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PISA and Beyond: What Can We Learn from Asian Education

Kuan Chen Tsai and Osman Özturgut

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to propose a conceptual model to explain the outperformance of Asian students based on the results of PISA, which in turn may provide useful insights for the U.S. educational reformers. This model was created by synthesizing existing research and literature. It suggests four possible factors shaping higher academic performance of Asian students, including educational, cultural, social, and economic components. Educators and policy makers should not only consider the educational factor but also cultural, social and economic factors, before utilising other nations' experiences when implementing educational reforms.

Introduction

“Teacher, Leave Those Kids Alone,” was an article reported on December 5, 2011, in *Time* Magazine uncovering the cost of standardized testing on South Korean students. The Korean Government spends more than 3.5% of GDP on primary and secondary schooling. Despite the substantial government expenditure, households additionally spend about 40 % of their income on private tutoring. Korea's education system is designed around a competitive entrance examination system, also called *ipsi-jiok* – translating to ‘entrance examination hell.’ However, school administrators have recently begun to enforce curfews prohibiting students remaining at their private tutoring academies after 10 p.m. The purpose is to aid the students in leading a regular, healthy, life, instead of spending an excessive amount of time studying.

An interesting phenomenon is that even though East Asian educational reformers want to adopt an education system similar to the U.S. education system, the U.S. education reformers are in search of a system similar to the system in East Asian countries. Bill Gates and President Barack Obama openly expressed their envy of the East Asian educational milieu (Ripley & Kim, 2011). One plausible argument is how since the 1960s, U.S. students have had lower results in cross-country tests, leading us to rethink the assumed strength of the U.S. education system (Hanushek, 2004). In 2009, Program for International Assessment (PISA) assessed 15-year-old adolescents from 65 countries on reading, mathematics, and science literacy. The results revealed East Asian countries dominated the top 5, whereas the U.S. was on the margin of average scores, and only the results for reading were above the average (Fleischman et al., 2010, pp. 8-24). China was the triple A nation; Chinese students outperformed their counterparts, with at least 50 points in excess of average scores.

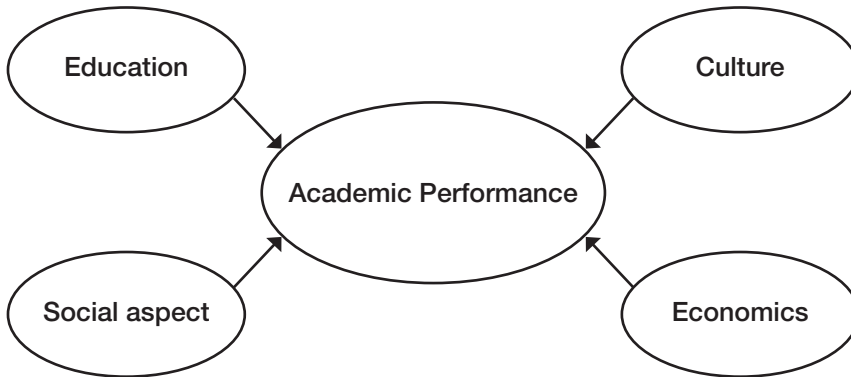
Kandel (1881–1965) asserted the direction of education within democratic nations ought to be “borrowed and adjusted” within the cultural context of each nation. He further argued how “so many of the problems in education are today common to most countries; in their solution certain common principles . . . are involved; the practical outcomes may, however, differ because of differences in tradition, in social and political principles, and in cultural standards” (Kandel, 1936, p. 401). The conflict of implementing standardized tests is still a major discourse within education academia (Baer & Garrett, 2010). Especially in the trend of accountability within current American education milieu, it is imperative to rethink the hidden message of those Asian countries who employ this philosophy.

Four possible factors that shape the higher academic performance of Asian students, including educational, social, cultural, and economic components, are outlined in this model. When considering implementing international experiences into a nation’s own education reforms, it is important to understand it is not about simply copying a system that has ‘proven’ to be successful through international tests, such as PISA, but by instead understanding the system in its own context. There are multiple reasons why an education model may prove to be successful in one nation, and subsequently unsuccessful in another. Equitability in funding allocations, access to healthcare, child care and pre-school, understanding of education as a basic human right, teacher training and autonomy, and effects of standardized testing, are just some of the reasons why we need to look beyond in order to understand the foreign model to be able to effectively “borrow and adjust” (Kandel, 1936, p. 401).

Taking a Holistic View for Examination of Education

Why do many Asian countries outperform other nations in international tests? What does a better education system look like? What are some of the other factors impacting academic performance? These are some of the questions educational reformers ought to find answers to, rather than simply adopting a foreign system without looking at social, cultural, and economical factors, in addition to the educational components and how these factors affect the overall model. The merit of cross-national testing is to provide some perspective for policymakers, educators, and parents about current quality of education systems (Bybee & Stage, 2005). In the analysis of the PISA results, the majority of studies are focused on either gender issues (e.g., Liu, 2009; Liu & Wilson, 2009a, 2009b; Marks, 2008), or curricula reforms (e.g., Bieber & Martens, 2011; Brozo, Shiel, & Topping, 2007; Bybee & Stage, 2005; Hanushek, 2004). However, the concern for the U.S. should not be how far the U.S. students are lagging behind other nations, and then rushing to adopt systems they expect to work, but to better understand the reasons behind these successes.

The four elements depicted in Figure 1 suggest academic performance is most likely to occur within an appropriate educational setting (curricula), and with emotional support from peers, teachers, parents, and society (cultural and social factors), and finally with the promise of a concrete reward (economical factor).

Figure 1. Four factors affecting students' academic performance.**Education: Curricula Reform and Standardized Testing**

A number of studies had identified the discrepancy of academic achievement between Asian and American students (Stevenson, Lee, & Stigler, 1986; Stevenson & Stigler, 1987). The studies indicate the main reason for this disparity is not a genetic factor, rather it is the beliefs and attitudes toward education and the structure of the educational system. Based on the results of cross-country tests, such as PISA, policy makers in the U.S. are concerned over the loss of international competitiveness, which in turn will affect later economic welfare (Hanushek, 2004; Mathis, 2011).

A vigorous debate within the American society contributes to re-examining this crisis and to taking action to reform the educational system (Niu & Sternberg, 2003). The most well known is the 'No Child Left Behind' program (NCLB) (Bybee & Stage, 2005). NCLB currently assesses all students in reading and mathematics annually, from third through to eighth grades. The testing results affect the funding and management of schools in school districts (United States Department of Education, 2002). The initial intention of NCLB was admirable. However, it narrowed the focus of curricula and led to 'teaching for the test' at the expense of the authentic education, 'teaching for learning,' or 'teaching for empowerment of individuals to be contributing citizens of the world.' The one-size-fits-all system becomes a mere competition for accountability measures. The process of improving the education system takes time, so politicians looking for immediate contentment are bound for disappointment by the consequences of quick fixes (Hanushek, 2004). To date, because of several issues with the NCLB, 17 states have granted waivers to relief the requirements of this education law, and it is expected other states will follow this trend (Scott, 2012).

On the other hand, East Asian countries have recently been trying to humanize their education system in order to lessen the student stress loads from having to sit numerous high-stakes tests. The President of South Korea, during his 2008 inauguration, lambasted the large-scale national standardized college-entrance examination (Ripley & Kim, 2011). However, the problem is not easy to solve, since academic performance is highly prized in East Asian countries. For example, the educational pedagogy in China is examination-driven and concerned with the acquisition of basic knowledge, instead

of both critical and creative types of thinking (Dineen & Niu, 2008; Huang & Brown, 2009). Consequently, some Asia nations have launched educational reforms (Hallinger, 2004; Hallinger, Walker, & Bajunid, 2005). The core value of this campaign is parallel to the West's educational values: learner-centered instruction, critical thinking, creativity, and collaborative learning (Chen, 2008; Hallinger, 1998). The purpose of this shift from rote learning, teacher-directed instruction, and a rigid hierarchy of educational systems, to more flexibility and school-based management, is to meet the needs of globalization (Cheng, 1999a, 1999b; Hallinger, 2010).

Through implementing nation-wide standardized measurements (borrowing the concept from other nations), it is hoped academic performance will be boosted (Kayla, 2012). However, U.S. educators need to realize the cultural and historical context of 'studying' for East Asian students. What are the factors contributing to the success of these students? What are the motivations of these students who study for long hours, rather than spending time with friends or just watching T.V.? How do social and cultural pressures from parents, peers, teachers, and the society at large play a role in their academic achievement? Simply put, their success is not necessarily about having structured study habits and extensive curricula. Society, with all of its smaller formations, influences academic achievement within Asia.

Cultural Aspects - Confucian Thought

Reagan (2000) claims it would be impossible to discuss traditional, Asian educational thought without repeated references to Confucian ways of thinking. It was, and still is, "an integral part of the Chinese mentality" (p. 105). The nature of Confucian Heritage Cultures (CHC) is more collectivist when compared to the individualistic orientation of the Western educational system. The priority of Confucianism is to integrate the individual into society (Biggs, 1996; Dineen & Niu, 2008; Zhao, 2007). The influence of Confucianism emphasizes education, family honor, filial piety, discipline, and a respect for authority (Huang & Brown, 2009; Zhou & Kim, 2006). In Western societies, individual efforts are valued, and those efforts are usually completed for individual gain. The Confucian thought promotes collective effort for the good of the overall society.

As a belief system, Confucianism has provided the Chinese with great stability and resilience (Redding, 1990). Confucianism, as Turner and Acker (2002) explain, holds at its center the value of learning and the ideals of social mobility, achieved by intellectual progression and development. Therefore, education and intellectual life were at the heart of the social and organizational infrastructure of many Asian countries for hundreds of years. The ethic of Confucius has been the moral basis for both human relationships and the conduct of governments within these countries. It is also the source of traditional educational philosophy. The heart of this idea is not so much about the academic as about a moral orientation (Fengyan, 2004; JeeLoo, 2007; Nuyen, 2008). Confucianism taught how man was 'good' by nature, and could be correctly shaped by education, with all men having the capacity to reach moral perfection (Li, Holloway, Bempechat, & Loh, 2008; Ming-Tak, 2008; Taylor, 1981).

According to Confucianism, an individual is fundamentally a social or relational being. Social order and stability depend on a properly differentiated relationship

between the roles of particular individuals. Confucius defined five cardinal role relations (*wu lun*): emperor-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger brothers, and friend-friend. Tsui and Farh (2000) explain that the term ‘*wu lun*’ in the Confucian ideology is analogous to the contemporary concept of *guanxi*. Yang (1993) describes *wu lun* as follows:

As a highly formalistic cultural system...[requiring] each actor to perform his or her role in such a way that he or she should precisely say what he or she was supposed to say, and not to say what he or she was not supposed to say. In order to be a good role performer, the actor usually had to hide his or her free will...This is why Chinese have been said to be situation-centered or situationally determined. (p. 29-30)

This system of values regards education as a key catalyst, not only for intellectual achievement (‘the knowledgeable man’) but for the good life (‘the moral man’) (Qi, 2008). Confucian learning models focus on personal disposition development, including: determination, diligence, endurance of hardship, perseverance, concentration, and humility (Li et al., 2008, p. 12). In Chinese thought, the teacher is a moral exemplar to students, someone who possesses an authority figure within the classroom (Ng & Smith, 2004). A Chinese saying captures this notion; ‘Rearing without education is the fault of the father, and teaching without strictness is the negligence of the teacher’ (Lamb, 1987, p. 231).

In Western cultures, a commonly accepted view is that CHC students are ineffective rote learners and that their attitudes toward learning are passive and complaint instead of assertive and independent (Biggs, 1996; Niu & Sternberg, 2001; Radclyffe-Thomas, 2007). Those students are engaged in conforming behavior within the classroom, comparing their counterparts with independent manners from the West. This conformity is criticized as the main reason for the lack of creative thinking abilities in CHC students (Ho, 1994; Ng, 2003).

Following this line raises a question: With all the criticisms of the Asian education system, why do Asian students still receive outstanding academic results within international tests? And why is the Asian educational model admired so greatly by educational reformers in the West? In order to understand this paradox, Biggs (1996) suggests CHC students are deep learners, even though they are rote learners. However, Ryan and Louie (2007) provide another explanation and argue that the success of examination does not necessary imply deep learning. They claim that it is the practising habits and skills of Asian students which contribute to success. Extensive repetitive exercise is a main element of Confucian education (Ryan & Louie, 2007). Cramming is so deeply embedded in the culture of East Asia, and test-driven culture also dominates the educational system (Ripley & Kim, 2011). In this fashion, through the process of repetition learning, Asian students master the tasks that are examined and attain good results, although commentators like Ryan and Louie (2007) doubt that this success in examinations is an indicator of deep understanding.

The Impact of Social Factors on Student Learning

Social capital is a metaphor used to explain the results of the process of social interaction (Bankston & Zhou, 2002). A number of studies has implemented the concept of social capital in CHC groups (e.g., Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Portes & Zhou, 1992; Zhou & Bankston, 1994; Zhou & Kim, 2006). The major finding of those studies is to confirm cultural orientation functions as a crucial social capital which may lead to higher academic performances. Based on their findings of those Asian students in U.S. schools, these social capital writers found that families believe education is an important vehicle for attaining favorable economic positions. The majority of the parents in those studies are first or second generation immigrants in Western countries. They instill in their children the importance of education.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) proposed different forms of capital (e.g. social, economic, and cultural) with a focus on the interplay between economic factors and educational inequalities. The central point of Bourdieu's theoretical framework is to make a connection among social structure, power, and ideology. Social capital acts as a channel to access economic resources (Huang & Boshier, 2008; Portes, 2000). This capital operates not only to deploy economic capital, but also to secure resources for achieving advantages in the privileged educational pathways and markets for their families (Archer & Francis, 2006). Through networks and social resources, group members mobilize into favorable economic positions (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009). Researchers have shown the powerful resource of social capital for educational achievement (Li et al., 2008). However, social capital does not always guarantee upward mobility. Sometimes it might limit opportunities. In fact, the possession of social capital needs levels of investment in economic and cultural resources as well (Portes, 1998).

Prado (2008) extended the discussion of Bourdieu's social capital on education by identifying three interrelated forms of social support which influence the educational experience of students. These are ideational support, material support, and bridging support. Cultural norms and expectations are the backbone of the ideational support. For instance, CHC students are regulated into certain behaviors which are deemed appropriate. These affect school performance and the expectations of the teacher, which in turn affect the opportunities for educational mobility. The role of parental support is to distribute resources and information throughout educational contexts. Finally, bridging the support serves as a channel to connect material and ideational support. For example, Chinese parents have the tendency to intervene in their children's schooling. On one hand, parents will utilize their *guanxi* (relationship) as an opportunity to gain admission into reputable institutions. *Guanxi*, in Chinese society, is an important ingredient of social capital (Zhang, Messner, Jianghong, & Zhou, 2009). On the other hand, these parents impose their vision of education on the higher educational aspirations of their children, which in turn enforces the appropriate behavior to fulfill this goal.

One of the roles of a CHC family is to portray a positive picture of social capital, conducive to the pursuit of academic enrichment (Abada & Tenkorang, 2009; Modood, 2004; Zhou & Kim, 2006). The requirement of a diploma in order to receive a better occupation is normal within Asian cultures, and the testing results are generally the predictors of future professional successes (Niu & Sternberg, 2003; Ripley & Kim, 2011).

As a result, students are expected to maintain a higher GPA. Within a CHC society the transmission of aspirations and norms, and the compliance with elders, are enforced by social support providers - teachers, parents, and wider communities. Moreover, social competition within family and community (saving face for family honor) serves as another contribution to outstanding academic achievement (Archer & Francis, 2006). The outstanding academic performance, in turn, also serves as the evidence for honoring the sacrifice and support of parents. This emphasis of family honor (face or dignity) stems from Confucian teachings. Individual misbehaviors will lead to the whole family, and sometimes even the entire community, losing face. This conceptualization is grounded in collectivism. In this milieu, an individual is one part of the whole society, and as a result, individuals should think twice before any action due to the priority of group interest (Cannon, 2010).

Economic Aspects: Economic Power to Boost Student Academic Performance

Another significant element contributing significantly to the success of Asian students is the economic rewards society promises to provide upon gaining further education. This phenomenon is embedded in the social, cultural, and educational structure of Asian countries, specifically, China, Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. Human Capital Theorists view humans as economic resources. For them, the idea of educated citizens is a form of capital and the notion of education is a form of “human capital” (Little, 2000, p. 287). For any given economic enterprise, regardless of what is being produced and of where, how, and under what conditions it is being produced, “more educated workers will always be more productive than their less educated counterparts” (Baptiste, 2001, p. 189). Baptiste further explains pedagogical implications by claiming “human capital theorists treat people as *homo economica*: radically isolated, pleasure-seeking materialists who are born free of social constraints or responsibility, who possess no intrinsic sociability, and who are driven, ultimately, by the desire for material happiness and bodily security” (p. 195).

When today’s students reach adulthood, their children will gain from the informal education received at home. Much learning takes place at home, where the child’s attitude towards school is also largely shaped. Better educated parents are more likely to raise children who recognize the value of education, in terms of job opportunities, as well as in terms of cultural opportunities (Weisbrod, 1971). Properly conceived, education produces a skilled labor force, one more adaptable to the needs of a changing economy and more likely to develop the imaginative ideas, techniques, and products critical to the process of economic expansion, and social adaptation to change. “By doing so - by contributing to worker productivity - the education process qualifies handsomely as a process of investment in human capital” (Weisbrod, 1971, p. 74).

If one pursues education because knowledge is desired for its own sake, or if one considers education as able to enrich one’s own life through increasing the variety and depth of intellectual pursuits, then educational services can be treated as a consumption product. In this sense, education is an end itself. However, if one obtains educational services solely because of their impact upon future occupational choices and earnings, educational services can be treated as an investment product (Hu, Kaufman, Lee, & Stromsdorfer, 1971). Education is, after all, much more than a means of raising productivity or otherwise bringing financial returns.

Conclusion

The main ingredient of the performance of Asian students is rooted in the salient voice of ‘valuing education’ within the families, communities, and society at large. Currently, both the American and Asian education systems implement standardized tests, yet they paint different pictures. In other words, standardized testing is not the key, rather the motivation behind this phenomenon. The key to understanding the difference is to see that education is a serious issue for Asian people. They whole-heartedly support this powerful vehicle for their next generation. “[Chinese] parents and families make themselves into a resource – a form of capital – for their children” (Archer & Francis, 2006, p. 42). Here, CHC families function as important resources to facilitate children’s social mobility, and student educational outstanding is hard earned (Li et al., 2008).

Reflecting on the key findings of PISA, it is also hoped the Asian model will encourage Western educators to consider the development of adolescent literacy, educational policy and curricula reform, and design appropriate educational programs. Although East Asian countries have applied the idea of standardized testing systems for a long time, current Asian educators also run a series of campaigns for educational reform. Ng (2003) has criticized the overemphasis on standardized testing that affects the East Asian student’s creativity. Accordingly, he suggested special educational programs should be designed to meet the needs of collectivistic members.

Before policymakers and educators restructure their education systems to be more competitive, on a par with higher ranking [in international tests] countries, it is important to understand other factors, such as those outlined in this paper. The PISA results do have significance, but the implementation, and the borrowing and adjustment, should not be at the expense of the successful features of a country’s education system. For instance, a number of cross-cultural studies (Niu & Sternberg, 2001, 2003; Niu, Zhang, & Yang, 2006) stated there is no difference between Chinese students and American students on abstract deductive thinking although there is a significant difference between two groups on creative expression. American students are more creative than Chinese students. Every education system has its strengths and weaknesses. Through reviewing the results of PISA, it is important to recognize every education system’s unique approach in order to understand the context, and to address the issues appropriately. As Ryan and Louie (2007) pointed out, “teachers need to avoid both ‘surplus’ and ‘deficit’ theories and the ‘glorification’ of internationalization, and instead recognize and appreciate complexities both within and between educational systems of practice” (p. 415).

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Reading the Harvard Red Book: Reflections on the Roles of the University and the Social Sciences in Contemporary Malaysia

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Abstract

The authors revisit *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee*, also known as the *Harvard Red Book*, an important book produced during World War II. The book considered the role of the university at a time when popular access to higher education was undergoing massive expansion. In view of parallel trends in Southeast Asia, and in particularly Malaysia, this paper draws out some of the insights from the *Harvard Red Book* which are relevant to contemporary higher education contexts. Of particular interest to this article is the role of the social sciences, whose value is often underappreciated. It is argued that the social sciences have an important social function in educating individuals not as potential social scientists, but more generally, as citizens who are able to participate competently in the public sphere.

Introduction

Higher education is currently in a transformative moment. Across the world, universities are seeking to expand their student numbers and elevate their standing through world rankings (Deem, Mok and Lucas, 2008). Driving this are various pressures including those emanating from government and financial needs, as well as the demand for higher education by young people wanting to improve their employment prospects. Some important and emerging key players in the global tertiary education scene are located within Southeast Asia, which is the site of several off-shore campuses of universities from the ‘global north’ (see Pyvis and Chapman, 2007), as well as local institutions which are themselves increasingly hosting more students from beyond their national borders.

Among Southeast Asian countries, Malaysia is particularly well placed to take advantage of local and global tertiary education markets. Relatively low fees and an affordable cost of living are practical aspects and a number of socio-cultural features make Malaysia a desirable educational destination. This includes the fact that the current *lingua franca*, English, is a medium in which courses are frequently taught, promising better access to the English-speaking job market. Moreover, as a Muslim-majority State, potential Muslim applicants from other countries may also regard Malaysia as a culturally appropriate destination. In line with this, of the top ten countries from which international students came to Malaysian public tertiary institutions in 2011, only two (China and Thailand) were non-Muslim majority countries, whereas the majority were from predominantly Muslim countries (Iran, Indonesia, Yemen, Iraq, Nigeria, Libya,

Somalia and Sudan; MOHE 2012, p. 25). Where public institutions in Malaysia have expanded their overseas student intake, from 5,045 in 2002 to 25,263 (MOHE 2012, p. 66), private institutions have greatly expanded their intake of Malaysian students (see M. Lee, 2004; McBurnie and Zигuras, 2001).

These developments in both Malaysia as well as the region (e.g. Beerkens, 2004) warrant a reflection on the role of universities within the current climate of increased demand for higher education. A useful reference for this is the book *General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee* (Harvard University, 1955), also known as the *Harvard Red Book* (named after the colour of its cover). This text is regarded as a critical text in the history of higher education, having been produced at a time of parallel expansion of the US education system. The *Harvard Red Book* was the result of an inquiry into the fundamental aims of education within a democratic society at a time of tremendous social upheaval in the United States of America. The findings of this inquiry transformed American secondary and tertiary education and imbued it with a concern for preparing students for their role as national stakeholders. Recent and ongoing political upheavals both in Malaysia, as well as the source countries of Malaysia's international students, make for a useful comparative analysis of the place of the university in democratic education if graduates are to function not only as employees and entrepreneurs, but also as active, democratic citizens. It is in this capacity that universities are recognized as key institutions (e.g. Stearns, 2009), and it is within this role that the *Harvard Red Book* identifies an important place for the social sciences.

The Harvard Red Book

From 1940 to 1945, young Americans, who would otherwise have attended colleges and universities, postponed their education to serve in the armed forces in World War Two. In 1943, halfway through America's war years, James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard University, predicted the delayed education of millions of soldiers would stress all of America's institutions of higher education, including Harvard. As an administrator, he suspected that Harvard would have to prepare for an unprecedented number of students. As a scholar and scientist, he also understood the war would produce profound changes in both American society and on the nation's educational system. Conant commissioned a thorough review of the Harvard undergraduate curriculum by a committee of Harvard educators. The results of their review were published in a book titled *General Education in a Free Society* (Harvard University, 1955). The report of the Harvard Committee reaffirmed the general aims and philosophy of American higher education – to produce an informed, intellectually independent, and critically minded citizenry – while recommending specific changes to the curriculum through which the aims would be achieved. In its published form, the report quickly became known as the *Harvard Red Book*. It resulted in the reformation of Harvard's curriculum, and very soon a revolution in American higher education, as other colleges and universities adopted, and adapted, elements of the Harvard plan.

At Harvard, the Report led to a radical change in the College's admission policy, meaning admission would be based on merit and entrance examinations. The university

redefined its liberal arts curriculum by including science, as the previous curriculum was based on the classic literature of the Western tradition. A Committee on General Education was established to approve courses required of first and second year students as they made decisions about choosing majors.

While Conant contemplated the reform of Harvard, the U.S. Congress (fearful of a post-war depression) passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. Better known as the GI Bill, the Act provided for, among other things, financial assistance from the Federal Government for tuition and expenses for returning servicemen who wished to continue their education in colleges and universities. In the following seven years, more than 8,000,000 veterans received benefits, including 2,300,000 who attended colleges and universities. By 1951, the act had cost the American Government \$14 billion. The money opened up higher education to people of diverse cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Higher education would never again be a privilege of America's social and economic elite. Regardless of the institutions they attended, the education on offer to the vastly increased number of young people attending universities was shaped by the curricula reforms set out by the Harvard Committee.

The Report of the Harvard Committee noted that:

General education should provide not only an adequate groundwork for the choice of a speciality, but a milieu in which the speciality can develop its fullest potentialities. Specialization can only realize its major purposes within a larger general context.... General education is an organism, whole and integrated; special education is an organ, a member designed to fulfill a particular function within the whole. ... Specialized and technical education instructs in those things that can be done and how to do them. But a free society requires general education, which enables people to see what needs to be done and to what ends (Harvard University, 1955, p. 195).

The question then was what fields and disciplines would be included in the general education component of a Harvard College education? The Report proposed courses within the humanities (literature, philosophy, fine arts, and music), mathematics and science, and the social sciences.

The inclusion of the social sciences independently from the humanities was significant. While 'social studies', which focussed on government and citizenship ('civics'), had long been taught in American schools, the inclusion of the social and behavioural sciences within college and university curricula was relatively recent in American institutions.¹ The Harvard Report proposed a course on 'Western Thought and Institutions' which would be required of all Harvard students. The Committee then proposed additional courses on 'American Democracy' and 'Human Relations' without specifying titles or content. Indeed, and perhaps partly because of the boldness of this proposal, the Committee found it "unnecessary to suggest many new courses in the social sciences at this time" and noted that "there is relatively little material suitable for undergraduate instruction now available" (Harvard University, 1955, p. 220).

When reading *General Education* more than sixty years after its publication, it is

evident the Committee may have had limited knowledge of the social science disciplines they had proposed for inclusion in a curriculum of general education. They wrote how “it would be inappropriate for us to outline in detail a scheme of this course, or even to indicate all the topics with which it would be concerned” (Harvard University, 1955, p. 214). Content and teaching would be “worked out by the staff charged with its execution... and content would include “certain of the classics of political, economic, and social thought” (p. 124).

In this way, through the influence of the Harvard reforms, the social sciences were established as a major component of general higher education during the years following the Second World War. On a first reading, the outlook of the Committee’s proposal might appear limited to the context of American civilization and thus parochial. The social sciences component of the general education proposed focussing on:

the evolution of such institutions as representative government and the reign of law, the impact of the Reformation upon society and government, as well as upon religion and philosophy, the growth of religious toleration, the nature and legacy of the natural-rights philosophy, the growing confidence in the power of reason to deal with human problems, the expansion of humanitarianism, the rise of the laissez-faire philosophy and its relation to the economy of the preindustrial age, and the impact of the technological revolution upon industrial organization, the growth of populations, and the vast expansion of social and economic legislation (p. 215).

Critical reflection shows the core concerns are reflective of social science development the world over² The Harvard Committee of scholars were cognizant of the fact that while their task was to design an educational program for American young people, the problems then facing the United States may in fact be reflective of future global tensions.

At this point, it is worth critiquing the *Harvard Red Book’s* conception of social sciences as distinct from natural sciences and humanities. Their difference lies primarily in their “methods of knowledge” (Harvard University, 1955, p.59).

The former describe, analyse, and explain; the latter appraise, judge, and criticize.... Natural science measures what can be measured, and it operates upon its materials with the instruments of formal logic and mathematics.... In contrast...the humanities explore and exhibit the realm of value (pp. 59-60).³

The authors of the *Harvard Red Book*, argued that the social sciences lie nestled between the natural sciences and the arts in a special and intermediary role. “A historical fact is not merely a fact: it is a victory or a defeat, an indication of progress or of retrogression, it is a misfortune or good fortune” (p. 61). Therefore, the notions of right and wrong in social studies go beyond simplistic notions of correctness, resting on the sometimes uncomfortable seam between facts and values.

Reading the *Harvard Red Book* in and for Contemporary Malaysia

There are a number of factors that make a consideration, for Malaysian higher education through the lens of the *Harvard Red Book*, appropriate at this time. The *Harvard Red Book* was anticipating an influx of young people into higher education. Malaysia too is in the midst of a significant expansion. In line with the focus here on the role of the social sciences in citizenship, developments within Malaysia and abroad including, but by no means limited to, the creation of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (Munro 2011) a deeper understanding beyond the superficial is needed. This includes what constitutes citizenship, at national, regional, and international levels, and it is here that the social sciences play a key role.

The word ‘citizen’ originates from ancient Greek understandings relating to belonging. The breakthrough of the Greeks in this regard was that membership became less based on ‘blood’ or religious ties, but on locality, and in their case, residence within a city (hence *citi-zen*; see McAfee 2000; Lee forthcoming). The complete citizen had rights and obligations. These obligations included the fulfilment of his civic responsibilities (which comprised participation in the *agora*), and exerting his power as a person of the city to which he belonged. In this way, he exerted his power as a citizen in a place where the *kratos* (power) of the *demos* (the people) reigned – namely a democracy.

In this vein, the authors of the *Harvard Red Book* recall Aristotle in saying; “man is a political animal” (Harvard University, 1955, p. 132). The quality of his participation in politics was conditioned by “the work of education [in which] we learn some things by habit and some by instruction” (p. 132). While “the education which seeks to promote active, responsible, and intelligent citizenship is ordinarily general rather than special education”, it is “the social studies [that] have a more immediate relationship to civic education than do the other studies...and even though they are concerned with other aspects of general education than training for a life of civic responsibility, this is their distinctive function” (p. 133).

Invariably the question that needs to be asked is; how can social science education promote a deeper understanding of citizenship in students in Malaysia? While there are a myriad of benefits to having an acquaintance with the social sciences, the remainder of this article, touches briefly on a few of the salutary impacts of teaching the social sciences at university.

Whereas the fundamentalism and insularity that is sometimes observed today is often regarded as a sociological throwback, it is instead, as Bryan S. Turner (2001) suggests, a modern phenomenon that reacts to a number of aspects of globalization including apparent hybridity, commercialism, sexual liberation, and secularization (p.133). In many places, reified communities are seeking to mark boundaries, both symbolic and real, between themselves and others. Southeast Asia is witness to many of these efforts. Intergroup conflicts are often framed as arising from cultural difference, and these conflicts can lead to exhortations from elites and those in community authority who shun interaction with others deemed as different.

In this context, the apparent contribution of the social sciences is in improving awareness of other cultures and ways of life, as well as gaining an *understanding* of

them. This is important in an era of increasing migration and diversity within countries. James A. Banks (2010) notes how these facts “raise complex and divisive questions about how nation-states can deal effectively with the problem of constructing civic communities that reflect and incorporate the diversity of citizens and yet have an overarching set of shared values, ideals, and goals to which all of the citizens of a nation-state are committed” (p. 19). To enable this, Banks advocates “transformative citizenship education” which, among other things, helps “develop cosmopolitan values and perspectives” and enables students to “take actions to create just and democratic multicultural communities and societies” (p. 30).

More than an acquaintance with other group’s festivals, there are deeper levels of understanding that a social science education can foster. These include historical and cultural resonances related to fundamental worldviews. For example, different notions of cleanliness and dirtiness (‘pollution’ in anthropological terms) tend to prevail in different communities. While transgressing a pollution taboo oneself, or seeing another person do so, can have a powerful visceral effect on a person. This can be dampened through a better understanding of why a group of people regard something as polluting. Likewise it enables an understanding of internal group practices, which sometimes differ. Such knowledge bridges the gap of simplistic ‘us and them’ thinking, and fosters an appreciation of diversities within diversities, which, *inter alia*, may help to temper human tendencies towards being judgmental and thence, possibly, towards violence (Rappaport, 1999, pp. 438-61).

The social sciences are uniquely well placed to educate people regarding the diversity of human societies, and to problematize totalizing understandings of cultures and, in line with Banks, to foster what Turner refers to as “cosmopolitan virtue”. For Turner (2001),

The components of cosmopolitan virtue are as follows: irony, both as cultural method and as a contemporary mentality in order to achieve some emotional distance from our own local culture; reflexivity with respect to other cultural values; scepticism towards the grand narratives of modern ideologies; care for other cultures, especially aboriginal cultures...and an ecumenical commitment to dialogue with other cultures, especially religious cultures (p. 150).

A virtue that stands out from the above listing is that of “emotional distance from our own local culture” (p. 150). Otherwise rendered, this may be referred to as a ‘critical distance’ from one’s self or one’s own group. The ability to see issues from a third-person perspective is a crucial attribute of a citizen who is able to think beyond his/her own personal interests, and beyond the interests of whatever category of people s/he feels a part of. Such higher order thinking is facilitating peaceful co-existence with others who, in the course of our daily lives, may appear at first to be acting against our interests in some respect. A critical distance and multiple perspective understanding can facilitate satisfactory reconciliation of conflicts, both trivial and grave in magnitude. Others (on whose toes we tread or who have trodden on ours) are engaged in dialogue, and see our advances characterized by empathy, and founded in disinterested principles formed to promote the common good.

Central to this are the processes of identity formation. It is here too that a sophisticated understanding of identity plays a very critical role. Within Malaysia, ethnic identities are of great importance. Such identities have enabled various forms of social movements, which have had more and less salutary effects on the public sphere and democratic practice (see Gutmann, 2003). While there is a growing discourse in Malaysia that ethnic identities and interests ought to be abandoned in favour of broader, national, or human (rights) interests (e.g. Haris, 2007), it remains the case that the concept of ‘race’ remains strong and largely unquestioned. Additionally, there is a general lack of awareness of the scientific erroneousness of the concept. One of the authors of this article (Lee) who has taught undergraduate students in Malaysia and Australia found in comparison, students in Malaysia find it more difficult to grasp why ‘race’ is an invalid concept and why ‘ethnicity’ is central⁴). As compared to Malaysian students, Lee’s Australian students took a great deal less time in coming to an adequate understanding of the fallacy of race despite it *seeming*, at an everyday level, to be a cogent concept.

Relating discussions of ethnic identity to the broader effects of a social science education is the concept of ethnicity, which denies the ‘objective’ scientific grounds of racial difference, nevertheless recognizes that people *subjectively experience* different groups of people as having differences. It also emphasizes the fluidity of ethnic/racial categories – that people frequently move between categories, and the characteristics that ostensibly constitute belonging to a category change over time. These are sometimes the product of active reification through various processes. ‘Processes’ is a key word in this discourse, and identities are understood as not actual existing things to be discovered, instead, they are created, or constructed, through social processes.

The works of scholars such as Louis Althusser (1971) and Stuart Hall (2000) are relevant to this discourse. Althusser coins, and Hall develops, the notion of interpellation. In short, interpellation directs us towards those processes of identity constructed, founded in historical circumstance and purposeful acts of identity creation. These processes construct various identities and posit persons as belonging to those identities. While people are usually interpellated into identities non-consciously (many would not think to question why or whether they are Malay, Indian, Chinese, etc.), there are highly instructive occasions that bring these processes to the surface. Caryn Lim (2012), for example, has drawn on the concept of interpellation to understand the quandaries experienced by Malaysians of “mixed race” when forming coherent identities. Their struggles show how such Malaysians struggle with, and consciously choose, their identities in stable, contextual, and other ways. Lim’s description of how individuals navigate around common identities (Chinese, Indian, Malay), “demonstrate[s] the active processes of identity negotiation undertaken by all Malaysians, including those of seemingly homogenous or ‘un-mixed’ descent” (Lim, 2012, p. 28). Acquaintance with such work brings to the surface otherwise subconscious processes, and puts our understandings of ourselves into question. It may be a long way to reaping the social and political benefits identified by numerous authors whose concern has been the socio-political place of universities (e.g. Stearns, 2009; Docherty, 2011), but as we have seen, presciently by the authors of the *Harvard Red Book*, those aspirations remain as important now as when it was first published.

Conclusion

Just as the authors of the *Harvard Red Book* sought to consider the functions of the university at a time of increased popular access in America, this article reflects on the place of the university in parallel conditions, over half a century later. The findings of the committee that prepared the *Harvard Red Book* had a number of deep insights worth revisiting, not only at this time, but also in a different context. They realized the university is a place of special importance to society, where many things happen. In their view, and in ours, many important lessons do not relate exclusively to knowledge and skills training that prepare students for their roles as employees in the workforce. At a deeper level, universities are important sites at which people receive an education that should improve their sophisticated participation in society as citizens. This article resonates with the *Harvard Red Book*, and has attempted to outline the special role of the social sciences in this regard. This is not to denigrate even minutely the place of the sciences and the humanities but rather to emphasize the value of the social science disciplines. In many ways, the social sciences are overlooked in terms of the value they bring to individuals and society. They deserve special attention for the role they play in an increasingly diverse, and free, society.

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Endnotes

1. It is not purpose of this article to recount the history of the social sciences in the United States, but it is worth noting that Columbia University pioneered their teaching in the 1870s and that the University of Chicago, which accepted its first students in 1892, saw the development of its Department of Sociology, one of the first in the world, and the so-called “Chicago School of Sociology” in the 1920s.
2. That is representative government and the rule of law, religious tolerance, the idea of natural rights, the power and limitations of reason, the expansion of capitalism, and technological innovation have not only been central to the concerns of the social sciences everywhere in the past sixty years, but are fields in which we find the most pressing problems of our contemporary, global society.
3. The authors of the *Harvard Red Book* recognize that their description of the natural sciences and humanities is simplified, but nevertheless there is some value to this typologizing.
4. For a discussion of this issue, which is beyond the scope of this article, see for example American Anthropological Association 1998; Eriksen 2002; Fenton 2004; Montagu 1964; Smith 1991

Parental Advocacy and the Safeguards Necessary for Inclusive Education: New Zealand Lessons for Pacific-Asian Education

Rod Wills and Stephen A. Rosenbaum

Abstract

This interdisciplinary paper examines tensions in New Zealand between statutory, regulatory, and case law, and the provision of special education for students with disabilities. Court decisions and educational policies are investigated and consideration is given to the likelihood of difficulties for families with the move toward the inclusive education of disabled students in Pacific-Asian nations. Approaches and practices most likely to be productive are identified within this article.

Introduction

In New Zealand, a position of ‘disability rights’ may be claimed to support the education of disabled students with evidence in law, regulation, and services in support of special education. Scrutiny of the outcomes from these policies and practices show the continuation of this ‘rights approach’, alongside the emergence of competing demands for state funded education, to better serve the nation, through economic growth and development. These differing trajectories raise the question, first posed by Gillian Fulcher in 1989, as to whether the discourse on educational rights is the most effective and enduring way to achieve citizenship for all students. If this is not the case, what other strategies might need to be considered? Where Asia Pacific nations adopt similar approaches, are there also contradictions evident between policy and outcome, or are these tensions yet to become evident?

Setting the Scene for Administrative and Policy Change

A series of wide sweeping government reforms of all social services occurred through the mid-1980s and 1990s and were critiqued by Kelsey (1997) as the ‘New Zealand experiment’. Boston (1991) described the restructuring of the public sector, including state funded education, as being “grounded in public choice theory, managerialism and the new economics of organisations, agency theory, and transaction cost analysis” (p. 2). In education, efficiency was to be achieved by declaring education was not a public good, rather to be considered as a “commodity to be traded in the market place” (Grace, 1988, p. 14). In the area of special education, a series of policies designed to align resource use and school responsiveness with the concepts of limited government involvement, required the liberalisation of markets to be developed and implemented. A key element of the reforms to special education was to shift the responsibility for learners with special educational needs to their local schools. This last element was to

provide the educational rights given to disabled students as equal to those enjoyed by their peers (Wills, 2009).

Key Legal and Special Education Documents

The legal framework for providing special education is conveyed with brevity in one major piece of legislation, the Education Act 1989. The mechanisms for establishing an exception to these provisions are detailed in a subsequent amendment. Human rights legislation is also detailed in prescribing the grounds for a complaint of discrimination on the basis of disability. New Zealand has also ratified the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child and, more recently, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. Both of these incorporate explicit, comprehensive principles regarding the education of disabled children within socially integrated settings.

The Education Act 1989 gives New Zealand's disabled students the right to a free primary and secondary school education, at a public or 'state' school. The legislation more precisely states that "people who have special educational needs (whether because of disability or otherwise) have the same rights to enrol and receive an education at state schools as people who do not." (Education Act 1989, Section 8(1)). Additionally, the Act specifies that the Secretary of Education may "agree with a person's parents that the person should be enrolled, or direct them to enrol, the person, at a particular state school, special school, special class, or special clinic." (Education Act 1989, Section 9(1)). This decision may be reconsidered by the Secretary and, if necessary, referred to a Ministry-appointed arbitrator through a complex written review process (Education Act 1989, Section 10). However, according to one analysis, this is "fairly closed shop" and does "not provide a truly independent forum for appeal" (Hancock, 2008, p. 2). No further detail is provided within the Education Act 1989, pertaining to either policy or educational practice for disabled students, or those with special educational needs. Under the Education Act 1989, the term 'special education' means "education or help from a special school, special class, special clinic or special service." (Education Act 1989 (Section 2.)) Not only is the definition unhelpful and circular, but is also tied to a location, rather than a service or instructional mode. In this respect it is at odds with both international human rights principles and best educational practices.

School Charters to Ensure Equity

The initial mechanism to be used in schools to establish a balance between the intent of the reforms and provision of special education was the requirement for individual boards of trustees to develop a school charter containing mandatory equity provisions. "To enhance learning by ensuring that the school's policies and practices seek to achieve equitable outcomes for students . . . irrespective of their ability or disability" (Department of Education, 1989, p. 10). Within a year of this amendment to the Education Act, Ballard (1990) described the state school system as elevating the "wishes of parents," and there was a potential for "major changes in the education of children who have disabilities" (p. 110). However, Ballard noted the reforms carried a double edged sword. Parents would benefit from having a strong voice in schools, but disabled students might be disadvantaged by "individual competition for resources "

and schools driven by market forces’ (Ballard 1990, p. 112).

There seemed to be an awareness of this possibility and the original policy design included a safeguard for parents who believed that a school’s practice had fallen short of their charter equity plans. An independent Parent Advocacy Council was to be established as an agency of last resort. It was to deal with systemic issues and to promote the interests of parents in general within the state funded education system. However, the Council was disbanded in 1991 by the newly elected National Government before it had even commenced operation (Mitchell, 1993).

Fiscal Policy and Special Education

The policies of Special Education 2000 (Ministry of Education, 1996) announced in May 1996, ushered in a new set of initiatives and changes to resource allocation. Previously demand had shaped the scope of responsiveness and had enabled degrees of ‘user capture’ to influence planning and the cost of delivery. A model to control the supply was then put into place. The stated policy goal was the achievement of a “world class inclusive education system providing educational opportunities of equal quality” within a decade” (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 5). The latent purpose of the policy (Codd, 1988) was to shift responsibility for providing special education from the Ministry of Education to each local school while giving the latter the tools required for the control of specialist delivery and cost.

Control over costs was sought through the implementation of a prescriptive framework utilising bands that outlined levels of need. Equal quality was an indexation of comparative need and the matched funding was presented by the new policies. As no impact measures were linked to the allocation process students with moderate levels of need were to be supported by funding provided directly to schools. In turn, the schools were expected to adopt an inclusive approach toward the education of children with low to moderate levels of need. Concern was expressed that without strong safeguards at the centre individual schools could pursue their own idiosyncratic policies. (Mitchell, 1996.)

Advice and Guidelines for Governance and Operation

Administrative models were presented to schools for their implementation within particular operational areas. It very quickly became evident to school principals that the inclusive focus of the new policy could be readily stymied by bureaucratic demands and costs of funding services to students (Wills, 2006). Within three years, the response of school leaders was described with “disillusion, and some distrust, if not a sense of betrayal” (Wylie, 2000, p.4). The demands of managerialism had been located within the policies, for the education of disabled children. While they may have appeared to be technically neutral, the policies would act as a moral technology (Fulcher, 1993). Their function was to ensure the alignment of understanding and action, of schools and parents, with the objectives established by those in positions of influence and control.

The special education policy consisted of nine major components, of which three; -The Ongoing Reviewable Resourcing Scheme (ORRS) (Ministry of Education 1996), The Special Education Grant (SEG) (Ministry of Education, undated) and Resource

Teachers, Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) (Ministry of Education, undated) had the greatest impact upon school operation. The other components were: initiatives related to speech and language; challenging behaviour; and one for students with high health needs; sensory impairments; or physical disabilities. A tailored, voluntary programme of professional development was offered to schools commensurate with the policy 'roll-out.'

ORRS funded services and support to students with high or very high needs were ascertained by a paper-based process where the student's application was reviewed by an anonymous panel of verifiers who had no direct contact with the student or her school. In 1998, approximately half of all students receiving high levels of support maintained their entitlement (Human Rights Commission, 2009). Appeal processes were available to families, but were almost never utilized, and no appeal mechanism was available for schools.

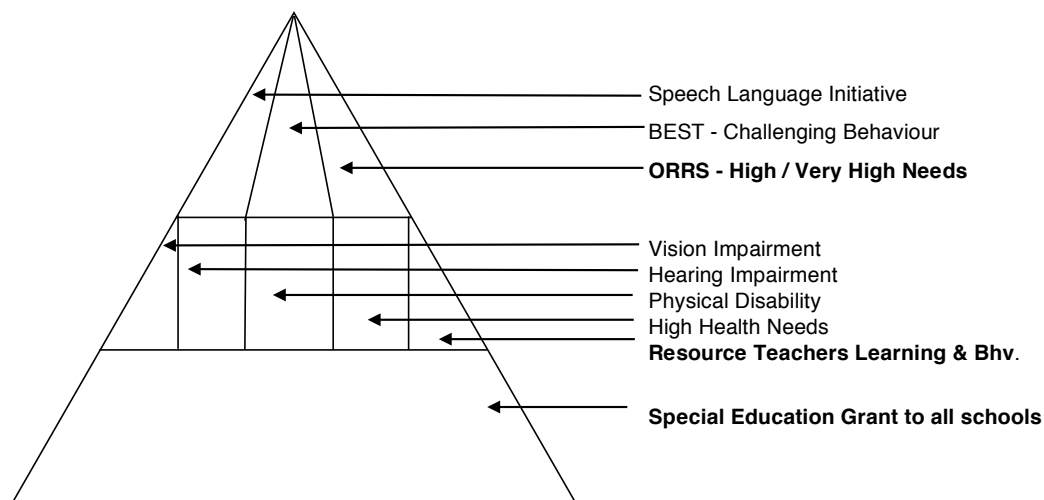
SEG was designed to provide all schools with a basic grant to fund activities that enable staff to respond to students with moderate levels of special educational need. The grant is indexed to the socio-economic status of the school community, identified as its decile rating. Schools in low-decile communities received higher levels of funding, calculated upon the number of students attending the school.

RTLB provided trained specialists who acted as advisors to schools and supported teachers of students with moderate needs. The staffing ratio of one Resource Teacher for every 750 students was provided to a 'cluster' of local schools, which collectively governed the specialist teachers.

The most recent data provided by the Ministry of Education showed a total of 8,249 applications were received over a five-year period for the awarding ORS funding. While 84% of these succeeded in funding being awarded at the first application, the residual applications, which could be re-considered after six months resulted in a subsequent success rate of just 30% on each cycle of re-application. Some students were still resourced at low levels two years later and after four application cycles later. (Ministry of Education, 2011)

The ORS Guidelines (2004) indicates, "if, after a number of applications and reviews, the parents are not satisfied with the verifiers' decision they may write to the Secretary for Education to request an appeal under Section 10 of the Education Act (1989)." (Ministry of Education, 2004, p.21). Surprisingly few families made use of the legislative framework in the period 1998 - 2009; the Ministry appointed arbitrators heard only 38 appeals. Fifteen of these were awarded and a further 24 enquiries were made but not progressed (Ministry of Education, 2011).

Figure One: The multiple elements of *Special Education 2000* that applied to the compulsory education sector (Adapted from Ministry of Education, 1995).



Inclusive Education – Not Delivered

The new policies relied upon economic instruments: a partial subsidy for school costs; regulated and controlled individualised funding; and a technical service with a devolved management model. When combined, these tools did not achieve the policy’s goals of a world-class, inclusive education.

Building the momentum for inclusive education of disabled students in local schools upon “rights-talk, that in a seemingly apolitical form, promises emancipation, equality and a better world to all intents and purposes” had been flawed (Gynther, 2011, p. 851). Where parents came to use “emancipatory vocabularies” of the late Western liberal tradition there was a displacement of the understanding and action needed to achieve inclusion” (Gynther, 2011, p. 852). At a government level, the commitment of the necessary political will and the acceptance of the ongoing economic impact upon the arrangements of state funded education, had been overlooked. At a local level, the nature and range of engagement between parents and schools had not been systemically re-aligned to an enduring manner. While the initial platform for inclusive education was the change to education law, the concomitant re-development of school capability and capacity was incomplete (McLean & Wills, 2010). Furthermore the development and implementation of regulations to meet the policy goals of *Special Education 2000* (Ministry of Education 1996) fell short of the detail required to ensure the delivery of special education to students in New Zealand. No safeguards or complaint mechanisms were in place for families to easily access when challenging the decisions of the Ministry of Education or the actions of schools.

Jurisprudence – The Daniels Case

Legal action against the Ministry of Education was commenced in February 2000 by a group of 16 parents of disabled students. The basis of the complaint was their opinion that the Crown had a duty under Section 9 (a) of the Education Act 1989, to maintain special education for students where it had been agreed that those students had special educational needs. The High Court under Judge J. Baragwanath found partially in favour of the parents. (*Daniels v. Attorney-General* [3 April, 2002] HC AK M1516/W99). The Ministry appealed the ruling. However the Court of Appeal upheld the ruling that the Minister of Education had acted illegally, but limited the decision in other respects. (*Attorney-General v. Daniels* [2003] 2 NZLR 742 [CA]). Subsequently, a settlement was reached between the parties and the Court ordered a range of remedies at a district level. Significant among these was the requirement for the Ministry to conduct a national exercise by the end of 2004 to inform decision-making about special education (Wills, 2006).

Both court rulings have been explored within disability and education circles to examine their ultimate impact on the enforceable right of a disabled student to an inclusive education. The difference between the two opinions is not in whether the right exists, but of its content and enforceability. The Court of Appeal takes a narrower approach than the High Court, “leaving some deserving cases without a direct path for enforcement” (Ryan, 2004, p. 746). Both courts found a justiciable right to an education that is ‘suitable, regular, and systematic’, but again the courts differ on the scope of that right, with the Court of Appeal adopting a more restrictive view. In the end, most observers agree that litigation is not a viable path of action for students with special educational needs and their families. In fact, one commentator writes that the appellate court “has left judicial review as an all but hollow remedy in terms of enforcing the right to education in New Zealand” (Ryan, 2004, p. 766). Only in cases of an extensive breach of the right to an education, one framed as negligence, would a litigant have much success with an appeal.

An equally important Government policy requiring consideration when evaluating the progress of disabled students’ education was the New Zealand Disability Strategy (Minister for Disability Issues, 2001). Among its 15 objectives to move New Zealand towards an inclusive society was one “to provide the best education for disabled people.” (Minister for Disability Issues, 2001, p. 18). Eight implementation items accompanied this objective, such as insuring no child is denied access to their local, regular school based on impairment and that students, families and educators have equitable resources. Other implementation items called for improving schools’ responsiveness to, and accountability for, disabled students’ needs, and promoting appropriate and effective educational settings that met individualised needs.

New Zealand has relevant obligations under two international human rights treaties, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations 1989), and on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations 2006). The former was ratified in 1993, and the latter was ratified by New Zealand in September 2008. These “significant and compelling treaties” are not “mere window-dressing” under New Zealand law (Hancock, 2008, p. 4). They provide

perhaps the best hope for legal recourse. For example, Article 23(3) of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, provides a clear obligation for state parties to provide an education “in a manner conducive to the child’s achieving the fullest possible social integration”. Accordingly, “States Parties shall ensure an inclusive education system at all levels and life long learning.... In realizing this right, States Parties shall ensure that... Persons with disabilities can access an inclusive, quality and free primary education and secondary education on an equal basis with others in the communities in which they live” (Art. 24) of the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities.

The practice of families making claims for disability rights was identified as a “late twentieth-century phenomenon” in the United States (Braddock & Parish, 2003, p. 99). Just as amongst different disability groups those people with intellectual disabilities have most recently moved to collectively seeking their own interests as part of a “struggle to claim identity and political power” (Braddock & Parish, 2003, p. 99). Since the change in education law was first called for in New Zealand, there have been just three projects to provide families with printed information about education, disability, and their children’s rights. These all involved parents, disability, and lobby groups. A key feature of each publication was the use of plain language. The intention was that parents would feel more able to take action for their children when seeking a more inclusive education. After all, with legislation and regulation it is still left to parents to seek what they believe is best as “progress depends in a large measure on empowered and committed families” (Mittler, 2003, p.43).

An ongoing approach to parent empowerment has been the provision of literature pertaining to impairment and child disability. The first project was supported and funded by the Department of Education. It was the work of eighteen parents, supported by a small group of officials. The resulting publication *The Parent Pack* (1988) was widely distributed throughout New Zealand. It provided up-to-date information about the first five years, schooling, planning processes, and approaches to working with professionals and special educators. Following the amendment to the Education Act in 1990, the booklet *Education and the Law: Children with special educational needs*, was released. The contents focussed upon the new law, parent rights, school selection and enrolment, disputes, appeals, and arbitration. The New Zealand Institute of Mental Retardation, and the New Zealand Society for the Intellectually Handicapped funded the publication. The publication was distributed nationally and available for a year.

The Parent Access Guide (1995) was written by members of a parent lobby group and its contents addressed early reactions to disability, parent rights, advocacy, school options, dealing with specialists, individualised planning and assessment, and transition within the school system. This document was funded by the government agency, The Special Education Service, and was distributed nationally for several years after publication. The essence of the publication is captured by one parent statement “our daughter is unique, we make this the centre of our relationship with professionals, not her category or label” (Parent Access Guide, 1995, p.12). For almost a decade, these three projects have provided the only broadly distributed material for families considering disability and education rights in New Zealand.

The development and implementation of *Special Education 2000* from 1995 -1997

generated over 30 operational documents “to detail subsequent policies to achieve the original [policy] purpose” (Wills, 2003, p.69). This material was directed toward school management, staff, and boards of trustees. There was a series of update newsletters providing summaries and extracts of policy documents for families. No communication strategy was targeted at schools. Instead schools were expected to inform and advise parents of the policy changes.

In 2011, the information provided by the Ministry of Education on its website advising parents about special education support and services was neither current nor accurate. Entries about services and funding were last updated in 2009. The information about appeal and complaint processes for parents to follow against the Ministry is both incomplete and inaccurate. There are no links to the Children’s Commissioner, the Human Rights Commission, or the Health and Disability Commissioner. The Code of Rights of the Health and Disability Commissioner (1993) particularises the rights to effective communication and to be fully informed. There are no such rights when seeking disability support or special education services from the Ministry of Education.

Human Rights Legislation

According to one legal analysis, the Human Rights Act 1993 sits over the top of the Education Act, 1989 (Hancock, 2008). This New Zealand legislation prohibits a wide range of disability discrimination under Section 21(1)(h) The Human Rights Act 1993 and educational discrimination on the grounds of disability under Section 57 of the same legislation. However, where a person requires special services or facilities that cannot be reasonably made available, the refusal or failure to admit a student with a disability is not unlawful. The legislation does not define what is reasonable. Irrespective of how problematic the approaches to including disabled learners in regular education may be in nations like New Zealand, the move toward inclusive education is signalled in agreements such as the Salamanca Declaration (UN, 1994). When education services have not been provided for disabled students, there has been provision for parents to initiate a formal complaint with the Human Rights Commission. In turn the Commission can investigate the complaints, and under some circumstances, a formal hearing will be conducted with a ruling being made.

The Human Rights Commission and Education Complaints

The Human Rights Commission (2009) used four broad international standards to analyse the 261 complaints and enquiries received pertaining to disabled children’s rights to education within 2002-2008. It found that in the areas of:

- Availability, there was a lack of “skilled and qualified” educators
 - Accessibility, participation rates of disabled students were “disproportionately low”
 - Acceptability, education standards “vary considerably” for disabled students
 - Adaptability, education does not “reasonably accommodate disabled students so they can achieve equitable outcomes” (Human Rights Commission, 2009, pp.9-10)
- The Commission declared “disabled students remain the object of policy rather than the subject of their own education” (Human Rights Commission, 2009, pp. 17-18).

Inclusive Education in New Zealand as a Response to Child Disability

A common experience for parents of disabled children is the rejection of their child by the school they approach. The situation in New Zealand is particularly evident when parents follow the approach taken by those responding to notions of educational rights. Commentary suggests that civil-rights based legislation in developed nations provides only limited solutions for disabled people, as the discrimination they experience is too deeply ingrained to be “dispelled by the simple passage of legislation” (Waddington & Diller, 2002, p.272). When resources are available, because each child has a verified level of special educational need, the response of schools may vary. However, the underlying message of ‘no funding, no welcome, and no working relationship’ appears to be a pervasive aspect of the education of students with disabilities.

Brown and Wills (2000) explored this point, and indicated “the reality for many parents of children with special needs is that they do not have a choice of schools for their children, particularly if they do not carry a ‘dowry’ of resources with them” (p. 16). When focusing on the removal of discrimination associated with disability, there may well be the need for the continuance of the provision of preferential treatment so disabled students are able to take up their desired activity (Waddington & Diller, 2002). An anomalous position is created. When identified as needing services to participate, the school student is very likely to remain stigmatised by this process of identification and labelling. In this way policies are used to ensure gate keeping and resource control (Wills & McLean, 2008). The predominant medical approach with its deficit thresholds maintains the attitudes and technical practices derived from segregated institutions and arrangements put in place by the state over 100 years ago. Under these circumstances inclusive education is uncommon and difficult to sustain even when the child is attending their local regular school.

Inclusive Education in the Pacific-Asian Nations as a Response to Child Disability and Poverty

The adoption of the solutions to education problems developed in another country is cautioned. Booth (2000) suggested that where nations of the North provided universal and free education, the support of special educational needs was regarded as a right. Yet in the countries of the South, “only a minority of learners with impairments receive an education and these generally belong to privileged sections of society” (Booth, 2000, p.23).

Where the State did not provide for the education of disabled students, due to being “too difficult to manage and too costly to support” (Asian Development Bank, 2010, p.3), the students are often placed into institutions funded by ministries of health or welfare. Where this has not occurred, a student’s needs may be responded to by development agencies, as well as international, nongovernment organisations. Analysis of policies on disability and of the donor agencies in Thailand indicated a contrast between the agencies from the United Kingdom and Australia with the latter seeking to alleviate poverty by reducing social exclusion and taking a development for all approach. The programmes originating from the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), took the “the rights based perspective and empowerment of persons with disabilities” (Ito, 2010, p. 49). Most initiatives focussed on disability specifically and provided direct

intervention through volunteers and professional specialists.

As Fulcher (1989) notes, the medical discourse continues to inform educators, particularly through the individualism it created where “responsibility is assigned to the victim” (p. 28). In aid efforts, as Ito (2010) indicated there may be dual pathways. However, capability building needs to be considered, as well as the impact of direct intervention. Being a signatory to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Salamanca Statement provides no certainty that disabled children will receive education or that it will be inclusive. Additionally, aid based programmes reinforce the charity discourse associated with disability, and serves to re-enforce dependence and the role of the expert associated with the medical model (Fulcher, 1989).

The movement in Hong Kong to adopt a more inclusive approach toward the education of disabled children has been identified as a major reform (Forlin, 2010). There has been encouragement within Confucian teaching to be tolerant and accepting of disabled people, as “those who follow this philosophy have adopted the attitude that all people are educable” (Forlin, 2010, p.181). This position is offset with the analysis that Hong Kong, as a modern society with a state funded schooling system, is far from inclusive. Forlin (2010) offers some explanatory factors including the impact of a declining population forcing schools to compete for enrolments through maintain a perception of quality, a top-down bureaucracy, and a demand for adherence to legal and regulatory frameworks developed by the government in response to the (Dakar, 2000) call for Education for All.

An inclusive approach contrasts with the traditional role of the teacher because it requires pedagogic strategies and practices to be “more interactive and child-centred . . . and built upon an assessment of individual learning needs” (Asian Development Bank, 2010, p. 31). This requires a shift in the training of teachers to reflect a broad understanding of diversity as represented in national populations, as well as being rights based and learner-centred. However, there is little room for innovation as meritocracy maintains didactic teaching in Hong Kong. Unresolved tension exists between the established pedagogy, the work required to amend the school’s approach, and necessary teacher training for the inclusive philosophy found within Education For All (Forlin, 2010). This latter element illustrates the impact of economics on the political economy of disability. While schooling plays a significant role in social and cultural reproduction, education responds to other demands. “Within industrialized countries, the centrality of economic rationality, with regard to decision making at both a central and local level, has had an increasing influence on policy and practice” (Barton & Armstrong, 2001, p.698).

The framework created by economic rationalism is the fifth discourse identified by Fulcher (1989), describing a corporate approach with a focus on managing disability. It is increasingly evident and sits more comfortably in the neoliberal environment than a rights approach towards education. The socio-political contexts of nation-states remain instrumental in shaping the parental responses and demands associated with impairment in their children. Yet the move toward Western models of education and intervention associated with disability are potent and are seen by the families of disabled children as being of value. Ilagan (2000) provides insight into the impact of parental advocacy

within the Philippines. In five of 15 political regions within the country where poor disabled children attend local centres for intervention and rehabilitation, their families were trained “in advocacy, lobbying, and resource mobilization at all levels” (p. 122). Consequently, where these centres operated, the children were prepared for, and attended school. Later, data gathered for the international comparison of the education of disabled children indicated that policy trend and law in the Philippines was toward “mainstreaming and inclusion in education, parent empowerment, and family involvement” (Davis, et al., 2007, p.52).

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated how the state extended compulsory education to all New Zealand children and the right to an education alongside their peers, has been a feature of New Zealand law since 1989, yet the inclusive education of disabled students remains uncertain. While policy and regulatory structures have been devised with a theme of inclusivity linked to policy goals, neoliberal reform has refocussed attention away from a rights model of education. There has been a paucity of initiatives for preparing parents to advocate for inclusive education and the borrowing of approaches from civil rights has not always been a predictor of the maintenance of disability rights in a state funded education system.

The response that may contribute to a more certain outcome could be found in continuing the expectation of parental involvement throughout their child’s educational journey, just as it is for children who do not have a disability, or a special educational need. In which case, the shift and change must come from the belief and practice of teachers, as Slee (2007) has pointed out:

“Parents and disabled people found themselves to be the minority voice at the table of professional interest. The power of the traditional special education lobby is pervasive. This is because the most powerful ally is the regular classroom teacher who continues to believe that disability is a threat rather than a resource for education”(p.186).

However, the features of individual difference are increasingly responded to by a political economy. Barton (2001) notes the traditional approach of special education responds to “the dominant forms of discourse of a given society, in particular a world of marketisation, competitive-ness, and selection . . . by removing those difficult, objectionable and unwanted people to other spheres” (p. 5).

By considering the features of the situation found in New Zealand through the use of ‘the discourse matrix’ provided by Fulcher (1989), it can be argued that similar elements and tensions will come to the fore in Pacific-Asian nations, as they move toward an inclusive response to the education of disabled children.

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Cultural Diversity in Music Learning: Developing Identity as a Music Teacher and Learner

Jennifer Rowley and Peter Dunbar-Hall

Abstract

This paper investigates the effectiveness of an innovative cross-cultural fieldwork experience in the formation and perception of identity as a group of music education students during their pre-service music teacher training. It involves Australian students studying music and dance in Bali, Indonesia, and positions cultural difference as a site of personal development and self-realisation. It relies on students being removed from their current ‘comfort zones’ in many facets of their lives: musical, pedagogical, social, and cultural. The role of cultural confrontation is analysed as a force in the development of identity showing students moving from their current identities as music students towards emergent identities as music educators.

The Culturally Embedded Nature of Music Pedagogy

This article discusses a multicultural initiative within a four-year Music Education degree programme at an Australian university. This degree programme includes a high level of subjects related to learning and teaching music through cultural diversity. One of these subjects has great potential to cover many expectations of training music educators to be aware of the multicultural nature of music education, of culturally defined teaching methods, and culturally influenced learning styles (Schippers, 2010). In this one semester subject, students learn to perform on the instruments of a Balinese *gamelan*, and experience the teaching and learning methods used by Balinese musicians. The goals of this subject are numerous, but the most significant one is that through this experience students will learn to reflect on diversity in how music can be learned and taught (Barrett, 2011). The use of Balinese music pedagogies is to encourage students to theorise about music pedagogy from contrasting situations. On a more general level, there is an expectation that reflection on the specificities of Balinese music learning and teaching will lead to understanding the culturally embedded nature of music pedagogy (Dunbar-Hall, 2009). The ideology of culturally embedded pedagogy underpins much of the thinking behind current forms of music education (Green, 2011). It is important therefore that students are trained in the theories and practices of a multicultural approach to both their own learning, and their eventual teaching.

Multicultural perspectives have become standard aspects of music education since the 1970s and internationally there is solid research based literature on classroom teaching methods, teaching content and resources, school-based expectations, syllabus requirements, and teacher preparation for music education, that reflect and acknowledge

cultural diversity (Volk, 1998; Lundquist, 2002; Reimer, 2002; Szego, 2002; Campbell et al, 2005; Green, 2011). The work described in this paper is complementary to existing thinking about multiculturalism in music education. It is innovative in that it adopts fieldwork outside one's home country as its method for assisting students to develop knowledge, dispositions, and skills, to teach with awareness of, and proactivity, in multiculturalism. Fieldwork, a staple learning methodology in disciplines such as anthropology and sociology, is used to train music educators. This presents a new way to represent the aims and objectives of music education, moving it away from canonical classroom methods courses, which do not take individual students' cultural backgrounds into consideration, to thinking about pedagogy as culturally embedded.

In support of these premises it is noted that current forms of education are not monocultural; that students and teachers work together in diverse learning contexts bringing their own culturally shaped views of and about education into that setting. Secondly, from a musical perspective, music, as a subject of study in educational systems has always been multicultural and the study of music has included reference to cultural diversity as a source of composers' inspirations and as a conceptual site of artistic influence. The example of Mozart being heavily influenced by the Turkish music he heard in the streets of Vienna, and then using the musical effects of Turkish military bands in various pieces of his own work, is a clear reminder of multiculturalism in music at work from an 18th century perspective, and something that is regularly taught about Mozart and his compositional style. Thirdly, the basic student-centred educational directive to teach through acknowledgement of (and in response to) students' backgrounds, individual needs, and interests, means that the cultural backgrounds of all students should shape what happens in the study of music. These three ideologies were used to analyse the experiences described in this paper. A further consideration in the design of the fieldwork trips was to intentionally place students in foreign learning settings for the purposes of requiring them to develop their own interpretations and understandings of their experiences. In this way a multicultural approach to learning music was positioned as an impetus to constructivist learning.

The University subject under investigation is delivered in two modes. Some students attend classes at University and learn using the University's Balinese *gamelan*; others choose to undertake the subject in an intensive period of fieldwork in Bali where they learn from the members of a Balinese *gamelan* group. It is this second mode of delivery that forms the setting for this discussion, which focuses on how this fieldwork experience influences students in two ways, as they develop as educators in the acquisition and understanding of pedagogic methods and in perceptions of themselves as musicians and music educators. Through these two conceptual areas, the fieldwork trip is conceptualised as a catalyst for identity formation – identity as teachers and as individuals – through multicultural interaction.

For us, musical identity does not refer to musical likes or dislikes, but is influenced by self-concept and is constructed (and reconstructed) by making comparisons with others in similar fields of musical endeavour, such as performing, composing, learning, or teaching. This view of musical identity as self-perception and recognition in one or more musical roles contradicts the view of identities in music mistakenly being based

on social categories and/or cultural musical practices – as may be apparent in music students who study in conservatoires (MacDonald, Hargreaves & Miell, 2002). This is especially relevant to the students involved in this research as they are elite students, studying in an institution with high entry-level criteria. Many are already accomplished performers with their instrument/voice and must pass stringent evaluation procedures to gain entry to undergraduate study. In many ways, they already have musical identities been formed through many years of learning and public performing. These varying perspectives of identity emerge and interact as students move from their current identities as music students towards emergent identities as music educators. Therefore the development of an individual's musical identity is not attributed to one 'moment' (or variable), but rather seen as the construction of identity through a variety of experiences, knowledge, and beliefs.

The Fieldwork and Subsequent Interviews

Two fieldwork trips have been conducted in 2009 and 2011 with 15 students on the first and 14 on the second trip. The 2009 trip involved only Music Education students while the 2011 trip also included one Composition student and one Performance student. The trips differed slightly in their delivery in Bali (e.g. the first trip consisted of a three hour class on each of five days, while the 2011 trip consisted of a two and a half hour class on each of seven days) but their outcomes were the same. Students learned a dance and its accompanying music. This is based on the fact Balinese music and dance are inseparable and that to dance well requires understanding of the accompanying music. To play well requires understanding of the dance a piece of music accompanies. Teaching is delivered by a group of musicians under the direction of their leader. This enables the learning to be supported by constant contact with a group of Balinese musicians throughout all lessons and the limited time of the trip results in maximum benefit.

To make sure that students will be able to begin working with the Balinese musicians immediately upon their first lesson in Bali, they learn the basics of Balinese *gamelan* playing over the semester preceding the fieldwork trip. In ten weeks of classes, through learning to perform two pieces of music, they learn basic performance techniques. These include: *panggul* (beater) grip and manipulation, and *ngekep* (left hand damping); a variety of *gongan* (gong patterns that underlie pieces of music); the different tuning systems of Balinese music; strategies for structuring pieces of music; the practical and theoretical aspects of *kotekan* (interlocking parts that produce the characteristic texture of Balinese music); and relevant Balinese musical terminology. During the trip students not only have classes, but also are expected to attend and write about performances, visit museums/art galleries, keep a journal about their learning experiences, and write about the benefits of the trip to themselves as trainee music educators. The combination of these learning processes contribute to the students' identity formation, as they are required to reflect on their growth and development as a music learner (and teacher) through the immersion in another culture (Rowley, 2010).

Collecting students' opinions on the influences of these trips was carried out through voluntary focus group interviews after the second fieldwork trip. A total of

fifteen students took part and of these, two were from the 2009 trip, the remainder were all from the 2011 trip. Interviews were held on three occasions to organise students into manageable groups for interviewing purposes. Recordings of the interviews were transcribed and coded, according to expected codes (based on pre-set interview questions) and emergent codes. Quotes from the students form the basis of the following sections of the discussion, and support the impact the experience had on their shift in musical identity.

Social Construction of Identity

The social construction transfer of music teacher identity relies on a number of factors: music teacher education, social psychology, and philosophy (Woodford, 2002). Often students in professional degree training feel connected to their future professional identity earlier than those who are undertaking more general degree programmes. It is evident when training teachers for any specialisation that students have a picture of what a teacher is because they have experienced a range of teacher models. The students enrolled in the music education degree program have the opportunity to identify with both the role of a musician and that of a teacher due to their training being undertaken in a conservatory. It appears that music students can see their role of musician and performer progressing to music teacher, as they develop and journey through the components of their degree. This shifting of identity relies on aspects of social cognition, and encourages a different identity role to that of musician/performer (Rowley & Dunbar-Hall, 2012).

A study which explored the expectations of music education students becoming music teachers asked how the music teacher's musicality is discreetly housed within the role of music teacher (Rowley, 2010). This study opened up possibilities for investigating teachers' dual identities, how musical identity is retained in the students' future role of music teacher, and the possible adoption of a 'mask' during this transition stage (in teacher training). The concept of a professional identity mask is reinforced when engaging in different levels of complexity of professional practice. Take for example the 'musician' in the classroom, introducing junior secondary school students to the instruments of the orchestra after themselves spending three hours the previous evening performing in an elite orchestra. There is predictability in the role of music teacher as there is a set day, time, curriculum, syllabus, and content to adhere to whereas, perhaps the unpredictability of the role of musician or performer is where a struggle in identifying with one professional role (or the other) really begins.

The unpredictability of the role of musician or performer is a struggle for students to identify with one professional role or the other. Mantei & Kervin (2011) examined the development of professional identity in early career teachers. They reported that the participants developed an understanding of their professional role as a teacher after engagement with professional dialogue based on readings on the professional practice of a teacher. This reflection on the professional role of a teacher created a sense of accountability amongst beginning teachers, and offers an insight into how professional identity develops. Student comments confirm that being a music teacher not only involves shaping the knowledge of future musicians, it is also a vehicle for professional

development in the endeavors of the musician *within* the teacher (Rowley, 2010).

Joseph and Heading (2010) describe the experiences of pre-service music teachers in primary music classrooms during professional experience (practice teaching/practicum) placements, as ‘putting theory into practice,’ and track their movement from music student identity to teacher identity. Gross, Fitts, Goodson-Epsy & Clarke (2010) explored teacher identity and the conceptualisation of a beginning teacher’s role after multiple professional experience placements in diverse settings. Both studies found that professional experience provided a vehicle for ongoing identity development and for developing knowledge about the ‘self’ as a teacher.

It is not clear how, and if, the multi-cultural context of the learning and teaching experience of the students contributed toward a negative or positive identity development. However, it appears that the fieldwork trip to Bali did challenge the students’ musical identity in a variety of ways. The students enjoyed themselves more as they moved away from the cultural questioning of the Balinese musicians, and transitioned to an understanding of the Balinese teaching methods (Rowley & Dunbar-Hall, 2012). It became apparent to the students that the Balinese teachers employed a different approach to teaching and, that as learners, they required thinking space and time to assimilate to this different approach. They worked out that the Balinese teachers were playing *with* the students and not instructing in the same way we practise teaching in a western context. This led to the question “do you alter your musical ‘self’ on becoming a music teacher?” Following their time in Bali, they students said that they needed to “*let go a bit and relax in their music learning, and learn how to enjoy music making*”.

One issue that resurfaced a number of times was how much the students appreciated the authenticity of the experience. Students commented in interviews about the opportunity to observe and experience Balinese culture (including the explanation given by the Balinese musicians of the religious implications of music and dance in their lives). This particular aspect of the fieldwork was emphasised by a simple religious ceremony carried out each day at the beginnings of the lesson where the teachers and students were blessed, engaged in prayers, and were encouraged to focus on the spiritual aspects of the learning and playing of music. Great care was taken by members of the Balinese teaching group to explain the link between Balinese music and dance, and their identity in Balinese Hindu religion. This component of the experience demonstrated an acceptance by students of sociocultural difference, and supported the establishment of friendships and musical working relationships with their Balinese teachers.

The analysis of Balinese teaching, of student learning, of student interpretations of their experience and of ways that students could identify changes to their own teaching practices were concrete outcomes of the two trips to Bali. What is less definable, and something the students found more difficult to discuss, are the ways in which the fieldwork in Bali acted as a catalyst in identity formation. However, this auto-ethnographic (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009) reading of the trips could be extrapolated from student comments. They agreed that when they adapted a Balinese teaching strategy they experienced the music as a learner. In their own teaching they were simultaneously occupying positions as learners and teachers, requiring a recognition of the different

identities in pedagogy. They had been learning in Bali as a member of a *gamelan* group, which meant learning, as one student put it, “*I had to be more of a team player instead of an individual,*” indicating a shift in thinking about himself as a musician.

Another student saw the trip as validation of her identity as a musician, that it made her feel “*appreciated*” because Balinese musicians “*value the essence of music*”. This feeling about her self developed throughout the trip. At the beginning of the trip she had used a ‘*Western-derived ethos,*’ but as learning in Bali proceeded she moved to a situation where “*the music came first, it is its own reason*”. Similarly, another student commented that in Bali you “*are not playing for yourself, you are playing for everyone – yourself comes last*”. A student who stated playing in a Balinese ensemble is “*not to be scared about what others are thinking about you as that can take away the whole joy of music*” reinforced this. From working with the Balinese musicians, some of whom were significant composers, there had been a realisation that a hierarchy of music roles (performer – composer – teacher - etc.) should not exist: “*being a teacher, composer, performer is a service – we all serve each other, no-one is on top . . . in Bali you see people to whom this makes sense, and you are not the crazy one . . .*”.

Agreeing with this, another student commented that in the West, being a musician is often considered “*unusual,*” but in Bali “*that distinction just wasn’t there – it was encouraging*”.

Pedagogy: Analysing Teaching and Learning

The impact on students’ development, of both music teacher and learner, was an important aim of this fieldwork experience. As music educators, we introduce tertiary students to the pedagogy of music learning by challenging their pre-conceived ideas and previous experiences of music teaching and learning. Good pedagogy practice is housed within a broad and flexible knowledge of teaching methods and an individual’s learning needs. An emphasis in the students teacher training is focused on making music accessible, enjoyable, meaningful and inclusive (Rowley & Dunbar-Hall, 2012).

There was general agreement in the interviews that the students defined the teaching of Balinese musicians as being different from the teaching they had received in previous learning experiences, and in this way, they acknowledged that different pedagogic cultures exist for the learning and teaching of music. The students also noted (often with intended criticism) that Balinese teaching differed greatly from the ways their university studies were conducted. Specifically, students noted the following aspects of Balinese teaching methods:

- Music is taught and learnt without notation
- There is collaborative learning from student to student
- Teachers modelled the music to be learnt and students copied this
- Because the pieces being learnt were repetitive, mistakes could be corrected through repetition of material
- There is a focus on whole group effort, and ‘everyone was teaching everyone, rather than one person trying to teach everyone’
- Learning required intense listening and further development of aural skills.

The students saw these aspects of the teaching as the impetus for consequent development of learning strategies, that is, learning was shaped in response to teaching practices, and differed for each student. They referred to this as a form of problem solving. They discussed their learning as:

- Challenging, because it required different ways of learning and ‘we are not used to learning in that way’
- Students ‘had to figure out how to learn’
- Their learning needed to be ‘musically holistic’ and not based on separating out components of pieces of music
- They needed to ‘let go . . . and have more fun’ as their music learning in Bali was not ‘so restricted’ and allowed students to ‘try things out (without) being ridiculed, blamed or laughed at.’

In these comments we can see implicit constructivism at work, for example, when a student notes “*we are not used to learning that way,*” or “*(we) had to figure out how to learn.*” The constructivist method of learning and teaching is not new to these students as they experienced it within their university music education courses. What is new to them, is applying this method to their musical learning. Acknowledgement of this will empower the students to explore different methods of teaching as they continue training as music teachers.

Students interpreted the experience in various ways. They had needed to devise learning methods in response to Balinese teaching, which led one student to comment, “*it gives you insight into learner’s problems*”. There was a general discussion in one interview about the point at which the music “*clicked,*” with students agreeing the beginning of the experience was confusing because it required not only handling of “*foreign*” music and the instruments to perform it, but a different way to learn: “*On the third or fourth day it clicked . . . and I understood what I was doing . . . all of a sudden I understood the patterning and what I had to listen for – it just became really clear*”.

Following from this comment, another student agreed, pointing out how once she could “*hear how my part fits*” she could: “*Relax, have fun. . . look around at other people and see what they are doing . . . enjoy music as a whole, not just your part*”.

One student theorised that learning as Balinese musicians do, relied upon “*development of muscle memory instead of an analytical approach,*” while another discussed links between the music and how it was taught; “*the music directs the pedagogy . . . their (Balinese) methods work because the music works this way.*”

Influences on Students’ Own Teaching Practices

When asked how the trip had influenced their own teaching, the students were able to list various outcomes of the experience. It should be noted that these students are required to undertake periods of Professional Experiences (practice teaching/practicum) in schools as part of their degree programme and that some of them also run instrumental and/or vocal ensembles in their communities and in schools. In fact, many of them financially support themselves by teaching in private studios in one-to-one situations. Even though these students were engaged in training to become professional music

educators, many of them were already working in a range of music teaching contexts. This gave them a good background in methods of instruction, in thinking about learning and teaching, and in the specific methods used to teach music. In terms of their own teaching practices, the potential for applying the influences of their reactions to the Bali trip was broad. They provided the following list of changes they had begun making to their current teaching:

- An increased use of repetition of musical material with their students
- Development of ways to include all members of an ensemble in all parts of a rehearsal
- A desire to make lessons more enjoyable for their students
- Taking on the nature of Balinese teaching ('patient, collaborative, addressing student wants')
- Increased use of listening to music – rather than focussing on notation
- Increased levels of collaboration – rather than teacher directed situations
- Use of higher levels of practical experiences of music – rather than of talking about music
- Use of rote learning and teacher modelling of repertoire

The students' comments about the experience of learning in Bali which involved confronting teaching methods outside their own backgrounds and reflecting on these issues indicates that there are benefits of such a multicultural approach to teacher training.

Conclusion

The results of the fieldwork address identity formation in the role of the music teacher (Bennett & Stanberg, 2006) and demonstrate how the music teacher's musicality is discreetly housed within this role. The developmental phase of the music teacher's professional role identity (both musician, music learner, and future music teacher) through the experience of learning Balinese music and dance through a cultural lens offers an explanation for this shift in identity.

The students became comfortable with the music, the Balinese teaching strategies and the learning as they realised music can be taught and learnt without notation. They came to value the collaboration between each other as musicians and to see this as just as important as the collaboration between teacher and learner as they shared a desire to learn and support each other. In addition they understood that non-Western teaching is an effective method and that teacher modelling does not implicitly rely on copying exactly what the teacher does because it is about achieving a synergy in the musical performance. Immersing the students in both Balinese dance and music allowed them to realise that working together with other artists can enhance their musical experience as they saw themselves not as individuals but as a group, working together in unison. It was not an easy transition for the students and they came to the conclusion that learning music is hard as a beginner and they should embrace a certain empathy when teaching their own students in the future. They concluded that learning in Bali was different to anything they had done before and they appreciated the concept of learning music

holistically. On reflection, the students realised they had to think about how to be a learner *and* a musician, as they had been a musician for a long time and had not thought about the process.

As individuals the students developed good teaching practice, experienced an alternate pedagogy, and explored the emotional angst of what it is to be ‘new’ music learner. They stated that they would approach their teaching as a whole and spend less time separating it out into smaller bits. In addition they concluded that reducing the amount of unnecessary repetition of musical material in their classroom would assist them in finding a way to include everyone. Striving to achieve for the Balinese teacher’s attributes of being patient, collaborative and addressing individual student needs by embracing creativity and improvisation, was a useful insight for these students.

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For books: FitzGerald, S. (1997). *Is Australia an Asian country? Can Australia survive in an East Asian future?* St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

For article: Baumgart, N., Halse, C. (1999). Approaches to learning across cultures: the role of assessment. *Assessment in Education* 6(3), 321-337.

For chapters: Long, M.H. (1996). The role of the linguistic environment in second languages acquisition. In W.C. Ritchie & T. L. Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 413-468). San Diego: Academic Press.

Tables must be typed on separate pages and not included as part of the text. The approximate location of tables should be indicated in the text.

Figures should be submitted on separate pages, in finished form, correctly labelled and their approximate location in the text clearly indicated.

In addition to consulting the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (5th ed.) authors should note the following **conventions** must be used in preparing a manuscript for submission:

- Either British English or American English spelling should be used consistently throughout the text.
- Footnotes should not be used. Endnotes should be kept to a minimum.
- All pages should be numbered consecutively.
- Do not use more than three heading levels.
- Do not use double spaces after full stops at the end of sentences.
- Do not use full stops in abbreviations: USA not U.S.A.
- When referring to the title of an organization by its initials, first spell out the title in full followed by the abbreviation in parentheses, e.g. Curriculum Development Council (CDC). Thereafter refer to it as CDC.

Refereeing of articles takes approximately three months although this may vary according to the availability and commitments of referees.

Proofs will not be sent to authors. It is important to be as careful as possible with the final manuscript.

Final manuscripts should be double spaced and accompanied by a 100-150 word abstract, a brief biography and full contact details. Authors should submit an electronic copy of their final manuscript and accompanying details. An e-mail attachment should be clearly labelled with the author's name, title of the article and the type of programme used. Editorial staff may modify the manuscript to improve the readability of an article.

Book reviews should be between 500-750 words and follow the format outlined in regular issues.

