developed alternatives. By reflecting on my experiences in constructing an intercultural dialogue that sought to consider how privilege and oppression work in society, I am not suggesting that was the only priority in my teaching. Like Gore and Zeichner (1991), I also cared that my students understood the mathematical concepts and how to develop children's understandings of them.

> *We support academic rigor, and technical competence as long as this rigor and competence do not exclude attention to an ethic of care and compassion, and as long as what we are being rigorous and competent about does not merely represent a white, male, western view of the world*
>
> *(Gore & Zeichner, 1991, p. 121).*

The following three sections provide brief descriptions of the historical, societal situations that have contributed to the diversity in the school population of those countries, and the government policies that

affected education provision. In each section, I then describe the courses I taught and some of the activities I instigated, with retrospective rationales for these activities and some evaluation of what I learnt from their implementation. The final section provides a discussion of adopting an intercultural approach to mathematics teacher preparation as a way to help preservice teachers unpack issues of privilege and oppression as they aim for a more socially just society.

New Zealand

In 1998, I arrived in New Zealand from Australia to complete a PhD. I continued teaching part-time during my PhD and full-time on completion of it, both at school and university. In 2006, I was employed as teacher educator at the University of Otago's Department of Education. Teacher education began in New Zealand universities after its deregulation by the government in 1995 (Alcorn, 2005). The programme I worked on focused predominantly on educating the generalist teachers needed for the first eight years of school. When I joined, the programme was still small and in direct competition with the local College of Education which had provided teacher education for more than a century. The university's programme was innovative and had a strong commitment to honouring its Treaty of Waitangi obligations.

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Māori chiefs in 1840 when New Zealand was ceded to the British Crown. However, differences between the English and the Māori versions of the treaty resulted in controversy over the rights and responsibilities of both parties. Generally, it is agreed that under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand is a bicultural country, which should respect and actively maintain Māori culture and language (Durie, 1999). Although governments rarely fulfilled their obligations (Bishop & Glynn, 1999), recently there has been more emphasis on respecting the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in all circumstances (Earp, 2004). Implementing the principles of the treaty in mathematics teacher-preparation courses has been difficult. Anderson, Averill, Easton, and Smith (2005) found that prospective teachers were positive about including cultural activities in their mathematics programmes but were "less confident in describing mathematical links to Treaty principles" (p. 87).

Otago's teacher education programme integrated content subjects with pedagogical knowledge into a single course. In this course, I taught the mathematics education and curriculum development components. From the first lecture, the students engaged in discussions about their obligations to the Treaty of Waitangi as teachers and were expected to reflect on their learning throughout the course. An example, is the requirement that the students developed their own lesson plans and justified the content they included. In doing those kinds of tasks, students had to engage with "cognitive and emotional labour" (DeFreitas & McAuley, 2007). Not all students felt the demands made on them were appropriate, and some left to enrol in the College of Education where one preservice teacher stated, "here they help you know what you have to do, they even give you lesson plans, so you just have to fill them in."

The experience of working on a teacher education programme that required preservice teachers to critique what they were learning, encouraged me to present challenging tasks. I did not need them to agree with my point of view (Gore & Zeichner, 1991), but I did want them to have to resolve an issue where there was an obvious conflict. For example, at that time New Zealand was implementing a professional development project to improve students' numeracy strategies and knowledge. This required placing children into groups based on their performance in a diagnostic interview. Given that there is significant concern about the use of ability groups because certain ethnicities, such as Māori are over-represented in lower groups (Alton-Lee, 2012), it seemed necessary to challenge the normalising of this practice. So, in one workshop I asked the preservice teachers to arrange themselves in order of mathematical abilities. They did this, but there was a lot of resentment and some obvious discomfort, especially from those preservice teachers who placed themselves at the lower end of the ability scale. Although we were able to have a discussion about what the impact of implementing the groupings in mathematics classrooms might be, I felt that emotions

this activity had provoked restricted what we could talk about. We were able to talk about how mathematical ability was socially constructed but not about how this contributed to some groups of school students achieving at higher levels. The activity also seemed counterintuitive to our efforts to have preservice teachers feel comfortable with mathematics.

As a consequence of reflecting on this experience, I had first-year preservice teachers in 2007 read and discuss an adapted chapter from my PhD thesis on mathematics curriculum development. A Māori colleague gave a lecture on "Pākeha (non-Māori) capture of the New Zealand curriculum." This included a description of Ole Skovsmose's (2005) ideas about students' foregrounds and backgrounds, and their connection to political obstacles to students' learning.

Below is a summary of the discussion that was written up at the time so that we could return to the ideas later in the semester.

- What is curriculum?
  - Info needed to know in order to survive in society, find employment, provide us with life skills; existing social norms passed down
  - Consistent amongst schools, adaptable
  - The official policy for teaching, learning, and assessment in schools
  - A national statement that defines the learning, principles, and achievement aims and objectives which all NZ schools are required to follow
  - Curricula are guidelines for understanding the learning and teaching in schools
  - Is a document that offers courses by an institution—a broad balanced education. This is the product of the social, economic, cultural, and political expressions of a particular historical time.
  - Cultural product
    - social contexts
    - practices
    - social interactions
  - Politics—relationships in society

- Who controls the curriculum?
  - The government and the educational professionals, but really the public
  - The Ministry of Education and schools themselves control the curriculum; influential people
  - Ministry of Education, education professionals, society, public involvement
  - Government
    - tax payers (hegemonic)
    - leaders within communities
  - Government, public influences
  - People with power and money in society, scholars; minority groups—asked but not necessarily valued
  - The politics, social, economic, and cultural influences of a particular time

- How is it affected by students' foregrounds and backgrounds?
  - Upbringing, religion, income, surroundings, socially
  - Changing needs of society (diverse)
  - What's happening in community and the world
  - Morals and views shaped by parents, culture, ethnic background, and religion

- It must cater for a wide range of different upbringings and interests
- Home, social pressures, cultural, religion, up-bringing
- Cultural allowances, economic status

- What is the likely impact on students' learning of the inclusion or exclusion of their foregrounds and backgrounds?
  - Lack of self-knowledge, loss of identity, loss of cultural history
  - May leave students narrow-minded about one particular culture; a loss of identity
  - Identity—ability to relate, desire to learn, Māori culture and interest
  - Exclusion—inhibits learning, as they can't relate
  - Inclusion—all children will understand each other better, rather than isolate them

- What can teachers do to overcome "political" learning obstacles?
  - Work together as a school—research etc, get on with it
  - Open to understanding every child's different identity
  - Bringing issues into public forum
  - Change of government
  - Utilise flexibility

As can be seen from the notes, this discussion allowed the development of a nuanced understanding of how privilege and oppression operated because it began with a discussion about the positioning of school students through the structure of the mathematics curriculum. The preservice teachers were engaged in "emotional work" (DeFreitas & McAuley, 2007), but this was productive for transformation and very different from the emotional work that was generated with the ability-grouping activity. Yet the focus remained on what the system did to students, not on preservice teachers' own understanding of the privileges that they received from their gender, ethnicity, or class. Nevertheless, as an activity that promoted intercultural dialogue, issues were raised such as "political learning obstacles" that are not normally discussed in mathematics education courses.

Australia

I returned to Australia at the beginning of 2008 to work as a mathematics educator at Charles Sturt University (CSU). Mathematics education was provided as separate courses, with preservice teachers taking one course per year for the first three years of their degrees. As one of only two mathematics educators on my campus, and the most senior mathematics educator at the university, it soon fell to me to revise the mathematics education courses. This gave me flexibility to bring in the perspectives I saw as being valuable, but at the same time I was restricted by the more traditional structure of the teacher education programme. I missed that there was no clear social justice agenda infiltrating the programme as at Otago.

This university in rural New South Wales drew predominantly on students from the local region, many of whom had never travelled further than Sydney. I remember, during one introduction activity, being confronted by the amount of travelling I had done in the previous three months compared with the travelling these preservice teachers had done in their whole lives. Although the local city and region had a large Indigenous population and long history of immigration from non-English speaking countries, including a recent influx of African refugees, the preservice teachers did not reflect those demographics. There were a few Indigenous preservice teachers in each cohort of approximately 100 students, and only one preservice teacher from a non-English speaking background during the three years I taught there. Unlike New Zealand, there was no formal treaty between the Crown and the Indigenous population. Reconciliation efforts since the end of the 1980s have led to the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge and

understandings in school and teacher education curricula across Australia (Hart, Whatman, McLaughlin, & Sharma-Brymer, 2012). Although in the mathematics education courses there was a need to include Indigenous perspectives, the general feeling was that this was difficult to achieve.

It was possible to get to know the preservice teachers over a period of time because they took three different mathematics courses over consecutive years. This created opportunities to raise social justice perspectives, especially in the third-year course. For example, we had one cohort of first-year preservice teachers work with students at a school in a low-income area with a large Indigenous population. The preservice teachers and school students had to work together to produce a poster to show how one of the students' out-of-school activities was connected to mathematics. The school students were provided with cameras to take photographs of their home activities, while the preservice teachers brought laptops to each meeting. This activity enabled the preservice teachers to not only see that mathematics could add value to a range of different activities, but to also value children's home activities as starting points for their teaching. I felt the need for such an activity because at Otago, a discussion with the preservice teachers had shown that many of them believed it was the responsibility of parents to keep in touch with teachers about their children's education. If parents did not turn up to parents' evening then teachers did not feel that they needed to make contact. Reflecting on this conversation, I felt that preservice teachers should understand what they missed out on from not learning about the children's home experiences. However, I left Otago before I could implement an activity for raising this awareness. From assessing the posters and the preservice teachers' reflections on the CSU task, implementing this activity seemed to benefit both the preservice teachers and the school students.

Over time, we developed a relationship with this school and often took preservice teachers there. Many of them approached the school with reluctance, repeating stories about the likelihood that their cars would be damaged when parking them in the neighbourhood. Once we were met by a student from the special unit for behavioural problems who began to swear at the preservice teachers. Although these preservice teachers had had many positive experiences with the children they worked with at this school, the encounter with the swearing child seemed to reinforce all their preconceived views of what it was like to work in a school in a low-income area with a large Indigenous population. Although the preservice teachers were required to take courses in Indigenous Studies as part of their teacher education program, from anecdotal comments, many seemed to distance themselves from any responsibility for the current situation for many Indigenous people. These preservice teachers responded in similar ways to those documented by others (Mueller & O'Connor, 2007; Pimentel, 2010). Consequently, I wanted to raise the preservice teachers' awareness about what it would mean to become dispossessed of their land, their language, and their history, but in a way that problematised it rather than just presented it as a series of facts. I anticipated that this would help the preservice teachers to understand better, the norms they had accepted about Indigenous people and to reconsider how their own backgrounds as "white" Australians gave them privileges not available to Indigenous people.

The moral tale that I told with appropriate pictures was about how aliens had deemed Earth to be a suitable planet for taking holidays because of its quaint customs. In order to make the tourist business run more smoothly, more and more aliens settled on earth and set up businesses. With the influx of aliens, the schooling system was overhauled and modernised so that alien children would not be disadvantaged by the quaint way of organising schooling. One of the areas that was modernised was the numbering system, with Earth's base-10 system being replaced by the base-8 system used on the aliens' home planet. A consequence of this change in number system was that Earth children who had been high achievers were then positioned as low achievers. The fable ends with Earthlings banding together to lobby for the support of friendly aliens to have the base-10 system at least recognised as an alternative means of doing arithmetic in schools.

This presentation was generally well received by the preservice teachers who felt it raised issues that made them think, without positioning them as having to be merely guilty. As Gore and Zeichner (1991) stated, there is a fine balance between making preservice teachers accept that they are part of a inequitable system that they have benefited from, and having them explore the issue:

> *While we reject the view that student teachers need to be "enlightened" about the true meaning of reality and manipulated toward acceptance of the "correct" solutions to our problems (i.e., indoctrination), we also reject the moral relativism that would lead us to be satisfied with any knowledge that has been generated by student teacher research, merely because the research was conducted by student teachers (p. 124).*

Like the activity where preservice teachers had to arrange themselves according to mathematics ability, this task drew on the preservice teachers' fear of mathematical inadequacy to show how system structures contribute to the inadequacy, and how it was linked to the positioning of certain groups of children. This seemed to dissipate the anger of feeling inadequate, but provided an empathetic entry into understanding what it was like to have one's traditional knowledge, language, and culture considered valueless. During the workshops that followed the lecture, we played a PowerPoint presentation with a voice-over from a leading Indigenous mathematician about how to use Indigenous culture in the teaching of mathematics, which the preservice teachers then discussed (see http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/research/conf2009/papers/E5.html). Although I had hoped it would encourage the Indigenous preservice teachers to contribute more about their experiences to the discussion, that did not eventuate. This was disappointing, although not surprising given their small numbers in the class, because it meant that the intercultural dialogue was without input from valuable dialogue partners.

Sweden

In March 2011, I began working at Malmö University in southern Sweden. Although Sweden also has an Indigenous population, that community has never had a presence in southern Sweden. On the other hand, like many European countries (Milione, 2011), Sweden has changed from being a country of emigration in the 19th century to one of immigration since the second half of the 20th century. Islam is now "the second largest religion in Sweden" (Norberg, 2000, p. 512). Almost 50% of Malmö school students were born overseas or had parents who were born overseas. However, it seemed that generally it was difficult for teachers to know how to adapt their teaching to support the inclusion of immigrant children into the teaching of mathematics. In the two classes that Norberg (2000) investigated in her study of teaching in diverse classrooms, the teachers had adopted a monocultural approach to the children. Bartell et al. (2013) describe such an approach as a colour-blind approach. The teachers in Norberg's (2000) study saw this approach as a good thing because ethnicity was not used to single children out as being different. However, research elsewhere suggests that such an approach is likely to be detrimental to the learning of students coming from minority backgrounds because they will not feel included (Bartell et al., 2013).

Unlike at University of Otago and CSU, in Sweden preservice teachers complete, intensively, one course at a time for a 10-week period. Although we see the preservice teachers two or three times during their four-year programs, there are often long periods of time in between. As at CSU, the cohorts are large. Unlike Otago and CSU, we have many colleagues at Malmö and there many different courses running simultaneously. Traditionally, lecturers do not teach a whole course but rather teach a few weeks on different courses, making it difficult to get to know the preservice teachers as individuals. I was very upset on one occasion when, on having the preservice teachers work in groups, I did not know them well enough to encourage them to include a preservice teacher from an ethnic minority in the discussions. The woman left the class early and I felt that if I had had a stronger relationship with the preservice teachers, I would have found a better way to ensure that all of them were included in the activities.

At both Otago and CSU, I had arranged for a mathematics lecture to be given in a language the preservice teachers had no understanding of (Malay at Otago, and Danish at CSU). The preservice teachers were asked to participate as best they could. At the end of the lecture, I asked them about the strategies they had used, and how this understanding could be used in their own teaching of mathematics. Although at Malmö, the majority of preservice teachers had Swedish as their home language, a significant proportion of preservice students were bilingual. Therefore, it was not possible for me to present a mathematics lecture in another language. However, my own lack of fluency in Swedish meant that I gave my presentations in English with PowerPoint slides in Swedish. I provided regular opportunities for preservice teachers to discuss their understandings in Swedish. This provided us with similar discussions about what activities could support students who are learners of a language to participate more fully in the mathematics lessons.

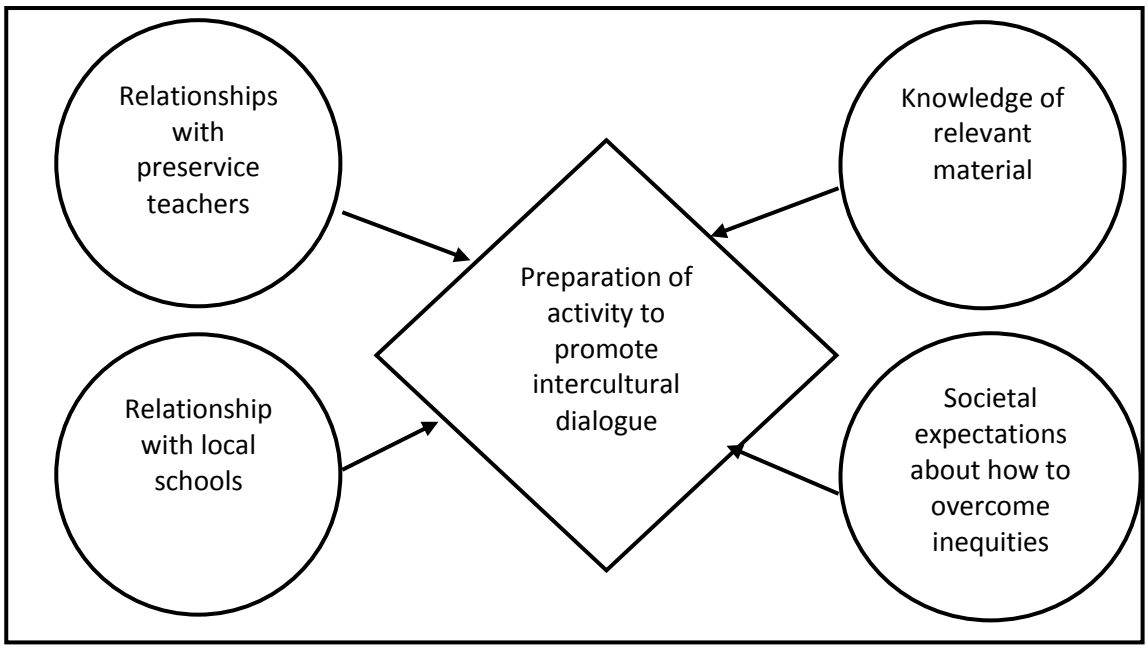
The diversity of languages spoken within the cohort did provide an opportunity to share descriptions of number systems. However, the preservice teachers' perception that mathematics is the same everywhere limited possibilities for discussing other ways of presenting number ideas. In the first year that I lectured at Malmö, I struggled to explain the Swedish division algorithm because it is written as a fraction. Being used to having the flexibility to show different strategies for formulating the division with the algorithm that I was familiar with, the Swedish algorithm in the form of a fraction restricted my ability to talk about the underlying concepts behind division. In the following year, I used this awareness to have the preservice teachers investigate different number systems and present the findings to their groups. As a whole group, they were then required to talk about the advantages and disadvantages of the different numbering systems, including the Swedish one, to the rest of the class. Although this activity did not work for all groups in all classes, it did provide an opportunity for many groups not to just understand better how the Swedish numbering system worked but to also see that other (unrecognised) knowledge could become a resource for school students in learning/accepting the Swedish system. The preservice teachers were then able to see that a discussion about different numbering systems in their own classes was likely to facilitate deep understandings about the purposes of numbering systems and standard algorithms.

Discussion and conclusion

In research on mathematics education courses for aspiring teachers, it is not easy to find studies of how to include intercultural or multicultural perspectives. Mathematics, with its aura of being culture free and with many preservice teachers arriving at university with a dread of it, contributes to the difficulties of upsetting norms about how some children and their home knowledge should be integrated into mathematics lessons. Yet, as a teacher educator with a social justice perspective, I began my teacher education career with a desire to do just that. I wanted to raise preservice teachers' awareness of how oppression and privilege operates in our society so that they had a basis from which to enter into a dialogue with the communities in which they taught. I wanted to provide activities that promoted intercultural dialogue so that preservice teachers could better understand how privilege and oppression operated. Not all the activities that I undertook produced this result and even when some preservice teachers were able to take up the challenge of seeing how they had been positioned by the system, not all accepted this challenge.

In this paper, I have described some of the background and reasons for trialling different activities. From analysing my own story about what affected my planning choices, the following factors were identified: societal context for dealing with inequities, knowledge about resources, relationships with preservice teachers, and relationships with local schools. These can be seen in Figure 1. The planning of activities was facilitated by these factors being available. If one or more of them was not available, then the planning of activities became more difficult.

Figure 1: Influences on teacher education activities



Although equity is promoted by government policies throughout the world, how it is supposed to be achieved, differs across nations. In New Zealand, the recognition that Māori people had rights under the Treaty of Waitangi provided the background for trying to ensure that the academic aspirations of Māori people were promoted in schools—not to the detriment of non-Māori but with equal respect. In Australia, the inclusion of Indigenous Studies in teacher education programs also assisted in considering ways that mathematics education could begin a dialogue with Indigenous communities. In Malmö, our university's mission statement supported the inclusion of gender and ethnicity perspectives in all courses. However, this is not the same mandatory requirement as in Australia and New Zealand. Thus, the social expectations surrounding each teacher education programme can support or restrict possibilities for discussions with colleagues who teach the same courses. This will have an impact on possibilities for adopting a more comprehensive equity approach across a teacher education programme.

Building up relationships with local schools in low-income areas was also part of a commitment to social justice and equity that was promoted by the recontextualisation of government policies into university and teacher education mission statements. Although none of the universities where I have worked actively supported the development of such relationships, they did not hinder its development. Such as was the case of CSU.

Building up relationships with preservice teachers allowed for uncomfortable discussions to be started. It is an affective process to be confronted with the fact that you have been helped to achieve because of the privileges that are gained from being pale-skinned and/or middle-class (Motta, 2012). For affective engagement in these discussions to result in transformation and not withdrawal, trust is needed between lecturers and preservice teachers. The development of relationships helped, especially at CSU, where we taught the preservice teachers three times over three years. Although the cohorts were large, I did form relationships, at least with some of the preservice teachers, which could withstand difficult discussions. In New Zealand, the mathematics ability activity did not work, partly because I had not established a trusting relationship between myself and the preservice teachers. They could not see past their own hurt to think that I might have had an alternative purpose to humiliating them. It may also be that if I had had a better understanding of the preservice teachers' previous experiences, I would not have introduced such an activity. Having limited opportunities to develop relationships with preservice teachers at Malmö, and

being uncertain myself of many things about teacher education in Sweden, has hindered being able to see possibilities for introducing activities that could lead the development of intercultural dialogue.

Knowledge of relevant material was also much easier in New Zealand and Australia than in my new country where I struggle with reading Swedish texts. As my fluency with the language and knowledge of teacher education in Sweden develops, my ability to find material that will contribute to appropriate activities for promoting intercultural dialogue is also likely to improve. Relevant material for New Zealand and Australian preservice teachers included academic resources, such as the Indigenous mathematician's recorded talk and PowerPoint presentation, as well as human resources such as my Māori colleague who gave a lecture at Otago.

My journey of learning how to provide appropriate activities that contribute to preservice teachers committing to intercultural dialogue with the communities of the students that they will teach is by no means finished. Some of the activities that I have implemented have shown signs that they prompted preservice teachers to confront their own belief systems about how education advantages some groups based on class, ethnicity, and gender. However, not all activities were successful and, in some cases, were counterproductive. Nevertheless, promotion of intercultural dialogue seems to provide opportunities to move away from having to convince preservice teachers that my morality and how I see the world is more appropriate than theirs (Mueller & O'Connor, 2007). Intercultural dialogue promotes discussions that explore what a socially-just mathematics education can be and, therefore, is likely to lead to upsetting the norms that position some groups and their knowledge as having no right to be taught.

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Teaching Strategies in Language-Diverse Mathematics Classes: A Case Study

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Abstract

This study was located in a mathematics classroom in a township school in Port Elizabeth. After an intervention designed to raise awareness of dialogic teaching practices, three teachers introduced exploratory talk, with varying degrees of success, into their mathematics classrooms. Because English, the language of teaching and learning, was not the main language of either teacher or pupils, the emphasis was on integrating isiXhosa into the lessons through exploratory talk in order to build a community of practice. Research has shown that the introduction of dialogue, in the form of exploratory talk, enhances mathematical reasoning skills; however, lack of English competence restricts the development of mathematical discourse among pupils. Through classroom observations and interviews, complementary teaching strategies used by one of the teachers were identified as appearing to improve pupils' mathematical skills. The uses of group work, judicious questioning, implementation of second language teaching techniques, and the development of a positive classroom climate echo Wenger's (2011) prerequisites for a community of practice: domain, community, and practice.

Keywords: Strategies; Mathematics; Dialogue; Community of Practice.

Introduction

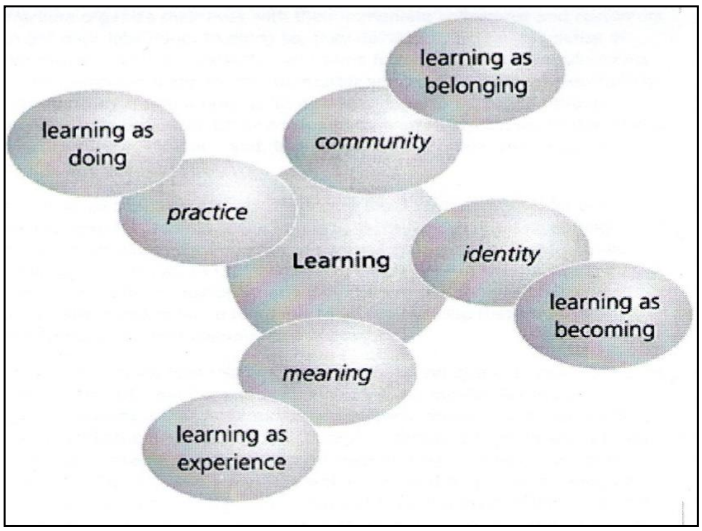
In the majority of South African mathematics classrooms, English is not the first language of either the teacher or the pupils. Teachers are faced with the challenges of not only teaching pupils to be competent in English, the language of power and access to social goods (Gee, 2004; Setati, 2005), but also to understand mathematical concepts that will open doors to tertiary education and career mobility. Transmission style teaching is not peculiar to South Africa; the triadic pattern of teacher initiation, pupil response, teacher evaluation (IRE) is evident in many parts of the world (Chall, 2000). However, when pupils are constrained to using only individual mathematical terms in English, their lack of confidence in communicating reinforces the IRE cycle. Dialogic discourse is more likely to lead to conceptual understanding than univocal discourse (Bakhtin, 1981; Mercer & Littleton, 2007). This article is an extract from the research work reported on in

one of the authors' doctoral thesis, *Searching for common ground: Developing mathematical reasoning through dialogue* (Webb, 2010), however, the use of Wenger's framework as a lens to analyse the teacher's practices is a new gaze on the data.

The study was underpinned by a sociocultural framework. Vygotsky (1978) maintains that the construction of knowledge is developed through social interaction. This position is confirmed and expanded by Wenger (2011, p. 1) who uses the term *communities of practice* to refer to "a group of people who share a concern for shared practice, and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly." Communities of practice are formed by people who "engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavour" (Wenger, 2011, p. 1). This concept provides a useful perspective on learning, with the focus being that learning involves social interaction.

Wenger's (1998) framework for learning consists of four components: community, identity, meaning, and practice. He posits that these components need to be integrated for successful learning to take place as a process of cooperation within a community. He defines the component of community as *learning as belonging*, the component of identity as *learning as becoming*, the component of meaning as *learning as experience*, and the component of practice as *learning as doing*.

Figure 1: Wenger's (1998) framework of learning



For a community of practice to exist Wenger (2011) suggests three essential components: domain, community, and practice. The membership of a community of practice requires a shared commitment to the domain and it is shared competence that begins to coalesce the members into a group. In this study, the domain is the understanding of, and competence in, mathematics. The community is built by members sharing in joint activities and discussions, and growing relationships that enable them to learn from each other. The development of exploratory talk engenders joint discussions and facilitates shared learning. Practice results from a "shared repertoire of resources: experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems—in short a shared practice" (Wenger, 2011, p. 2). Community of practice members build relationships that help them to learn from one another. Again, the dialogic nature of exploratory talk encourages shared practice as pupils strive to reach consensus.

Dialogue is a powerful learning tool that assists pupils by identifying gaps in their own understanding and in so doing helps them to construct knowledge. Conversations, whether individual, in small groups, or as a whole class, all develop reasoning and problem-solving abilities as well as build self-confidence and improve social skills (Wenger, 2011).

Truxaw and De Franco (2008) maintain that the mere presence of talk does not constitute meaningful talk and that it does not necessarily lead to understanding, but that the quality and types of discourse are crucial in leading to conceptual understandings of mathematics. Mercer and Littleton (2007) concur with that view in their own analysis of talk. They describe types of talk as follows: disputational talk is talk where participants agree to disagree, but where no reasons for decisions are given; cumulative talk occurs when participants simply agree with each other's opinions without engaging with the issue; exploratory talk, which is in their opinion, the most educationally sound method of communication. Mercer and Littleton define exploratory talk as talk:

> *in which partners engage critically but constructively with each other's ideas. Statements and suggestions. ... may be challenged and counter-challenged, but challenges are justified and alternative hypotheses are offered. Partners all actively participate and opinions are sought and considered before decisions are jointly made … knowledge is made more publicly accountable and reasoning is more visible in the talk. (2007, p. 59)*

This research study was prompted by the research question: What teaching strategies do teachers employ in order to teach mathematics understanding in language-diverse classes? The practices of three teachers in similar schools in Port Elizabeth townships were observed and analysed in a previous study (Webb, 2010). The practices of one teacher, who seemed to embrace Wenger's theory in practice, are scrutinised in this article to ascertain whether the learning that seemed to take place during an intervention designed to raise awareness of dialogic teaching practices (as indicated by the differences between the pre- and posttest results) concurs with Wenger's framework.

Research Design

Three teachers were observed in a preamble study over a period of 9 months, using an observation framework, as they taught Grade 7 mathematics classes. During this period, the teachers attended an intervention where the tenets of exploratory talk were explained and they themselves learned experientially how to recognise exploratory talk in dialogue and to acknowledge that discursive practices in a mathematics classroom increased mathematical reasoning. All three teachers spoke isiXhosa as their first language; they were, however, fluent in English. Their Grade 7 pupils completed pretests before the intervention and identical post-tests 9 months later on mathematical reasoning, numeracy skills, and English skills. Both quantitative (differences between pre- and posttests) and qualitative (classroom observation) results were analysed and written up elsewhere. Although the mathematical reasoning in all three classes improved considerably, the pupils from one school showed statistically significant gains over the other two schools. The practices of the teachers were then analysed to gauge what strategies had been employed that could have contributed further to the differences in scores. When comparing the teaching practices of the three teachers, it became clear that additional strategies could be identified as being integral to one teacher, but were largely absent in the other teachers' practice. The strategies identified were group work, questioning techniques, use of second language teaching strategies, and the engendering of a positive classroom climate. It appeared these strategies could explain the quantitative results showing the gain in one class to be statistically significantly higher than in the other two.

This article describes the practices of one Grade 7 mathematics teacher, Mr Graham (a pseudonym). Here, two lessons conducted by Mr Graham will be described as he teaches fractions through encouraging meaningful dialogue between teacher and pupil, and pupil and pupil (Barwell & Kaiser, 2005). At the conclusion of the intervention, an interview was held with Mr Graham to enable him to reflect on his experiences during the intervention and observation processes.

Background

Mr Graham is an experienced teacher who has taught for more than 15 years. The location of the school is in the middle of a township. When the study took place, the classroom was observed to be overcrowded. There were 45 pupils seated at tables arranged in three rows running the length of the room. Pupils were seated on both sides of the tables. There was very little room for a teacher to pass among the pupils, however, observation indicated that the pupils were used to group work because they readily congregated in twos or fours when instructed to do so. Noise from the adjoining classroom filtered continually through the partition separating the rooms. Mr Graham and all the pupils in the class spoke isiXhosa as their main language although the language of learning and teaching (LoLT) in the school was English.

Mr Graham planned a series of lessons on fractions during which he initiated the ground rules of collaborative exploratory talk with the pupils. Examples of ground rules were, amongst others: everyone in the group must participate; listen when someone else is talking; give reasons for all your statements; and, you may disagree if you have a different answer (Mercer & Littleton, 2007).

Lesson One: Comparison of fractions

Mr Graham started the lesson with a question:

> *What do we say about things when we compare them?*

He posed a question that would lead towards the lesson outcome: that by the end of the lesson the pupils would be able to compare fractions, for example, they would be able to compare a half and a quarter. He used an everyday example by asking how the pupils would compare the heights of two girls he pointed out that:

> *Zuki is taller than Yolisa.*

He then asked the pupils to describe a fraction and asked for examples. These questions were posed to elicit prior knowledge.

He gave each pupil a sheet of paper which they folded into four quarters horizontally to represent a *fraction ruler*. One folded row represented one whole; the next row was divided into two halves, the third row was divided into four quarters, and the bottom row was divided into eight eighths. He used this manipulative throughout the lesson to visually compare the sizes of fractions. Mr Graham introduced the word *denominator* and wrote it on the board. The pupils chorused the sound. He challenged the pupils to think:

> *Because eighths are smaller than a half, will halves always be greater than a number of eighths? Why? Will five eighths always be bigger than one half? Why?*

His questions were posed to encourage reasoning and logical thinking. He then moved, from the concrete, to mathematical manipulation by explaining that one could not always use a physical tool but had to know how to multiply fractions:

What do you do mathematically to get from $\frac{3}{4}$ *to* $\frac{6}{8}$ *?*

He emphasised that they should multiply by 1, but that the number 1 could be written in many guises, with the same numerator over the same denominator. In this way, he reinforced the meaning of the mathematical terms by writing them on the board so that the pupils both heard and read the English terms.

Questioning

Although long exchanges did not always take place, Mr Graham asked questions continually to stimulate the pupils' thinking and he encouraged participation, pausing to allow a pupil to react, if only by giving a one-word answer:

What do other people think?

Do you agree with that or don't you agree with that?

What do you think about what she has just said?

He used questions to maintain interest and alertness, and to discover if the pupils understood what he was teaching. The pupils did interact with the teacher because they had to continually field questions that required them to think, not just reiterate the teacher's utterances.

Group work

At one stage, he asked a question and instructed:

All those who have their hands up should tell those who don't have their hands up what you have done.

The pupils spoke to each other in isiXhosa and leaned physically towards each other, pointing to their work. In this lesson, there were no other instances of organised group work, but the pupils chatted to each other informally in groups as they worked.

Use of second language teaching techniques

Mr Graham used English to teach from the floor, however, he spoke individually to pupils in their main language. The pupils answered his questions in English, but spoke to each other in isiXhosa. Mr Graham introduced mathematics terminology by using everyday examples before using the same terminology with fractions. When he introduced new mathematics vocabulary, he wrote the term in English on the board and asked the pupils to read it aloud. Where possible he verbally gave an isiXhosa translation. He thus combined aural and visual recognition as well as relating the English and isiXhosa terminology.

Classroom climate

The pupils were relaxed and attentive. They smiled and laughed. Mr Graham interacted easily with the pupils. There was a relaxed, friendly atmosphere.

Summary

In this lesson, which occurred early in the intervention, Mr Graham did use questions to guide the development of understanding. Many of the questions were convergent, but he encouraged the pupils to think about each other's contributions. In this way, he engendered a sense of collegiality. He used a familiar context (heights of girls) to lead into the lesson topic, and used paper folding as a manipulative so that the pupils could compare the physical sizes of fractions. There was interaction between the pupils although it was only for a short period. In this lesson, Mr Graham began to build a community of practice by placing emphasis on the domain of understanding fractions in mathematics. He encouraged pupils to talk to him and to each other by using reasoning, and by reflecting open questions that needed unpacking. He thus helped them build confidence in their own notions about fractions and to share in joint activities and practices.

Lesson 2: Manipulating fractions

Mr Graham taught mathematics as well as language in all lessons, carefully creating situations that built on one another, both in the demands of mathematical knowledge and language skills. He started with a concrete, hands-on activity by giving every group of pupils 18 stones. He asked them to find one half of the stones. They piled them into two groups of nine. He asked them to describe what they had done mathematically. Once he had elicited the answer, he wrote on the board:

$$\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{18}{1} = \ldots$$

and moved on to a lesson about multiplying fractions. He did not merely coach the mathematical procedures, but he said:

> *We want you to discover how to do it on your own. How do you get to find a fraction of that amount?*

He used their previous experience of success with easier fraction examples to move to more complicated examples, for example:

$$\frac{1}{6} \times \frac{18}{1} = \ldots$$

then

$$\frac{5}{6} \times \frac{18}{1} = \ldots$$

Each presentation and explanation moved smoothly into a textbook activity, much like activities that would be set in tests and examinations. In this way, the pupils could take the language and thinking skills they had gained by doing the exercises in groups, to the individual activity of completing mathematical tasks in a more formal environment.

Questioning

Mr Graham moved from the concrete and visual aids of manipulatives to more formal mathematics:

> *When you had to find a half of your pile of 18 stones, how did you get 9? I want you to get to the mathematics.*

He seldom answered a question directly, but redirected pupils' thinking by answering their questions with questions of his own:

> *So what do you think?*

His questions were geared towards encouraging reasoning and logical thinking.

Group work

The pupils used isiXhosa to communicate within their groups. They were encouraged to record the mathematics as written text using mathematical symbols, and to repeat their reasoning on the board during whole class discussions:

> *Write it in your books while you are working in groups, and then we will have someone report back on the board.*

The pupils were asked to write their calculations on the board and to use mathematical language (in English) to explain to the class what they were doing. They were challenged to find more than one way of reaching an answer:

> *Can you find another way of doing the sum and finding the same answer?*

The pupils were engaged in joint activity, discussing options together with the focus on the problem at hand.

Use of second language teaching techniques

Throughout the lesson, Mr Graham modelled the language he was expecting the pupils to use:

> *We change the of to multiply***.**

He repeated what pupils said and revoiced their statements:

> *Mr Graham: Divide into . . . groups? A very important word. Those groups should be . . . ?*
>
> *Yes, buthi?*
>
> *Pupil: Equal.*
>
> *Mr Graham: All those groups should be equal.*

Finally, they read word sums from a textbook, which required much the same problem solving strategies as the stones activity but without the concrete, hands-on part of the activity.

Mr Graham pointed to more than one way of working out the sums by putting the onus on the pupils to discover alternative solutions:

> *Is there another way of working it out?*
>
> *Do you see the difference between …?*
>
> *Can you do it in the quickest and easiest way?*

Classroom climate

The pupils were keen to answer questions, they did not seem afraid of making errors, and they did not wait passively for Mr Graham to give the answer. Their behaviour displayed active participation and engagement with the activities presented by the teacher. It was quite clear, from the way they smiled and leant towards each other and engaged with the problems, that they enjoyed the activities. When some groups were quick to complete an activity, Mr Graham praised them by clapping his hands and saying, "Well done, well done!" Classroom observation suggested that the pupils were visibly pleased with themselves because they smiled and used positive gestures and body language.

Summary

In this lesson, which occurred towards the end of the intervention, Mr Graham once again cemented Wenger's (2011) requirements of domain, community, and practice in his lesson in order to build a community of practice. The pupils were all focussed on either the concrete manifestations of division of fractions by manipulating stones, or on the more abstract textbook examples. They shared a joint enterprise. They were encouraged to use dialogue in isiXhosa to build solidarity and to express their understandings with ease and spontaneity. They developed a shared repertoire of resources by implementing different strategies to solve the mathematical tasks set.

Reflective discussion with Mr Graham

At the end of the intervention, the researcher conducted an informal and relaxed reflective discussion with Mr Graham to ascertain whether he felt there had been any changes that he had observed during the course of the intervention:

> *There was a great improvement in the class in terms of their enthusiasm for work, their attitude towards speaking in the class, for presenting a job well done. They are able to work on their own – something which at the beginning of the year was quite difficult for them to do.*

The introduction of exploratory talk had given the pupils confidence to speak in English and this had resulted in improved English skills:

> *What I really noticed is that actually they are quite able to express themselves in English now, much better than at the beginning of the year. By switching from isiXhosa to English and using code-switching, they have got more confidence now in speaking English.*

Mr Graham felt that the introduction of exploratory talk had increased the enthusiasm in the classes. Their willingness to engage in dialogue meant that he had a clearer idea of what they understood:

> *You can see they are enthusiastic. They want to know. They think. And as soon as they talk, you know what they know and what they don't know. When they keep quiet you don't know whether they understand or not.*

Mr Graham was extremely positive about his experience during the intervention:

> *Just becoming aware of this process of using language, specifically, language to get them into a deeper understanding of what they are doing – this procedure is something that you just need be aware of and use as a strategy continuously. I did see it working. It is just the realization that this concept can work – you know, just realising that this concept can work!*

Having observed Mr Graham's teaching strategies during previous sessions, it can probably be said that building a community of practice is an integral part of his teaching toolkit. The observed reactions of the pupils showed that the strategies were familiar to them and that a community of practice had been developed because the elements of domain, community, and practice were present.

Building a framework for learning: community, identity, meaning and practice

In Wenger's (1998) framework, learning should take place in the presence of four factors: identity, meaning, community, and practice.

Identity

Although Mr Graham spoke almost exclusively in English, and revoiced the pupils' concepts in mathematical English, he did not constrain the pupils to use English. He was able to balance the need for mathematical understanding with the need to develop English competence. The language pupils used was not an issue. Language therefore became invisible as mathematical understanding was foregrounded (Setati, 2005). In fact, Mr Graham encouraged the pupils to use either code-switching or their main language by saying:

> *Please feel free to do it in isiXhosa so that you can understand it.*

Encouraging the pupils to speak in isiXhosa built a shared sense of identity and pride. The relaxed and collegial classroom climate contributed to the development of the pupils' confidence. Mr Graham demonstrated an authoritative but by no means authoritarian presence. He allowed the pupils to experiment with their embryonic mastery over both mathematical and ordinary English, and scaffolded their efforts by providing artefacts, vocabulary (both written and spoken), and by revoicing their utterances in the correct style and vocabulary. He treated learning as a social, communicative process by using group work continually and by encouraging pupils to talk to each other, give reasons for their views, and express their ideas confidently; the lessons took the form of a dialogue between teacher and pupils, and pupil and pupil (Barwell & Kaiser, 2005).

Perhaps the most appealing aspect of visiting Mr Graham's classes was the warm, welcoming buzz that pervaded the classroom atmosphere. Pupils were eager to make contributions in their groups; they were quick to put up their hands to volunteer to report back on the board; they asked questions of Mr Graham and each other; they communicated in a confident social manner. By allowing the pupils to use their main

language and by building their confidence, Mr Graham was leading the pupils towards developing an identity of learning as becoming.

Meaning

Questions were used to provide opportunities for pupils to express their understanding and reasoning in utterances:

> *Now you have to give us a reason why you have written that kind of number sentence. Can you tell me?*

Mr Graham used open-ended questions, which lead to dialogic learning because there is no simple correct or incorrect answer. He guided the progression of the pupils' thinking towards understanding.

Mr Graham used questioning as a tool to deepen the pupils' mathematical reasoning and to help them verbalise their logic to each other. He used questioning, perhaps intrinsically, for the reasons Mercer and Littleton (2007) propound: to develop the pupil's use of language **as a tool** for reasoning by making explicit their thought, for modelling mathematical language, and for expressing their thoughts in words. Through answering questions for themselves and in their groups, and through using discussion in whatever language they were most comfortable, the pupils were making meaning through learning as experience.

Community

Through non-judgemental questioning, Mr Graham built up a classroom climate in which the pupils were prepared to take risks. They initiated discussion and were prepared to ask questions of both the teacher as well as their peers.

He also used dialogue to scaffold the pupils' reasoning and actively solicited pupils' views without giving evaluative feedback that could have closed down initial halting responses. In their groups, the pupils stood over their desks to be physically closer to each other and used their main language, interspersed with mathematical vocabulary in English. Mr Graham created a classroom climate conducive to the practice of exploratory talk, because the pupils were encouraged to make explicit their thoughts, reasons, and knowledge, and to share collegially (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). By expressing their reasoning, the pupils grew in confidence and competence in both their mathematical prowess and their English fluency. Mr Graham was at ease with the pupils who responded enthusiastically to his teaching style. He not only scaffolded the terminology and the language that would be useful to the pupils, but also scaffolded their critical thinking through his questioning techniques (Lerman & Zevenbergen, 2004). The activities he developed drew on the pupils' previous mathematical knowledge and language, which enabled them to engage in directed, meaningful exploratory talk. Through developing a non-judgmental classroom climate Mr Graham built a community in which the pupils were learning as belonging.

Practice

Mr Graham integrated the tenets of exploratory talk from the beginning of the intervention. It became the norm in his class; pupils became used to working in groups, respecting each other's opinions, explaining their understanding in isiXhosa or through code-switching, giving reasons for all their statements and reaching consensus if possible (Mercer & Littleton, 2007). The pupils became familiar with this practice and began to apply the principles unconsciously. In a very real sense he facilitated pupil-centred learning. In Mr Graham's classroom there were instances of disputational and cumulative talk; there were instances of teacher-talk; but there were recognisable instances where pupils engaged with each other, or with the teacher, in the creation of mathematics understanding. This resonates with Barwell and Kaiser's (2005) definition of dialogic learning.

Mr Graham repeatedly scaffolded the strategy and the language and thinking skills that pupils should engage in during problem solving. As regards strategy, he reminded them of the tenets of exploratory talk:

> *What I want you to do is read the problem first; discuss what it is about so that you understand the problem. Think of ways that you can solve the problem and talk about them, but make sure you always tell us why you think what you do.*

Mr Graham modelled the language and vocabulary he wanted the pupils to replicate in their peer group discussions and when they reported back in plenary, but did not draw attention or allude to any mistakes the pupils may have made previously. In this way, he did not dissipate their self-efficacy.

Mr Graham demonstrated sound knowledge of teaching strategies for multilingual classes. He encouraged the pupils to speak in their main language in groups; he revoiced their ideas in English and scaffolded the pupils' reasoning (Moschkovich, 2007). He taught language skills when he gave the pupils the vocabulary necessary for the mathematics they were doing both orally and in writing on the board or on handouts. He also reinforced sentence structure and terminology in an unobtrusive way. He was, thus, giving them the tools to communicate in mathematical English, not just speaking mathematics to them in English. Through judicious use of strategies, Mr Graham was able to link English and mathematical learning without drawing attention to the language the pupils were using, but emphasising their mathematical thought processes and understanding. Through continually allowing the pupils to practice their skills and keeping them focused on their tasks, Mr Graham encouraged learning as doing.

Conclusion

In language-diverse mathematics classes in South Africa, there is preponderance of teaching in English only and for coercing pupils to answer in English. Research indicates that sociocultural influences have an impact on mathematical understanding and learning, thus dialogue, and the type of talk in which pupils engage, can enhance mathematical reasoning. The premise that teachers should encourage pupils to move along the continuum from traditional, univocal discourse towards dialogic discourse where exploratory talk occurs was illustrated in this study by Mr Graham's practice although at times the discourse moved backwards and forwards on the continuum, depending on the focus of the lesson.

This paper suggests that if various strategies can be implemented in mathematics classes a community of practice can be developed which can lead to effective mathematical learning. The attitude of the teacher is vital in this respect because the transition between languages should be the pupils' choice and not enforced by the teacher. Pupils' own emerging identities, intrinsically entwined with their main language, is a major component of learning (Wenger, 1998)

The teacher can scaffold mathematical learning by judicious questioning with open-ended or Socratic questioning so that the pupils are prompted to give reasons for their answers and are stretched to think and to verbalise their thoughts. By discussing their ideas, pupils can make meaning in their own minds.

The classroom climate can enhance dialogue if it is non-threatening and the pupils feel comfortable in voicing opinions without fear of retribution or ridicule. In this environment, the teacher can cater for both the mathematical and the language needs of the pupils. In the absence of censure and fear, pupils build confidence and community.

It seems that the development of dialogic teaching in multilingual mathematical classes, in the form of exploratory talk, can increase numeracy, mathematical reasoning, and English skills if teachers are exposed to the theory and practice of discourse development through an intervention. This does not happen

overnight and the practice must be implemented continually for their pupils to embed the practice in their psyches.

This study indicates that if teachers are able to introduce Wenger's (1998) four tenets of learning (identity, meaning, practice, and community) it is possible to build a community of practice where learning takes place. If this were to occur on a broad scale, perhaps the mathematical prowess of South African second-language pupils would be improved.

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"Just the School Make[s] Us Non-Chinese": Contrasting the Discourses of Hong Kong's Education Bureau with the Lived Experiences of its non-Chinese Speaking Secondary School Population

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Abstract

For its non-Chinese speaking (NCS), economically marginalised, secondary school students, Hong Kong's education system is an exercise in which school success is mediated through English and future opportunities are mediated through both English and Cantonese. Hong Kong's Education Bureau (EDB) states that NCS students must learn Cantonese to integrate into the community and ultimately become "local". Interculturalism looks to a common ground for diverse people to come together through real dialogue and real exchange. This project sought to problematise the way NCS students experienced interculturalism in Hong Kong. It required exposing the discourses surrounding the terms *integrate* and *non-Chinese speaking* produced by Hong Kong's EDB and comparing these discourses with the student-participants' lived experiences. Students asserted that the term non-Chinese speaking referred to much more than just not speaking Chinese and included references to race, ethnicity, othering, and multilingual and multiliteracy practices in its depictions. The evidence from this study suggests that the EDB's policy goal of making NCS students local was not penetrable to ethnic minority NCS students in Hong Kong. Intercultural exchange must occur in an authentic, and valued, manner for students to feel that they are "a part of Hong Kong" (Education Bureau Participant, October 11, 2012).

Keywords: Interculturalism; Ethnic Minorities; Hong Kong; Educational Policy; Multiliteracies.

Introduction

Hong Kong's Education Bureau (EDB) has the stated goal of schooling all students to become biliterate and trilingual citizens, which refers to the reading and writing of traditional Chinese and English and to the listening to, and speaking of, Chinese (Cantonese), Putonghua (Mandarin), and English (Education Bureau, 2011, p. 10). The EDB also states that non-Chinese speaking (NCS) students should learn Cantonese in order to integrate into the community. This paper originally appeared as a part of my unpublished master's thesis

(Burkholder, 2013) which sought to problematise the way NCS students experienced this integrating policy in Hong Kong's publicly funded schools. In 2005, Hong Kong's EDB created a policy directed at ethnic minority children in an effort to promote their inclusion in government schools. Before then, the government had restricted its NCS students to attendance at one of ten NCS schools, and the policy change was made in attempt to level the playing field between NCS and Chinese-speaking (CS) students (Heung, 2006). However, as other authors (Fang, 2011; Law & Lee, 2012; Loper, 2001) have noted, additional measures to support Chinese as second language learning did not exist in these newly available schools. Interculturalism looks to a common ground for diverse people to come together through real dialogue and real exchange. Interculturalism also acknowledges that relations between cultures and between people are complex and that, unlike multiculturalism, our society and our schools do not treat all cultures, languages, or ways of knowing in an equal or symmetrical fashion (Boido, 2004; Maxwell, Waddington, McDonough, Cormier & Schwimmer, 2012; Walsh, 2009).

Researcher Location

One of the tenets of interculturalism is to identify one's own experiences and identities before engaging in thoughtful and authentic exchange (Holmes, 2006). My relationship to this project and my identity as a white, English-speaking Canadian female teacher must therefore be made explicit. From 2008 to 2010, I worked as the English and homeroom teacher of the 20 student participants in this study. During my time as a teacher at a direct subsidy school in an economically marginalised area of Hong Kong, I began to question my students' access to the language of instruction, and question what I perceived as their exclusion within the school. I had preconceived notions about what effective multiculturalism and intercultural exchanges looked like, and when it seemed that my students' participation was marginalised and othered I felt discouraged as an educator invested in social change. At the end of my tenure, I felt I had created an inclusive intercultural environment within my classroom based on dialogue, empathy, and real exchange, but had not made any real impact on the school culture at large. This research project was built out of my desire to understand the experiences of my students and to identify the policy discourses directed at the NCS population in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong's Ethnic Minority Non-Chinese Speaking Population

According to Hong Kong's 2006 census, 95% of its population is ethnically Chinese. Of the 5% of the population who are considered non-Chinese (NC), 1.64% are Filipinos, 1.28% are Indonesians, 0.3% are Indians, 0.23% are Nepalese, and 0.17% are Thais (Fang, 2011, p. 251). In the Education Bureau's discourse, *non-Chinese* refers to students who do not speak Chinese as a first language. However, the 2006 census refers to non-Chinese as being people living in Hong Kong who are not ethnically Chinese (in this latter definition, Chinese includes Hong Kong-born and mainland China-born Chinese people). The distinction between NC as a way to denote language ability and NC as a way to denote ethnicity is often unclear, and any usage of the term relies upon the assumptions of the speaker and the listener. Language and politics are inextricably linked in Hong Kong because learning:

> *Cantonese can strengthen a person's sense of identification with Hong Kong as a distinctive culture; learning Putonghua [Mandarin] can strengthen a person's sense of identification with [the whole Chinese nation]; learning English before 1997 could strengthen a person's dentification with Hong Kong as a colony of the United Kingdom*
>
> *(Morris & Adamson, 2010, p. 147).*

In the context of post-colonial Hong Kong, Chinese and English are "legitimate" or dominant and knowing (or not knowing) and producing (or not producing) these languages provides linguistic capital for their speakers (Chan, 2002).

Research Questions

Examining the lived experiences of NCS students creates an opportunity to think critically about the discourses provided by the Education Bureau through its policy documents. Students' lived experiences of school and intercultural exchanges are potentially different from the discourses set out by the EDB. With that in mind, this qualitative and ethnographic project was guided by the following questions:

- How do non-Chinese speaking students view themselves in relation to their language practices, identities, and status as non-Chinese in a Hong Kong government-funded secondary school?
- How do non-Chinese speaking students' lived experiences of intercultural exchanges, their language practices, identity, and sense of belonging in secondary school align with the discourse of Hong Kong's Education Bureau?
- What can interculturalism offer to improve the educational status quo for Hong Kong's NCS population?

Sociocultural Context: Hong Kong's Race Discrimination Ordinance (2008)

Hong Kong has operated as a semi-autonomous region of China since its independence from Britain in 1997. The political shift changed what it means to be a citizen and an ethnic minority in Hong Kong. Law and Lee (2012) have argued that Hong Kong has been described as a "harmonious multicultural society," because many people from a variety of cultures and ethnicities live in close proximity to one another without "serious conflicts" (p. 117). However, they also note that these groups live separately and that, in the case of Hong Kong, the concept of multiculturalism "merely describes the presence of various ethnic groups" rather than the inclusion of multiple points of view, a mutual exchange of diverse cultures, experiences, languages and identities. From this brand of multiculturalism, the Race Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) was developed and brought into law in 2008 to address the rights and needs of the ethnic minority population. However, defining multiculturalism in the RDO exclusively through ethnicity creates complications and is inherently problematic because it expressly excludes mainland Chinese immigrants from its provisions (Kennedy, Hui, & Tsui, 2008, p. 3).

The Race Discrimination Ordinance has also had an impact on the education of NCS ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. One of the goals of the ordinance was to provide new educational language policies that would directly affect NCS groups (Fang, 2011, p. 251). Loper (2004) argued that while this language provision may appear to promote educational equality for all ethnicities and races, in actuality "these policies limit access to education for certain ethnic groups who may be less likely to speak or read Chinese" (p. 27). NCS students can now be admitted to Chinese as medium of instruction (MOI) or "local" schools (regardless of their pre-existing Chinese language skills) but are not necessarily provided with specific tools to scaffold their language learning. This is because schools were not "required to do anything once students entered the school to support their particular learning needs" (Kennedy et al., 2008, p. 3).

Conceptual Framework: Interculturalism

Interculturalism asks diverse people to come together and exchange ideas through respectful dialogue in an effort to come to an agreement about divisive issues that can arise in a multicultural context. Cultures, like languages, create opportunities for "expression and interaction between oneself and the other" (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2006, p. 475). For robust intercultural exchange to be realised, we must know about others' identities so that we can know our own identities. Further, citizenship education must be employed to "create critically reflective citizens" (Holmes, 2006, p. 21). In an educational context, Kramsch (1998) suggests that effective teachers must understand the social and cultural contexts of the community, the school, and the student population they are teaching in through meaningful exchanges that create opportunities for understanding and interpreting meaning. However, in such reflection, we must also

question the privileging of particular ways of knowing and communicating within schools or intercultural exchanges will remain at the surface level (Holmes, 2006). Yuen (2010) has suggested that lack of intercultural communication and awareness has led Hong Kong's teachers to have "low expectations" and view the "low academic and behavioural performances of the minority-group students" (p. 732) as indicative of students' individual flaws, rather than implicating the practice of schooling, and the privileging of particular ways of knowing. In the context of Hong Kong's NCS classrooms, Yuen (2010) argued that:

> *it is seen as the personal responsibility of immigrant students to adapt to the education system. They are mainly trained in a predominantly mono-cultural programme and for one dominant culture. [Teachers] are either insufficiently prepared for, or lacking in, the personal intercultural awareness needed for creating the appropriate classroom environment and relevant pedagogical practice necessary to foster effective learning*
>
> *(Yuen, 2010, p. 733).*

For any effective amelioration of the schooling practices for Hong Kong's NCS students, and to enact policy change, NCS voices need to be heard. Further, the practice of enacting policy must be modified to address the diverse needs of the increasingly diverse secondary school population.

Methodology

Education Bureau Participant

In compliance with Concordia University's[1] ethical guidelines for research with humans, I e-mailed the Hong Kong EDB's Education services for NCS students. I was put in touch with a member of the bureau who agreed to meet with me at the EDB's government office when I arrived in Hong Kong. I subsequently met with the policy maker and conducted a semi-structured, private and individual interview. Our encounter was mediated by my insider-outsider status as a former Native English Teacher of NCS students and foreign person. I had pre-conceived insider/outsider ideas about the way that school had been designed for NCS students, and the way that inclusive education could be implemented. The participant's responses to my outsider-assumptions and insider-knowledge were cautious, and did not stray from the EDB's stated policy goals. The responses generated by the EDB participant must be mediated through this knowledge. The interview worked through a variety of topics, but focused particularly on the EDB's:

- policies directed at NCS ethnic minority students
- ideas about multiculturalism, integration, and multiliteracies
- perceptions of students' linguistic, social, and cultural border crossings.

The Student Participants

In further compliance with the ethical guidelines provided by Concordia University regarding research involving humans, I e-mailed 35 of my former students privately and individually. Twenty students responded that they would like to participate in the project. The home languages spoken by the NCS students involved in the study were diverse and included Bangla, English, Hinko, Kashmiri, Nepali, Punjabi, Tagalog, Tamil, Thai, and Urdu. In the e-mails, I requested that students be available to meet with me privately and individually for semi-structured interviews in Hong Kong. The interviews focused on a range of topics, but focused particularly on:

- how they viewed their experience as NCS individuals in school
- the language usage at school

[1] At the time of the data collection, I was completing my Master's degree at Concordia University.

- their perceptions of linguistic, social, and cultural border crossings
- their understanding of the term, non-Chinese.

Data Gathering Procedures

This qualitative inquiry sought to understand the alignment of students' beliefs about schools, with the policies put in place for them by the EDB. Data collection included two approaches: analysing online publications by the EDB on their website (www.edb.gov.hk/ncs), and open-ended, semi-structured interviews.

The discourse analysis was informed by Baker (2006) and focused on 27 key documents from the EDB's website that addressed non-Chinese speaking secondary school students and their parents. These documents were published in English for NCS students and their parents to access. One limitation of this discourse analysis is that documents published in Chinese (traditional or simplified) were not consulted. Further, this analysis did not include any publications directed exclusively at NCS primary students or their parents. However, all documents directed at both secondary school- and primary school-aged students were analysed.

I combined the policy documents into a single text file which I analysed through the program, HyperRESEARCH. The total size of the corpus of data was 41,373 words. I began by coding the text file for themes and, through this process, noticed the repetition of particular terms including *non-Chinese speaking* and *integration*.

Findings

After all the data had been coded and examined for themes, the following five themes emerged, were investigated, and will be elaborated upon in the next sections:

- Competing definitions of non-Chinese speaking
- Hong Kong Education Bureau discourses pointing to the integration of NCS students into schools and the community as being a priority
- Chinese language skills being necessary to have diverse employment options, access to postsecondary education, and to become a part of Hong Kong
- Authentic and respectful intercultural exchanges not being a significant part of students' secondary school experiences
- Students' lived experiences at school suggesting a lack of alignment with the EDB's policy goals.

Discourses Present in the Hong Kong Education Bureau's Online Materials

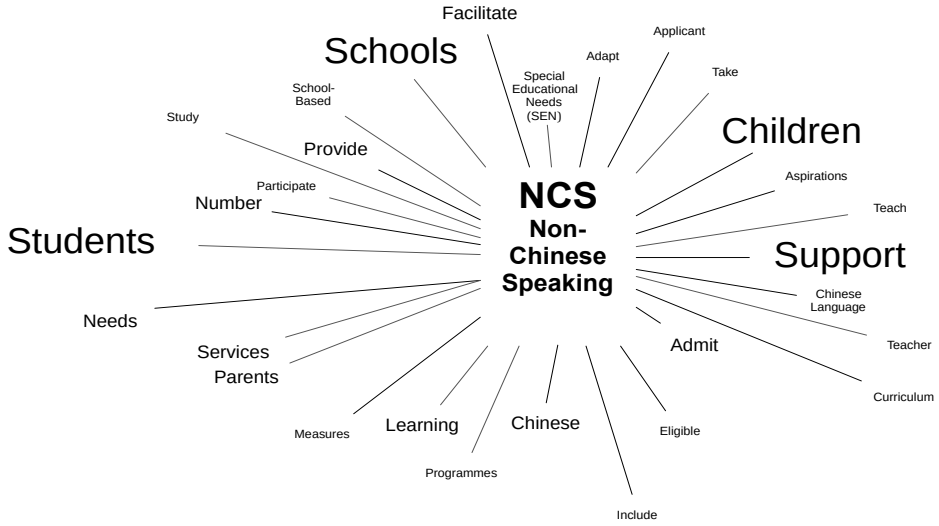
The term, non-Chinese speaking, permeated the discourse of the EDB. As such, it is important to first acknowledge the EDB's definition of what counted as non-Chinese speaking. The EDB defined NCS students as "those whose spoken language at home is not Chinese" (EDB, 2013b). In other words, students whose ethnicity is Chinese but who are non-Chinese speaking based on the spoken language at home are also classified as NCS students. In this definition, NCS referred exclusively to language usage and did not refer to Chinese as an ethnicity. To the EDB, NCS referred to language practice only.

The Discourses Surrounding non-Chinese speaking

HyperRESEARCH includes a tool with which it is possible to identify and isolate particular words or phrases within a document. Within the 27 online documents targeting NCS students and their families, I began by searching for the term, non-Chinese speaking. Importantly, I also searched for the acronym, NCS, which was used frequently to describe non-Chinese speaking students. I coded *NCS* and *non-Chinese speaking* using ranked frequencies (Baker, 2006, p. 100). A ranking by frequency showed how many times other words occurred within five words of the search terms in the 303 instances that the search terms occurred in the 27 online documents provided by the EDB on their website. In the search, I omitted all articles and from the data collected, I built the collocational network displayed below (Figure 1). Words and phrases that appeared most are represented in the collocational network by larger font size.

Figure 1

Collocational Network of *non-Chinese Speaking* in the EDB's Online Documents



In its online materials, the EDB used NCS most often in conjunction with the terms *schools*, *students*, *children*, and *support*. Throughout the discourse of their online materials, the EDB referred repeatedly to examination subsidies and to assistance in the learning of the Chinese language as primary supports required by NCS students. The EDB noted that:

> *NCS children are generally poor in Chinese. To enhance their Chinese proficiency, EDB encourages schools to adapt their curriculum, pedagogy & evaluation with a view to catering for differences in students, teaching according to students' aptitude, and promoting students' learning motivation*
>
> *(EDB, 2013a).*

In this description, the discourse surrounding NCS is rooted in a deficit model. NCS students are "generally poor" and "different." Their existing multiliterate and multilingual practices are not valued, and their lack of Chinese skills is described as rooted in a motivational problem (EDB, 2013a). In the description, NCS students' existing literacy practices are marginalised in favour of a discussion of what they are lacking. Their "poor" Chinese skills make it difficult for NCS students to integrate in the community or participate in intercultural exchanges. Further, the EDB's discourse suggests that NCS students should integrate as quickly as possible to learn Chinese and to gain access to postsecondary education and careers in Hong Kong.

Problematically, the integration project was complicated by the pooling of NCS students in a group of designated schools, which could prevent them from integrating in the local curriculum. The EDB noted that they provided extra recurring financial support to these schools, which admit "a critical mass of NCS students . . . [to] . . . enhance the learning and teaching of NCS students" (EDB, 2013c). If schools admitting a critical mass of NCS students receive recurring grants, what is the benefit to these schools to integrate NCS students with less-subsidised local or CS students? This complication challenges the EDB's stated goal of integration. If increased numbers of NCS students studying in a school meant that the school would receive more funding, then schools would have less motivation to combine NCS and CS students. Separating these populations to increase funding was a complication that directly challenged the EDB's goal of integration.

The conception of non-Chinese speaking as a description of students' language abilities has been previously established in the EDB's written discourses. However, some of the EDB's discourse surrounding NCS mingled with ideas about nationality, ability, and ethnicity. The EDB also noted that:

> *some NCS children are born in Hong Kong. Their learning ability may not be poorer than that of local pupils. Teachers of NCS children find that NCS children are active in learning. They are lively and cheerful. Positive impact can be brought about either on facilitating learning or ethnic integration when they are in the same class with local pupils*
>
> *(EDB, 2013a).*

Learning deficits are discussed here as being rooted in nationality. Students who come to Hong Kong later in their school lives are at a clear disadvantage, but some NCS students who have attended school in Hong Kong from an early age may not have a poorer ability to learn than local students. The discourse suggests that to be local, you must be born in Hong Kong *and* be Chinese speaking. This is inherently problematic, especially in a document that was explicitly discussing integration. The complications in this statement are myriad. This language is inherently contradictory. What was the real goal in employing this contradictory policy to promote integration?

The Discourses Surrounding Integrate

It is at this point necessary to turn to the EDB's statements surrounding the concept of integration. As such, in the discourse analysis, I searched for collocates of *integrate*, *integrated*, *integrates*, and *integration* using ranked frequencies in HyperRESEARCH (Baker, 2006). The words and phrases that appeared most frequently are represented in the collocational network by larger font size (Figure 2).

The EDB has suggested that integrating is a primary concern for NCS students who are schooled in Hong Kong. Since 2004, the EDB has targeted 13 secondary schools for extra support for those with a critical mass NCS population (EDB, 2004). Because these schools admitted larger numbers of NCS students, the EDB helped form a support network for NCS students in order to:

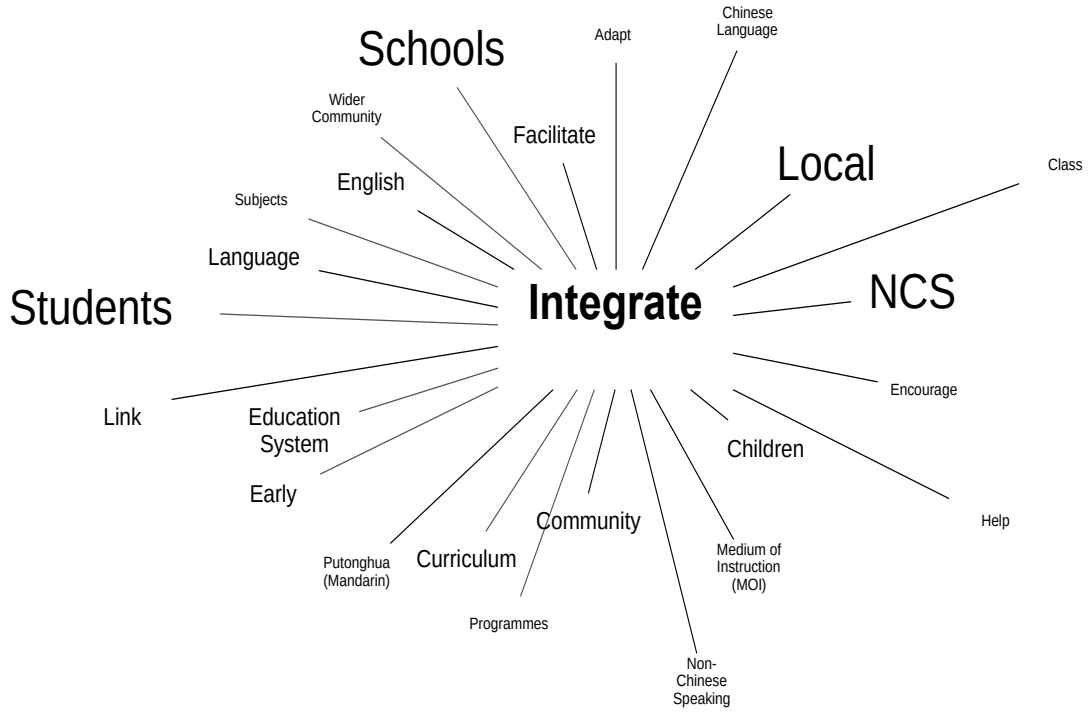
> *promote the mutual support among the schools through experience sharing and enhance the interest and ability of non-Chinese speaking students in learning Chinese Language. A more effective learning environment will be created as a result and these students will adapt to and integrate into our community more quickly*
>
> *(EDB, 2004).*

The EDB suggests that they must "enhance the interest and ability" of NCS students to learn Chinese in order to result in "these students adapt[ing] to and integrat[ing] into our community more quickly" (EDB, 2004). This discourse suggests that if students were only more interested, or if they only had the ability to speak Chinese, they would easily integrate into the community. The EDB has clearly pointed to language as being the ticket for NCS students to integrate into Hong Kong's schools and communities. The EDB further stated that it:

> *encourages non-Chinese speaking students to integrate into the local education system and community as early as possible and has also strengthened Chinese language teaching and learning support for them. As non-Chinese speaking students' families tend to have different expectations and have spent less time living in Hong Kong than local people, the EDB gives them the option of enrolling in "designated schools." As a result, it is far from true to say that such students may only study in Chinese*
>
> *(EDB, 2010).*

Figure 2

Collocational Network of *Integrate* in the EDB's Online Documents



NCS people are described as having "different expectations," so they are given the opportunity to study in designated schools (EDB, 2010). These designated schools accepted larger numbers of NCS students and used English as the medium of instruction (MOI) rather than integrating NCS students into schools with local students and using Chinese as the MOI. This choice puzzles me. The EDB documents suggested that its vision is to integrate NCS students but its policy was to direct NCS families towards designated schools using English as the MOI. If Chinese was the key to helping NCS students integrate, why were families with students at secondary school age directed towards these designated schools? Integration is acceptable, and even desirable, unless a "critical mass" of NCS students is accepted into a school. In contradiction to this practice, the EDB noted that in the future, integrating NCS students with CS students was not undesirable.

In fact, moving forward, the EDB promoted the mixing of NCS students with local Chinese speaking students, by noting that:

> *schools which admit a small number of NCS children will arrange these children in the same class with local pupils. In fact, there are also great differences in learning among local children. Therefore, strategies in handling learning differences also apply to local children. A positive impact can be brought about either on facilitating learning or ethnic integration when they are in the same class with local pupils*
>
> *(EDB, 2013a).*

The EDB was therefore advocating the integration of non-local and local students and acknowledging that, in fact, NCS students' prior knowledge might not be poorer than local Hong Kong students (EDB, 2013a). These discourses speak to the marginalisation of the language and cultural practices employed by NCS students, and serve to legitimise local conceptions of what counts as appropriate knowledge and appropriate language practices.

In my interview with the participant from the Education Bureau, I asked about the EDB's vision in schooling NCS students and creating supports for them within schools. What was the EDB's vision in regards to policies towards NCS students? The participant replied that the Education Bureau's vision for NCS was:

> *integration. In fact, many of the NCS students live only in Hong Kong. They claim to stay in Hong Kong for good. They are part of our community and, in fact, we are together. So, what we are going to do and what we really wish is just, they have nothing different, just like everybody. Just another classmate, just another teammate in the workplace. That is what we really wish*
>
> (EDB Participant, October 11, 2012).

If integration was the vision, the way in which the participant described integration might fit better with the word, assimilation. The goal is for NCS students to become a part of Hong Kong, to be together with local people. NCS students and NCS citizens are "nothing different," they are "just like everybody" and, ultimately, the discourses present in the online materials were echoed by the EDB participant. The question remained: How does the EDB support NCS students to become a part of Hong Kong?

As I discussed the schooling of NCS students with the participant from the EDB, the participant noted that to promote integration, they provided:

> *advice to schools on respecting cultural differences, accommodating diversity and reminding schools of the need to communicate with NC parents, to have parents understand about the school, about the children and schools have the responsibility to promote a culturally harmonious environment in the school,. Also we remind schools during our visits and remind schools to observe the law, don't break the law. And also in our curriculum, in some subjects, there are elements cultural, mutual respect, ideas like, what we called those, equality*
>
> *(EDB Participant, October 11, 2012).*

The EDB suggested that one way to help students integrate and develop ideas about what it means to be a Hong Kong citizen was through the teaching and learning of the Chinese language. Another way was through a variety of supports, sharing sessions, informational leaflets, and professional development for teachers. If integration was intended to effect intercultural exchanges, the EDB believed that Chinese language skills were the key for students to access and integrate into the community.

The Students' Lived Experiences

Experiencing School Itself

The 20 students[1] interviewed all had different histories, different language abilities, and different responses to the schooling of NCS students in Hong Kong. In fact, a number of these NCS students had high abilities in Chinese language skills, and two self-identified as ethnically Chinese. When I was a teacher at the school, the NCS population was the minority and was instructed in English. The majority of the school was populated with Chinese-speaking students who were instructed in Chinese as the MOI. However, the school had since shifted demographically and the NCS students had become the majority. This shift in demographics was not lost on the students. Amrit noted, "before, when I was in Form 1, I felt not comfortable when I came [to school], but now I do." In the two years since I left, the school changed markedly. Yuna also pointed to the change in the school:

> *I think, it's like now, now Chinese and NC are equal now. Same amount of students now, so [the] school are trying to give us some more things for NC students. Now they are also focusing on NC students more.*

Yuna suggested that support had increased for NCS students. Instead of integrating the NCS and CS sections together to enhance NCS students' Chinese skills and increase CS students' English skills, the situation had merely reversed. In this, the changing demographic had not increased intercultural exchanges. What did not exist for NCS students when I was a teacher at the school, now did not exist for CS students. The situation had reversed, which did not work to help NCS students become an integrated part of Hong Kong or increase authentic intercultural exchanges.

Experiencing Language and Difference

Mai Chan, who self-identified as "half-Chinese," noted that with the increase of NCS students within the school, the ethnic makeup of the classroom also diversified, which was something she valued:

> *Actually, I have close friends. They are nice, but we are different nationalities. But we still can be very good friends. About friendship with classmates, it's also good but maybe it's just some part of the language problem because I'm the only one [who speaks] Thai in the classroom but it still no problem. We are still close, I think.*

Mai Chan did not marginalise the diverse language practices of her classmates, but valued the difference. While Mai Chan suggested that the school had become a more inclusive and better place over time. Amber disagreed and suggested that the school had degenerated in the past two years. She stated that the school had changed:

> *and in a really bad way. It used to be, I felt, when I first came to [the school] I felt so happy. Because like, it felt like an actual school. I felt like I had actual good teachers, and actual good friends. The teachers weren't so strict with like appearance, and everything, and yet, like they pushed you to study ... now, they care more about your appearance, or like all of your conduct. Academics don't seem to amount to much to them. And a lot of the teachers, it seems that they don't know how to work with non-Chinese students. Especially in Chinese [language learning].*

The students' perceptions about the shift in power interested me because when I was at the school, I had noticed that the NCS minority students were not given equal access to classes and curricula, and their pre-

[1] All names have been changed to protect anonymity.

existing language and literacy skills were devalued in their participation in the school. Ann, who was quite advanced in her Chinese skills, used to study in a school with Chinese as the MOI. She clarified:

> *Actually, before I studied in a Chinese school, but I actually feel really hard to catch up. Because I feel like I'm not in their level. It's like that school doesn't suit me because I had to learn really long big words of Chinese. Especially their history, I had to remember all and then I had like difficulties in learning.*

Ann's experiences at her Chinese MOI school reflected Loper's (2004) assessment of the state of schools for NCS students. Although NCS students were able to attend those schools, sufficient support was not provided in the schools to facilitate students' success at secondary school. Daniel, who was born in Hong Kong, explained that he had been raised in the Philippines for the first part of primary school. As such, when he returned to Hong Kong in 2007, he didn't feel he could attend a school with Chinese as the MOI because: "I only started [learning] Chinese in Grade 6. So I don't know much of Chinese. When I went to secondary school, I didn't want to [go to] any Chinese school. Because it's going to be hard for me."

This discussion of the difference between learning Chinese and learning in Chinese was necessary to understand the EDB's call for NCS students to integrate and achieve authentic intercultural dialogue. Because integration was a main goal that was repeated in the discourse of the EDB, it was necessary to see the way integration and interculturalism played out in school. Some students had even resisted the acquisition of Chinese. While CS students were instructed with Chinese as the MOI at the school in question, NCS students were instructed with English as the MOI. If CS and NCS students cannot integrate and promote dialogue within their interactions in school, it is important to note that this separation might carry over into NCS students' community participation at large.

Experiencing Integration

One of the main questions this project looked to address was how students experienced intercultural exchanges within school and how this aligned with, and potentially contrasted with, the discourse of the Education Bureau. As such, I asked students to think about belonging and about integration, and to explain their ideas about the current state of their school. Beyond the school, the students also offered insights on what it meant to belong in the larger community. Amber suggested that her main barrier to integrating in Hong Kong was "the fact that I don't speak any Chinese. It will be really hard to get a job here. The way people look at you, or something. Because we're obviously not Chinese. It's a barrier."

Khan echoed this sentiment about belonging being linked both to language and to ethnicity, as he stated, "I cannot speak Chinese and I'm not part of them." Veronica noted that the ticket to belonging was not just language ability but also understanding the culture that existed in Hong Kong, and that after some time, "I change myself so I tried to adapt their culture, slowly, slowly. So now I'm really good at it." However, Shawn, who was born in Hong Kong, believed that he had the ticket to belonging. He stated that he felt like a part of Hong Kong:

> *because I'm a permanent resident here. So, you know, I'm equivalent to everyone else here. If you're not a permanent resident, then it may be quite difficult, I think … if you're new in town and you're not really sure what to do.*

Rocky arrived in Hong Kong when he was a baby and highlighted a similar sentiment: "I think I'm Chinese. Because I'm like living here for 17 years, already. I didn't think I'm non-Chinese. I just think we are same. Just the school make us non-Chinese." This is an insight worth delving into. Rocky stated that the school

made them non-Chinese. The school, and by extension the EDB, created the category of NCS. It was socially constructed. The more interesting question remains: why segregate students into categories of NCS and CS if integration is a main policy goal? If Rocky thought of himself as a Hong Kong person and could speak Chinese, why would the school insist that he was non-Chinese? Where can dialogue and intercultural exchange occur if students are kept apart? Here, there was a clear lack of fit between the discourse of the EDB and the experience of the students.

Within her classroom, Mai Chan noted that some students found it easier to integrate than others did. When discussing an NCS classmate, Mai Chan noted that her classmate "is real Chinese. Her mom and dad are Chinese, but for me, my mom is Thai and my dad is Chinese. For her, it's easier to adapt than me." To me, this was an interesting distinction because they had equal footing in terms of language skills (they both spoke Cantonese but studied in English) but Mai Chan thought that her classmate had it easier in terms of integration, perhaps because she self-identified as half-Chinese.

Rocky, stated that he was discriminated against by other NCS students based on his skin colour because "[his skin colour] is not white," but that because of his high level of Chinese skills, "Chinese people are friendly" to him. Discrimination based on skin colour, ethnicity, and race between the students in the NCS stream was not apparent to me when I was a teacher at the school but in my interviews with students I learned that this kind of discrimination was prevalent within their school. Another NCS student, Shawn, who was born in Hong Kong, but was of Pakistani heritage, suggested that:

> *a lot of people in my class are, like, Pakistani. So, it's really fun talking to them too. Yeah. I'm not saying that I don't enjoy, you know, people of other race[s], but that's, it's just, more close … in a way.*

It is in separating ethnic minority NCS students from their Chinese-speaking local schoolmates, that these "us" and "them" discourses seemed to have solidified as students made their way through school. In this, the EDB's call for integration seemed to be failing. Dialogue and exchanges were happening within the category of non-Chinese where the multicultural, multilingual, and multiethnic students experienced school together within their separate participation in the school. However, within the school of inquiry, intercultural exchanges were mostly absent between CS and NCS learners.

Experiencing Interactions with Chinese-speaking Students

In my interviews with student participants, I wanted to see where the student participants noted that they had interacted with CS students within the school. Amber noted that their classroom had been moved to the third floor that year. As such, Amber explained that their classroom was:

> *with all of the other Chinese students. It's the only non-Chinese class [on that floor] … It's not really uncomfortable, but I'm not really used to being on a floor with so many Chinese people. So it's like, before, walking to class, all of the faces of the people I saw walking to class, I knew. And now, it's like, only one or two of the Chinese students, I know. So, that's a bit, like, awkward because I can't speak their language.*

This idea that it was awkward to integrate with the CS students is worth delving into. These two populations existed and attended school simultaneously. They were in contact in all of the periods of leisure time during the school day, but there was very little integration between the CS and NCS students unless the NCS students established Chinese-language skills. Avatar suggested that it was possible for intercultural exchanges to occur within the school, and that these friendships could exist as long as

communication skills were present. Avatar noted that his class had changed since he began attending the school: "there's like, different people from different countries. And they've become my best friends. And you can be best friends with someone from another country, it doesn't have to be India. Just [have similar] communication skills, that's all." Like Avatar, Singh believed that the key to friendships was communication when he described his school situation:

> *We were not learning with Chinese [people] … Because we only [had] non-Chinese students. Most people were [South] Asians. So, we know each other's language. We didn't have any difficulty, like, communicating. So I think, I came here, I did a good job because I can like communicate in Chinese now. I can also speak English.*

Although Singh remained in the socially constructed category of NCS, and was instructed in English, he prided himself on his Chinese language skills. What type of impact do these socially created categories have on relationships and on the development of ideas about belonging (and not belonging)?

One of the interesting discourses that emanated from the EDB and that was repeated in the discourses of the students was the idea of equal opportunities. Aman repeated this idea, and complicated the notion of equality when he noted that:

> *according to the Hong Kong government, everyone is equal here. Everyone's got the same chance. People say that it's true. But the reality's not the same. Sometimes we do get discriminated [against] by Chinese. We don't got all the same jobs as the Chinese got. Because not everyone can speak fluently Chinese or read and write Chinese.*

For Aman, the ticket to belonging and adapting was speaking Chinese. Shasad echoed this sentiment of equal access when he suggested that in the four years he had been in Hong Kong and attended school, "what [the] Chinese [students] got, we got. And in the, from the government, what [the] Chinese [people] got, we got. Same." Daniel disagreed with this idea when he suggested that things were not so equal within his school between the NCS and CS students. In Daniel's opinion, NCS students were clearly at a disadvantage, because:

> *they [Chinese speaking students] have more opportunities than us. I think it's … I don't know. Because we sometimes see these pictures in our school, they're mostly Chinese. They're not NCS, so they have more activities than us. Sometimes I see these pictures and they're on the third [floor]. They're so happy. I don't know. We don't get a chance to do that.*

While in a global sense most of the students believed that the access to school was equal between NCS and CS students, when it came down to specific instances in school, including access to curricula, to employment, and social services without the requisite Chinese language abilities, they felt that the situation was not quite equal.

Conclusion

This project examined the 27 Hong Kong Education Bureau's documents that pointed to the policy goal of integrating NCS students into the community while simultaneously separating NCS students from local students, and compared these policies with the lived experiences of 20 NCS students. Because Chinese-speaking and non-Chinese speaking students had few opportunities to interact, authentic dialogue showed little chance of flourishing within the students' lived experiences of secondary school. Although, since 2005,

the Hong Kong government had allowed NCS students to enroll in any of its schools, existing resources were not enough to support the students' needs. Clearly, opening up mainstream government schools was a step in the right direction but much more must be done to support language learning and inclusion for NCS students in government schools for intercultural exchanges to happen beyond the surface value.

The findings from this inquiry suggest that students' experiences of school did not align with the discourse of the Education Bureau or with the goals of interculturalism. The EDB suggested that learning Chinese was the requirement for the integration of NCS people into the community and as a way to become full participants in Hong Kong society. The practice of schooling NCS students showed that this was not quite happening. As the EDB notes, "in Hong Kong, Chinese is the first language" (EDB, 2013a) therefore, integrating is something that is accessed through the development of Chinese language skills. Students who were born in Hong Kong, but did not speak Chinese did not qualify for this integrated status. Access to Chinese language skills had huge consequences on NCS students' development of ideas about what it meant to be a citizen in Hong Kong. The EDB's policies were acted out and complicated by the practices of their teachers, which affected NCS students' ideas about how they should (and if they could) become a part of Hong Kong.

For Hong Kong's NCS students to experience school positively and become a part of the community, real dialogue and intercultural exchange need to occur. One of the primary goals of interculturalism is to promote authentic opportunities for discussion and exchange between diverse peoples and cultures. For its NCS secondary student community, the framework of interculturalism provides the tools to promote inclusion within Hong Kong's schools and within the larger society. It is not enough to point out what is not working without making suggestions for real social change, and a cultural shift within schools toward dialogue and intercultural exchange must occur to support the inclusion of the NCS community. This change will need to be addressed through policy measures put forth by the Education Bureau and supported by administration and the school community to be effective. Most importantly, this shift must include the participation and voices of NCS citizens – students, as well as their families, and communities. Participatory change is integral in a project to create real change and for schools to address social justice. For authentic and participatory intercultural exchange to be realised in the project of schooling NCS students in Hong Kong, the dialogue that occurs between policy makers and concerned NCS populations must address the social asymmetry that presently exists. Before any change can occur, NCS families, students, communities, and the EDB must work together to create a respectful and inclusive dialogue.

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Exploring Pedagogical Choices of Preservice Teachers for Culturally Responsive Teaching

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Abstract

Teacher dispositions, knowledge, and skills influence decision making and pedagogical choices in the classroom. The various pedagogical choices that teachers make can result in an emphasis on "difference" that excludes rather than includes, and they can be represented as a spectrum of more, or less, culturally responsive teaching. Pedagogical choices are typically informed by underlying belief systems related to beliefs about teaching and learning; dispositions and the knowledge and skills developed as teachers (Yero, 2002). If, as Villegas and Lucas (2002) contended, there are six identifiable characteristics of culturally responsive teachers that lead to culturally responsive pedagogical choices in the classroom, then higher education institutions should be raising the consciousness of preservice teachers in this regard. Student teachers enrolled in South Africa's Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) programme complete a one-year course after an undergraduate degree in their subject specialisation to qualify as subject specialist teachers. This article intends to explore the beliefs, thinking, and dispositions of a group of PGCE students within the domain of each identified characteristic of culturally responsive teachers before they embarked on an extended period of work-integrated learning (WIL) in their journey to become teachers. An explanatory mixed-method design was implemented by way of an author-designed questionnaire and open-ended scenarios presented to the students. Findings from the research indicated that preservice teachers studying a PGCE appeared to make pedagogical decisions and choices based on culturally responsive, profession-based, or rules-based stances.

Key words: Intercultural Competence; Culturally Responsive Teaching; Pedagogical Choices; Dispositions.

Introduction

The South African education landscape has seen the emergence of an inclusive education policy that aims to create opportunities for equal and equitable learning opportunities for all learners (Department of Education, 2001). This approach to inclusive education in South Africa intends to create an education system that is responsive to learner diversity and to ensure that all learners have the best possible opportunities to learn. White Paper 6 (Department of Education, 2001) outlines the South African policy on inclusive education and reflects commitment to social justice, human rights values enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa, and a vision of providing all learners with both formal and epistemological access to quality education. Its main aim is to create conditions in schools that value all learners, irrespective of their diverse needs, and to provide equal opportunities, through appropriate teaching and learning strategies and approaches in each of the education phases, for the realisation of development that will equip learners to take their places in society. Teachers in South Africa, and particularly teachers in preservice training, need to become aware of the important role they play in establishing inclusive and equitable environments in classrooms.

The point of departure of this article is that the types of pedagogical choices teachers make in the classroom influence the learning in their classrooms. The aim of the article is to contextualise pedagogical choices within the frameworks of culturally responsive teaching and intercultural competence and to elicit the views of preservice teachers in one South African higher education institution on the pedagogical choices they intended to make in their teaching.

Pedagogical Choices

Shulman (1987) suggested that, in order to be effective, teachers needed to possess what he termed pedagogical content knowledge, because pedagogical content knowledge enables teachers to make ideas accessible to others. According to Shulman (1987), pedagogical content knowledge refers to the intersection of three types of knowledge: knowledge of subject matter, knowledge of how to teach, and knowledge of the learners. When these three elements come together, the teacher is demonstrating pedagogical content knowledge. In terms of knowledge of subject matter, it is suggested that teachers need to understand their subject matter deeply and flexibly. Before they can teach others, teachers need to understand how ideas connect across their subject and to everyday life. In terms of knowledge of how to teach, teachers need to help students create useful examples, analogies, and representations to relate one idea to another and to address misconceptions. In terms of knowledge of learners, teachers need to understand the developmental levels and contexts of their learners as well as come to know their individual strengths and weaknesses. This article posits that it is this third domain of knowledge of learners that may need to be extended to include the ability of teachers to develop relationships with learners that create the conditions for emotional engagement with subject matter.

In order to highlight processes in the teaching and learning cycle, Shulman (1987, p. 8) also presented a model of pedagogical reasoning and action. The fact that the model was named for both reasoning and action speaks to the fact that the model has to do both with the ways in which teachers think and reason as well as with what they do. This implies that teacher actions are guided by reason and pre-thought. Teacher thinking can thus be seen as key to teacher action. The first stage of the model is comprehension; this refers to teachers' understanding and comprehension of the content knowledge. A teacher with a thorough understanding of the subject is easily able to identify the purpose of a particular lesson. Sound comprehension enables the identification of key concepts or main ideas as well as secondary or supporting ideas and interesting facts. The second stage of the model is that of transformation. Based on their comprehension, teachers are able to think about transforming the knowledge to make it accessible for learners. This involves thinking carefully about how to connect the structured, ordered "school knowledge" to the unstructured "everyday knowledge" that learners may have of the topic. This stage requires some combination or ordering of preparation, representation of the key ideas or concepts, instructional

selections of teaching methods and strategies, and adaptation of materials and activities for the group of learners as well as for individual learners. The third stage of the model is that of actual instruction where learners are provided with opportunities to work with the knowledge. The fourth stage is evaluation of learner understanding and effectiveness of instruction. The fifth stage of the model is reflection, when the teacher reflects on the learning and teaching process. The teacher considers what worked and what did not, what the learners understood and what they misunderstood, and how the teaching could be improved in the future. This leads to the final stage of the model, which is new comprehension for both learners and teachers.

As is clear from this model there is always some form of interaction happening in the classroom between the teacher, the learner, and knowledge. This article suggests that the interaction between teacher and learner is based on some form of pedagogical relationship. Greene (1995), Keltchermans (2005) and Korthagen (2001) discussed the importance of the emotional, intuitive, imaginative, engaged, and responsible aspects of the relationships that teachers build with learners. Van Manen (2008, p. 3) focused on this aspect of pedagogy and asserted that "the becoming of self, between who we are and who and what we might become" is possible only within particular, concrete pedagogical relationships. According to Van Manen (2008), sound pedagogical relationships are at the heart of good and effective teaching. We take this to mean that sound pedagogical relationships create conditions for effective learning.

Pedagogy can then be seen as having a relational aspect given that there is always an exchange between teacher and learner. Pedagogy in this sense is not a prescriptive formula or set of techniques to follow for effective teaching. Rather, pedagogy is about creating conditions for positive teaching and learning exchanges between the teacher and the learner. In order to establish positive pedagogical relationships, teachers require tact and sensitivity, the ability to improvise, thoughtfulness, and the ability to exercise judgement. Usher (2002) described five personality traits of teachers who demonstrate pedagogical sensitivity and tact: these teachers show empathy, they have a positive view of others, they have a positive view of self, they show authenticity, they have a meaningful purpose and vision, and they are sensitive and perceptive of the needs of others. These traits can clearly be identified as traits that are likely to support the establishment of positive pedagogical relationships.

The dispositions, knowledge, and skills discussed above will influence decision making and pedagogical choices in the classroom. The various pedagogical choices teachers make provide for more, or less, culturally responsive teaching. Pedagogical choices are also typically informed by underlying belief systems related to beliefs about teaching and learning; dispositions and the knowledge and skills developed as teachers (Yero, 2002). The decision to practice culturally responsive teaching is a pedagogical choice that can facilitate working with knowledge, making knowledge accessible to others from different cultures, and working with the knowledge of others.

Culturally Responsive teaching

Culturally responsive teaching (CRT) makes use of cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of those involved in teaching, to enable more effective teaching. CRT asserts that when learning is situated in the lived experiences and frames of reference of students, learning becomes more meaningful, interesting, appealing, and thorough (Gay, 2002a). CRT constructs education for social justice, access, and equity and nurtures relationships based on care, respect, and responsibility (Gay, 2002a). According to Hayes and Juárez (2012), CRT is aimed at preparing teachers to effectively teach all learners, irrespective of their uniqueness. Gay (2002b) identified the following characteristics of CRT: it is validating, comprehensive, multidimensional, empowering, transformative, and emancipatory. CRT is seen as validating because it uses the cultural knowledge, life experiences, and learning preferences of diverse students to make learning more accessible and effective for all learners. This legitimatises the cultural heritage of learners. CRT is comprehensive because culturally responsive teachers teach holistically and recognise the importance not

only of academic achievement, but also of maintaining a sense of cultural identity. The multidimensionality of CRT is recognised in attention to curriculum content, learning context, classroom environment, learner-teacher relationships, teaching, learning, and assessment strategies (Gay, 2002b). Because CRT enables learners to develop academic competence, self-efficacy, and initiative, it can be seen as empowering. CRT also positions learners for self and social change, which is essentially transformative and emancipatory. According to Banks (1991), CRT enables "students to develop the knowledge, skills, and values needed to become social critics who can make reflective decisions and implement their decisions in effective personal, social, political, and economic action" (p. 131).

Intercultural Competence

Globalisation is a characteristic of the modern world that requires intercultural interactions in economic, technological, social, and educational domains. Intercultural competence is a prerequisite for successful intercultural interactions. Intercultural competence has therefore become increasingly important in our daily lives, and no more so than in educational interactions in schools (Perry & Southwell, 2011). Intercultural competence can be thought of as the ability to act appropriately and sensitively in intercultural situations. Perry and Southwell (2011) described intercultural competence as being underpinned by intercultural understanding. Intercultural understanding relates to cognition (knowledge and awareness of other and own cultures) and affects (attitudes, beliefs, and feelings towards other cultures). Intercultural competence depends on intercultural understanding but extends this to include behaviour, action, and communication. Intercultural understanding as part of this competence requires one to have knowledge about one's own and others' cultures, knowledge about similarities and differences, as well as sensitivity towards other cultures. Intercultural sensitivity alludes to attitudes such as empathy, curiosity, and respect toward other cultures (Perry & Southwell, 2011). Intercultural competence involves interaction with other cultures particularly within the following dimensions: knowledge, attitudes, skills, and behaviours. Developing intercultural competence is seen as a developmental process beginning with attitude and progressing with the acquisition of knowledge, skills, behaviour, and an empathetic worldview. A particular set of skills included in this developing competence is that of intercultural communication that allows for effective and appropriate communication with different cultures. Matveev and Nelson in Perry and Southwell (2011) identified interpersonal skills, team effectiveness, cultural uncertainty, and cultural empathy as key intercultural communication skills. Given that intercultural competence is seen to be developmental, it is important to consider what is being done to support preservice teachers in developing this competence if they are to become culturally responsive teachers.

Villegas and Lucas (2002, p. 21) contended that "six salient characteristics" namely, sociocultural consciousness, affirming views of learners, commitment and skill to act as agent of change, constructivist view of learning, learning about students, and culturally responsive teaching practices define a culturally responsive teacher. It is interesting to note that these characteristics can be related to Usher's (2002) five personality traits of teachers who demonstrate pedagogical sensitivity and tact. This can be seen when considering that teachers who hold a positive view of others could also be described as holding affirming views of learners. Similarly, teachers who have a meaningful purpose and vision are also more likely to act as agents of change. Teachers who are perceptive and sensitive to the needs of others are also likely to be invested in learning about their students.

Sociocultural consciousness refers to the fact that teachers possessing this quality value diversity. Such teachers do not operate from a "deficit" model looking for what learners are "deficient" in, but view difference as enriching and hold high expectations for all learners. Holding affirming views of learners relates to holding high expectations of all learners because every learner is seen to possess potential and the capability for realising that potential. Commitment and skill to act as agent of change is dependant on a teacher view of self as being an advocate for the child and a key actor in the creation of more equitable learning experiences. Holding constructivist views of learning is seen as a salient characteristic (Villegas &

Lucas, 2002) of the culturally responsive teacher because these teachers understand how learners construct knowledge and are able to appropriately scaffold knowledge construction. These teachers understand that learners learn differently and so employ a variety of teaching and learning strategies and culturally responsive strategies that cater for diversity in the classroom in this knowledge construction. They also make the effort to learn about their learners as individuals, both culturally and academically.

The decision to practice culturally responsive teaching is a pedagogical choice that can facilitate working with knowledge, making knowledge accessible to others from different cultures, and working with the knowledge of others. CRT involves paying attention to what and how learners articulate thoughts, ideas, and emotions with the aim of responding in ways that enable epistemological access. The culturally responsive teacher does this in a number of ways (Gay, 2002a). The culturally responsive teacher assists children to expand on and clarify ideas and/or address misconceptions. Activities that include convergent, divergent, and evaluative thinking are incorporated. Creative activities are encouraged rather than rote-learning activities. Activities requiring higher order thinking are presented and links are explicitly made between concepts in a subject. Open-ended questions are used and problem solving is encouraged. Learners are supported in their exploration of ideas and guided in their development of these ideas. Responsive listening implies an ability to respond to what the learner is expressing verbally and non-verbally in order to challenge, support, and build on current thinking. CRT is sensitive to the nuances of learner reactions and emotional engagement.

Student teachers enrolled in South Africa's PGCE programme complete the one-year programme after an undergraduate degree in their subject specialisation to then qualify as subject specialist teachers. During this year of study, PGCE students are expected to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes to allow them to enter the teaching profession and to gain a measure of effectiveness. By implication, to be an effective teacher in South African classrooms requires that teachers be culturally responsive. This article set out to explore the beliefs, thinking, and dispositions of a group of PGCE students within the domain of each identified characteristic of culturally responsive teachers before they embarked on an extended period of work-integrated learning, and after they had completed 6 months of theoretical and pedagogical foundational learning at university. The questions the article aimed to answer were:

- What are the beliefs, thinking, and dispositions of PGCE students that underlie their pedagogical choices in the classroom?
- How are beliefs, thinking, and dispositions of PGCE students likely to affect future culturally responsive pedagogical choices in the classroom?

These questions were addressed by administering a qualitative survey to participating PGCE students that explored the type of pedagogical choices, based on the six identified characteristics of culturally responsive teachers, students would be comfortable making

Methodology

An interpretive, descriptive research tradition was followed for this investigation (Creswell, 2008; Marshall & Rossman, 2006) because the aim was to engage with beliefs of preservice teachers and their intended pedagogical choices. A mixed-method research design, consisting of a single group of PGCE students was implemented in the investigation (Creswell, Plano Clark, & Garrett, 2009). An explanatory design was deemed appropriate because data were collected by way of an author-designed survey based on the six identified characteristics of culturally responsive teachers (see Villegas & Lucas, 2002), that explored the type of pedagogical choices that students would be comfortable making. This was followed by 11 open-ended scenarios relating to the type of pedagogical choices they would possibly make, which they were required to complete. Participants were required to indicate their opinions in the survey on a Likert-type 3-point scale for 28 formulated statements, indicating their levels of agreement with each of the statements. The options *strongly disagree* and *neither agree or disagree* were not included as possibilities. Possible bias

towards a more positive tendency in the data may therefore have been created. Accommodation for this possible bias was accounted for in the analysis by adding the median scores. Participants were purposively selected from students who had completed 6 months of their training, and who would shortly be entering an extended period of work-integrated learning (WIL). Students who were in attendance at a formal contact session during the academic semester before WIL were informed about the focus of the study, voluntary participation and their right to withdraw at any time without repercussion, and about their anonymity and confidentiality. Written consent was obtained from the 161 participants who volunteered to take part in the investigation. Completed surveys and scenarios were checked for completion and 152 of these were eventually used in the analysis of the data. Data on the 28 statements were analysed descriptively for central tendency in the data, making use of arithmetic mean and median as well as for determining the skewness of the distribution. Open-ended statements were analysed qualitatively through conceptual analysis of content to identify broad patterns in the data (Busch et al., 1994–2012).

Discussion of the findings

Pedagogical choices based on agreement with 28 survey statements

Table 1 indicates the arithmetic mean, median, and frequency distribution in percentage of respondents' agreement with each of the 28 statements relating to the salient characteristics for CRT. Although bias was expected in the distribution of the data due to the selected anchor terms, it is interesting to note that pre-service teachers were largely in agreement with these statements. Items 2, 4, 21, 20, 6, 9, 14, 19, 1, 17, 18, 23, 27, 28 and 22 showed evidence of being positively skewed, but not substantially so, with the exception of item 20. In all these cases, the arithmetic means were slightly higher than the medians, indicating the slight positive skews.

Most (76.15%) of the respondents seemed to be comfortable with pedagogical choices relating to the statements on sociocultural consciousness. It is interesting, however, to note that:

- 30.92% of respondents indicated that it was not necessary to understand learners' cultural backgrounds, or for visual materials in class to represent a variety of cultural groups (Items 2 & 8)
- 20.39% of respondents indicated that they would not encourage learners to ask parents to assist with understanding concepts and ideas (Item 21), while
- only 11.84% of respondents disagreed that learners needed to adapt to the cultural norm of the school they attend (Item 4).

When one considers that sociocultural consciousness refers to teachers valuing diversity, not operating from a deficit model, and viewing difference as enriching, then these findings are concerning. Not taking learners' cultural backgrounds into account, and requiring learners to adapt to a different norm in school, may show a lack of understanding of the influence of aspects like ethnicity, gender, social class, and language in learners' lives, and that schools can perpetuate and legitimatise differences. Moffat (2011, p. 20) suggests that teacher attitudes can contribute towards the legitimatising of difference because "dominating attitudes determine practice."

Fewer than half (42.24%) of the respondents disagreed with the stated choices on affirming views of learners, and of learning about learners. The findings indicated that:

- 36.18% of respondents disagreed that it was necessary to know learners' learning styles (Item 3)
- 30.26% of respondents would not accommodate a variety of learning styles (Item 7), and
- 41.45% of respondents disagreed on active involvement of all learners in class (Item 13).

Table 1

Arithmetic mean, median, and frequency distribution of agreement with statements based on salient characteristics of CRT [1]

Item	Statement: Sociocultural consciousness	Arithm. Mean	Median	Frequency distribution in %		
				Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
2	Teachers should understand their learners' cultural backgrounds	2.01	2	30.92	37.50	31.58
4	Learners should adapt to the cultural norm of the school they attend	2.20	2	11.84	55.92	32.24
8	Visual materials in the classroom should represent a variety of cultural groups	1.90	2	30.92	44.08	23.68
21	Learners should be encouraged to ask their parents/guardians to assist with understanding concepts/ideas	2.19	2	20.39	40.13	39.47
Average for sociocultural consciousness		2.08		23.52	44.41	31.74
Item	Statement: Affirming views of learners and learning about learners	Arithm. Mean	Median	Frequency distribution in %		
				Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
3	Teachers should know their learners' learning styles	1.80	2	36.18	43.42	19.08
7	Teachers should accommodate a variety of learning styles	1.93	2	30.26	42.76	25.66
11	Teachers should group learners according to similar ability	1.72	2	39.47	39.47	17.76
13	All learners in class should be actively engaged in learning	1.64	2	41.45	38.82	15.13
20	Teachers should refuse to repeat an explanation because this encourages learners to listen carefully the first time	1.47	1	63.82	21.71	13.16
Average for affirming views of learners and learning about learners		1.71		42.24	37.24	18.16
Item	Statement: Culturally responsive teaching practices	Arithm. Mean	Median	Frequency distribution in %		
				Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
6	Cultural diversity should be accommodated in classrooms with cooperative or collaborative learning strategies	2.08	2	18.54	47.02	31.79
9	Daily routines and schedules should be provided in the classroom	2.02	2	18.42	53.29	25.66
10	Teachers should be well-informed on the different cultural groups in the community	1.88	2	30.92	44.08	23.03
14	Learners should be allowed to assist one another when completing classroom tasks unless it is a formal assessment	2.10	2	19.74	46.71	32.24
19	Choice of examples used to support an explanation should be considered	2.14	2	10.53	57.24	29.61
Average for culturally responsive teaching practices		2.04		19.63	49.67	28.47

[1] Frequency distribution in % includes only actual responses to items. All non-responses were excluded from the frequency calculation.

Item	Statement: Constructivist view of learning	Arithm. Mean	Median	Frequency distribution in %		
				Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	Teachers should plan the level of their lessons for the average learners in the class	2.18	2	15.79	48.03	35.53
5	Classroom activities should be mainly learner-centred	2.00	2	16.45	55.26	24.34
12	Teachers should group learners in classroom heterogeneously	1.83	2	23.03	55.26	16.45
15	Assignment tasks for learners should be scaffolded	1.97	2	13.82	65.13	17.76
17	Learners should be allowed opportunities to practice ideas and concepts before being assessed on them	2.18	2	15.13	42.11	39.47
18	Classroom learning should be interactive	2.18	2	11.84	51.97	34.21
23	Teachers should create opportunities for learning engagement in classrooms	2.22	2	11.84	51.97	35.53
24	Planning is essential for effective teaching	2.53	3	6.58	22.37	67.11
26	Learners should learn content in the classroom	1.97	2	17.11	63.16	17.76
27	Learners should be allowed to collaborate in formal assessment tasks	1.61	1	47.37	36.18	13.82
28	Learners should understand key concepts in the classroom	2.03	2	13.82	61.84	21.71
Average for constructivist view of learning		2.06		17.53	50.30	29.43
Item	Statement: Teachers as agents of change	Arithm. Mean	Median	Frequency distribution in %		
				Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
16	Teachers should accommodate a variety of needs in classrooms	1.91	2	22.37	53.95	20.39
22	Teachers should aim to ensure that most learners can cope with the lesson	2.10	2	14.47	53.29	29.61
25	Experienced teachers do not rely on lesson planning, they instinctively know what to do	1.88	2	35.53	28.95	31.58
Average for teachers as agents of change		1.96		24.12	45.40	27.19
	AVERAGE for all 28 items	1.99		23.88	46.49	27.33

It would become problematic if teachers did not acknowledge the diversity, potential, and value that every learner can bring to the learning experience in class. Making pedagogical choices that focus on specific learner attributes, and how these attributes may assist in the learning, is crucial to creating a culturally responsive learning space where cultural and individual capital is built on. Fox and Bartholomae (1999, p. 236) discussed the importance of recognising and utilising individual student strengths and learning preferences because this may contribute to "improved quality and effectiveness of teaching, student learning, and academic success."

In addition, respondents disagreed that:

- learners should be grouped according to similar ability (39.47%, Item 11), and that
- teachers should refuse to repeat an explanation because it would encourage learners to pay attention (63.82%, Item 20).

These two findings clearly indicate that respondents would not be comfortable in making pedagogical choices based on such disaffirming views of learners in their classrooms.

Regarding culturally responsive teaching, 67.83% of the respondents appeared to be comfortable in making pedagogical choices which:

- would accommodate diversity by using cooperative or collaborative learning strategies (78.81%, Item 6)
- would allow learners to assist one another in their learning (78.95%, Item 14), and
- made use of appropriate examples to support the learning and understanding in class (86.85%, Item 19).

Teachers who understand that learners learn differently, will accommodate difference and uniqueness by using culturally responsive strategies such as cooperative learning to support the learning in classrooms. This has additional benefits because "culturally responsive teaching develops a sense of interdependence and feelings of community in which students understand that their lives and destinies are closely intertwined, and feel it is a moral and political obligation to help each other learn" (Gay, 2002, p. 622). Some respondents, however, felt that it was not that necessary to make an effort to learn about their learners as individuals both culturally and academically:

- 30.92% of respondents disagreed that they needed to be well informed about different cultural groups in the community (Item 10), which may indicate a tendency for the pedagogical choices they would be comfortable in making.

This is of concern because responsive teaching is not simply a matter of applying instructional techniques, nor is it primarily a matter of tailoring instruction to incorporate assumed traits or customs of particular cultural groups. According to Gay (2002, p. 625), "the essence of culturally responsive pedagogy for (ethnically) diverse students is using multiple and varied culturally informed techniques." This demands that teachers pay attention to the creation of classroom environments where learners are encouraged to make sense of new ideas through the use of inquiry projects, action research, or collaborative learning opportunities where, for example, learning is embedded in a meaningful activity.

Holding constructivist views of learning is regarded as an essential quality of a culturally responsive teacher (Gay, 2002). This requires the teacher to understand that knowledge exists in the learner and that learners have the ability to bring new ideas, experiences, and meaning to classroom learning. Respondents in this investigation agreed that:

- classroom activities should be learner-centred (79.60%, Item 5)
- scaffolding of learning should take place (82.89%, Item 15), and
- learners should develop understanding of key concepts (83.55%, Item 28).

Respondents were in strong agreement that:

- learners should be given opportunities to practice ideas before assessment, which also alludes to being culturally responsive in their teaching (81.58%, Item 17, including 39.47% strongly agreed)
- opportunities for learning engagement should be created in classrooms (87.50%, Item 23, including 35.53% strongly agreed), and that

- learning should be interactive (86.18%, Item 18, with 34.21% strongly agreed).

Interesting findings from the data for this characteristic were that, although 71.71% agreed that learners should be grouped heterogeneously in classrooms for constructive learning to take place (Item 12), 23.03% did not agree. These views may be influenced by a sense of affirmation of individual learners found in Item 11. In addition, 47.37% of respondents disagreed that learners should be allowed to collaborate in formal assessment tasks (Item 27), which seems to indicate that nearly half of the respondents may still have adhered to an assessment discourse that focuses on relative individual performance, and would necessarily influence the pedagogical choices they would make.

As agents of change, most of the respondents indicated that:

- they would accommodate a variety of needs in the classroom (74.34%, Item 16), while 22.37% indicated that they disagreed. Accommodating different needs creates more equitable learning experiences, increases access to the learning, and probably enhances success. In this sense 82.90% of respondents agreed that they would ensure that most learners could cope with lessons (Item22)
- 60.53% agreed they need not rely on planning and would instinctively know what to do (Item 25), while 35.53% clearly disagreed with this statement. This finding seems to indicate that some respondents may not have realised the importance of self-reflection and the teacher's key role in planning and creating equitable learning experiences. Critical self-reflection on own planning and practice is essential for culturally responsive choices. Instinctively knowing what to do may also allude to the "apprenticeship of observation" (Borg, 2004, p. 274) many preservice teachers have at their disposal. Borg further argues that preconceptions held by preservice teachers may be the result of these observations and, because observations are not analysed, they remain "intuitive and imitative" (Lortie, 1975, in Borg, 2004, p. 274). In extreme cases, preservice students may even perpetuate inequalities rather than act as agents of change (Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

Pedagogical choices based on scenarios

Respondents also stated the pedagogical choices they would be comfortable in making in their open-ended answers to certain scenarios. Scenarios were formulated in terms of what respondents would do in their own classrooms, based on practical examples of culturally responsive behaviours. The scenarios were:

- I would like to establish the type of classroom that. . .
- If I became aware of bullying, teasing, or exclusion of learners in my class I would. . .
- When it comes to helping learners with the skills they need to maintain friendships, I think that I. . .
- I would create conditions for academic success by. . .
- When it comes to giving learners responsibility and choice in the classroom, I think. . .
- I would like my learners to think that the lessons I give are. . .
- I would like a visitor walking into my classroom to see. . .
- I would like all learners in my class to feel. . .
- I would like my relationship with learners to be . . .
- I think learners who give the most problems are. . .

- The most important characteristics of a good teacher are. . .

The analysis of these open-ended responses was subjected to content analysis procedures; the responses were analysed using conceptual analysis to determine the presence of most frequent concepts (Busch et al., 1994–2012). Through a process of selective reduction, the following themes were identified in each scenario:

- Theme 1: Culturally responsive pedagogical choices: Culturally responsive pedagogical choices are inclusive and welcoming, value relationships, are engagement centred, and acknowledge learner potential.
- Theme 2: Profession-driven pedagogical choices: Profession-driven pedagogical choices focus on the professional nature of teaching, emphasise planning, subject knowledge, teaching methodology, and learning strategies.
- Theme 3: Rule-based pedagogical choices: Rule-based pedagogical choices are informed by a management orientation, and focus on administration and discipline in classrooms.

Establishing a classroom (I would like to establish the type of classroom that. . .)

- Responses to this scenario indicated that respondents would like to establish classrooms that are inclusive, respecting of diversity, devoid of discrimination, intimidation, and judgement, accommodating, and caring. Respondents also indicated a focus on promotion of teaching and learning in their classrooms with such comments as “interaction,” “engaging,” “conducive to learning,” “motivation to learn,” “vibrant,” “collaboration,” and “learner-centred.” Respondents also felt that strong teacher-learner relationships were important and mentioned “teachers as models of good behaviour,” “active debate,” “trust,” “learners being able to voice opinions,” and “valued communication” in this regard. These responses allude to choices that are culturally responsive in nature.
- Responses to this scenario indicated that choices would be influenced by what may be regarded as professional practices by mentioning “well-managed” a number of times, with “give learners opportunities to do their best in assessment,” and “encourage higher-order thinking.”
- Responses to this scenario focused clearly on rule-based reasons for making pedagogical choices such as “demonstrates morals and values,” “classroom rules,” “a disciplined class,” “a neat learning environment.”

Addressing bullying and exclusionary behaviour (If I became aware of bullying, teasing, or exclusion of learners in my class I would. . .)

Responses were fairly evenly spread amongst the three themes.

- Respondents indicated behaviours such as “intervening,” “speaking to learners involved,” “attempting to understand the learner’s position,” “closely monitor,” “show sensitivity and empathy,” “be patient,” “guide learners, to create awareness of bullying,” “encourage and emphasise mutual respect,” and “encourage reporting of incidents” as their choices in this scenario. These responses indicate a culturally responsive stance towards their teaching.
- Respondents who probably based their choices on what would be professional, mentioned behaviours such as “dealing effectively with the situation,” “using professional ethics to resolve the issue,” “be able to make a decision,” “analyse the situation,” “seek advice,” “collaborate with colleagues,” and “teach a lesson on bullying.”

- Respondents who probably based their choices on rules, mentioned behaviours such as "developing classroom rules and ethics," "addressing the issue at school assembly," "send the learner for counselling," "confront the learner," "discipline and punish the transgressor," and "reporting to school authorities and police." Behaviours that were mostly prevalent were to "call parents," and to "take the matter to the HOD or principal."

Assisting with relationship building (When it comes to helping learners with the skills they need to maintain friendships, I think that I. . .)

- Most responses to this scenario indicated that respondents would choose to make pedagogical choices based on a culturally responsive stance. Respondents mentioned that they would encourage and support the learners in developing these skills by "encouraging social interaction," "caring for others," and "looking out for others and helping friends in need." Teachers also indicated that they would act in ways that would support this development by "being tactful," "acting caringly," "showing sensitivity and being honest," "being a role model," "giving advice," "creating opportunities in class to build positive relationships" and by "being a good observer in the classroom."
- Some responses to this scenario indicated that choices would be influenced by more professional practices such as "including this issue as part of the curriculum" (mentioned most), by designing tasks so that "different learners work with broader groups" as well as "more group work" to ensure that learners worked together, which was also mentioned a number of times.
- A total of five responses relating to rule-based reasons for making pedagogical choices were given, and focused on "this is not the teacher's role" and "teachers should not get involved in learners' social lives."

Creating conditions for academic success (I would create conditions for academic success by. . .)

- Respondents, who seemed to favour pedagogical choices based on a culturally responsive stance, indicated that they would mostly "ensure understanding," "create a learning culture," "be available," and "go the extra mile" to create conditions for academic success. Respondents, to a lesser extent, mentioned "respecting and involving learners," "believing in, and encouraging, learners," and "encouraging participation." Respondents also mentioned "caring," "a non-judgemental environment," "showing interest in learners," "encouraging enjoyment in learning," "creativity and innovation," and "making work relevant to learners" as choices they would make to create conditions for academic success.
- Choices that seemed to be influenced by a more profession-driven framework, included "being professional and prepared," "being knowledgeable about the subject," "answering questions," "making use of pedagogical content knowledge, and a variety of teaching and learning activities" most. A number of other related choices such as "give time before assessments," "give practice assessments, open-book assessments, peer assessment," "learning from my mistakes," "staying current with changes in education," "continuous assessment," and "being a good role model" were evident form the responses.
- A few responses relating to rule-based reasons for making pedagogical choices included choices relating mostly to punishment and reward such as "giving rewards," "praising learners," "giving extra lessons," and "punishing lack of work." Two other responses to create academic success included "competition" and "being organised".

Teaching responsibility and accountability (When it comes to giving learners responsibility and choice in the classroom, I think. . .)

- Pedagogical choices based on a culturally responsive stance seemed to mainly focus on issues relating to personal growth, independence, and values. Choices mostly included "allowing learners to grow personally," "allow learners to develop skills needed for adulthood and independence," "allowing choice and learning through mistakes," and "instilling values and demonstrating trust." Respondents also indicated that "caring and engaging with learners" and "not allowing favouritism" would be important choices to make in this regard.
- Few choices influenced by a more profession-driven framework were indicated by the respondents. Four respondents indicated that giving responsibility and choice to learners should be "appropriate," whilst "popular opinion" for deciding these responsibilities should not be the reason—they should be "educationally valid."
- Many responses relating to rule-based reasons for making pedagogical choices were provided for this scenario. Most choices included "involving learners in setting classroom rules" and in using "classroom chores" to achieve this scenario. Mention was also made of "respecting teacher/learner relationships," of "accepting consequences" for actions, and "promoting leadership." Respondents did seem to be wary of making certain choices in this regard, such as "too much choice may be problematic," and "teachers should first see how much intervention they need." Choices to curb against this included, "learners must follow the teacher" and "guide and direct—do not give too much choice."

Creating learning experiences (I would like my learners to think that the lessons I give are. . .)

- Choices based on a culturally responsive stance to this scenario mostly included making lessons "interesting and stimulating." They also indicated that they would, to a large extent, choose to make their lessons "worthwhile, enjoyable" and "important for the future." Some respondents mentioned making their lessons "essential, exciting, insightful" and "interesting enough to talk about after school" as the choices they would make.
- Choices based on what would be professional, focused mostly on "being informative" and "improving knowledge and skills" in lessons. A number of responses indicated choices related to "challenging, meaningful, relevant, and thought-provoking" lessons as well. Mention was also made of choosing to have "well-prepared" and "easy to understand" lessons.

No responses pertaining to choices based on rules were indicated for this scenario.

The classroom (I would like a visitor walking into my classroom to see. . .)

- Culturally responsive choices for this scenario indicated that one would see "learners actively involved," "learners having fun," a "comfortable learning environment," and "positive interaction between teachers and learners" most in their classroom. They also indicated that one would see "a cheerful/colourful/bright classroom," a "passionate teacher," "positive interaction and group work between learners," "excited and keen learners," as well as "genuine learning" in their classrooms.
- The few responses pertaining to probable choices based on the profession included "well-delivered lessons," "constructive deep learning," and "posters on the walls."
- Regarding pedagogical choices based on rules, most responses centred around appropriate behaviour such as "respectful and well-behaved learners," which was mentioned most, and around good organisation and management in the form of "well-managed and well-organised classroom" and "neat-and-tidy classroom."

Affective learner experience (I would like all learners in my class to feel. . .)

- As can be expected for a scenario such as this, virtually all responses related to pedagogical choices based on a culturally responsive stance. Most respondents' choices indicated feeling "cared for," feeling "worthwhile," and feeling "safe and secure." Aligned with these, were choices that focused on acknowledgement and democratic practices such as "having a voice," "being themselves," "open to ideas," "understood," "open to disagree," "not scared or shy." Other choices focused on "belonging," "appreciation," "privileged," "a sense of friendship" and on "a sense of achievement," "excitement and motivated," and "willing and enthusiastic."
- The profession-based responses focused on "confidence in the subject" and in "being actively involved in learning."
    - No responses pertaining to choices based on rules were indicated for this scenario.

Relationships (I would like my relationship with learners to be. . .)

- A number of value-laden choices were mentioned by respondents who probably based their choices on a culturally responsive stance. A strong sense of relationships being "caring," "open and honest," "interactive," "respectful," and being able to "ask or share anything" were mostly indicated. Being "genuine," "sincere," "friendly," "approachable," and "inspirational" were also mentioned.
- As could probably be expected, respondents who chose to function from a profession-based stance simply indicated that the relationships should be "professional," without any further elaboration.
- Rule-based pedagogical choices included being "aware of boundaries," being "firm, strict, objective" and that teachers were "not friends of parents."

Presuppositions (I think learners who give the most problems are. . .)

It appeared that these responses captured respondents' underlying beliefs about learners who give the most problems.

- Respondents mostly attributed the learner behaviour to "difficult backgrounds and circumstances" and to learners actually "needing attention," "craving or looking for attention." Some choices indicated a sense of commitment to learners because they were "misunderstood," "not bad," "going through crisis," "scared," "need most love," "lack self-confidence," and "crying out for help." A few choices focused on learners "not understanding" the academic work. These choices are in accordance with a culturally responsive stance.
    - No profession-based responses were indicated for this scenario.
- Respondents, who probably based their choices on rules, attributed the behaviour to "learning disabilities," "learning disorders, " or "behavioural disorders" which need to be managed differently in school. Some responses focused on issues related to development such as "adolescents," "proving a point to a friend," "bared," and "gifted." A number of responses associated with the social context were also mentioned, such as "addiction to drugs," "missing school," "repeating the grade," "sexual abuse," and "domestic violence." In all these responses the main issue was how to manage and organise the classroom to deal with the child.

Teaching excellence (The most important characteristics of a good teacher are. . .)

Responses were fairly evenly spread amongst the three themes.

- Respondents' choices on this scenario that were based on a culturally responsive stance, indicated values and behaviours well-documented in literature on effective teaching. The responses most common were "caring," "approachable," "dedication," "commitment," "involved," "engaging," "inspiring," "passionate," "understanding," "respectful," "patient," and "a love for children." Other responses alluded to teachers being "curious," "reflective," "accountable," "loyal," "dynamic," "proactive," "role models," "consistent," "creative," "intelligent," and "knowing that they do not know everything."
- Profession-based responses focused on methodology ("prepared," "knowledge of teaching and learning skills," "organised," "well planned"), knowledge ("informative," "good content knowledge"), reflection ("are researchers"), and on professional activities such as "being on time" and "being at school daily."
- Respondents, who probably based their choices on rules, stated that good teachers are "stern" and "ambitious."

Conclusion

This article sought to explore the type of pedagogical choices that preservice PGCE teachers would be comfortable making, based on the six characteristics of culturally responsive teachers identified by Villegas and Lucas (2002). From the discussion of the findings, it appears that preservice teachers studying a PGCE made pedagogical decisions and choices based on culturally responsive, profession-based, or rules-based stances. Preservice teachers who operated from a culturally responsive stance clearly based their choices on pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) which includes knowledge of content, of how to teach, and of the learners. In addition, these preservice teachers appeared to take into consideration the affective or relational aspects that contribute to the creation of an environment and relationships that support culturally responsive teaching. Preservice teachers who operated from a profession-based stance, primarily based their decisions and choices on PCK, but had not yet begun to engage with thinking about preconditions that support culturally responsive teaching and learning. Preservice teachers who operated form a rule-based stance appeared to make decisions and choices on one area of PCK—that of knowledge of how to teach. This stance is the least likely to support culturally responsive teaching.

It would not be reasonable to expect preservice teachers to possess all the skills and knowledge associated with culturally responsive teaching, or the expertise at this stage of their careers to teach in a flawlessly responsive manner. It is important, however, that teacher education programmes develop awareness amongst preservice teachers of practices and dispositions that support culturally responsive teaching.

This could be achieved by developing preservice teachers' sociocultural consciousness by exposing them to opportunities that allow them to engage with, and reflect on, their own cultural values and assumptions. If afforded opportunities to become critically aware of the underlying perceptions, values, beliefs, and attitudes they hold, preservice teachers may then be empowered to recognise the influence that this has on their behaviour and actions in the classroom. Preservice teachers should also, as part of their methodology courses, be encouraged to think about both working with subject content as well as about creating conditions for positive teacher/learner relationships. If preservice teachers develop an awareness of the importance of teacher/learner relationships, they will be better positioned to transmit affirming views to all learners in their classrooms. In addition, preservice teachers should be encouraged to pay attention to the physical space of the classroom—ensuring that visual displays reflect diverse cultures, for example. Preservice teachers should be equipped with the skills and knowledge to create communities of learners and to utilise multi-cultural teaching strategies. This would encourage preservice teachers to think

about learning about learners and, in coming to know and understand different cultures, teachers would be better positioned to include rather than exclude. In addition, this might assist those preservice teachers operating from a rules-based or profession-based stance to broaden their thinking about the learner as capable and active in the learning process and in possession of individual capital that can be utilised as a resource in their learning. Developing an awareness of these aspects in methodology classes of preservice teachers could potentially raise levels of consciousness amongst preservice teachers—particularly those who operate from a rules-based stance.

Each of the preservice teachers who participated in this study will be expected, on completion of their course, to take their places as teachers in diverse, multi-cultural South African classrooms. If we wish them to act as positive agents of change, they should be equipped with the skills that will enable them to make pedagogical decisions that support this endeavour.

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BOOK REVIEW

More and Better Teachers for Quality Education for All: Identity and Motivation, Systems and Support

By Jackie Kirk, Martial Dembélé, and Sandra Baxter (Eds.). http://moreandbetterteachers.wordpress.com: Collaborative Works, 2013. 227 pp. pdf

Avivit Cherrington

The subject of access to Universal Primary Education (UPE) has been high on the global education agenda for more than two decades. Although remarkable progress has been made in terms of increased access, questions around whether quality learning and teaching is actually taking place have prompted much concern and re-evaluation of policies, goals, and guidelines. Indeed, in the last 10 years there has been increased focus on teacher issues, especially the concern over teacher shortages, poor school infrastructure, and gender inequality. This book tackles these issues and also looks beyond them to underscore the relevance of achieving quality in education through increasing teacher motivation, building competence, and connecting teachers' private and public identities.

The preface by Sandra Baxter sets the purpose and direction of the book with a dedication to Jackie Kirk – a passionate academic and activist tragically killed in Afghanistan in 2008 by the Taliban while providing humanitarian aid – who was instrumental in conceptualising this book and worked tirelessly to champion a reality of improved circumstances for teachers and learners around the world. "Education is a human right, and the quality of that education determines the opportunities that we have to grow and learn throughout our lives" (p. xxi).

Throughout its 10 chapters (each a stand-alone article), *More and Better Teachers for Quality Education for All* is testament to the value of conducting in-depth investigations of the lived experiences of teachers to gain a better grasp of the complexities and challenges in education. By not only examining the individuals involved – their identities, perspectives, and priorities – every chapter highlights the importance of promoting a holistic approach to teacher policy development, taking into consideration the intersections of relationships, public identities, and systems.

Anyone who has done research in schools has likely come to the realisation that teaching is so much more than just a profession, and that teachers are required to do a lot more than just teach. I found it interesting that, with each chapter, I was taken more deeply into the circumstances and distresses of teachers and schools: facing real threats and assassinations; juggling personal responsibilities and care for learners in communities ravaged by HIV and AIDS; tackling ongoing gender discrimination, poor societal status, or lack of appreciation.

As someone who is entering the education field from the associated profession of educational psychologist, I found the first two chapters especially informative. Kirk and Dembélé introduce the foundations of Universal Basic Education (UBE) in Chapter 1 with global statistics and a brief overview of the issues, challenges, and policies that have surrounded the drive for quality education discussions and research.

They also introduce the significance of the chapters that follow by asserting that current research and policy studies have tended to separate systems from individuals, yet "teachers' professional and personal roles and relations are also shaped by broader contextual factors, related to the social, political and economic milieu in which they live and work" (p. 11). Systems-level strategies to manage and motivate teachers and schools must be informed by attention to teachers' lived experiences, and this argument has been strongly carried through the chapters that follow.

A foremost concern in sub-Saharan Africa has been that a significantly higher number of teachers are needed than are available. Short-term responses to increasing teacher numbers have often resulted in negative consequences such as increased workload, drops in entry requirements and skills development, as well as reducing the attractiveness of the profession, which in turn make it more difficult to recruit and retain teachers in the long term. Conducting my research in rural communities in South Africa, I have seen first-hand the impact of such short-term emergency programmes on the quality of teaching and learning. With this in mind, Potefract, Bonnet, and Vivekanandan, in the second chapter, explore UNESCO's Teacher Training Initiative for sub-Saharan Africa (TTISSA) as a holistic response to the teacher challenge. This initiative was designed to confront the challenge of achieving an adequate number of teachers as well as ensuring they receive the skills and qualities to fulfil the expectations placed on them. According to the authors, the TTISSA has thus far been successful in enhancing knowledge and understanding of these complex issues and "played a strategic role in emphasising the importance of teachers to achieving quality education for all and served as a catalyst for innovation through sharing of lessons learned" (p. 33).

It is difficult to pick from the chapters that follow because each provided unique perspective and insight. In Chapter 4, economists Rogers and Vegas present an interesting argument about the benefits of performance incentives for teachers. They maintain that policy-makers in developing countries can successfully tackle the problem of teacher absence by increasing accountability and improving teachers' performance. The discussion pulls from various cross-country studies in both primary and secondary schools. The reviewed studies highlight the importance of measuring teacher absence accurately, and the authors caution that regular administrative records may not be sufficient to gauge attendance problems. Inherent in their argument is that a teacher's presence in the classroom does not necessarily signify that learning is indeed taking place, and certainly not quality learning. This aspect of education, however, is properly addressed in other chapters that look at the significance of teachers' input in educational materials and learner motivation.

Undoubtedly, teachers can have an immensely positive impact on children's lives, and never more so than in times of emergency or crisis. In Chapter 7, Kirk and Winthrop explore the different dimensions of teacher experience in Afghan schools and refugee camps in Ethiopia; according to them, "quality education is especially important for children affected by emergencies and to those who are living in contexts of fragility" (p. 122). They review the Healing Classroom initiative developed by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) focused on the protection, well-being, and development of children and youth affected by conflict. The initiative is an alternative approach that recognises and builds on the different experiences of teachers and focuses on teacher support and development.

As reported by Novelli in Chapter 6, political violence against teachers in Columbia is an ongoing challenge as education gains ground as a tool for social change. The chapter is a fascinating read that outlines a history of violence and resistance and the coping strategies educators have evolved to protect their human rights while remaining in the forefront of national liberation movements and educational reform. Similarly, schools in South Africa have become battlegrounds in the fight against HIV and AIDS.

In Chapter 5, Pithouse-Morgan and her colleagues investigate the issue of enhancing teacher development with the use of creative and participatory strategies, with particular reference to HIV-and AIDS-related issues. Making use of participatory video, metaphor drawing, photo-voice, and autobiography allows for an

intimate look at how teachers struggle with the complexities of teaching in a context where HIV and AIDS affects the entire community. Teachers are constantly torn between the burden of caring emotionally for the learners in their charge, and devoting attention to their own health and that of their own family members. This chapter emphasises how teachers' life experiences, perceptions, attitudes and understanding of the disease can significantly influence "their delivery of even the most carefully designed materials and shape their responses and classroom pedagogy in the local context in which they teach" (p. 81).

The book ends on a positive note with a summary by Dembélé and Rogers on making the slogan "More and better teachers" a reality. They effectively sum up the lessons learned from preceding chapters and offer valuable contributions to guide policy, planning, and action surrounding global teacher issues. They also neatly wrap up and re-emphasise the central theme that runs through the book: there is much to be gained in terms of educational quality from listening to teachers' voices.

In conclusion, *More and Better Teachers for Quality Education for All* is a collection of articles that collectively shed light on the complexity of truly achieving quality education for all amidst global social, economic, and political contexts. It accommodates broad perspectives, presents expansive studies and personal experiences, and proposes evidence-based recommendations for education policy. I am an action researcher and like to read books that not only open my mind to different experiences and perspectives, but also pack a punch when it comes to stories of positive action and social change. In my opinion, this book makes a loud contribution to current debates about quality education and ticks all those boxes. For a graduate student, it is also truly a treat to be able to freely download so valuable a book, compiled by respected authors, on a topic of such great significance.

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REPORT
Showcasing Intercultural Education: ICEDU Colloquium, August, 2012

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The Intercultural Education Unit (ICEDU), affiliated to the education faculty of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, was established in 2010 to promote intercultural sensitivity, development, and education. The ICEDU hosted a colloquium at NMMU in August 2012 to showcase the work of Faculty of Education academics that resonates with intercultural education in a programme that included several presentations by members from other NMMU faculties and from other countries, ranging from Kenya and Sweden to the USA. Professor Denise Zinn, Executive Dean of the Faculty of Education, welcomed all present to the event and Professor Nonnie Botha, head of the ICEDU, provided a brief background to the establishment and development of the Unit.

The programme, which consisted of 10 presentations, covered the following very wide range of topics:

- personal experiences as a visiting academic in a foreign country (Dr Agnes Kibui, University of Nairobi, Kenya)
- the challenge of language issues in education (Dr Lyn Webb, NMMU)
- teaching strategies in diverse university classrooms (Professor Bill Holderness and Dr Shirley Wagner-Welsh, NMMU)
- inclusive education in the international arena (Dr Eileen Raymond, State University of New York, USA)
- an Afrikaner student teacher's experiences in a farm school (Johan Pienaar, NMMU)
- intercultural challenges in effective sexuality education training of Life Orientation teachers (Dr Christina Jordaan, NMMU)
- the inter/trans-cultural encounter as 'radical unknowability' (Professor Dalene Swanson, NMMU)
- participatory visual methodology to enhance Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) students' understanding of multicultural education (Dr Logan Athiemoolam, NMMU)
- multiculturalism in Europe (Dr. Kerstin von Brömssen, University of Gothenburg, Sweden)
- closing the skills gap in an interdisciplinary and intercultural context in township high school students (Maria Marciales Arreaza, Michael Mitsumori, Christopher Galbick, Emily Dodge, Martha Welderufael, Lisa Dedmore, and Rachel Ricioli).

The presentations were very well received by the audience and lively debates ensued, during both the sessions and the breaks. Each presenter received a certificate of participation.

The presentations were interspersed with performances relevant to the colloquium's theme – "Showcasing Intercultural Education." The colloquium was opened with a role-play performance by some of the faculty's undergraduate students, and contrasted teaching strategies used in the past in South African school classrooms with those used the contemporary classroom. During the lunch break, Sisanda Myataza and her group entertained colloquium participants in a most heart-warming way with their songs and dance. The cocktail and networking opportunity that closed the proceedings of the day was made very special with a performance of traditional singing and dancing by the Umngqungqo waKwantu group. The organizing committee (Dr Lyn Webb, Dr Logan Athiemoolam, Professor Nonnie Botha, Ms Ndileka Jacobs, and Ms Carol Poisat) did a commendable job and the caterers ensured well-fed participants. The ICEDU thanked the Executive Dean of the Faculty for providing funds for the event, and the NMMU Centre for the Advancement of Non-racialism and Democracy that funded the video-recording of proceedings.

Anonymous evaluation of the colloquium by participants was overwhelmingly positive. Suggestions for improvement echoed each other in that all wanted more: more involvement by students; more presentations from other countries; more about how we work in our South African classrooms now; more time for presentations, discussions and questions; more time for networking – more, MORE, **MORE**!

The intention is to consider making this an annual event, probably over more than one day to accommodate the calls for "more." Through this, the ICEDU aims to prepare students for life in our increasingly complex world, and to help students look beyond themselves. Intercultural education needs to facilitate the creation of new social spaces where interaction and relationships are characterised by negotiation and creativity, thus conceptualising the university through an intercultural lens (Aguado & Malik, 2009). The ICEDU believes that colloquiums such as this provide opportunities for participants to discover differences, and to subsequently rise above such differences, by being exposed to authentic experiences of cross-cultural interaction through actual real tasks and intense participation (De Vita & Case, 2003).

References

Aguado, T., & Malik, B. (2009). Intercultural education in higher education: Challenges and opportunities. Intercultural Education, 20(3), 201–202.

De Vita, G., & Case, P. (2003). Rethinking the internationalisation agenda in UK higher education. Journal of Further and Higher Education, 27, 383–398.