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Editorial:

Where do cross disciplinary interests in educational research merge?

Dolana Mogadime

Editor-in-chief

Brock University

Educational research maybe cross disciplinary but it merges in the interest to investigate and answer questions of importance to educational practitioners, researchers and students alike. This Brock Education Journal issue brings together research from across Canada, all of which increase appreciation for the rigor of research for informing and improving the educational experiences of learners, professional practices and the quality of education. Furthermore, the articles challenge perceived understandings and provide directives on finding enlighten new directions through the recommendations provided. In “A Commentary: Education in Canada—Does Anyone Read Our Constitution?” Ron Phillips sheds a light on how inequality in the provision of funds for First Nations-managed schools is systemic and deliberate. He does so by posing the key problematic: “These educational structures, programs and services are common throughout provincial and territorial systems. Why were they lacking in First Nations-managed schools and communities?” Phillips’ explanation includes a rigorous conceptual analysis of two overarching causalities. Firstly, systemic inequity is rooted in the historical subjugation of Indigenous people, from a colonial legacy of discrimination. Secondly, due to misunderstandings about the Canadian Constitution, education is perceived to be neither the sole responsibility of the province nor the federal government but both. Philips analysis points to the consequences for these misunderstandings.

In “Professional Lives and Initial Teacher Education Experiences of Indigenous Early Childhood Educators, Childcare Workers, and Teachers in Northern Ontario,” Shelley Stagg Peterson, Lori Huston and Roxanne Loon make known the sojourner paths that Indigenous Early Childhood Education (ECE) community leaders undergo in their desire to become credentialed. The stories the women tell, arising out of focus group testimonials make known to the heroines’ journey they undertake. It is no small feat to claim an education and to lead their own communities, when accessing an education has personal scarifies, such as leaving one’s family (located in remote Northern communities) to attend university at a distance. One can only have a growing sense of respect for the women who through attaining an education participate in the delivery of curriculum that is relevant to their own communities. Shelley Stagg Peterson, Lori Huston and Roxanne Loon’s article dig deep into the complexity of Indigenous women’s agency in the face of both obstacles and constraints they surmount on an ongoing basis.

In “Chinese International Students’ Sense of Belonging in North American Postsecondary Institutions: A Critical Literature Review,” Jia Chen and George Zhou examine how educational institutions are responding to the growing number of international students in Canada who are citizens of China. Their review of the literature is timely and can be used by institutions to enhance an informed moral imperative to nurture the full potential and growth of all students. The researchers offer a critical review that pushes the boundaries by providing directives for

educational institutions regarding their responsibilities for the students sense of well-being particularly as that sense is linked to student success.

In “Internalizing Cognitive Bias: An Experiential Exercise for Teaching and Learning the Anchoring Effect,” John C. Kleefeld and Dionne Pohler share the results of their 7 year-long study involving 378 individuals and 19 classroom settings. The study focuses on supporting the ability among students to become good decision makers. With consideration of the professional importance of professional judgement among students in business, law, human resources, and public policy, the authors aim to impart deep knowledge about ‘the anchoring effect.’ A term described as, “a cognitive bias that causes decision-makers to rely too heavily on initial information when making subsequent judgments.” The contribution of the research for professional students and instructors alike, include the innovated approaches to the examination of ‘anchoring’ thought processes that “enable quick decisions but also lead to perceptual distortions, inaccurate judgments, and illogical interpretations.”

In “Teachers as Learners in the (Literal) Field: Results From an International Service Learning Internship,” Daniel J. Robinson, Ingrid Robinson and Andrew Foran report on a novel study that investigated an international service learning internship for in-service teachers. As the researchers argue there is a burgeoning body of research on pre-service teachers engaged in internships but little to none on inservice educators. As researchers making inroads in this nuanced area of inquiry they have much to offer up in terms what can be gained as well as recommendations on next steps for researchers that who may take on a similar focused study.

In “Novice Teachers’ Perspectives on the Use of Languages in French as a Second Language Classes That Include English Language Learners,” Callie Mady and Katy Arnett study focuses on three overarching questions: “1. How do novice teachers conceptualize language use in FSL classrooms with ELLs?; 2. Within novice teachers’ thinking about how to support language learners, to what extent is another language a consideration?; 3. How do novice teachers consider the ELLs’ home language as an influence on their experience with FSL?” The questions arise within the contexts of sparse studies, with one that demonstrated novice FSL teachers face challenges with the inclusion of ELLs in FSL classes. Recommendations from the study include suggestions to BEd teacher educators, that they “not only highlight the potential advantages of a plurilingual approach but also means” make known how to “put it into practice.” Additionally, they argue that the Ministry of Education has a role to play in providing direction on “how to use other languages to support FSL acquisition.” Overall, this issue challenges readers to reconceptualize perceived views on the topics investigated. As such the works offered up are a must read for researchers, practitioners and students across the disciplines in which the varied works are grounded.

Editorial Postscript: “A Fond Farewell”

This issue is the last in my tenure as Editor-in-Chief, like Julian Kitchen (2014) the past editor, I bid a “Fond Farewell.” It has been an extortionary 5 years serving at the helm. To be granted this gift to serve colleagues throughout Canada and internationally is an unparalleled honor. Within such a leadership capacity, 7 journal issues were produced, 2 of which were co-edited with Special Issue Guest Editors. Furthermore, an additional 2 issues were published by colleagues who were Guest Editors. BEJ features 5 - 8 articles in each issue in a consistent manner. Over the past 3 years BEJ has gained further recognition as newly listed in Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) within the Web of Science. ESCI is linked to a wider circulation of international readers. Hence,

authors of BEJ gain greater visibility. I am also pleased that BEJ has been relisted with the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) and newly listed in the USA based - Education Resources Information Center ERIC in 2015. The three listings signal that BEJ produces quality, peer reviewed open access publications and is committed to contributing positively to the scholarly open access community.

In March 2015, with a grant from the Brock University Advancement Fund, a new website was developed with the assistance of David Genkin, IT Manager. The website has capabilities to feature YouTube videos for the journal. Over several months, I worked with David Potts, IT Project Manager to launch the ‘Meet the Author’ interview series. The readers of BEJ and the wider scholarly community are invited to view digital recorded interviews in the series that features BEJ authors in conversations about their writing and research interests. The “Meet the Author” series features a personal lens thorough which to understand the innovative writing and contributions of educational researchers. The goal of engaging wider audiences is achieved within an innovative face-to-face interview format. Most recently, the Brock University Open Access Award has contributed toward the journal publications in 2018 and 2019. The funding will continue to aid the funding of the next BEJ Special Issue. With this university-wide recognition of BEJ’s role on the national and international scale, I hand BEJ to my trusted colleague, Trevor Norris. His extensive experience as journal editor, will bode BEJ well. I look forward staying connected to the journal by joining you, our loyal readers, as I delve into the treasure trove in educational research found in each issue.

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A Commentary: Education in Canada—Does Anyone Read Our Constitution?

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Abstract

Education in Canada is generally considered to be within the exclusive domain of the 13 provincial and territorial governments. There are numerous statements or writings from politicians, textbook authors, federal and provincial governments, researchers, newspaper columnists, as well as education organizations that state unequivocally that education in Canada is the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces and territories. Some statements indicate that the federal government has no constitutional role in education. Such misinformation and beliefs have had severe consequences for First Nations as Canadians absolve federal inaction in First Nations education because “education is a provincial responsibility.” However, education in Canada is the constitutional responsibility of both the federal and provincial/territorial governments. This article examines the federal government’s constitutional responsibility in education, as well as the consequences of the misinformation.

Keywords: First Nations education, education in Canada, education misinformation

Ron Phillips, PhD., and Associate Professor, Schulich School of Education, has been involved in First Nations education for 40 years. He has focused on the federal government’s constitutional education responsibilities, as well as the lack of adequate education programs and services for First Nation youth.

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It's about time. On October 19, 2016, *Academica Group* (2016) reported in its *Indigenous Top Ten* publication that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) had a briefing note prepared for Indigenous Affairs Minister Carolyn Bennett. The article's headline—"Canada Must Build Structured K-12 Indigenous Education Systems"—acknowledged First Nations-managed schools and communities were without educational systems due to a "persistent federal funding gap and lack of structures and resources" (para. 1). Other comments in the briefing noted the absence of "proper curriculum development, teacher training, testing and quality assurance or the support structures available to non-Indigenous schools such as a school board, elected trustees, or an education Ministry" (para. 1).

An earlier briefing note titled *Departmental Two Percent Escalator. Ministerial Briefing* (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada [AANDC], 2016), marked SECRET, reviewed the federal government's funding of First Nations programs, including education. Since 1997/98, the government has restricted funding increases for First Nations to 2% annually.

Federal bureaucrats were aware that this 2% increase had "not kept pace with the growing needs and increasing costs" (AANDC, 2016, p. 4). They recognized the difficulty of aligning federal programs to that of the provinces and territories "when provincial funding and benefits are growing at a higher rate" (p. 4). The bureaucrats also acknowledged that the 2% increase resulted in "a shortfall in base funding" (p. 5) and that some programs such as education "have insufficient on-going base funding to keep pace with costs and cost drivers, provincial/territorial expenditures and service levels" (p. 6).

How was this possible in 2016? Why were we discussing required educational structures, curriculum development, teacher training, assessments, as well as increasing funding for First Nations-managed schools and communities at this time? These education structures, programs, and services are common throughout provincial and territorial education systems. Why were they lacking in First Nations-managed schools and communities?

There are two answers. The first is that it's only First Nations. Historically, First Nations issues have never been important to federal politicians and bureaucrats. The second is the mistaken belief that education is exclusively a provincial/territorial jurisdiction.

However, the Minister's Briefing Notes were recommending the establishment of an educational system with all of the necessary supports because it's the federal government's constitutional responsibility to do so. Otherwise, the provincial/territorial governments would be challenging the federal government's intrusion into their constitutional jurisdictions.

The federal government has had constitutional responsibilities to First Nations since Confederation in 1867.¹ However, for many years the federal government has chosen to ignore its constitutional responsibility in education because the establishment, development, and operation of an education system is expensive, requiring education structures, qualified personnel, and operating procedures. The federal government also allowed and encouraged Canadians and the international community to falsely believe that constitutionally education is exclusively a provincial jurisdiction.

It's about time that the federal government came to the table with concrete plans to establish a comprehensive system of education. It has been too long. The time for change is now.

This paper investigates these mistaken beliefs and statements. It sheds some light on the consequences of these beliefs and statements for First Nations schools and communities.

Background

On April 13, 2010, the Assistant Deputy Minister of Education and Social Development Programs at AANDC spoke to the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples (SSCAP, 2010). She acknowledged the absence of a comprehensive system of education for First Nations students. She admitted to the Committee that “we do not have a system of education” (p. 9) and that First Nations schools are funded on “a single school model” (p. 9). She also admitted that the federal government’s AANDC department “could not provide the level of expertise provided by the provinces” (p. 9) and that AANDC does “not claim to have huge expertise in post-secondary or kindergarten-to-Grade 12 education” (p. 9).

In December 2011, the SSCAP released its report on the education of First Nations students in Canada. The report, *Reforming First Nations Education: From Crisis to Hope* (SSCAP, 2011) was the result of meetings with federal officials, First Nations educator leaders, and provincial educators in Ottawa and across Canada. The report estimated that the federal government was responsible for the education of 120,000 First Nations students who live on First Nations in Canada. These students attend one of three different types of schools: Approximately 60% attend one of the 518 First Nations-managed schools, 40% attend a provincial school, and less than 2% attend one of the seven federal government schools. The report began by noting “7 out of 10 First Nations students will not graduate from high school this year. In far too many others, countless First Nations children will never attend a school equipped with libraries, science and technology labs or athletic facilities” (SSCAP, 2011, p. 1).

Canada’s Constitution and Education

Canada became a country when the British Parliament passed the *British North America Act, 1867*. In 1982, the *British North America Act, 1867* was patriated and renamed *Constitution Act, 1867*. This act was revised and renamed *Constitution Act, 1982*.

Sections 91 and 92 of the *Constitution Act, 1867* clearly defined the separation of authority or legislative powers between the federal and provincial governments. Each level of government has exclusive authority in certain areas.

In the Distribution of Legislative Powers (Government of Canada, 2019a), the federal government was given exclusive authority under the *Constitution Act, 1867*, Section 91 (Powers of the Parliament). These ranged from: (5) Post Office, (12) Sea Coast and Inland Fisheries, to (24) Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians. In total, 29 areas were assigned to the federal government.

The provincial governments were given authority under the *Constitution Act, 1867*, Section 92, Exclusive Powers of Provincial Legislatures (Government of Canada, 2019a). This section stated “In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated.” This was followed by 16 areas that ranged from Direct Taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial Purposes, Municipal Institutions in the Province, and Generally all Matters of a merely local or private Nature in the Province.

Education is noticeably absent in the exclusive responsibilities of either the provincial or federal legislatures. Education is not found in either Section 91 or Section 92 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*.

However, education may be found in the *Constitution Act, 1867*, Section 93, Legislation respecting Education (Government of Canada, 2019a), which states that “In and for each

Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:

- (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union;
- (2) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissident Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec;
- (3) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissident Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education;
- (4) In case any such Provincial Law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that Behalf, then and in every such Case, and as far only as the Circumstances of each Case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor General in Council under this Section."

In summary, subsection 93(1) of the *Constitution Act, 1867* involves the rights and privileges of Denomination schools, as well as people in general. It would not affect any of their rights and privileges.

Subsection 93(2) involves the rights of Separate Schools and Catholic subjects in Ontario. It would ensure that their powers and privileges would be extended to Protestant and Catholic Schools in Quebec.

Subsection 93(3) involves the powers of the Governor General. Appeals from Provincial Acts or Decisions that affect the Education Rights or Privileges of Roman Catholic or Protestant Minority are to be made to the Governor General.

Subsection 93(4) clearly demonstrates that the Parliament of Canada has constitutional responsibilities in education as it "may make remedial Laws" (Government of Canada, 2019a) when there has been an Appeal to the Governor General and it has been determined that the Governor General's decision has not been followed. The federal government has this authority if it can be determined that provincial governments are failing to implement the decisions of the Governor General in the case of appeals.

Let's examine the first part of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, Section 93: "In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education" (Government of Canada, 2019a). This statement is simple and direct. The provinces have constitutional responsibility for education within their territories and jurisdictions. However, there is no mention or indication that this responsibility is extended to federal areas of jurisdiction. Rather, Section 93 states that the federal government may involve itself in provincial affairs of an educational nature and pass education laws if certain conditions are met. A reading of Section 93 in its entirety indicates that both the provincial and federal governments have jurisdiction in education.

There are at least three federal areas of jurisdiction in which the federal government has constitutional education responsibilities. The first may be found in subsection 91(7) which deals with Militia, Military, and Defence. Military members and their children would have to be educated. Officers and those who wish to become officers within the Canadian military may attend The Royal Military College of Canada (RMC) in Kingston, Ontario. The RMC is a postsecondary educational institution that “is the only federal institution in Canada with degree granting powers” (“Royal Military College of Canada,” 2019, para. 1). It describes itself as “a university with a difference” (Royal Military College of Canada (n.d., para. 1). It was established in 1876.

Historically, the federal Department of National Defence (DND) was very reluctant to provide for the education of children of military personnel. Morin (1986), in a history of DND Dependents’ Schools, wrote that until 1947 “it had been DND policy that the education of such children was the responsibility of the parents and the local school boards concerned” (p. xii). However, on April 3, 1947, authorization was given to DND “to establish schools in establishments, camps and stations where suitable educational facilities were not available within a reasonable distance” (p. 16).

The second area of federal constitutional educational responsibilities is in penitentiaries. A federal department, Correctional Service Canada (CSC), is responsible for penitentiaries throughout Canada. CSC provides inmates with a variety of educational programs ranging from “Adult Basic Education (Grades 1 to 10), Secondary Education, Vocational, College, and University level programs” (CSC, 2015, p. 1).

In 2015, CSC posted on its web-page a story from *The Globe and Mail* about Mr. Lee McNaughton, a teacher who had spent 10 years “teaching inmates in segregation at a federal institution” (McNaughton, 2015, para. 1). He noted that “Federal institutions offer high school programs with a school in every institution” (McNaughton, 2015, para. 9). The delivery of these education programs and courses may include regular classroom instruction, as well distance learning via computers. The course instructors are “qualified educators” (CSC, 2015, p. 2).

Federal responsibility in education may also be found in subsection 91(24) that gave the federal government exclusive authority over “Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians” (i.e., First Nations). Indian or First Nations children living on federal lands or Reserves were outside the jurisdictions of the provinces. The provincial government’s education authority would not extend to them as they were not “In and for each Province.” The reserves are part of the federal government’s area of constitutional authority as are penitentiaries and military bases.

When the *Constitution Act, 1867* was patriated, revised, and renamed the *Constitution Act, 1982*, two additional parts were added: Part I – The Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and Part II – Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada. Subsection 35(1) of *Constitution Act, 1982* Part II states “The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.”

First Nations children living on First Nations/reserves throughout Canada would have to be educated. An education provision or clause was included in the 11 numbered treaties signed between First Nations and the Crown (Her Majesty/His Majesty). Each of the 11 numbered treaties contained an education clause. For example, these responsibilities included maintaining a school—Treaties 1 and 2 (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada [INAC], 2013b); paying teachers—Treaty 7 (INAC, 2013a), and making provisions for the education of Indian children—Treaty 10 (INAC, 2013c).

The federal government has also enacted the *Indian Act* (Government of Canada, 2019b). The *Indian Act* has education provisions that define the educational authority and responsibilities of the federal minister of INAC. Subsection 114(2) specifies that the Minister of INAC has the authority to “establish, operate and maintain schools for Indian children.” The next subsection (115) assigns further education responsibilities to the Minister as “The Minister may (a) provide for and make regulations with respect to standards for buildings, equipment, teaching, education, inspection and discipline in connection with schools; and (b) provide for the transportation of children to and from school.”

These subsections of the *Indian Act* clearly indicate that the federal government has constitutional responsibilities in education. If education was “exclusive to the provinces/territories,” as many individuals and organizations assert, these sections of the *Indian Act* would be rendered unconstitutional and illegal.

In summary, the *Constitution Act, 1867* and *Constitution Act, 1982* assign education responsibilities to both the federal and provincial governments. Each has this responsibility within its respective areas of jurisdiction.

Misinformation on Federal Constitutional Responsibilities

The assumption that education in Canada is the exclusive constitutional responsibility of the provinces/territories may be found throughout the literature, including academic research, newspapers, government documents, and reports. Canadian and international educational organizations alike espouse similar statements.

In a speech at the Empire Club in Toronto on March 3, 1966, two ministers of education, Hon. W.C. Davis (Ontario) and P. Gerin-Lavoie (Quebec) spoke of the importance and the future of education in Canada. The title of their speeches was *Education. A Priority and a Provincial Responsibility* (Davis & Gerin-Lavoie, 1966).

The Canadian Teachers’ Federation (CTF) is clear which level of government has constitutional jurisdiction in education. In the Resources section of its website, there is a page titled *Teaching in Canada: Make a Difference—Be in Charge* (CTF, 2019). Education is listed as a provincial responsibility as

In Canada, education does not fall within the scope of federal jurisdiction—it is the singular responsibility of each province or territory. Under the British North America Act of 1867, each province and territory has the power to establish its own autonomous education system and to make all decisions regarding school, teachers and curriculum pertaining to education within the specific province/territory. (CTF, 2019, para. 1)

The CTF (2019) describes First Nations schools as “schools which operate under the jurisdiction of the Aboriginal bands in the provinces and territories” (para. 2). Note the absence of federal responsibilities for First Nations schools.

Another national education organization, the Canadian Education Association (CEA, 2007) has stated that there is “no means for direct federal involvement in the direction of primary and secondary education. Education is exclusively within the jurisdiction of provincial and territorial governments” (p. 1). First Nations schools were mentioned. They received “funds” (CEA, 2007, p. 1) from the federal government. There was no mention of federal responsibilities.

Ten years later, the CEA continues to assert provincial exclusivity in education. On its website’s FAQs page, the CEA (2017) indicates that “Education is complex, made more so in Canada because under our Constitution legislation and regulation, it is the separate responsibility of each province and territory” (para. 1).

The Canadian School Boards Association (CSBA), in a description of the Canadian education system, ignored First Nations and federal schools and their school boards. The CSBA (2019) believed that “In Canada, education is the responsibility of provincial governments” (para. 1).

The Canadian Education Centre (CEC) Network’s *Study Canada* website provides information to international students who are interested in studying in Canada. Under a heading titled “The Education System in Canada,” the *Study Canada* site notes that “Education is a provincial responsibility under the Canadian constitution” (CEC, 2003, para. 2).

The Ministry of Education in Ontario perpetuates the myth that education is a provincial responsibility on its website. Under a heading titled The Ontario Government and the Education Act, the Ministry notes that “Education is a provincial government responsibility in Canada” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2019, p. 1).

The Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (CICIC) provides education information to interested immigrants to Canada. The CICIC indicates on its website that education in Canada is a provincial responsibility. On a page titled *Ministries/Departments Responsible for Education in Canada*, the CICIC (2019) notes “Canada is a federation of 10 provinces and three territories. Under the Canadian Constitution, provincial governments have exclusive responsibility for all levels of education” (para. 1).

Education textbooks and articles make similar claims of provincial exclusivity in education. The textbook *Special Education in Canada* (Edmunds & Edmunds, 2008), under the heading Legislation Affecting Special Education noted that “In Canada, education is the jurisdictional responsibility of the thirteen individual provinces and territories” (p. 15). A second edition of the textbook includes the same statement (Edmunds & Edmunds, 2014, p. 12).

Similar thoughts may be found in other special education texts. For example, *Teaching Students With Special Needs in Inclusive Settings* indicates that in “Canada, education falls under the provincial/territorial jurisdiction” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 3).

Education textbooks and journals may simply ignore federal involvement and responsibilities in education. In a chapter titled “The Current State of Exceptional Education in Each Province and Territory,” Hutchinson (2014) provides websites on special education programs and policies for each province and territory. There was no website corresponding to federal programs and policies (i.e., INAC special education policies).

Researchers and policy analysts within Canada appear not to have read our constitution. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA, 2015) in a review of inclusive education policies, procedures, and practices throughout Canada ignored federal government special education policies “because education comes under provincial and territorial jurisdiction” (p. 5). The report also noted the absence of federal guidance in inclusive education across Canada as “Education in Canada is under provincial or territorial jurisdiction” (CCPA, 2015, p. 8).

Federal special education policies are not mentioned in the international education journal *Teaching Exceptional Children*. Dworet and Bennett (2002) noted that “Special education in Canada—unlike that in the United States—is solely controlled by each of the 10 provinces and three territories” (p. 22).

The Parliament of Canada (n.d.) also appears to have ignored or forgotten the federal government’s constitutional responsibilities in education. In a section describing the three levels of government in Canada (e.g., federal, provincial, and municipal), it noted that “In each of the 10 provinces in Canada, the provincial government is responsible for areas listed in the *Constitution Act, 1867*, such as education, health care, some natural resources, and road regulations” (Parliament of Canada, n.d., para. 5).

Canadian federal politicians have viewed education as a provincial responsibility. In 2010, Conservative MP Maxime Bernier used the constitution and the wishes of the Fathers of Confederation for the federal government to get out of areas of provincial jurisdiction. This included education, as Bernier believed that “The federal government today intervenes massively in provincial jurisdiction, and in particular in health and education, two areas where it has no constitutional legitimacy whatsoever. This is not what the Fathers of Confederation had intended” (as cited in Leblanc, 2010, p. A12).

Newspaper columnists may also be mistaken in their views of education in Canada. *Globe and Mail* columnist John Ibbitson (2005) dismissed federal involvement in education by noting that “the provinces are entirely responsible for elementary and secondary education” and adding in that “in one solitary field, elementary and secondary education, the feds don’t get involved.” (p. A4).

The misconception of education exclusivity to the provinces and territories includes federal government departments. For example, Statistics Canada’s (2009) report on *Education Indicators in Canada* makes reference to “In Canada, where education is a provincial and territorial responsibility” (p. 1).

Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), the federal department responsible for providing programs and services for First Nations throughout Canada, continues the misinformation on its education responsibilities in Canada. The department appears to be reluctant to use the word “constitutional” in describing its responsibilities. Rather, INAC uses such terms as “funds” (INAC, 2019a), “provides funding” (INAC, 2018a, 2019b), “helps eligible students” (INAC, 2018b), and “provides support for services on reserves such as education, housing, community infrastructure and social support to Status Indians on reserves” (INAC, 2017).

Another federal department, Human Resources Skills Development Canada (HRSDC, 2008), also describes the federal government’s responsibility in First Nations education as providing “funds” (p. 1) for education services. Nowhere throughout these many descriptions of federal government responsibility in First Nations education is the word “constitutional.”

The federal government’s reluctance to acknowledge its constitutional responsibilities in education has enabled the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC), an organization composed of provincial and territorial ministers of education, to assume national and international responsibilities in education. The CMEC was established in 1967 and describes itself as “the collective voice of Canada’s ministers of education” (CMEC, 2015, p. i). The national and international aspects of the CMEC are important as it “provides leadership in education at the pan-Canadian and international levels and contributes to the exercise of the exclusive jurisdiction of provinces and territories over education” (CMEC, 2017, para. 2).

At a conference of Commonwealth Ministers of Education, the CMEC was very clear on which level of government had constitutional responsibilities in education. The CMEC’s report noted that “... the provinces retain constitutional authority for education in all lands, the federal government provides for the education of registered Indians and Inuit people” (CMEC, 2000, p. 5).

The idea that education is a provincial responsibility permeates Canadian society. No one questions such assertions. For example, in early December 2015, Ms. Anna Marie Tremonti, host of the CBC’s nationally broadcasted radio program *The Current*, made a comment about education in Canada while discussing the struggles of teachers preparing for the influx of Syrian children: “of course, education is a provincial jurisdiction. Absolutely” (“Teachers Struggle,” 2015).

Discussion

The *Constitution Act, 1867* and the *Constitution Act, 1982* give the federal government of Canada authority for education within its areas. These acts allow the federal government of Canada to pass laws in education.

The federal government operates and is responsible for schools on military bases, penitentiaries, and First Nations. If education was strictly an exclusive provincial constitutional responsibility, these schools would be illegal.

Let's read Section 93 again: "In and for each Province." The provinces were given authority for education within each province. However, there is a limit to this authority—it's only "In and for each Province." There is no indication that this authority was extended to federal areas of jurisdiction or lands. It is restricted to the province. Provincial authority for education is restricted to provincial lands and areas of jurisdiction.

This restriction has been overlooked by many commentators, newspapers columnists, textbooks, politicians, and both national and international education organizations. These individuals and organizations have perpetuated the myth that education in Canada is the exclusive responsibility of the provincial and territorial governments.

How is it possible that the constitutional responsibilities in education of the federal government of Canada have been swept under the rug for so long? These responsibilities have been in existence since 1867. When our constitution was patriated in 1982, these educational responsibilities were more pronounced, obvious, and clearly stated; that is, Treaty rights. However, incorrect statements and assumptions continued.

Questions must be asked. For example, why is the federal government reluctant to use the word "constitutional" in its responsibilities in First Nations education?

The most obvious answer is that the matter involved Indians or First Nations. No one really cared about them. The federal government was allowed to ignore its constitutional responsibilities by emphasizing that while it "funds" First Nations-managed schools, the First Nation is responsible for them. There was no mention of the constitution.

The result was a non-system of federal or First Nations-managed schools across Canada. These schools continue to be without education programs, personnel, and services that provincial schools take for granted (e.g., libraries, science labs, technology, and specialists).

Another reason for the misinformation is very simple—most people have not actually read the *Constitution Act, 1867* or *Constitution Act, 1982*. If textbook writers, newspaper columnists, federal and provincial ministers, and national and international educational organizations all state that education is the exclusive responsibility of the provinces and territories in Canada, then it must be true.

However, the facts do not support such statements. The federal government of Canada has constitutional responsibilities in education. These responsibilities may be found in subsections 91(7), 91(28), and 91(24) in both the *Constitution Act, 1867* and the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

If the federal government lacked constitutional responsibilities in education, then schools on military bases, penitentiaries, and First Nations throughout Canada would be operating under the authority, policies, and regulations of a provincial or territorial ministry of education. However, this is not the case. They are operating under the authority, policies, and regulations of a federal minister and department—for example, Correctional Service Canada, Department of National Defence, and Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada.

Another reason for the lack of acknowledgement of the federal government's constitutional role in education is money. The federal government didn't want to spend much on the education

of Indians/First Nations. If education is perceived to be a provincial responsibility, then the issue of the past and current poor state of First Nations schools may be glossed over by the federal government by statements of “funding” First Nations-managed schools with no mention or concerns of constitutional responsibility. The current poor state of First Nations-managed schools can be put at the feet of the First Nations as they are responsible for their operation. Essentially, the federal government has absolved itself of any real responsibility.

However, questions must be asked. How is this possible that we are discussing needed educational structures, curriculum development, teacher training, assessments, as well as increasing funding for First Nations-managed schools and communities in 2019? These educational structures, programs, and services are common throughout provincial and territorial education systems. Why are they lacking in First Nations-managed schools and communities?

There are two answers. The first is that it’s only First Nations. Historically, First Nations issues have never been important to federal politicians and bureaucrats. The second is the mistaken belief that education is exclusively a provincial/territorial jurisdiction.

However, First Nations issues have become more prominent recently. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRCC, 2015) has issued its reports on past federal governments’ actions in the removal of First Nations children from their homes and communities to attend residential schools operated by churches. First Nations students suffered many abuses in these residential schools established by the federal government of Canada. Government actions were called “cultural genocide” (TRCC, 2015, p. 1).

It’s about time that the federal government came to the table with concrete plans to establish a comprehensive system of education. It has been too long. The time for change is now.

Recommendations

The federal government, as well as provincial and territorial governments, must provide Canadians and the world community with accurate information on the *Constitution Act, 1867* and *Constitution Act, 1982*. The federal government has constitutional responsibilities in education.

This can be accomplished by:

1. Federal and provincial government documents clearly stating the federal government’s constitutional responsibilities in education. Federal government department websites (e.g., INAC, National Defence, Correctional Service Canada). The *Constitutional Act, 1867* and *Constitution Act, 1982* must be cited.
2. The federal government acknowledging that the schools on First Nations are federal schools that are managed by the local First Nation. These federal First Nations-managed schools operate under the policies, regulations, and procedures on the federal department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada.
3. The Prime Minister of Canada speaking in the House of Commons to describe the federal government’s constitutional role in education in areas of federal jurisdiction.
4. The federal government becoming a member as well as the head of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC). Previous CMEC statements of education being an “exclusive provincial responsibility” must be corrected.
5. First Nations schools representing Canada in national and international education assessments. Such actions may encourage the federal government to provide these schools with sufficient funds to develop a comprehensive system of education.

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ⁱ In 2017, the federal government department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) was dissolved and two new departments were created: Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) and Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada CIRNAC). First Nation education was placed in Indigenous Services Canada. The department has been known as Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) and Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC).

Professional Lives and Initial Teacher Education Experiences of Indigenous Early Childhood Educators, Childcare Workers, and Teachers in Northern Ontario

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Abstract

Drawing on our analysis of focus group and narrative data, together with a review of initial educator/teacher education programs designed for northern Indigenous educators/teachers, we propose culturally appropriate programs that address the unique needs of northern Ontario Indigenous educators and teachers. The professional trajectories and initial teacher/educator education experiences of 5 Indigenous early childhood educators and teachers provide insight into the challenges of becoming credentialed. We propose that accredited programs should be designed in collaboration with northern Indigenous leaders in order to respond to the identified challenges.

Keywords: northern rural Indigenous communities, professional development, northern rural teacher education, early childhood educator

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The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (2015) calls to action challenge all levels of government to develop culturally appropriate early childhood education programs for Indigenous families. The Ontario provincial government's role in Indigenous Early Learning and Child Care includes funding, licensing, and regulating childcare and ensuring that qualified educators staff early learning and childcare centres. In 2014, the Ontario Ministry of Education created the Child Care and Early Years Act (CCEYA) requiring that at least half of the staff in a kindergarten classroom within a licensed childcare program be qualified as Registered Early Childhood Educators (RECEs or ECEs) who are in good standing with the College of Early Childhood Educators of Ontario, a regulatory body created by the Early Childhood Educators Act in 2007. RECE or ECE accreditation requires successful completion of an approved diploma program in early childhood education (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2019).

A second mandate, which had implications for ECEs in First Nations communities, required that school boards offer full-day kindergarten for 2 years; children enter junior kindergarten at age 4 and senior kindergarten at age 5 (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2018). Included in this mandate is the expectation that a registered ECE will work alongside a licensed teacher in kindergarten classrooms.

Educator/teacher positions in Aboriginal Head Start programs, which are community-based early childhood programs for Indigenous children and their families (Ontario Aboriginal Head Start Association, 2018), and in kindergarten classrooms in remote northern Ontario First Nations communities often have been filled by community members who do not hold provincial qualifications. As a result, the provincial mandates created an immediate need for initial educator/teacher education programs for First Nations educators and teachers. In addition to addressing the provincial requirements, these programs must address calls to action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) and "recognize ... the rich and varied cultural wealth, knowledge, and skills of diverse learners" (Ragoonaden & Mueller, 2017, p. 23). Additionally, educator/teacher education programs for northern Indigenous educators must address the challenges of accessing postsecondary education while living and working in remote communities. Researchers have shown that a culturally responsive pedagogy is needed to counter hegemonic approaches that devalue students' identities and ways of being, reproducing systemic and historic inequities (e.g., see Battiste & Youngblood Henderson, 2009; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994).

Underpinned by theoretical tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994), the purpose of this paper is to provide insight into the challenges and experiences of First Nations ECEs and teachers in becoming credentialed as RECEs and teachers. One of the authors of this paper, Roxanne, a First Nations early childhood supervisor in her community's licensed childcare program, narrates the story of her professional preparation and experiences as an ECE. The other two authors are non-Indigenous postsecondary teachers whose childhood and early teaching/childcare work took place in northern rural communities in Alberta and Ontario. One author teaches in a northern Ontario ECE program designed for northern Indigenous ECEs, and the other in a southern faculty of education. She conducts research with ECEs and teachers in First Nations communities. We conducted this study to deepen our understandings of ways to support the professional learning of ECEs and teachers in northern Indigenous communities, including the childcare staff in Roxanne's childcare program. In a modest way, our study responds to Call To Action #64 of the Truth and Reconciliation report (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015), as we identify issues and needs of Indigenous teachers and educators that have implications for teacher training. With the goal of

informing our own and others' work in supporting northern Indigenous ECEs' and teachers' professional practice through culturally responsive practices and programs, we used these research questions to guide the research:

1. What are the background experiences leading to participating First Nations ECEs' and teachers' professional roles?
2. What are the biggest challenges that participants have faced in their professional preparation?
3. What are participants' experiences in teacher education programs designed to address these issues?

Drawing from analysis of Roxanne's narrative and of focus group responses of four other First Nations ECEs and teachers, we propose themes about the unique circumstances and the issues faced by northern First Nations educators in order to become credentialed. We also examine the programs that are in place to support First Nations educators to fulfill the requirements. We conclude with implications for culturally responsive professional preparation and ongoing professional development of Indigenous educators working in remote communities.

Background to the Research

We provide background information about First Nations education and schooling in Canada. We then outline postsecondary programs that have been created in Ontario to serve professional preparation needs of First Nations ECEs and kindergarten teachers.

Education in Northern First Nations Communities in Canada

In Canada, historical relationships between Indigenous and mainstream English societies have had a devastating impact on all aspects of social and cultural life in northern Indigenous communities. Indigenous families struggle with outcomes of Canadian government assimilationist policies and interventions that have disrupted Indigenous family life, culture, and language (Ball & Lewis, 2011). From 1880 to the latter part of the 20th century, First Nations children were forced to attend residential schools sponsored by the federal government and administered by churches (the last school closed in 1996). Separated from their families and often from siblings while residing in the schools, Indigenous children did not experience adult-child nurturing or the intergenerational transmission of key cultural teachings. Additionally, the children were not permitted to speak their own language and were severely punished for doing so while in residential schools (Ball & Lewis, 2011). Hare (2011) explained that "the systematic denigration of the indigenous knowledge embedded in their cultural practices, values and languages was the most destructive feature of these schools, which were then thought to be necessary as part of the 'civilizing' agenda of governments and missionaries" (p. 395). The children in those schools, who became the parents and grandparents of today's children, lost a sense of pride in their Indigenous identities and culture. They did not experience family life and the daily care, love, acceptance, and feelings of security of being in the company of family members. Schools and school personnel presented threats to their ways of being and ways of interacting with others and with the natural world. Without the support of family, language, and culture, children came to see schools as threatening places where failure was a very real possibility (Hare, 2011).

Indeed, these assimilationist and genocidal policies and practices have led to "multi-generational educational failures among Indigenous peoples and educational outcomes well

below the national average” (Battiste, 2008, p. 86). Underfunding and external control of education, together with teacher shortages and rapid teacher turnover, are additional factors contributing to these educational outcomes in current times (Teach for Canada, 2019). Early childhood programming is often the focus of initiatives to change these outcomes, as “high-quality Indigenous-centred ECE can help Indigenous children cope with challenging environmental conditions, while strengthening their social, emotional, and academic well-being” (Conference Board of Canada, 2019, Looking Towards the Future section, para. 3). These initiatives recognize the need to revitalize Indigenous languages and knowledge, and to value traditional learning and teaching practices, involving parents and extended family (Hare, 2011).

Today, many First Nations communities’ schools are independently administered by a local education council. The education director is an elected band council member who holds the education portfolio (including elementary and secondary, where the schools exist) for the community. Education councils have some autonomy over the curriculum, creating locally developed curricula to teach the community’s Indigenous language and culture alongside the Ontario provincial curriculum. Many of the kindergarten teachers and some teachers in higher grades are community members who step into the role because the positions are difficult to fill with certified teachers. Where teachers from southern non-Indigenous communities fill teaching positions, teacher turnover is often very high. Because of their geographic isolation, many Northern Ontario First Nations ECEs and kindergarten teachers face unique challenges in gaining the mandated credentials (Preston, Cottrell, Pelletier, & Pearce, 2011). The distances that must be covered to attend postsecondary programs, together with the costs of the program and the cost of relocating for long periods of time, are prohibitive for many Indigenous ECEs and kindergarten teachers (Greenwood, de Leeuw, & Fraser, 2007). Weather conditions can affect educators’/teachers’ attendance in postsecondary programs, as they may not be able to fly out of their First Nations community due to winter storms. When a family crisis or social issues arise, they are faced with decisions that can result in a withdrawal from their diploma program, as the time that is needed to go to their home communities and return often exceeds the allowable time away from the program (Preston, 2008). Additionally, although many First Nations educators and teachers have years of experience, they may not have the formal academic prerequisites to be accepted into postsecondary programs.

In response to these enduring challenges, postsecondary ECE and teacher education programs have been developed, with the underlying assumption that “culturally valued and useful knowledge about childhood and childcare is embedded within the community and that this knowledge needs to be afforded a central place in the development of training curricula” (Ball & Simpkins, 2004, p. 482). In the following section, we describe programs in Ontario postsecondary institutions that attempt to address these challenges.

Professional Preparation Programs for Northern Indigenous Teachers and Educators

We highlight the preparation programs that have been accessed by ECEs and teachers who participated in our focus group in order to gain their early childhood/teacher credentials. Oshki-Pimache-O-Win The Wenjack Education Institute (Oshki Wenjack) is a postsecondary education training school created under the Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) James Bay Treaty 9 and Ontario’s portion of Treaty 5 Territory to provide opportunities to Indigenous educators living in remote communities. Oshki Wenjack will provide education to anyone who walks through the door but the catchment is to primarily service the NAN Territory and surrounding area. Oshki Wenjack partners with the mainstream Ontario College of Applied Arts and Technology

(OCAAT) to deliver a culturally sensitive ECE Diploma program for Indigenous educators. The Ontario Ministry of Education provides education and travel grants to support educators under the ECE Qualifications Upgrade program (Ontario ECE Grants Program, 2018).

The ECE Diploma program is delivered over five semesters. Students travel to the Oshki Wenjack campus in the northern city of Thunder Bay for 4 weeks out of every 15-week semester for face-to-face instruction and practicum. At the Oshki Wenjack campus, students complete practicum hours in Thunder Bay early learning settings and at their place of employment in their First Nations communities. This combination allows students to meet all requirements for practicum hours. It also recognizes the work that educators do in their communities' early learning settings.

In an effort to support incoming students in dealing with financial challenges, family needs, as well as academic issues related to language and learning styles, Oshki Wenjack offers a 3-day student orientation. The campus Indigenous Elder, faculty, and staff provide workshops on life skills, budgeting, defining learning styles, and training in the online learning platforms. Each day ends with a feast.

The campus includes a large kitchen and a cultural room to provide a home-like setting. Students are encouraged to prepare all their meals on campus and use the medicines (e.g., tobacco, sage, sweet grass, and cedar) in the cultural room. The students prepare bannock almost every morning on campus and are known to bring wild meat from home in order to cook traditional foods on campus. The educators continue with their full-time employment while studying full time in the alternative delivery model of on-campus, online, and independent study. In the history of the Oshki Wenjack Indigenous ECE program, 81 educators have graduated since 2010 and continue to work in their First Nation communities across Ontario (Oshki-Pimache-O-Win—The Wenjack Education Institute, 2016).

Another program is offered by Nipissing University, a mainstream postsecondary institution in a more southerly Ontario city, North Bay. Nipissing University uses an alternative delivery model in its Aboriginal Classroom Assistant Diploma Program (ACADP). Students attend face-to-face classes at the North Bay campus for two 6-week summer sessions over 2 years. They complete two 6-week practicums in their First Nations communities under the supervision of a certified teacher in the fall of each year. This program has been very popular because the summer sessions allow students to bring their children and partners along for support while away from their First Nations communities (Nipissing University, 2019a). Oshki Wenjack is entering a new partnership with Nipissing University to offer the ACADP starting the summer of 2018 with full enrollment.

In the southern Ontario city of St. Catharines, through the Tecumseh Centre for Aboriginal Research and Education, Brock University offers an alternative online Bachelor of Education degree for Indigenous students interested in qualifications to teach children aged 4–13 years. Courses are delivered using a cohort model, where students choose to take courses face-to-face or online (Brock University, 2019). Additionally, a community-based B.Ed. program run by Brock University in partnership with the Northern Nishnawbe Education Council (NNEC) spans 5 years, with students leaving their community for 3 weeks at a time to be taught in the northern town of Sioux Lookout, Ontario. Although no longer being offered, the degree program was popular with Oshki Wenjack ECE graduate students wanting to complete a teaching certificate.

Confederation College of Thunder Bay offers a four-semester Educational Support program preparing students for employment as Educational Assistants, Special Education Assistants, and other support positions (Confederation College, 2018).

Programs at all of these institutions involve Indigenous and Non-Indigenous educators and students working together to ensure that mandates of regulatory bodies, as well as community needs, are being met. The programs place a strong emphasis on Indigenous language and culture, and include Indigenous knowledge and land-based curriculum. The goal is to train local educators/teachers as culturally proficient and professionally competent in order to contribute to the health and well-being of their communities (Brock University, 2019; Oshki-Pimache-O-Win—The Wenjack Education Institute, 2016).

Methods

Context and Participants

This research is taking place in the ancestral Treaty 9 and Treaty 5 territories of the Nishnawbe Aski Nation and Grand Council Treaty 3 territory. In the Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) territory, there are 49 First Nations communities with a total population of 45,000 (Nishnawbe Aski Nation, 2019). From west to east across the northern half of the province, these communities cover 210,000 square miles (approximately the size of France). Many communities are accessible only by plane or by winter roads for the 3 to 5 months when lakes freeze over. Other communities are accessible by road, but are hundreds of kilometers away from large urban areas. Grand Council of Treaty 3 is a political organization representing 24 First Nation communities across areas of northern Ontario and southeastern Manitoba, Canada (Grand Council Treaty #3, 2019).

We are grateful for the opportunity to learn from and with ECEs and teachers in four First Nations communities in NAN territory and with Roxanne, who lives in a First Nation community in Treaty 3 territory. Focus group participants are three Indigenous kindergarten and Grade 1 teachers who are teaching in their northern rural Indigenous communities. They were selected because they have worked with a group of speech-language pathologists who provide speech and language services to children in participating teachers' and educators' classrooms, and who work with Shelley (~~a pseudonym for blind review purposes~~), the university researcher and author of this paper. The speech-language pathologists asked Shelley to assist them in conducting research to inform their modifications of assessments and approaches toward greater cultural responsiveness. In this respect, the focus groups were part of a reciprocal relationship (Castellano, 2004; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991); the participants' children and community would receive more culturally responsive services after their focus group contributions were used to inform the speech-language pathologists' practice, and the speech-language pathologists and Shelley would learn ways to improve their practices. Focus group participants' communities and Roxanne's community are 500–1,200 kilometers from an urban area of 50,000 or more people. The population of the five communities ranges from approximately 300 people to approximately 2,600 people. Services in all five communities include a K–10, K–11, or K–8 school (administered by local Education Authorities) and an Aboriginal Head Start program. Additionally, there is a health centre, police station, general store (the post office is usually in the store), churches, a hotel, and recreation facilities, such as a baseball diamond, arena, and community hall. Communities of more than 1,000 people have other amenities, such as a bank and fast-food restaurants.

As shown in Table 1, the five participating teachers/ECEs have many years of experience and a range of postsecondary education experiences. Marlene is a graduate of both the 2-year Native Teacher's Education Program at the University of Ottawa and of the 1-year Aboriginal Teacher's

Assistant Program of Confederation College in Thunder Bay. Sara and Kari completed the Aboriginal Classroom Assistant Diploma Program over two summers at Nipissing University. Sara is planning to complement her teacher training with an Indigenous Early Childhood Education program at the Oshki Wenjack campus. She and Crystal have completed the Native Language Teachers Certification (NLTC) at Lakehead University. The program provides certification for educators to teach their native language in First Nations communities. The program is offered over 3 years during the summer months.

Table 1

Participating Teachers' Years of Experience and Teaching Assignments

Teacher	Years' experience	Teaching assignments
Roxanne	8 years	Resource (one-on-one), ECE
Marlene	21 years	Kindergarten, Grade 1, Special Education
Sara	22 years	Kindergarten, Grades 1–3 and 5, Teacher Assistant and then took over from a teacher who left
Kari	10 years	Teacher Assistant, Special Education, and speech-language pathologist (SLP), working with children in between SLP sessions
Crystal	31 years	Voluntary teacher, Teacher Assistant, Native Language instruction, Kindergarten

Data Collection and Analysis

Our research methods honour the oral tradition of the Indigenous participants, as we invited four participants to share personal and experiential knowledge in a focus group and Roxanne to share her knowledge in a written narrative. Starting points for the focus group conversations and Roxanne's narrative were the following questions:

1. Tell us about your current and previous teaching/childcare experience.
2. Tell us about your teacher/educator preparation experiences.
3. What is most important in preparing you to support children's learning in your community?

We chose a focus group, rather than individual interviews, so that participants could engage in dialogue, sharing stories and experiences, and developing relationships with each other and with the researchers in concert with Indigenous research methodologies (Kovach, 2010). We are not presenting the five participants' experiences as representative of all Indigenous ECEs and teachers in remote northern Ontario First Nations communities. However, from Roxanne's and Lori's perspectives and experience, the openness of the participants is reflective of First Nations community members' willingness to complete programs to receive credentials, particularly if alternative models are available.

This paper came out of Shelley's interest in the educators'/teachers' responses to initial focus group questions about their professional experiences and training. After conducting the focus group and an initial reading of the transcript, Shelley invited Lori to join her in taking a closer look at the data. Lori had been working with Shelley and Indigenous ECEs on the collaborative action research project over the past 3 years. Shelley and Lori greatly valued an Indigenous ECE's perspective in the interpretation of the data. Lori invited Roxanne, a former graduate of

the program and Indigenous educator who is currently supervising a licensed early childhood program in her northern First Nations community, because she had participated with Lori on other leadership projects following completion of her diploma. The four focus group participants had been promised anonymity when they participated in the focus group, as per the approved tri-council ethics protocol. Neither Roxanne nor her community were involved in the collaborative action research study, and Roxanne agreed to write a narrative of her experiences to enrich and validate the findings from the focus group responses. Roxanne wrote a narrative of her professional trajectory and experiences in her initial educator preparation program following the telephone conversation. Her narrative became the primary data source, as it provides needed contextual information about the themes found in the four educators' focus group responses.

Because the four focus group participants' communities are very distant from each other and because the participants enjoy time in a city where they can do some shopping and engage in the entertainment activities that are not available in their home communities, the focus group took place in an urban centre that was easily accessible by plane for all four educators/teachers. Shelley audio recorded the focus group session and a research assistant took notes while the focus group was underway. Roxanne's narrative emerged in a telephone call with the other two authors of this paper. Like the focus group, the telephone conversation started with the following questions:

1. Tell us about your current and previous teaching/childcare experience.
2. Tell us about your teacher/educator preparation experiences.
3. What is most important in preparing you to support children's learning in your community?

A professional transcriber transcribed the focus group conversation.

We used a grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1992) to analyze the transcript and Roxanne's narrative. Our coding process involved highlighting sentences and phrases that described each educator's professional work experience with young children, together with challenges and significant learning from their teacher/ECE professional preparation experiences. We used a constant comparative method (Patton, 2015) to identify themes that arose across all participants' experiences, as described in the focus group transcript and in Roxanne's narrative. We sent our interpretations of the data to participants for input before completing this report.

We discuss three themes in the following section and then present implications for educator/teacher education preparation for northern First Nation communities' educators and teachers.

Findings

Professional Experiences: Volunteer/Fill-in Work Led to Full-Time Teaching/Childcare Work

All five educators/teachers' teaching paths have common beginnings, as they started working in kindergarten classrooms as teaching assistants, as volunteer teachers, or as resource teachers with no formal credentials or training. Roxanne's narrative provides a context for this theme:

My journey of teaching began in 1998 when I asked for work in my community at our local school. It was around the month of April and continued until the end of the school year which was June. As you may be aware, jobs are so scarce in First Nations

communities. So, once you get a job, you most likely have to keep it. As this was a temporary position, after that school year was finished, I did not return.

On my first day I was put in “resource,” where I worked one-on-one with children. The principal directed me to the resource room and had told me what my responsibilities were. It was mainly helping children who needed support and that alone time. I personally saw that inclusive one-on-one with certain children was needed in order for the child to concentrate and succeed.

In 2002 I applied to be a relief worker in the baby room at my community’s childcare centre for 2 years while the regular staff went to school for ECE diplomas. This where I believe my faith in teaching infants was born, as I saw how these babies were sponges soaking up information. Fast forward to 2011 after I had three children and was looking for work. I saw a job posting at my local child care centre for a permanent childcare worker. I thought to myself that I could teach other children as I had been teaching to my own. I also had experience and I felt that children warmed up to me as I was patient, loving, fun, and energetic. I applied and I did get the permanent position, but after 8 months of working, I left on maternity leave and my son was born. I returned to work in April 2013 to find that my supervisor had enrolled five of us staff in the ECE program at Oshki Wenjack program where my supervisor had got her diploma.

Roxanne’s experiences filling in for fellow community members who held early childhood educator experiences parallel those of Sara, one of the four focus group participants. Sara took over the teaching responsibilities of the kindergarten classroom in her First Nation community after the non-Indigenous teacher left the community mid-year. Sara explained, “So the following year in September, I just started teaching. And I taught kindergarten, Grade 1 and 2 and 3 and 5 all these years. I think I took a year off, but I’ve been teaching since then.” Kari has had paid work from the beginning of her career. She has worked as a teaching assistant for 3 years and then as a full-time speech-language assistant for 7 years.

Two of the focus group participants started their careers as volunteers, however. Crystal started teaching children in her community on a voluntary basis before the community had a school. She told her story:

So, I took it upon myself to teach the few kids that we had, on a voluntary basis. And then Indian Affairs came along and said “Okay, you people need a school.” So, we got the school in 1975. And they just put me in the school as a Teaching Assistant. And at that time, I worked with the little ones to work on their English. And I did that for a while. Then I got into Native language. I took the summer courses at Thunder Bay and got my diploma in that. And I went back to the reserve and was just teaching Native Language. And then they asked me to go into the kindergarten classroom about 4 or 5 years ago. So, I’ve been there since then.

The volunteer theme continued as Marlene described how she started teaching. She had volunteered to “fill in” when teachers in her community’s school left the community for training, as there were no supply teachers in the community.

In order to continue working in their positions following the Ontario Ministry of Education’s licensure mandate, participants were required to complete formal training in accredited programs. All participants have received some formal training since their early days in ECE positions. We provide stories of their experiences, beginning with Roxanne’s narrative in the following section.

Challenge of Initial Educator/Teacher Preparation: Separation from Families and Ongoing Work Responsibilities

Despite the flexibility in scheduling of early childhood education/teacher education programs attended by participants, the geographic distances required participants to be separated from their children for weeks at a time, leading to feelings of guilt and loneliness. Roxanne narrates the difficulties she and her family faced:

Come September 2013, I'm officially going to Thunder Bay for school. I was a breastfeeding mother still. So, what did I do, I brought my 17-month-old baby, who was very much glued to his momma. I also brought my niece to babysit during the days when I was in class. After a week went by, my niece told me she could not babysit anymore because my school hours were too long. And yes, we had long days. We could be at school from 8:30 a.m. to 8:30 p.m. most days. So, I called my husband. He came and got our son and took him home. ... This was really hard for me because I felt my bond through breastfeeding was going to be broken. As I think back I realize that my son was old enough to be on whole milk and there I was beating myself up about it. But at that time and in that moment, I felt I was being selfish because I was going to school and I was leaving my husband with four of our children. At the time, my children were ages 17 months, 3 years, 8 years, and 12 years old. While in school I was lonely for my children and my husband but I got the next best thing ... my mom. My mom enrolled in the program since we both worked at our local child care centre. Having her there just made it easier to get through the days.

As the five participants explained, being away from family was very difficult emotionally and, in some cases, it also had a financial impact on the family. Students were granted education leaves from their employer but were not given their regular pay. Participants who brought extended family and young children with them during their study weeks (especially when taking courses in the summer months) experienced other challenges (e.g., living in small hotel room living conditions, lack of sleep with infants, and needs of the kokum-grandmother/spouse).

When back in their communities, participants found it challenging to balance work, family, and their online courses. Roxanne describes a typical day while back in her community working and taking courses:

I had obligations to attend to, assignments to work on, attend to my children. Honestly, I felt like giving up at one point because it was too much for me to handle. But I kept going, getting encouragement my other school mates, help and leniency from the teachers. Some days, after work I knew that evening I had an online course to attend to. So, from work, I'd go home, cook supper, get my school bag ready, and then leave to go to the local school in my community for the online class. The reason why I went to the school was because the internet was faster than it was at home, as everyone on the community was on this one main system for internet access. But the school was not.

The alternate delivery methods of the Indigenous educator/teacher preparation programs had made it possible to complete the mandated training, but they had not entirely addressed the issues facing participants. As shown in the following section, however, the programs did address a concern that participants and their First Nations communities shared: ensuring that Indigenous languages, culture, and ways of teaching are supported and valued for generations to come.

Ways the Educator/Teacher Education Programs Made a Difference: “Turning Indigenous Culture into Teaching Methods”

Confirming findings in previous research (e.g., Battiste, 2008; Hare, 2011), participating teachers and ECEs observed that mainstream culture, communicated through readily available satellite television and access to the internet, as well as through historical assimilative practices, has had a heavy influence on parenting practices and children’s activities in kindergarten. Roxanne explained, “Parents are always the first teachers. Like the saying goes ‘Pass the truth onto the next generation. ... Teach them early what we learned late.’ I know some things now that I wished my parents had taught me but I understand that their experience in residential school systems has affected them and their parenting style.” The focus group participants lamented that Indigenous cultural knowledge was not being passed on to the children of today.

Traditional family interactions, such as going onto the land to fish and hunt are less and less common, according to participating teachers. Estimates of the number of children in their classes whose parents “take children out to the bush” ranged from 30% to 50%. As a result, as Crystal said, “kids spend time on their game systems. They don’t know what fishing means.” The teachers agreed that it is important for children to “know about the outside world” but also to “know about what they see around them.” Marlene said that she and her husband take their grandchildren “out onto the land to show them what we do out there because [her] daughter can’t do it.” Crystal gave an example of a 4-year old in her class who collected dirt and sticks to make a diorama of a beaver dam. She observed that this boy’s parents regularly take him out on the land and go fishing, so he is learning traditional ways at home, as well as at school. Crystal was saddened that he was one of the few children in her class whose family was able to provide these traditional experiences. If the families were not able to teach traditional ways, she and the other focus group participants felt it was important that these teachings be part of children’s schooling.

All participants agreed on the significant need for the children in their classes/childcare centres to learn the traditional ways of their communities and to recognize and show ways to overcome the enduring impact of residential schools. Roxanne describes how her educator preparation program supported her in taking up this important role:

Oshki was different from grade school, because there were more Indigenous teachers than there were Caucasian. At grade school I had to learn the French language and how to be Catholic. At Oshki, I learned about smudging. We incorporated different native languages: Ojibway, Cree, Oji-cree. And I learned syllabics. And that’s where I learned to use my Anishnaabe culture and turn it into teaching methods. I learned legends, myths, the uses of tobacco, sage, sweet grass, and cedar. I learned about clan systems, the medicine wheel, using the land for medicine, beading, etc. It was a real learning experience for me.

Oshki was like being home. They made it comfortable. They were caring about your needs. They helped in whichever way you needed it. The majority of my teachers were Indigenous. And the teachers used their own experiences in the classroom. It was like “hey, they’ve actually been through what we have been through, or what we may be going through now.” One teacher shared a real life story about their family living in poverty and about the effects of Residential School (alcoholism, physical, mental abuse). They talked about how determined they were not to live that lifestyle or not be a victim. So that really hit home for a lot of us because our parents went through that, and we may or may not have been in that same situation as the teacher was.

The shared experience and learning of Indigenous language and culture went hand-in-hand with a valuing of Roxanne's Indigenous knowledge:

At my placement, my co-operating teacher acknowledged that I was Indigenous and immediately asked if I was going to incorporate my culture. I told her eventually yes, but first let me get to know the children and everyone else in the centre. And when I did, the children loved the hand drumming, the pow-wow music, and the stuffed animals I brought to use to tell stories. I could immediately tell that the children there had not ever been exposed to Indigenous culture or language. I'm pleased that I was able to share this with them as it both was a journey and experience for us all.

In her work with young children in both her Indigenous community and in the community of her placement, Roxanne makes important contributions to children's cultural lives. As a young member of her Indigenous community, Roxanne seeks out ways to learn traditional teachings and perspectives that were not part of her schooling. She integrates traditional experiences that were part of her family and community life in a northern Ontario Indigenous community. Additionally, Roxanne completed the 2-year Indigenous ECE diploma program with a GPA of 4.0 and, as the class valedictorian, delivered a speech at her cohort's graduation. Roxanne is a leader in her community who was promoted to supervisor at the community's child care centre after receiving her ECE diploma. She co-presented with a colleague at a provincial conference and, continuing her connections to the Oshki-Wenjack ECE program, completed the Indigenous ECE leadership 5-month in-service program. Recently, she ran for band council in her First Nation community, and is fundraising to build a playground at her centre. Education for Roxanne has motivated her to take the steps in real change for herself and for the children and families in her community.

Discussion and Limitations

Participating Indigenous early childhood educators and kindergarten teachers have a wealth of experiences working with children, starting with volunteer work or filling in for someone else, all while having no formal preparation. Additionally, participants share with the children they teach a lifetime of experiences in remote First Nations communities, unlike the southern teachers who have been their colleagues over the years; who often teach for a few months or a few years and then leave the community. These shared experiences are important in supporting young First Nations children's pride in who they are and their overall learning. Recognizing the importance of this shared experience and of Indigenous knowledge, participants' assessment of the most important goal for their educator/teacher education programs is to support them in deepening their understanding of Indigenous knowledge, language, and ways of teaching, alongside those of mainstream non-Indigenous society. This goal is reinforced in recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015). Given the importance of this goal, we suggest that it also be included in the policies mandating licensure of all ECEs in Ontario and in accreditation programs.

The theme of valuing Indigenous knowledge and the experiences of First Nations educators and teachers is paramount in addressing our overarching research purpose: to inform ECE and teacher education for Indigenous educators living and teaching in remote communities. This theme, arising from participating First Nations educators' stories of their professional childcare and teaching and professional preparation experiences, was also important in Ball and Simpkins's (2004) program evaluation of the First Nations Partnership Program in British

Columbia. Addressing this theme requires that non-Indigenous initial teacher/educator preparation program instructors and administrators participate in cultural safety training and continue reflecting on their organizational policies and practices that may create barriers for Indigenous educators. Also important is a second theme: addressing the challenges posed by geographic distances and family commitments, one that parallel themes identified in previous studies of First Nations teachers (Preston, 2008; Preston et al., 2011). Participants talked about leaving nursing infants at home hundreds of kilometers away while taking their face-to-face training and having to place trust in extended family members for the first time to care for their child over weeks of study.

Although our study's findings are based on focus group responses of only four participants and one ECE's narrative, the themes reflect the experiences and perspectives of Indigenous educators whose stories and voices are seldom heard in educational research. Their work with children and efforts to fulfill legislative mandates for licensure take place in remote communities that are often overlooked when researchers select research sites. As such, we believe that our research findings can make valuable contributions to conversations about programs supporting Indigenous ECEs' and teachers' professional learning and achievement of provincial licenses.

Four of the participants' experiences are only partially elaborated because they were not the main focus of the focus group discussions, which were meant to provide information for speech-language pathologists' assessment of young Indigenous children's speech and language. This limitation, together with a recognition of the richness and insights of Roxanne's narrative, leads us to propose the need for future research, using narrative methodology, on Indigenous ECEs' stories of their experiences leading to their full-time work with young children and their achievement of diplomas needed for licensure.

Implications for Early Childhood Education Licensure Preparation

The themes arising from our research provide important considerations for culturally responsive educator/teacher education programs that provide Indigenous ECEs with the mandated licence to work in Ontario early childhood settings. Of greatest importance is the need for these programs to support Indigenous ECEs and teachers in passing on their communities' traditional knowledge and in teaching in traditional ways, alongside learning knowledge and ways of teaching that are necessary for successful participation in broader society (Hare, 2011). In order to achieve these goals, those who design educator professional learning programs must build relationships with community members, as well as school personnel in each community and not assume that one model will be appropriate for all communities (Stack, Beswick, Brown, Bound, & Kenny, 2011). It is important to ensure that mainstream values and agendas that are embedded within many elements of schooling, such as provincial curricula and educator certification mandates, are framed within Indigenous culture and knowledge. An environment of mutual respect and establishment of goals supporting cultural learning and community interests, are essential. The challenges that participating Indigenous educators have identified in finding ways to teach both Indigenous and mainstream language and culture can be taken up in the co-construction of curriculum for educator preparation. This also involves recognizing the wealth of experience and knowledge of Indigenous educators who may or may not have formal mainstream credentials. ECEs and teachers can be viewed as role models for children and leaders in assuring the revitalization of Indigenous knowledge and language (Hare, 2011). In the spirit of truth and reconciliation, professional learning should involve relationship building, valuing perspectives of local Indigenous community members in creating understandings of Canadian

history, of appropriate teaching practices and roles of schools, teachers, and educators in Indigenous communities (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015).

In conclusion, participating teachers' focus group contributions and Roxanne's narrative provide insight into issues that should be considered when creating or adapting professional preparation programs for remote rural Indigenous teachers. Overarching all initiatives should be a respect for Indigenous families' and communities' knowledge and language, and for the rich experiences that educators bring to their programs.

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Internalizing Cognitive Bias: An Experiential Exercise for Teaching and Learning the Anchoring Effect

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Abstract

The ability to make good decisions is key to personal and professional success for students. In this case study, we outline a set of in-class exercises that we have used for students in business, law, human resources, and public policy to help them understand and internalize their susceptibility to cognitive errors. Specifically, we illustrate an experiential way to teach and learn the anchoring effect: a cognitive bias that causes decision-makers to rely too heavily on initial information when making subsequent judgments. We describe an anchoring exercise that can be easily adapted to various settings, and show its effectiveness in achieving the learning outcomes based on aggregated classroom data and our own experiences of student reactions. We show the robustness of the exercise to adaptation—including the various iterations of the exercise that have evolved over the course of our teaching—and highlight the challenges we encountered. We also discuss how the exercise can be used to encourage students to consider anchoring’s ethical implications, as well as strategies to safeguard against being anchored.

Keywords: cognitive bias, heuristic, anchoring effect, simulated learning, debriefing

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As research-active faculty members who teach in professional schools and executive education programs, we are committed to closing the gap that students perceive between “academic research” and “practice.” We often find it difficult, however, to translate research on complex empirical phenomena into something that is easier and more intuitive for students to understand, and (ideally) internalize. In the courses we have taught in law, business, industrial relations, public policy, public health, and human resources, it is common to include material about heuristics and cognitive biases—those traits that can enable quick decisions but also lead to perceptual distortions, inaccurate judgments, and illogical interpretations. Helping students recognize their cognitive biases is important because these predispositions are notoriously difficult to overcome, yet can have serious consequences (Cirka & Corrigan, 2010).

One of the most prevalent and persistent cognitive biases, and one highly amenable to measurement, is the *anchoring effect*: the tendency to be overly influenced by the first piece of information offered in a scenario (e.g., a negotiation). We want professional students to understand how robust the anchoring effect is, even among experts who profess to be immune from it, and to consider the strategic and ethical aspects of being anchored or of anchoring another. Accordingly, we have used some simple exercises designed to teach the concept in a personal and visceral way and stimulate student reflection and class discussion. In this article, we report on the results of some of these efforts, and outline considerations for instructors who want to adapt the exercises for use in their classroom.

The Anchoring Effect

The anchoring effect is a cognitive bias in which information first learned about a subject (or, more generally, information learned at an early stage) affects future decision-making (Furnham & Boo, 2011). We routinely make value judgments by referring to some prior information—such as a first offer price for a car, a sticker price for retail goods, the hourly wage earned by comparator workers, the prison sentence sought for a convicted offender, or the symptoms that a patient presents to a health professional in a medical consultation. How we “refer” to this information is the subject of much theoretical and empirical research. Do we start with the anchor and adjust the boundary of the range of plausible values (“anchor and adjustment”) or do we activate latent information that is consistent with the anchor presented (“confirmatory search” or “selective accessibility”)? Numerous empirical studies examine these and other mechanisms associated with the anchoring effect (Furnham & Boo, 2011).

Kahneman, Slovic, and Tversky (1982) use an example of the anchoring effect, in which visitors at the San Francisco Exploratorium were asked to estimate the height of the tallest redwood. Half were asked the following questions in the order shown:

Is the height of the tallest redwood more or less than 1,200 feet?

What is your best guess about the height of the tallest redwood?

The other half were asked the following questions in the order shown:

Is the height of the tallest redwood more or less than 180 feet?

What is your best guess about the height of the tallest redwood?

The two groups had very different mean estimates of the tallest redwood’s height. The mean for the first group was 844 feet; for the second, it was 282 feet. Even with the manipulations that may be adopted to test particular theoretical mechanisms and cognitive processes, many experimental anchoring studies follow a similar format for measuring the anchoring effect.

The anchoring effect is one of the most robust cognitive biases. Experts and non-experts alike are highly susceptible to it. In a well-known study conducted by Northcraft and Neal (1987), two

groups—undergraduate business students and experienced realtors—were shown a house and given an information-rich package about its features, then asked to appraise its value. The only difference in the information provided to the groups was the list prices: some were anchored high; others, low. After making an appraisal, participants in each group were asked what factors influenced their decisions. The results? The estimates of both groups were significantly influenced by the anchored list price. The only notable difference was that the realtors, unlike the students, denied being influenced by the anchor.

The anchoring effect is even robust when participants are told that the “prior information” is randomly generated—and, remarkably, even when they take part in its (supposedly) random generation. In a study done by English, Mussweiler, and Strack (2006), 39 legal professionals, mostly judges, had to impose a sentence in a fictitious case concerning a woman who had stolen items from a store for the 12th time. Participants were first given a prosecutor’s sentencing demand that was either high (9 months on probation) or low (3 months on probation). Instructions explained that this demand had been determined randomly, and did not represent any judicial expertise. Sentencing decisions for the shoplifting case varied between acquittal and 12 months on probation. Judges exposed to the high demand gave higher sentences (mean of 6.05 months) than those exposed to the low demand (mean of 4.00 months), a statistically significant difference. In another study discussed by the same researchers (English et al., 2006), 52 junior lawyers from different German courts who had acquired their first experiences as judges received the same materials and procedures as in the previous study, but instead of being told that the sentencing demand had been randomly chosen, they were told to determine the demand themselves by throwing a pair of dice. About half the participants received a pair of dice loaded so that they always showed 1 and 2; the other half received a pair of dice loaded so that they always showed 3 and 6. After throwing the dice, participants were told to calculate the sum of the two dice and to fill it in as the prosecutor’s sentencing demand in the questionnaire. In other words, they got the same anchors as in the first study—3 months and 9 months—but self-generated by what they thought was a random process. Sentencing decisions again varied substantially, ranging from 1 to 12 months on probation, with further analysis again revealing that the sentences were influenced by the random sentencing anchors. Judges exposed to the high anchor gave higher final sentences (mean of 7.81 months) than those exposed to a low anchor (mean of 5.28 months), with the difference in means being statistically significant.

Learning Objectives

The anchoring effect provides an effective way to teach students about cognitive biases because it is simple to demonstrate, highly robust to instructor idiosyncrasies, and easy to adapt to different contexts and learning objectives. Below we outline some learning objectives for our exercise that guided our approach to debriefing the exercise with our students.

1. Students will learn to recognize their cognitive limitations and how those limitations can affect their judgment.
2. Students will be able to identify potential strategies to reduce the effect of anchoring on their judgments and decisions.
3. Students will critically evaluate the ethical implications of using anchoring in bargaining strategies and tactics.

We most often used this exercise in the context of teaching negotiation, so the third learning objective may be less relevant for other instructors. However, instructors should feel comfortable

in adapting the debrief and lecture (and even the quizzes themselves) to achieve their learning objectives and course outcomes.

The Exercise

We developed and administered three different anchoring exercises in the form of short classroom quizzes. Appendix A shows all adaptations of the exercise that we have used. The first “quiz” was adapted from materials used by Kleefeld (Folberg & Golann, 2011, pp. 99-102); the second two we developed ourselves. The purpose of adapting the initial exercise was to make it more realistic and practically relevant for students from different backgrounds and to make it fit better with the specific learning objectives and content in particular disciplines. We also identified problems with using the original exercise, which we outline later. Generally, only one “quiz” should be used in any particular class. Each quiz posed two questions. The first was the anchoring question (which included either the high or low anchor—the high anchor is listed in brackets); the second question asked students for their best estimate of the actual answer.

Step 1: Preparation

We printed the two versions of the exercise (i.e., the high and low anchor) on a sheet of paper, cut it in half, and interwove the half-sheets to make a stack that alternated the high- and low-anchored versions. We also prepared slides for a lecture on judgment and decision-making errors (see Bazerman & Moore, 2013 for one content source), as well as the debriefing and associated lecture to summarize key takeaways.

Step 2: Exercise Instructions

At the beginning of the class, or at some point that made sense in the context of the lesson plan, we introduced the exercise, but with very little information. The first author (Kleefeld) would typically use a statement like “we’ll be doing a short warm-up exercise about decision-making under uncertainty” and the second author (Pohler) would say “I have a short quiz that I want you to take before we discuss today’s content, and which we’ll return to later” or tell the students that they would receive a pop quiz (not for credit) designed to test their knowledge of a particular subject area. Because anchoring studies usually involve a form of mild deception (comparator groups get different anchors for the same question without realizing it), we do *not* advise placing additional stress on students by suggesting the quiz will be for credit. We have not identified any problems with students taking the quiz less seriously as a result. We always revealed the deception in a debriefing session, which is critical for students to be able to internalize the learning: see Step 7 below. We instructed the students to fill in the answers on the half-sheet without consulting any other sources, discussing the quiz, or looking at their neighbours’ answers.

Step 3: Administering the Exercise

We distributed the exercises, placing a quiz face down on the desk in front of each student. We then instructed the students to turn the quiz over, answer the questions, and place the quiz face down on the desk upon finishing it. We suggest giving students just a minute or two to complete the exercise. We then collected all the quizzes. While the enrolment in each of our

classes varied from 10–45 students, the exercise usually took no more than 10 minutes to complete, from the introduction of the exercise to the collection of all completed quizzes

While we followed similar procedures in administering the exercises, style differences and variations in class format, class size, and disciplines required slight adaptations to the approach used. Below, we discuss what challenges these inconsistencies may introduce, and highlight what we think are best practices for anyone who wants to reproduce or adapt the exercises for particular classroom settings.

Step 4: Take a Break to Tally the Results

It may be useful to conduct this exercise before a break; however, it is also possible to simply put the quizzes aside and tell the students that you will return to the results after a scheduled break. We have found it ideal to conduct the exercise prior to a lecture that surveys psychological aspects of negotiation or decision-making, including cognitive biases—but to then reveal the results after covering this material. It is most beneficial to reveal the results within the context of the same class in which the quiz is administered. Thus, usually during a break, we would enter the data into a pre-configured Excel spreadsheet that calculated the mean estimates, for example, for the population of Iran or the average minimum wage for each of the low- and high-anchored groups. Where there is no class break or time is otherwise limited, it may be possible to enlist the help of an assistant, co-instructor, or volunteer student from another class to do the data entry while the main instructor is teaching.

Step 5: Reveal the Results

At the point in the lecture where we cover the anchoring effect, we would reveal the intent of the quiz and the corresponding results. We have used variations of writing the two columns of estimates on the whiteboard or showing them on a PowerPoint slide. Regardless of which approach is used to reveal the results, we have found it most useful to write the individual responses in columns, along with the mean differences between the two groups and an indication of whether the difference is statistically significant, rather than simply reporting the aggregated means. When students can see their own estimates in the listing, it helps them internalize the results in a visceral way. When we have simply reported the aggregate means, the exercise has still been effective, but appears to have less of an impact on individual students. We neither collected the student names nor wrote them beside the numbers, but the students easily recognized their estimates.

When the students see the values they submit via the quizzes, we have observed them to experience two levels of mild shock: one at seeing the difference in the mean estimates; the other at seeing how much they were anchored themselves. At this point, there is usually quite a “buzz” in the classroom. We have found that the combination of the mild deception and revealing the results in this manner leads to a deeper engagement with the anchoring effect than the lecture itself.

Step 6: Debriefing Session

Debriefing is crucial in any kind of pedagogical role play or simulation, and more so when deception is part of the pedagogy (Taras & Steel, 2007) even if, as in this case, the deception is very mild. The purpose of the debriefing is to give students an opportunity to take time to

consider what just happened and how it relates to what they have been learning—and to thereby become reflective practitioners. In “Debriefing the Debrief,” Deason et al. (2013) explain that debriefing should:

... make the experiences of the learning activity come alive[,] connect those experiences to the content of the course[,] assist participants in putting theory into practice and ... make the process feel personal and real, and increase the likelihood that the students will remember and use their new learning. It should help students develop the habit of reflecting on their practice. (p. 302)

Immediate debriefing of in-class exercises requires an understanding of the variety of outcomes that may occur. It also requires some flexibility on the instructor’s part to be able to adapt the debriefing in real time so as to be relevant for the emergent discussion and course learning objectives.

We generally had students discuss the results openly before summarizing key lessons, and then guided the discussion to where we thought it was important to draw specific conclusions. Depending on the nature of the course and the instructor’s comfort level in facilitating class discussion, the debriefing can also be controlled by posing specific questions, or by providing a lecture to draw out key lessons. We aimed for a mix of open student reactions, and an instructor-led follow-up discussion.

After noting everyone’s susceptibility to cognitive biases even if they are aware of them, students often find it most intriguing to engage in a discussion about the ethics of using anchoring as a bargaining tactic. A student will inevitably muse that this may be one reason why first offers often appear so unrealistic. This observation can result in a discussion about what implications different strategies might have on building and maintaining trust, particularly in the context of long-term relationships (e.g., union–management negotiations) if the other party understands they are being anchored. For some students, this may be the first time they have thought about this.

We encourage following up the debriefing with a short discussion on how students can develop strategies, structures, and processes to reduce the anchoring effect on themselves. For example, in medicine, research has shown that about 75% of diagnostic errors have a cognitive component, including anchoring and confirmation bias (the tendency to selectively seek information that supports initial impressions); strategies to combat such effects include case discussions and actively seeking information that could lead away from the initial impression (Etchells, 2015). Sometimes we use the debriefing as a starting point to discuss additional cognitive biases, such as framing, escalation of commitment, availability bias, and halo effects, depending on the learning objectives for a given course.

Outcomes

Assessment of Learning Objectives

Most of our assessment of whether we achieved our particular set of learning objectives have been drawn from our own experiences in comparing the use of this exercise with approaches that were primarily lecture-based. In particular, we observed that students could immediately recognize and internalize their cognitive limitations, given their active participation in the exercise. Moreover, students appeared more animated in group discussions around possible strategies to reduce the effect of anchoring on their behaviours. The exercise made the reality of being anchored much more personal for students than a lecture alone ever could. For instance, in

an extended email negotiation assignment done by law students after they had taken part in one of the anchoring exercises discussed in this article, students experienced anchoring as having both ethical and substantive consequences; as affecting the distribution of power and resources between parties; and as having practical (sometimes undesired) cause-and-effect consequences for the relationship that the parties were trying to build (Kleefeld & Keet, 2011).

Robustness of the Exercise Across Settings

We encourage instructors to adapt our exercise to suit their learning objectives and disciplinary context, and toward this end offer some evidence of the robustness of our exercises to adaptation across different classroom settings. From 2010–2013, Kleefeld conducted in-class anchoring exercises in six sections of *Law 430: Negotiation*. In 2013, both authors met to discuss developing this exercise as a teaching tool in different settings. From 2013–2016, we conducted in-class exercises in several courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels at the University of Saskatchewan in business, public policy, human resources, industrial relations, and law. In total, we conducted 19 teaching exercises from 2010–2016. All exercises were developed and administered by one of us except for four administered in 2014–2015 by another colleague who taught *Law 430* while Kleefeld was on leave. Kleefeld trained this colleague in administering the exercise.

Five exercises were administered outside a university course setting: one as part of a scholarship-of-teaching-and-learning (SoTL) presentation for faculty members at the University of Saskatchewan delivered by both of us, and four by Pohler as part of a professional certificate program offered through the University of Saskatchewan. The participants in these five exercises could be considered “experts.” The anchoring exercises were in subject areas for which the individuals would have had greater knowledge (faculty salaries and minimum wages) than students in undergraduate and graduate courses due to their education and professional work experience. In total, 378 individuals took part in these exercises over 7 years in 19 classroom settings. A summary of participants in the anchoring exercises for each type of quiz and course is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Participants in Anchoring Exercises, University of Saskatchewan, 2010–2016

Quiz	Class						Total
	COMM489	POL815	LAW430	MBA	LMR*	SoTL*	
Global knowledge			110				110
Minimum wage	23	23	37	34	104		221
Faculty salary			40			7	47

*expert

COMM489: undergraduate HR course—University of Saskatchewan

POL815: graduate HR/labour policy course—University of Saskatchewan

LAW430: negotiation course—University of Saskatchewan

MBA: master of business administration strategic HR course—University of Saskatchewan

LMR: labour–management relations certificate module—University of Saskatchewan

SoTL: scholarship of teaching and learning—faculty symposium

To evaluate the consistency and overall effectiveness of this exercise in highlighting the anchoring effect, we compiled all data from the exercises administered from 2010–2016, as well

as from the classes of the other faculty member mentioned above. We conducted three types of analyses. The first was calculation of the anchoring index for each exercise, which is the ratio of the difference between the mean of the estimates for each group and the difference between the anchor values. This is a standard measure for the anchoring effect and has the advantage of being unit-free. For example, the anchoring index for the results from the San Francisco Exploratorium exercise mentioned earlier (Kahneman et al., 1982) would be $(844 \text{ ft} - 282 \text{ ft}) \div (1200 \text{ ft} - 180 \text{ ft}) = 0.55$ (or 55%). An index of 0 indicates no anchoring effect at all; as the index approaches 1, it indicates an extreme anchoring effect. The second calculation was the p -values for the difference between the mean group estimates for the high and low anchors for each exercise using a one-tailed t -test, assuming unequal variances. The third was a regression analysis that tested whether expertise could mitigate the anchoring effect. The results from the first two analyses are shown in Table 2; the regression results are shown in Table 3.

Table 2

Anchoring Indices and Significance Tests for Classroom Exercises

Exercise	Quiz	High mean	Low mean	Absolute difference	P -value	Anchoring index
1	global	63,625,026	22,425,000	41,200,026	0.032	0.22
2	global	116,600,000	28,400,000	88,200,000	0.012	0.47
3	global	79,727,273	6,742,490	72,984,783	0.001	0.39
4	global	83,368,333	43,833,333	39,535,000	0.072	0.21
5	global	176,857,143	10,347,303	166,509,840	0.000	0.90
6	global	497,031,519	19,675,000	477,356,519	0.068	2.57
7*	minwage	\$11.22	\$9.21	\$2.01	0.001	0.27
8	minwage	\$11.58	\$9.78	\$1.80	0.023	0.24
9	minwage	\$12.17	\$8.64	\$3.53	0.000	0.47
10	minwage	\$10.46	\$7.78	\$2.68	0.008	0.36
11	minwage	\$11.68	\$9.38	\$2.30	0.002	0.31
12	minwage	\$11.58	\$9.00	\$2.58	0.001	0.34
13*	minwage	\$10.33	\$9.56	\$0.77	0.105	0.10
14*	facsalary	\$112,500	\$96,333	\$16,167	0.123	0.20
15	minwage	\$11.00	\$9.13	\$1.87	0.046	0.25
16	facsalary	\$119,444	\$90,300	\$29,144	0.009	0.36
17	facsalary	\$117,700	\$82,204	\$35,496	0.007	0.44
18*	minwage	\$11.63	\$9.66	\$1.97	0.002	0.26
19*	minwage	\$11.06	\$9.32	\$1.74	0.005	0.23

*expert

We note a few things about Table 2. First, except for four exercises (Exercises 4, 6, 13, and 14), there is a statistically significant anchoring effect at conventional levels ($p < 0.05$) across every other exercise we conducted; that is, there is only a 5% chance (or less) that the difference between the means of the high- and low-anchored groups was due to random error. Exercise 6 also achieves statistical significance ($p < 0.01$) when two outliers are removed. Exercise 14 ($n=7$) would likely have achieved statistical significance with a larger sample since the absolute

difference between the group means was relatively large. Second, the anchoring index varies widely, from 10% to 257%. However, if the two data outliers are removed for Exercise 6, the anchoring index reduces to 55%, and the anchoring indices range from 10% to 90%. Third, the average anchoring effect appears to be the smallest for the minimum wage quiz (28%), next highest for the faculty salary quiz (34%), and largest for the global knowledge quiz: 46% or 79%, depending on whether the outliers from Exercise 6 are removed. The numbers in Table 2 are rounded and may differ slightly from the calculations reported here. Finally, on average, the anchoring indices appear to be lower for the expert groups than the regular students, though we examine this issue in more detail below.

One factor affecting the results is the relative extremity of the anchors. In the global population quiz, the high anchor of 190 million was almost 48 times that of the low anchor of 4 million, so it is not surprising that the anchoring effect was quite large in this exercise. In contrast, the high anchors in both the minimum wage quiz and the faculty salary quiz were, by design, just twice that of the low anchors (\$15.00 per hour/\$7.50 per hour and \$160,000 per year/\$80,000 per year). Yet even in these exercises, the differences in the means are striking. In the minimum wage quiz, the average difference is \$2.13. In the context of a range of \$7.50 to \$15.00 per hour, a difference of \$2.13 per hour is very large; in companies depending on minimum-wage labour, it could mean the difference between profit and loss. Similarly, in the average faculty salary quiz, the average of the differences in the mean estimates is \$26,936, which is also large in the context of the given range of \$80,000 to \$160,000 annually.

While the anchoring index appears to be affected by the type of quiz administered, the quizzes were neither balanced nor randomly assigned across other variables that could also affect the results (e.g., instructor and type of class). We also did not include an unanchored control group. Thus, our design cannot determine if the quizzes caused these differences. It may be the general level of knowledge of each quiz topic, the size of the numbers used, or something else. In future, it may be a good practice to include an unanchored baseline group to compare with the results of those who were anchored. Because our intention was not to test specific theories or research hypotheses, other studies would have to be designed to determine what mechanism leads to divergence across type of quiz or to answer specific research questions. In using the tool as a classroom learning exercise, we note that the type of quiz may have an impact on the extent of the anchoring effect observed. Moreover, the global knowledge population quiz of Iran appears to be more susceptible to response outliers.

The anchoring indices in Table 2 suggest that there may have also been an “expert” effect. For instance, the anchoring indices for the “expert” student respondents on both the minimum wage and faculty salary quizzes were lower on average than when the non-expert students took the same quizzes, and two of the expert exercises did not achieve statistically significant differences between the means of the anchored groups. Because it is difficult to compare descriptive results across exercises, we also conducted regression analyses at the individual level to determine whether experts may have been less susceptible to the anchoring effect than others. We only conducted this analysis on the responses for the minimum wage quiz, as we did not have experts complete the global knowledge quiz, and we have only a small number of responses to the faculty salary quiz.

The results of the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses are shown in Table 3. The dependent variable, RESPONSE, is the participant’s estimate, ANCHOR is a dummy variable (high=1, low=0), EXPERT is a dummy variable (expert=1, non-expert=0), and INTERACTION is the product between the latter two variables. As expected, when participants received the high

anchor on the minimum wage quiz, they responded on average with an estimate of \$2.09 more than when they received the low anchor. It does not appear that experts responded differently than students (i.e., the expert coefficient was insignificant). We ran a model with the interaction between ANCHOR and EXPERT, but this coefficient was also not significant. These results adjust the standard errors to take into account the clustered nature of the experiments. Overall, the results are consistent with research that has found experts to be as susceptible to anchoring as non-experts.

Table 3

OLS Regression Results for Minimum Wage Quiz

Response	Main effects model		Interaction model	
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. err.</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. err.</i>
Anchor	2.09	(0.23)***	2.44	(0.33)***
Expert	-0.04	(0.25)	0.32	(0.33)
Interaction			-0.73	(0.40)
Constant	9.27	(0.26)***	9.10	(0.32)***
R-squared	0.25		0.26	
N	221		221	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Challenges, Limitations, and Best Practices

As shown in the results of administering these exercises over 7 years, 19 classes, and 378 students, we almost always obtained a robust anchoring effect, though its size varied with the context. Instructors must be aware of how contextual factors may affect the results, so they can adapt and respond accordingly in the debrief.

One contextual factor, as discussed, was the anchor values. Other things being equal, more extreme anchor values appear to create larger anchoring effects. Another contextual factor may have been the extent of prior knowledge on the part of quiz participants. During the period in which the global population quiz was administered, the population of Iran averaged 75.7 million, growing from 74.3 million in 2010 to 77.2 million in 2013 (The World Bank, 2017). For a student from Iran or a second-generation Canadian with Iranian parents, prior knowledge of this figure, or an estimate of it, already existed. Kleefeld sometimes had such students, and when he would ask in the debriefing, “Does anyone know the actual population of Iran?” they would usually be able to give a close approximation—e.g., “around 70 million” (or if no one knew, he would ask someone to look it up on the Internet and tell the class).

In fact, these two contextual factors can be interrelated. If an anchor value is extreme, a person with prior knowledge will know it is. And yet studies show that even in the face of this knowledge, or presumed knowledge, participants still experience the anchoring effect. Two psychologists showed this in a study (Strack & Mussweiler, 1997) in which they asked whether Mahatma Gandhi died before or after age 9, or before or after age 140. For anyone with a modicum of worldly knowledge and common sense, neither of these anchors could be correct, yet the two groups still guessed significantly differently (mean age of 50 versus mean age of 67; actual age of 78).

In the debriefing, some students objected that the population quiz asked a question that most of them would be unable to answer and that this was one of the reasons they were so heavily influenced by the anchors. It was partly to eliminate this objection that we developed the two subsequent exercises. And it was partly to address the objection that “we were anchored because the differences were so extreme” that we capped the high:low anchor ratio to 2:1 in the minimum wage and faculty salary exercises. Thus not only was the subject matter closer to the interests and knowledge of those being quizzed, but the anchor points were much less extreme than in the population quiz. Furthermore, in the minimum wage exercise, the students could be expected to have had direct experience of the minimum wage in the provinces in which they had lived or worked, even though we would not characterize most of them as “experts.” Again, we revealed the actual average unweighted minimum wage, calculated from Statistics Canada (2017) data: \$10.22 in January 2014 (it would become \$11.26 by January 2017). We were as surprised as the students at the extent of the anchoring effect and the difficulty of mitigating it even with worldly experience. Some students would acknowledge in the debriefing that they knew they were being anchored and that they had tried to compensate for this, yet were still anchored by the number in the initial question.

Even though we have had much success with using these in-class exercises, it is possible that they may not yield any anchoring effect, or even more unexpectedly, yield the opposite effect. If so, instructors may wish to have the usual kind of results on hand to show to students. In such a case, we also suggest engaging in a discussion about why the anchoring effect may not have been observed in this particular class. This could result from any number of factors, some of which relate to context, as discussed above. We also encourage instructors to highlight any outliers and to show the students the analysis both with and without them. For instance, in the global knowledge quiz, students would sometimes inadvertently add an extra zero to their answer.

The authors have found these exercises only slightly more difficult to conduct in larger classes. For classes over 30, we recommend having a teaching assistant, colleague, or former student help in administering an exercise. Classes should also not be too small, so that the anchoring effect may be observed. We recommend caution in adopting these exercises in classes with less than 10 students; there will probably not be enough data to generate a statistically meaningful difference in low- and high-anchored means. In smaller classes, instructors may choose to report these results, or the results of another anchoring study, though we see that approach as less effective in imparting the desired lesson—namely, that we are all susceptible to the anchoring effect.

There may be students who will have done this or a similar exercise and will thus have learned of its intention. This risk can be mitigated by the way the instructor introduces the exercise. However, as research has shown, and in our classroom experience, even though students may have done similar exercises before and know of the anchor, they are still susceptible. Indeed, for some of our classes, the pre-assigned readings for the day included an explanation of anchoring and results of anchoring studies.

Ethics of Using Deception as a Teaching Pedagogy

Do our exercises raise issues about the ethics of using deception as a teaching pedagogy? While the deception is minor and likely poses virtually no risk for either student or instructor, there is always potential for in-class deception to reduce trust. Neither author has experienced

any serious issues or student concerns with the use of these exercises. One author found it useful to directly incorporate a discussion into the debriefing about the ethics of using deception as a teaching pedagogy, whether the students raised the issue or not. Instructors could also encourage students to comment on their experience of the exercise using end-of-year teaching evaluations if they prefer to remain anonymous, rather than raising the issue in class. In our experience, the benefits of using this mild form of deception have far outweighed the potential costs, at least for these exercises. However, the use of deception makes it important for the instructor to consider the relationship he or she has with the students, and whether the exercise respects the psychological contract that has been created in the class. It is also for this reason that a careful debriefing should be considered a basic requirement for administering these types of exercises.

Conclusion

Experiential learning exercises are effective ways to narrow the research–practice gap in classroom settings. We have proposed a type of classroom exercise that we believe is effective in teaching students about cognitive bias. We hope that other educators will find these exercises and strategies useful for teaching about the anchoring effect in their classrooms and that they will find ways to adapt our ideas to illustrate other cognitive biases, of which there are many. We also hope that these lessons are embedded in our students' minds as they progress in both their professional and personal lives. Future evaluations of the efficacy of this approach may do well to follow up with students later in their careers to determine whether they remember the particular exercise that they engaged in, and how it may have affected them.

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Appendix A***Global Knowledge Quiz***

1. Is the population of Iran more or less than 4,000,000 (190,000,000) people?

Circle the correct answer:

- a. More than 4,000,000 (190,000,000)
 - b. Less than 4,000,000 (190,000,000)
2. What is the population of Iran?

Write down your best estimate: _____

Minimum Wage Quiz

1. Is the unweighted average minimum wage across the provinces and territories [of Canada] more or less than \$7.50 (\$15.00) /hour?

Circle the correct answer:

- a. More than \$7.50 (\$15.00)/hour
 - b. Less than \$7.50 (\$15.00)/hour
2. What is the unweighted average minimum hourly wage across the provinces and territories?

Write down your best estimate: _____

Faculty Salaries Quiz

1. Is the current yearly average salary for a full-time Canadian university professor more or less than \$80,000 (\$160,000)?

Circle the correct answer:

- a. More than \$80,000 (\$160,000)/year
 - b. Less than \$80,000 (\$160,000) /year
2. What is the current yearly average salary for a full-time Canadian university professor?

Write down your best estimate: _____

Chinese International Students' Sense of Belonging in North American Postsecondary Institutions: A Critical Literature Review

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Abstract

Since 2000, an increasing number of Chinese international students have been entering North American universities, and many have experienced issues with a sense of belonging, which in turn can impact their academic and social performance and psychological well-being. However, limited research on this topic focuses exclusively on Chinese international students. Therefore, in order to establish the direction that future research should take, a thorough literature review has been conducted with the aim of exploring those students' perceptions and experiences regarding sense of belonging, establishing the factors that shape this phenomenon, and identifying the impact it has on students and institutions.

Keywords: Chinese international students, sense of belonging, integration, student retention

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Context

Since 2000, an increasing number of Chinese international students have been pursuing postsecondary education in North America. In the United States, the number of international students enrolled in higher education programs reached 1,043,839 in the 2015/2016 academic year, which marked a 7.1% increase from the previous academic year. China remained the top source country in this regard, contributing 31.5% of the total number of international students in America (Institute of International Education, 2016). In Canada, there were 353,570 international students in 2015, which marked an 8% increase over the previous year. Among these students, approximately two-thirds were from Asia, with China being the highest sending country (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2016). This trend was also demonstrated by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (2015), which found that 88% of Canadian universities consider China as their first choice in terms of their expansion into international markets.

In such a context of ever expanding and diverse higher education population, students' sense of belonging and engagement has become an important topic among administrators and scholars (Masika & Jones, 2016). Students who have a greater sense of belonging on campus would feel more capable academically, evaluate themselves more positively, and are less likely to externalize problems (Pittman & Richmond, 2007). Strayhorn (2012) argues that a sense of belonging is of particular importance for individuals who live in a perceived unfamiliar or foreign environment. Students who are not able to have a sense of belonging tend to have negative outcomes. Strayhorn points out that the "deprivation of belongingness needs often leads to diminished interest in life activities, loneliness, self-hatred, disengagement from life (often through suicide) or, in the context of education, disengagement from college through attrition" (p. 23). This suggests a need to examine the extent to which international students—including Chinese—perceive and experience belongingness in foreign educational settings in order for institutions to better facilitate their positive learning experiences. Particularly, limited research is found that focuses exclusively on Chinese international students regarding their sense of belonging in North American campuses. Thus, the objective of this article is to provide a critical review of the literature on the perceptions and experiences toward sense of belonging among Chinese international students, and identify factors that contribute to their adaptation and acculturation in North American postsecondary institutions.

Literature Search Methods

An exhaustive search for papers was carried out to achieve the study objective. Four research strategies were applied: a database search, a search terms strategy, selection criteria, and a manual search.

Database Search

The electronic inquiries were conducted to locate peer-reviewed journals via our university library. The researchers searched for articles that were identified as relevant to education, social science and psychology. The databases included Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), ProQuest Social Sciences, PsycINFO, and Google Scholar.

Search Terms

Several keywords were utilized to ensure the results offered broad coverage. The initial search terms were “Chinese international students” and “belonging”. Synonyms for belonging were also included in this process, such as “sense of community”, “connectedness”, “affiliation”, “engagement”, “integration”, and “fit in”. The key terms were then entered into the search engine in conjunction with locational terms such as “Canada”, “America”, “U.S.”, and “North America”. These search terms help to determine the scope of the study destinations for those students. Terms related to cultural aspects were then added. These included “culture” and “acculturation”. To further narrow the scope, three terms related to subjective evaluations were also used: “experience”, “perception”, and “attitude”. The main search terms were likewise combined with possible outcomes or effects on students, such as “positive experience”, “negative experience”, “challenges”, “well-being”, “health”, “persistence”, and “retention”.

Manual Search

In order to ensure that “grey” literature was included during the search process, reference lists of retrieved studies were reviewed. Searches of websites of organizations related to international education were also incorporated. These included the Institute of International Education, the Canadian Bureau for International Education, and Universities Canada (formerly the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada).

Selection Criteria

Further criteria were specified in order to select studies appropriate for the current research. To be included in the review, the literature needed to meet four criteria: it must be written in English; it must be published in the past 17 years (with the exception of a few articles that are deemed to be significant to this study); it must focus on or closely relate to Chinese international students on North American campuses; and it must report on undergraduate or graduate Chinese international students. These inclusion criteria limited the research to 48 studies.

Literature Review

Need to Belong

The need to belong has long been regarded as an essential drive for human beings. One commonly known model in this regard is the hierarchy of needs proposed by Maslow (1954), which consists of five levels of needs from the most immediate needs to more subjective needs: physiological needs, safety, love and belonging, self-esteem, and self-actualization. This model indicates that one must satisfy lower-level needs before progressing to meet higher-level needs. It suggests that the physiological needs are humans' fundamental needs, and love and belonging are being positioned in the third level as the psychological needs. However, Maslow's conceptualization of belonging has been considered deficient (Slaten et al., 2014), and there is an emerging body of literature that frames belongingness as a fundamental need.

For example, Baumeister and Leary (1995) propose that humans are driven to establish and maintain significant, long-term, positive, interpersonal relationships. Unlike Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Baumeister and Leary believe that belongingness is almost as fundamental as the need for food. Based on this hypothesis, they describe two main characteristics of the need to belong:

people need to have persistent interpersonal communications with other people, and they need to feel a stable and affective bond with others that will last through a predictable future. Lambert et al. (2013), however, suggest that the definition of belonging should go beyond a general need like forming a positive social relationship. Instead, belongingness is referred to as subjective experiences based on relationships that offer security through a sense of belonging. Their results indicate that a strong sense of belonging is highly related to a high level of meaningfulness in life. In other words, a sense of belonging is likely to enhance the meaning of lives for individuals.

Alternately, Ryan and Deci (2002) developed the Self-Determination Theory (SDT), which suggests that the need for relatedness is one of the fundamental psychological needs. SDT defines relatedness as a feeling of connection and belonging with others and one's community, which considers how homogenous inclinations shape people's tendency to seek out connections and feel not only accepted by others, but integral to them. This theory suggests that the social environment either fosters or impedes integration. They state that because needs are universal by their very nature, all cultures should share the relationship between satisfying needs and well-being. However, because values and goals vary from culture to culture, the way people fulfil their needs can also vary (Ryan & Deci, 2002).

Strayhorn (2012) focuses on the sense of belonging for postsecondary school students. He regards a sense of belonging as both a cognitive evaluation and a basic need and motivation for human beings, and notes that it leads to affective responses. He deems the sense of belonging to be a dynamic, reciprocal relationship between an individual and a group that must be satisfied on a continual basis. Strayhorn calls this an "I am we and we are each" phenomenon (p. 3), in which the group benefits from the collective effort of its members through their membership, and individuals benefit from the group, which fulfils individuals' needs. He also argues that a sense of belonging is context-based, meaning that it can be especially significant in a perceived unfamiliar or foreign environment and it tends to change over time.

Baumeister and Leary (1995) suggest that those who are socially deprived are more likely to suffer behavioural, psychological, and physical problems, including mental illness, criminal tendencies, and social isolation. Individuals who died by suicide often had higher rates of social isolation, suggesting that a lack of belongingness may lead to suicidal ideation (Van Orden et al., 2008). Similarly, Durkheim (1961) argues that individuals who are not integrated into society are more likely to end their lives through suicide. He outlines two reasons people fail to integrate into society: insufficient moral integration and insufficient collective affiliation. Insufficient moral integration occurs when a person maintains divergent values that do not conform to a society's values, while insufficient collective affiliation occurs when a person does not sufficiently engage in personal interactions (Durkheim, 1961). In order to satisfy the need to belong, people need to realize that others care about their welfare (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

It is clear that scholars have been theorizing the sense of belonging as a significant aspect of an individual's well-being. More and more scholars believe that sense of belonging should be considered as a more fundamental need for a psychologically healthy individual.

Sense of Belonging and Student Retention

Tinto's (1975) model connects a sense of belonging to student persistence. He asserts that for students, a higher level of integration into the college system indicates a higher level of commitment toward their institution and persistence toward completion of their academic program. He points out that integration into the college system is a function of both formal and

informal interactions for students in both academic and social realms. Inversely, dropping out is the result of a longitudinal process where students do not adequately interact with the institution, which may include peers, faculty, or the administrators. Tinto suggests that although academic integration is the most influential factor in student retention, social integration also has an important role to play in one's degree fulfillment. He defines social integration as "informal peer group associations, semi-formal extracurricular activities, and interaction with faculty and administrative personnel within the college" (p. 107). He argues that when individuals successfully engage in these activities, they can gain personal support through friendships, professional relationships with faculty members, or through collective affiliations while enhancing their social communication. These social rewards can shape how people evaluate the benefits of college and consequently influence institutional commitments.

Building upon Tinto's pivotal work, studies on the relationship between a sense of belonging and student retention have been frequently documented in the literature (Cheng, 2004; Cooper, 2009; Fischer, 2007; Masika & Jones, 2016; O'Keeffe, 2013). For example, O'Keeffe (2013) found that the student attrition rate in the United States had reached between 30% and 50% across higher education, making student persistence a vital issue. This study also found that a sense of belonging was considered as an important predictor of student retention and those universities that endeavour to create a caring and supportive environment for students could facilitate a sense of belonging. Similarly, Cooper (2009) brought the sense of belonging into the context of a diverse campus community. He proposed that students' sense of belonging on campus significantly impacts their educational persistence; therefore, students need to perceive the campus community as a supportive one where they can have both a sense of identity and affinity. The psychological feelings of sense of belonging on campus was also noted by Cheng (2004), who claimed that "students' sense of community is closely associated with their feelings of being cared about, treated in a caring way, valued as an individual and accepted as a part of community and the quality social life on campus" (p. 216). In all, students with more engagement and a sense of belonging in campus life have higher levels of college persistence and better academic performance (Fischer, 2007).

The retention issue is even more problematic among first-year college students. Malinga-Musamba (2014) states that first-year students have to cope with transitional dilemmas by finding their position and learning how to negotiate cognitively and socially on campus. Similarly, while new university students face levels of independence and responsibility they have not experienced, Pittman and Richmond (2007) observe that they must also simultaneously struggle with a multiplicity of transitions: domestic arrangements, academic settings, and social networks. Since a sense of belonging is central to student retention, developing a sense of belonging is essential to student success, especially for those who are at risk of non-completion (O'Keeffe, 2013).

Sense of Belonging Among Chinese International Students

Upon leaving the comforts and social support of their native countries to study abroad, international students lose their sense of social connectedness (Cao, Zhu, & Meng, 2017; Du & Wei, 2005). Therefore, international students rely more on host universities compared to local students due to insufficient societal sources (Yan & Sendall, 2016). They need far more support than domestic students to compensate for decreased security and even social exclusion (Paltridge, Mayson, & Schapper, 2012). Numerous studies further identified some of the main challenges encountered by international students as academic pressure, language barriers,

cultural shock, and financial issues (Calder et al., 2016; Slaten, Elison, Lee, Yough, & Scalise, 2016; Wang, 2016; Yan & Sendall, 2016; Zhou, Liu, & Rideout, 2017).

Several studies focused on Chinese international students' acculturation process. For example, Cao et al. (2017) examined Chinese international students' acculturation experiences by analyzing the relationship between sociodemographic factors and social ties, specifically host-national, international, and co-national ties. The results imply that English proficiency and previous adaptation experience are important indicators for Chinese students' social ties. To be more specific, Chinese students primarily choose co-national ties, followed by host-national ties and international ties. The study demonstrates the need for Chinese international students to interact with domestic students and other international students as these social ties can facilitate positive attitudes toward the host culture and better integration into the mainstream society. In addition, Bertram, Poulakis, Elsasser, and Kumar (2014) found that the most prevailing acculturative stressors among Chinese international students were the feeling of isolation from their surroundings, cultural differences, and the language barrier. Moreover, Chinese international students who participated in the study reported lower levels of satisfaction with respect to social support than their American counterparts.

T. Liu (2016) reports similar findings in Canada, where study participants had a limited number of local friends and perceived themselves as disconnected to the Canadian environment. One participant in this study revealed that even attending campus activities did not guarantee her friendship development with natives, nor did volunteer work help to build such relationships. Another study examined how adult attachment and acculturation impact Chinese international students' psychosocial adjustment in America (Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006). The study demonstrated that Chinese international students with attachment security were more likely to adjust to a new environment. They argued that, when in unfamiliar environments, adults with secure attachment could access attachment figures and imagine "home" by creating reassuring mental representations, even if loved ones were not present. However, when individuals lacked secure attachments, they struggled to explore social surroundings they were not familiar with as they could not adequately regulate their emotions. Secure attachment allowed Chinese international students to more effectively navigate stressful environments, difficulties, and unfamiliar social settings, and network with people in their social environment, thereby allowing them to develop a social support system and allowing them to better adjust to their new environment. In contrast, Chinese international students with higher levels of attachment avoidance were not likely to seek help when encountering acculturation difficulties as it deterred them from establishing social networks in the host country (Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006). Zhou and Zhang (2010) explored Chinese international students' perspectives, expectations, and experiences at a Canadian university, with particular focus on their challenges during the acculturation process. The results showed that English language proficiency, previous education background, peer interaction, and cultural issues all impacted their adjustment in a host campus. For instance, Chinese international students were accustomed to the behaviourist-oriented teaching approach, which is the opposite of the social-constructivist learning approach in the Western educational system, making it a big challenge in learning adaptation among Chinese international students. In addition, language barriers and cultural differences discouraged these students from befriending English-speaking peers, sharing residence rooms, and getting involved in group work.

Wang (2016) examined Chinese international students' dropout behaviour from a pre-university English improvement program in Canada. She applied case studies in order to explore

their academic and social challenges, explain dropout behaviour, and seek strategies to help Chinese international students better integrate into a new educational system. She discovered that English speaking and writing were the main obstacles to students' academic success. As for oral English, participants frequently mentioned that they did not receive adequate oral English training in Chinese schools. Consequently, their limited ability in oral English hindered their communication with instructors and domestic peers in class, as well as their engagement in group discussions. In terms of English writing, participants reported that the writing style and format in English are significantly different from that of Chinese, which created significant academic challenges for them. With respect to social aspects, participants were more likely to stick to an ethnic group and presented less engagement in the host culture, which hindered them gaining positive social experiences in the host country. Wang found that these participants generally had inadequate social support from friendship networks. Moreover, all participants reported that they were dissatisfied with teacher–student relationships and lacked interactions with their teachers both inside and outside of class. Therefore, the weak teacher–student relationship was a significant factor in students' dropout decisions. In addition, some study participants reported that they experienced discrimination at times and found no place to comfortably search for help.

To ensure that Chinese international students had a voice on campus, Heng (2017) sought to develop an understanding of their overseas college experience to improve transcultural understanding. He found that Chinese international students longed for the cultural background acceptance from their professors and domestic peers and they expected better international student services in interpreting academic norms. The voices of Chinese international students who have been surveyed indicated that they encountered academic uncertainty and suffered emotional stress as they desired patience and encouragement from teachers. Additionally, the demonstration of care and inclusion from domestic peers would enhance these students' motivation, self-esteem, and mental health. Thus, participants hoped that their teachers and host peers would discard stereotypes and make an effort to understand the complex challenges that international students faced.

In terms of mental health issues among Chinese international students, Han, Han, Luo, Jacobs and Jean-Baptiste (2013) surveyed 130 Chinese international students at Yale. They found that 45% of the students had depression symptoms, 29% had anxiety symptoms, and 27% of those students were even unaware of on-campus counseling services. Depression and anxiety were more common among students who failed to develop a positive relationship with the advisors or express themselves regularly, and these students often had negative self-evaluations of their health. Therefore, Han et al. (2013) stressed the importance of student–advisor relationships, and the necessity to improve awareness of mental health and counseling services for Chinese international students.

In summary, while the sense of belonging is a common issue among postsecondary institutions, international students face more challenges than domestic peers in building their connectedness with the host campuses. The relevant literature has demonstrated that Chinese international students experience the lack of integration socially and academically with host institutions, which leads to their poor mental health and attrition from their institutions.

Factors Influencing Sense of Belonging Among Chinese International Students

Cultural impact. A cultural distance ensues when one's personality does not fit in a new environment (Lee & Ciftci, 2014), and such a cultural distance between East and West is most

notable when comparing and contrasting language and cultural customs and practices (Yao, 2016). Zhou and Zhang (2014) note the role of cultural differences:

International students who grew up in another culture usually possess different personal interests, ways of communication, sense of humour, daily routines, and perceptions on many things such as friendship, sexual relationships, and privacy concerns which will negatively influence their willingness and attempts to make close friends with domestic students. (p. 13)

The influence of cultural collectivism has been highlighted in several studies. Lee and Ciftci (2014) state that “in collectivistic cultures, compliance to the group norm is seen as a desirable quality” (p. 99). Likewise, group identification contributes to the improvement of psychological health and well-being; thus, people from collectivist cultures are more likely to receive social support from groups than those from individualist cultures. For example, perceived group support would be more likely to enhance in-group cohesiveness for individuals in collectivist cultures compared with members in individualist cultures (Lambert et al., 2013).

Students from China are generally embedded with the collectivistic culture (Bertram et al., 2014), which means students are taught to be respectful to teachers and accept the knowledge uncritically. It is observed that most of the Chinese students act cautiously and in a reserved manner in American classrooms (Zhang & Xu, 2007). Similarly, Gebhard (2012) points out that international students, particularly Asian students, face great difficulties during seminars in which students are supposed to ask and answer questions and discuss issues. Zhou et al. (2017) note that due to the lack of a clear concept about the Canadian education system, Chinese international students have no idea how to answer a question in a particular educational context. It can be concluded by what Chiu, Chow, McBride, and Mol (2016) note that students coming from collectivist cultures exhibit more sensitive reactions than students in individualist cultures toward the behaviours and judgments of their classmates. As a result, these students have to temporarily abandon traditional academic norms developed back in China and look for adapting to new academic behaviour (Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006).

Power hierarchy also has garnered particular attention in explaining cultural differences. People from egalitarian cultures are assumed to be treated equally despite of their status; however, in terms of hierarchical cultures, people who possess less power have to accept the inequality across different statuses in society (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004). Chiu et al. (2016) suggest that students from egalitarian cultures are more likely to have a sense of belonging at school than those from hierarchical cultures. For instance, students in hierarchical countries perceive greater status differences between student and teacher, which results in fewer interactions between the two. This weak teacher–student relationship can reduce students' sense of belonging (Chiu et al., 2016). Moreover, Zhang and Xu (2007) note that North American culture is considered a “small power distance,” while Chinese culture is characterized as encompassing “large power distance.” Zhang and Xu note that this is manifested by the fact that a typical American classroom is defined by an atmosphere where teachers and students are equal in interacting with each other. Zhou et al. (2016) conclude that cultural differences come with varying pedagogical approaches, curriculum content, and evaluation standards, all of which can impact the academic outcome of Chinese international students. Similarly, Zhang and Xu (2007) argue that the Chinese students need to make a transition from teacher-oriented and passive-learning approaches to a student-oriented and active-learning approach when they are immersed in a Western learning environment.

Slaten et al. (2016) note that acculturative stress was characterized as having social, academic,

or emotional challenges associated with students' "international status" and "the host cultural norms" (p. 394), and they impact whether students feel connected to a campus or not. The establishment of a new social bond in a new country is an important criterion of acculturation (Zhou et al., 2017). Unfortunately, the cultural changes may block the establishment of new close friendships when people move abroad; thus, people tend to maintain friendships with old friends (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In this respect, Gebhard (2012) points out that one facilitative behaviour used by international students is doing things that remind them of their native culture. This may include hanging out with students of similar cultural background when they feel lost in the host culture.

Language barrier. Cao et al. (2017) note that language proficiency has always been found to impact an individual's acculturation process and intergroup interaction. They also state that foreign language proficiency is highly associated with Chinese international students' social bonds. The inadequate language proficiency has been marked as the primary acculturative stressor (Slaten et al, 2016; Zhou et al., 2017; Zhou & Zhang, 2014), and it significantly impacts how an individual effectively deals with academic and social life (Liu, 2016).

For many Chinese international students, the language barrier is the source of embarrassment, a way of disconnection in terms of making friends with local peers (Liu, 2016). Wang (2016) found that English language proficiency impacts Chinese international students when befriending domestic students, resulting in their disconnection with host culture experiences. This failure to establish friendships with local peers, in turn, increases their feelings of loneliness and homesickness. Liu (2016) explored the learning experiences of Chinese international students in a master's program at a Canadian university, and found that the language barrier significantly affected their reading and writing efficiency. A student in Liu's study reported that she was quite confident in English proficiency before coming to Canada, but it turned out to be too difficult for her to figure out a sentence in some assignments, even in instances where she knew every word. With respect to writing, participants reported that they were not familiar with academic writing styles and formats in Canada. Academic requirements in Canada are more demanding than in China, and the difficulties in grammar, punctuation, and vocabulary exacerbate the issue. In addition, Liu notes that English speaking and listening are also considered a challenge for many Chinese international students, as English teaching in China is exam-oriented, and relevant tests are not adequately developed for these skills. She likewise reports that participants who have higher language competence perceived their courses to be less difficult.

Campus characteristics. Tinto (1975) points out that large institutions typically have a more diverse student population and are therefore accustomed to providing support to more diverse student subcultures. Consequently, such schools can more effectively facilitate social integration (Tinto, 1975). Strayhorn (2012) argues that people search for a particular environment where individuals' values, expectations, and attitudes can be consistent with the normative congruence in that environment. Therefore, if a campus has wide and diverse values, students are better able to generate a greater sense of belonging by locating and constructing their particular affiliation on campus. In terms of international students, Hanassab (2006) states that "International students provide the means of diversifying the campus" (p. 169). He points out the relevant programs need to be aware of cultural diversity and have a better understanding of the groups of international students as they represent, which facilitates a campus climate of multicultural and international learning. Slaten et al. (2014) state that a campus without an inclusive environment may be less likely to satisfy students' need to relate, and lead to less campus participation. In

their study, international students showed appreciation for individuals or groups who acknowledged their similarities as well as differences and were well-advised to create an environment of acceptance to individual uniqueness on campus.

Oseguera and Rhee (2009) further argue that faculty shapes the institutional climate and characters that students are exposed to and engaged with. Similarly, Maestas, Vaquera, and Zehr (2007) observe that when international students have problematic interactions with their instructors, it is likely to inhibit their connectedness with the academic environment, given that staff and faculty are the primary contact point between students and the institution. In order to support and facilitate belonging, Cooper (2009) and Vaccaro, Daly-Cano, and Newman (2015) underscore how important it is for universities to understand their students' needs so that they can provide the comfort and care students required through both internal and external resources. Students' learning experiences can be improved when administrators increase the interactions between students and faculty in order to offer academic guidance and develop some other academic and social activities (Cheng, 2004). It is critical to maintain frequent and regular interactions of international students with academic advisors and faculty members to increase retention among international students (Mamiseishvili, 2012).

Chiu et al. (2016) found that teachers' characteristics were the strongest predictor of students' sense of belonging. Students who developed closer relationships with their teachers received more teacher support and students who came from more well-organized classrooms perceived a greater sense of belonging at school. In searching for Chinese international students' opinion on how U.S. higher education institutions can improve student college experiences, Heng (2017) found that one-third of participants wished their teachers were aware of their backgrounds during teaching and assessment process, and one-quarter of participants wished their teachers considered their language barriers, especially during the first semester. The participants wanted not only to write essays but also desired feedback before submission. Furthermore, a quarter of participants wanted teachers to have more patience with respect to communication. They stated that displays of impatience intimidated them, discouraging them from contributing to class discussions or asking questions. This was consistent with the findings of Liu (2016), who succinctly summarizes this concept: "Changing demographics in education requires more acceptance of diversity, multicultural competence, and social equity and justice among educators" (p. 14).

The presence of international students on campus requires an acceptive environment. However, Guo and Guo (2017) reported that the international students from Asia and the Middle East were not well received and often felt alienated. Some of their study participants had to face biases and discrimination from domestic students, faculty members, and the local community. Similarly, Leask (2009) reported domestic students often avoided working with international students inside class and rarely interacted with them outside class. Heng (2017) reported that the seeming reluctance of Chinese international students to oral communication was often understood as disinterest and their struggles were dismissed as the consequence of their own lack of motivation or interest. This attitude is likely due to the fact that higher education institutions do not investigate the lived experiences of Chinese international students. Consequently, these institutions unintentionally foster a culture of silence among international students as they fail to proactively solicit feedback from the international students to determine what their needs are. The recruitment of international students also requires universities to internationalize their curricula in content, pedagogy, objectives, assessment, and associated support services. However, in practice, "curricula remain Western" (Leask, 2009, p. 272). Guo and Guo also

reported the international students who participated in their study rarely encountered instructional materials that reflected their experiences.

Information availability. Caidi and Allard (2005) argue that “access to information resources and the skills and literacy needed to make use of information for everyday life problems are part of the social capital of individuals” (p. 307). By extension, this form of social capital is influential with respect to campus belonging for international students. However, the current literature suggests that Chinese international students possess insufficient information associated with their study and life in the host country. Liu (2016) and Yu (2018) found that the lack of knowledge about the local education system contributed to reduced participation among Chinese international students in Canadian education classrooms. Heng (2017) found that students desired greater clarity about administrative information, such as tax and immigration information, to reduce the stress associated with their status as international students. Similarly, Zhang and Zhou (2010) found that Chinese international students expected university to provide them with information and support for their visa application. In their study, participants highly commended their university’s soft-landing program, which provides new international students with a pick-up service from the airport, first week shopping assistance, and orientation events and activities in the host academic and social contexts. Yan and Sendall (2016) analyzed how the first-year experience (FYE) program in a Catholic college influenced the experience of international students in higher education. The FYE program provided first-year international students with information on topics such as academic resources, healthy relationships, cultural diversity, social justice, and values. The findings indicate that such a program served to enhance students’ awareness of school resource information, deepened their understandings of host and other cultures, facilitated friendship establishment and development, and improved English speaking skills.

Conclusion

Postsecondary institutions in North America admit international students for various reasons. One of the most commonly described reasons is to diversify their campuses. However, the presence of international students will not automatically lead to a multicultural campus. Research has provided evidence that a sense of belonging is closely related to positive academic, social, psychological, and persistence outcomes for Chinese international students in North American campuses. A limited sense of belonging on campus and the diminished feelings of affiliation toward the community greatly impact the learning and living experiences of those students. This is reflected in several practices: impaired interpersonal relationship with local peers, preferred socialization with home country fellows, limited participation in the host culture, academic uncertainties, communication obstacles, vulnerability to psychological issues such as anxiety and depression, discrimination, limited support, and insufficient information access to important issues such as course selection and tax information. A perceived sense of belonging is beneficial to the well-being of students in terms of their emotional, motivational, and academic functioning. It helps to reduce anxiety, distress, and thoughts of dropping out while enabling students to address challenges with confidence. Postsecondary institutions should develop their programs to better manage and support international students in order to stay competitive in the global education market. Heng (2017) even notes that institutions should eliminate their authoritative and deficit perspectives and give international students agency by making them part of the

decision-making process. This will encourage institutions to recognize the impact of socio-cultural contexts and facilitate equitable exchanges.

Several factors are found to impact sense of belonging for Chinese international students: cultural impact, language barrier, campus characteristics, and information availability. First, Chinese students come from a collectivistic and hierarchical culture. They tend to perform in a reserved and obedient way in class and have less courage to challenge authority, which impacts their learning performance. Second, the language barrier is deemed the most influential factor in the acculturation process. English language proficiency impacts those students in both academic and social realms. Academically, students reported being unfamiliar with academic writing styles and formats in the host country, having difficulties with grammar, punctuation, and vocabulary, and experiencing challenges with English speaking and listening. Socially, English language proficiency impacts Chinese international students when interacting with domestic students and the larger community, leading to disconnection from the host culture. Campus characteristics are also a critical factor. A campus with a large student body or that advocates cultural diversity tends to facilitate students' sense of belonging, as students are eager for identity construction and diversity appreciation on campus. The recruitment of international students will not naturally result in a multicultural campus and not automatically lead to an internationalized curriculum either. It requires efforts from administrators, faculty, and staff to build a welcoming and inclusive social and academic environment for international students. Lastly, information availability is considered a source of social capital. Chinese international students tend to lack access to necessary information, either for academic issues (e.g., course selection, facilities location, academic-related services) or administrative information (e.g., tax and immigration matters). Thus, it is vital to ensure these students have access to such information.

Implications for Future Research

A critical analysis of the current literature highlights two gaps that future research should seek to address. One issue is that the research scope of this study is North American postsecondary institutions collectively. However, although Canada and the United States share certain cultural similarities, there are significant differences between their education systems. For example, the U.S. relies heavily on private education, while Canada relies primarily on public education. Such a difference might have an impact on the ethnic composition of each system, which in turn could impact the ways in which Chinese international students perceive and acculturate to their academic environment. Therefore, future studies should exclusively focus on one country to elicit more specific perceptions and experiences of Chinese international students within each context. Alternately, comparative studies between the two countries could be done to underscore potential differences. Another issue is that the current research has primarily identified four factors that impact Chinese international students' sense of belonging: cultural impact, language barrier, campus characteristics, and information availability. However, additional factors may be responsible for the construction of sense of belonging, such as socioeconomic background, personal motivation, and learning exceptionalities. These factors might independently impact student outcomes, or be exacerbated by or intensify the impact of the factors that have already been established. Therefore, future research can explore such factors and consider how they impact students and explore their relationship with other factors.

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Teachers as Learners in the (Literal) Field: Results from an International Service Learning Internship

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Abstract

This article provides an account of a recent research study that investigated an international service learning internship for in-service teachers. Relying upon what we know to be the advantages and benefits of somewhat similar experiences (i.e., international internships for pre-service teachers, internships for in-service teachers, and service learning opportunities for university students) to frame our investigation, we explored the impact upon in-service teachers, particularly as they relate to both professional and personal growth. Analysis of questionnaire responses revealed a number of prominent themes. Stories and accounts of professional growth were related to: (a) creating an engaging and safe learning environment, (b) (over)planning for the unexpected, and (c) teaching with (and in front of) others. Stories and accounts of personal growth were related to: (a) letting go of control, (b) facing fears and confronting anxieties while outside of one's comfort zone, and (c) recognizing privilege and the excess of possessions. Results from this study might appeal to those who similarly share an interest in international service learning internships, service learning generally, international internships, in-service teacher education, and/or international or global education.

Keywords: service learning, internship, teacher education, international

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In recent years, a number of teacher education programs have included international internships as a program possibility for pre-service teachers (Robinson & Bell, 2014; Stachowski & Sparks, 2007). There have been a number of somewhat familiar rationales for the introduction of these sorts of international experiences. Some have been entirely program-driven while others have been, admittedly, financially driven. For example, some universities' international internships have been introduced due to their teacher education programs' contemporary focus upon multicultural and/or global education while others have been introduced due to less noble goals related to student recruitment (Baker & Giacchino-Baker, 2000; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008).

Almost as soon as these international internships began, some researchers predictably followed by investigating the impact of them upon pre-service teachers (see Black & Bernardes, 2014; Mwebi & Brigham, 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). The body of research literature related to these experiences is seemingly unequivocal. That is, though pre-service teachers experience both intended and unintended outcomes during international internships, these outcomes are almost wholly positive with markedly few negative ones (see Black & Bernardes, 2014; Mwebi & Brigham, 2009; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Robinson, Barrett, & Robinson, 2017; Robinson & Foran, 2017; Sahin, 2008; Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Willard-Holt, 2001).

Despite the introduction and subsequent research of these international internships for pre-service teachers, few international internships (and few research studies related to them) exist for *in-service* teachers. This is both logical and expected. That is, most in-service teachers have no reason to engage in internships of any kind. Indeed, the successful completion of the internship is a present-day prerequisite for graduating and becoming a teacher in the first place. Still, and both because of and despite these observations, our university recently piloted an international internship meant for both pre-service and in-service teachers.

The International Service Learning Internship in Belize

A small number of part-time graduate students (who were also full-time in-service teachers) enrolled in a new pilot course, one that was advertised as a service learning internship within a developing nation. (A similar number of full-time undergraduate students [i.e., full-time pre-service teachers] also enrolled in the same course.) This international service learning internship was a three-credit course requiring students to live and teach in an altogether foreign environment. In addition to pre-departure and post-return activities, assignments, and reflective exercises, students were required to lead a 2-week summer program within a small rural Indigenous community. With few material resources available, students had to teach a number of modules related to contemporary curricular areas (e.g., physical education, music education, science education, and art education). Teaching space was limited primarily to an outdoor field as well as to a lone sheltered area (in case of heavy rain or extreme heat). Indeed, most teaching and learning occurred, literally, in the field.

What Made This International Internship Service Learning?

Service learning is a “class-based, credit-bearing experience in which students participate in an organized service activity that meets a particular need of a community” (Stevens, 2008, p. xii). Within service learning, professors (among other tasks) design learning outcomes, help students connect in-class learning with in-the-field learning, and spend time supporting students in the community sites (Stevens, 2008). Service learning opportunities differ from “normal” internships

in one especially significant respect: whereas providing internship opportunities is largely accepted as a responsibility owed by school jurisdictions to universities and provincial governments (within Canada), the service learning scenario is, by definition, a much more reciprocal arrangement (individually and institutionally).

Service learning's reciprocity ensures that visiting participants and the cooperating community partners alike benefit in a sort of symbiotic relationship. This reciprocity requires that visiting participants benefit while the community simultaneously benefits. It is also essential to make clear that the "service learning" label does not suggest that the community is the one requiring a service to be provided by those from the academe (Anderson & Hill, 2001). Recognizing the strengths and needs of both our in-service teachers and our host community, we designed this internship to be (and require) more than what is ordinarily a part of a normal internship. In an effort to be especially mindful of the need to offer an international service learning internship that was "legitimate, ethical, and useful" (Butin, 2003, p. 1676), we were hypersensitive to community needs and potential impacts as we designed and offered this opportunity. Related principles guiding this international service learning course included respect, relevance, reflection, and reciprocity (Butin, 2003).

Given our belief in the need for respectful reciprocity, relevance, and authentic engagement, we made many efforts to work with our Belizean partners and participants before, during, and after the international service learning internship. For example, we have long-standing relationships with our host and the local school principal; these two met with parents/guardians and community members to determine what sorts of educational activities they wished to be done with their children and youths. Our group was fully responsive to these requests and so activities were planned accordingly. Moreover, given that our participants had multiple university degrees (including at least one in education) and none of the local Belizean teachers did, we welcomed local teachers (who were on their holidays) to come and observe our lessons. Some of them obliged and engaged in informal discussions about pedagogy. Importantly these discussions were educative for both groups—Canadians and Belizeans. Lastly, participants also brought plenty of material resources to the school and community (e.g., books, markers, sporting equipment, water pump, etc.) in response to needs shared by our host and the school principal.

Maya Center and Our Mayan Partners and Participants

Belize (formally British Honduras) is on the east coast of Central America, where it borders both Mexico and Guatemala. Maya Center, a small village bordering the Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary, was established in the 1980s to accommodate Indigenous Mopan Mayan villagers who were forcibly relocated from their homes in the Cockscomb Basin. The approximately 300 residents of Maya Center are almost all Mayan (most of whom are Mopan Mayan). While Mopan Maya is the first language for most people who live in Maya Center, many children, youths, and adults also speak English and Belizean Creole. Men who work are generally engaged in seasonal farming (especially citrus) and/or tourism/guiding. Women and older girls continue with many traditional tasks and activities (e.g., cooking, crafts, and childrearing). Three Christian churches are in Maya Center and many villagers attend service, multiple times each week. All children attend the local school until (the equivalent of) Grade 8. Some then move on to a different secondary school in another community while others begin helping at home (and/or find work).

The 2-week summer program accommodated approximately 55-80 local participants each day. These participants were split into four relatively equal-sized groups (i.e., ages 4-6, 7-9, 10-12, 13-

17). The youngest three groups had an approximately equal number of boys and girls. However, the oldest group was made up of more girls than boys (some of whom were also minding their younger siblings). These four groups rotated through four different 90-minute stations where different students led different sessions.

Related Literature

Before planning and researching this international service learning internship, we thought it sensible to review relevant literature, particularly as it related to the advantages and benefits of international internships, other in-service teachers' internships, and service learning as an educational model. Accordingly, following is a brief synopsis of that literature.

International Internships: Advantages/Benefits

Pence and Macgillivray (2008) investigated a 4-week international internship for pre-service teachers in Rome. Gleaning data from journal reflections, focus group interviews, observations, and follow-up questionnaires, they explored pre-service teachers' changes related to their professional and personal identities. Finding few negative experiences, they found a number of positive experiences and changes related to increased confidence, a better respect for others and others' differences, and a realization about the importance of reflection-upon-practice. Other research (e.g., Clement & Outlaw, 2002; Quezada, 2004; Stachowski, Richardson, & Henderson, 2003), relying upon data from pre-service teachers' reflections as well as their hosts' reflections, found positive changes in pre-service teachers' instructional pedagogy, self-learning, and understanding related to multiculturalism. For example, with respect to instructional pedagogy, pre-service teachers found that with the absence of material resources they had to necessarily become more creative in their planning and teaching. Additionally, international internships that afford pre-service teachers opportunities to immerse themselves within a new community have been found to allow pre-service teachers to develop more genuine understandings about others and their cultures (Quezada, 2004).

Kambutu and Nganga (2008), relying upon pre- and post-visit surveys, researched an international internship in an African developing nation. While pre-visit surveys revealed a lack of cultural awareness, post-visit surveys revealed that pre-service teachers gained a broader awareness as well as an authentic understanding and appreciation of the hosts' cultures. Similarly, Kabilan (2013), also relying largely upon survey data and reflective journals, found pre-service teachers in another developing nation (within South Asia) experienced similar beneficial and meaningful professional development.

In contrast with these previous studies that investigated North American pre-service teachers travelling overseas, Sahin (2008) surveyed pre-service teachers who travelled overseas to North America to teach. By surveying pre-service teachers and their mentors, Sahin found that an internship program contributes in a positive way both to pre-service teachers' professional and personal development. Moreover, Sahin also found that the presence of international pre-service teachers in a North American school helps the students there develop an improved understanding about other countries and cultures.

Lastly, the limited research with Canadian participants has found largely consistent results. For example, Mwebi and Brigham's (2009) research into Canadian pre-service teachers' (6-week) internships in Kenya found that participants increased their self-awareness, enhanced their understanding of diversity and globalization issues, and built upon their knowledge and skills

related to teaching within local public schools. Similarly, Black and Bernardes (2014), who researched the same Canada-to-Kenya scheme (though for only 3 weeks), also found that participants increased their global-mindedness and intercultural competence; they also came to realize that they were their own greatest teaching resource.

In-Service Teachers' Internships

Internships are almost always associated with pre-service teachers, oftentimes as a synonym for “field experiences” or “practicums” (Robinson & Walters, 2016). When considered as something different than a field experience or practicum, internships are almost exclusively related to beginning teachers and induction periods or programs (Howe, 2006). For example, some school districts hire beginning teachers as “interns” who must complete year-long induction periods before being granted all the rights and responsibilities of a “real” teacher (Bullough, Young, & Draper, 2004).

Perhaps a more similar and familiar model would be internships that approximate work-based experiences, where in-service teachers are immersed in the “operational priorities, challenges and strategies” (Stephens, 2011, p. 69) of another institution or environment. Stephens (2011) suggested that such internships ought to be a minimum of 1-week in duration and occur during school breaks (e.g., during summer). Such scheduling (as opposed to after-school or within-the-day scheduling) allows in-service teachers to focus on internship duties without also having to attend to other classroom responsibilities (e.g., preparing for substitute teachers).

Rivera, Manning, and Krupp (2013) researched a 4-week in-service teacher internship program. Occurring in the summer months, in-service teachers were engaged in an internship program meant to provide meaningful professional development related to science and science inquiry. Unfortunately, despite the overwhelmingly positive results related to the value and efficacy of the program, a lack of funding was identified as an almost insurmountable barrier to implementing new knowledge and skills into the in-service teachers' practice.

Other internships are routinely required or available for in-service teachers making a career change. For example, school counsellor preparation programs often include a required internship period (Pérusse, Goodnough, & Noël, 2001). Moreover, research has demonstrated that adopting a service learning approach within these induction periods helps enable the effective integration of theory and practice for neophyte school counsellors (Arman & Scherer, 2002). Similar internship programs are available for in-service teachers seeking to become school administrators. Research related to these sorts of internships has revealed that those with internship experience feel more confident and better prepared to take on leadership responsibilities within their schools (Jean & Evans, 1995).

Service Learning as an Educational Model

Bringle and Hatcher (2009) have defined service learning as

a course-based, credit bearing educational experience in which students (a) participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs, and (b) reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of personal values and civic responsibility. (p. 112)

Service learning differs in both structure and purpose from normal internships—where professors generally have little to no substantive involvement with their students. Within service learning,

professors design learning outcomes, help students connect in-class learning with in-the-field experiences, and spend time with their students engaged in the community contexts (Robinson, 2011; Stevens, 2008).

Bringle and Hatcher (1995, 2009), Robinson (2011), and Stevens (2008) all agree that one of the most important aspects of service learning is that it be an enterprise that is of benefit to university students and to the community (members). Such reciprocity ensures that the “service learning” label does not erroneously suggest that the community and its members are the ones “receiving” a service—provided by those within a privileged academe. Within service learning, both parties have something to offer as well as something to gain.

Service learning has been shown to result in a number of positive outcomes related to university students’ personal and social development (Simons & Cleary, 2006). For example, participating students have shown improvements in diversity and political awareness, community self-efficacy, and civic engagement (Simons & Cleary, 2006). Similarly, Baldwin, Buchanan, and Rudisill (2007) found that pre-service teachers engaged in a service learning opportunity cultivated a deeper understanding of diversity and social justice so that they were, in turn, enabled to recognize and confront social injustices within their own environments and communities.

Researching the International Service Learning Internship

One might wonder what value an international service learning internship (as an educational opportunity and/or as a research possibility) might have for in-service teachers—that is, for those who are already licensed to teach. We certainly did. It was partly for this reason that we introduced the international service learning internship as a pilot course and research study within our university’s graduate program. Having observed and researched the benefits of our undergraduate program’s international internships and service learning internships (see Foran & Robinson, 2017; Robinson et al., 2017; Robinson & Foran, 2017), we set out to introduce and investigate the impact of a similar educational experience upon a number of in-service teachers who were also graduate students (completing a Master of Education [MEd] degree). That is, while we have seen and documented our pre-service teachers’/undergraduate students’ professional and personal growth, their career stages and ages are quite different than that of our in-service teachers/graduate students. Understandably, we have therefore been apprehensive about drawing parallel assumptions about value to be found in an international service learning internship for our graduate students. This was new terrain in our graduate program and we wanted to investigate it.

Research Question(s)

The primary research question framing this study was, “In what ways are in-service teachers impacted, both professionally and personally, by their experience(s) in an international service learning internship?” Secondary questions were related to in-service teachers’ preconceptions, particularly as they contrasted with the observations and experiences they gained in their international service learning internship.

Research Methods

The research design was a multi-case study (the results within this paper are related to one bounded case of many; Creswell, 2003, 2012). The bounded system (Creswell, 2003) focused

upon here is defined as one group of in-service teachers (n=7) who participated in an international service learning internship in Belize. Data were collected through the use of questionnaires. These questionnaires were administered to all participants at two different times: (a) just prior to the service learning internship beginning, and (b) immediately after the service learning internship ended.

The questionnaires included seven questions (“pre” questionnaire) and 12 questions (“post” questionnaire). Each question asked for 300- to 500-word responses (5,700 to 9,500 words total). Participants who wrote fewer than 300 words or more than 500 words for a response were not asked to modify their responses. Nonetheless, most responses were within the 300- to 500-word guidelines. Participants were given a 2-week period to complete each of their questionnaires and we estimated that each questionnaire would have taken 60-90 minutes to complete. Sample questions on these questionnaires included:

- What are your preconceptions before going to Belize related to the children and youth? [pre]
- What do you think you will learn professionally? [pre]
- What were your observations when you arrived in Belize related to your anticipated strengths in the new context? [post]
- How might your future teaching be influenced by your participation in this international experience? [post]

Participants

The seven participants were all in-service teachers who were also nearing completion of their MEd degrees (all have since graduated). Their ages ranged from 29 to 36 years and their years of teaching experience ranged from 6 to 13 years. Five of the participants were female and two were male. Four were elementary teachers (i.e., Grades K-6) and three were secondary teachers (i.e., Grades 7-12).

Research Ethics

Our university’s Research Ethics Board (REB) first approved all research protocols, including those related to dissemination guidelines. We endeavoured to follow all of these protocols and recused ourselves when any potential issues arose (e.g., when a participant was also a student in another class taught by one of the researchers). So as to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of all participants, pseudonyms are used throughout the rest of this text.

Data Analysis

We analyzed all data by searching for issues, similarities, differences, recurring ideas, clustering, patterns, and relationships in the responses. By coding and categorizing the data according to methods outlined by Creswell (2012) and Miles and Huberman (1994), dominant themes were identified, allowing for analysis and interpretation.

Results and Specific Discussion: Professional and Personal Growth

Analysis of questionnaire responses resulted in a number of themes, related to both professional and personal growth. Stories and accounts related to professional growth focused on a number of topics related, for example, to planning and preparation, creating an ideal learning

environment, engaging children and youth, and teachers' professional responsibilities. The three most salient themes related to professional growth were: (a) creating an engaging and safe learning environment, (b) (over)planning for the unexpected, and (c) teaching with (and in front of) others. Stories and accounts related to personal growth focused on a large number of individual topics. Nonetheless, responses did suggest three most common themes. These included: (a) letting go of control, (b) facing fears and confronting anxieties while outside of one's comfort zone, and (c) recognizing privilege and the excess of possessions.

Professional Growth

Creating an engaging and safe learning environment. Given that there were little to no digital or material resources available with which to daily plan and/or teach, participants were required to create engaging educational environments with words and actions (rather than with, for example, technology and equipment). Indeed, it very quickly became evident to participants how often their teaching at home included “bells and whistles” simply unavailable in Belize. As Rachael explained,

One thing that was a bit of a challenge when preparing for these lessons as opposed to teaching in my school was the limitations on equipment. I tried to take into consideration the equipment that was being used in previous lessons and to build my plan around that. I often take for granted the treasure trove of goodies I have at my fingertips when teaching at school although I do always have a wish list on the go). It was good to be reminded that all I really need are very basics and an open space to create some activities. I hope that the kids will take some of the games we taught and play them again, particularly the variations of tag that we introduced that take no equipment and very little organization.ⁱ

Not only has Rachael been effectively forced to create engaging lessons with minimal resources but she has recognized the need to educate her students so that they may also do so within their own daily lives.

Nathan observed the same thing—that engaging learning environments could occur with minimal resources. As he suggested:

Through this experience we also discovered that learning can take place in any environment with minimal equipment. The area surrounding the school was used to facilitate learning throughout the entire week. Shaded areas under trees were used as music rooms and dance floors. The tree by the soccer field was used as a real life jungle gym.ⁱⁱ I think often I get hung up on not having the perfect situation for some types of learning, and this experience reminded me that often the most learning takes place with just plain good teaching.

Nathan's observation resonated with others and ourselves. For example, on the first day in Belize, Amy complained that she could not teach yoga to the students because she did not have any yoga mats. Like Nathan, she quickly came to realize that the grassy field or the lone concrete slab could work just fine.

Moreover, Luke, like others, also observed that engaging learning environments need not be overly focused upon safety (as is a seemingly routine practice within Canada):

I also learned that teaching does not require the best equipment in the world to be meaningful. We made do with what we had and if we were lacking, we improvised. Teaching in Belize demonstrated that a school and its grounds does not have to be baby-proofed and that kids are able to access levels of risk. The playgrounds in Canada are so bare for fear of a child getting hurt that they are left with an empty open space with no stimulation. The Belize school grounds had piles of sand, half-finished concrete walls,

rebar everywhere, trees, bushes, and abandoned buildings. The kids played in, over, under, and around these obstacles with zero injuries. Makes me re-think what we are doing to the childhood experiences of kids today in Canada.

Similarly, Nathan also made this observation regarding the reconsideration of safety:

At first I thought I should tell Julian to wear a helmet while riding his bike to the river. Then I realized he didn't have a helmet. I don't think there was a helmet in the whole village. Then I thought I should tell him to wear shoes or to stop doubling one or two friends. All of this while on our way to swim, without a lifeguard, in a river. Right when I thought of speaking up about safety, I noticed the machete forged into his bike frame [so that he could cut down bush after school]. It was then that I realized that I had become somewhat preoccupied with safety and that I should instead consider the learning environment and safety within and while also considering the culture and the community. Our litigious and overly safety-conscious lives at home should not impact what we do there (or maybe at home too).

While all participants seemed to recognize that they could (when functionally forced to do so) create engaging learning environments with minimal resources, some also came to see that their overconcern for safety might limit the possibilities for students' engagement with their local environment and day-to-day lives. The realization that creating a suitable learning environment can be focused around things other than available resources is a welcome one. We are hopeful that upon returning home these teachers resist any temptations to complain about limited resources. Moreover, we also appreciate their entirely new (to us) perspectives related to the overconcern for safety—particularly when one considers imposing Western safety standards upon others.

(Over)planning for the unexpected. As experienced teachers, the participants had come to view planning in an almost routine fashion. Indeed, as a number of them suggested, before participating in this international service learning internship, lesson plans had become largely limited to a few words or sentences for each of their lessons. To others similarly engaged with public education, this should not be a surprising happening. Still, given the entirely new and unique teaching and learning context within Belize, participants were required to first submit and refine detailed lesson plans. This exercise was seen as useful by all participants, who observed that it was essential to “over” plan, especially given the number of unexpected contextual variables related to the new and unique environment. As Luke shared:

Teaching in Belize was an affirmation to be prepared for the unexpected. Belize threw a lot of obstacles at our neat and tidy pre-made unit plans which had to be re-worked on a daily, or hourly, basis. A rogue thunderstorm, dog fight, red ant attack, no running water: all can, and did, contribute to an immediate change in planning. I believe one of the things that made our teaching so successful is that most of the teachers were well prepared. It was good to plan like this again.

In an entirely concordant manner, Nathan observed:

I think this experience reaffirmed the effect good planning can have on the learning experience of the students, as well as the experience the facilitator has as a result. Throughout my past 9 years teaching, I've gotten away from formal lesson plans. I think this is normal, however in planning the lessons for this trip, I've once again seen the value. I'm not going to claim that I will now make formal lesson plans for my classes, but I'll put more thought into the questions I can ask during the lessons, as well as plan activities that will be more engaging and meaningful to my students.

Not only has Nathan been, again, effectively forced to spend considerable time planning but he has suggested that this experience will have an impact on his own future teaching. Suggesting that he will “put more thought” into his future planning as a result of this experience suggests, to us, that the experience has allowed him to critically reflect upon his own planning practices. We believe that this experience has disrupted the sort of complacency that allows teachers to abandon serious planning efforts. Coming to find that the value of planning has been (re)realized by participants is most affirming.

Teaching with (and in front of) others. While teaching is most often regarded as a solitary exercise and profession, the international service learning internship purposely required participants to plan and teach together. Although we could have designed a program where individuals would have taught all classes, we presupposed that, given the new and unique context, participants would benefit by co-planning and co-teaching opportunities. Participants expressed appreciation for these experiences in many ways. For example, Amy offered:

Coming in to the trip, it was nice to collaborate with two groups of people: Luke and Rachael, whom I have worked with on projects and presentations previously, and Trina, who I hadn't even met in person before heading to Belize. Both groups were focused on preparing thorough lesson plans that covered a variety of games, dances, and musical activities. Having the accountability to have my lessons prepared on time so that the group was prepared was a welcome change to my daily planning in my own program. As one of two physical education teachers in the school, this past school year I taught my own program in a gym that was divided into two classes. My teaching partner taught his own thing on the other side of the curtain. The only person I was accountable to daily was myself. This had its pros and cons, and I appreciated the group planning process for our lessons in Belize.

In addition to appreciation for opportunities to plan together, most others expressed a similar appreciation for the many opportunities to learn from their teaching peers. For example, Nathan shared:

I also had the opportunity to learn from my colleagues. ... Each member from the group had strengths that they brought to the experience and shared valuable skills that I will be able to implement into my teaching repertoire.

Undoubtedly, it was pleasing to find that participants found occasions to learn from their peers. And, as Nathan shared, we are hopeful that they will take some of that learning and apply it to their own future teaching. Related to this idea of learning from one's peers (whether by co-planning, co-teaching, or observing) is the importance of also supporting one's peers in educational contexts. Amy made this very point, perhaps most clearly, when she shared:

I feel that, professionally and personally speaking, our responsibilities involved not just teaching the children but supporting each other. A strong staff works with and supports one another in their teaching and I really felt we all did a great job with this in Maya Center. Morale was high among the group, and when someone needed a break or lift, support was given.

This experience and conclusion are, to us, applicable to teaching within Canada as well. It is our hope that Amy and others have taken this learning and, with it, have begun to more purposefully support their peers within their “regular” teaching positions.

Personal Growth

Letting go of control. Some participants identified themselves as “Type A” individuals who would normally take control of all elements related to teaching—and would also prefer things

that way. Such a perspective may work well when one takes on teaching as a solitary pursuit. However, and likely for the first time since being “forced” to work with others in undergraduate or graduate classes for pair or group assignments, participants were necessarily required to work with their peers in most respects. That is, they were required to co-plan and co-teach all of their lessons. Moreover, when they were not teaching their own lessons, they were required to offer support to their peers while they taught theirs. This unique scenario required some to forfeit some control. As Ilsa shared:

I had a lot of time to reflect on my personality and my way of doing things. At times I can take on traits of a perfectionist. I like things done efficiently and I put in a lot of effort to complete my goals and various tasks. This had turned me into, what some people like to call, a control-freak. I set my expectations high for other people because I think, “If I can do it this way, then that person should be able to as well.” I am not as bad with new individuals because I understand we are all different and we approach problems differently, but I hold fairly high expectations for the people I work and interact with on a daily basis. This experience has allowed me to recognize this aspect of my personality and aim to be more laid back, less judgmental, and hopefully less stressed. It is unrealistic and disadvantageous to expect others to follow my standards and ideals and it does not contribute to a positive work environment. I hope to cut back on my “Type A” personality and try to share ideas without taking control over an activity.

The requirement for Ilsa to share control with her peers (including with her pre-service peers) was viewed, by her, as a contributor to important and positive personal growth. Letting go of control, or allowing others to take on some of that control (of, for example, teaching responsibilities), was enabled through this experience and it became an ongoing career goal.

Ilsa was not alone when making these sorts of observations. Another in-service teacher, Trina, shared:

Having never had the opportunity to co-teach, creating and delivering lessons with a partner or group was completely a completely foreign concept. It was strange not having control over all elements of the lesson and how they would be delivered so I quickly had to learn when to step in order to help out my colleague(s) or to add something that would benefit the students and when to take a back seat and let my colleague(s) lead. Learning how to walk that line took conscious effort but was important because as a partnership or a group everyone had to feel supported and valued. Working with other teachers and observing new ways of teaching has made me energized to return to the classroom and implement many of the techniques I have learned.

Not only did Trina see that letting go of control could be a positive personal experience, but she also came to learn that there are things to be gained when such control is purposely relinquished. For example, she came to believe that it is important to make others feel valued and she found that she was able to learn from her peers.

Facing fears and confronting anxieties while outside of one’s comfort zone. The many individuals who participated in this international service learning internship shared many of their fears and anxieties. Some were related to teaching and some were related to the foreign environment. All suggested that they were forced outside of their comfort zones and that this experience had a profound and significant impact upon them. For example, Nathan observed:

Stepping outside my comfort zone is something I’m not particularly good at. I feel this entire trip made me challenge myself in ways I normally wouldn’t attempt. Flying, eating termites, hiking, and sleeping in [the Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary], spending 2 weeks with unfamiliar people, swimming in something other than a pool, are all outside my

comfort zone and made me realize my apprehensions about this, and other things, are just because I've never experienced them. Now I realize that I can't let that apprehension dictate what I will and won't try. I know it's cliché, but this trip will forever change who I am, and how I live my life.

Trina arrived in Belize with a long list of apprehensions. Indeed, she was nervous about almost all elements related to the experience. However, she found that facing them allowed her to gain much needed confidence so that she would be better able to face future challenges in her life:

I purposely waited a week to write this journal so I could have time to adjust back to life at home and properly reflect on the trip. Even though it has been just a week, already I can notice the impact of this experience. My apprehensions coming in to the trip in regards to working with new people, the [Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary] hike, the snakes, and the small plane ride from Dangriga all caused me moments of trepidation, but facing fears head on because I gave myself no other option has had a profound boost to my confidence. At home when faced with unnerving situations, I now remind myself that if I can spend the night in [Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary], I can handle pretty much anything. Challenges will always be present but it is my mindset that will effect how I manage the pressure, reminding myself that the situation is only temporary.

While we had hoped for in-service teachers to experience some professional growth in already-supposed areas, it was difficult to know what sorts of personal gains might be achieved. Indeed, the unique and largely heterogeneous make-up of the group made this especially difficult to predict. Certainly, it was pleasing for us to find that these participants found, what seem to be, genuine opportunities for personal growth with respect to facing fears and confronting anxieties outside of one's comfort zone.

Recognizing privilege and the excess of possessions. The remote village was very undeveloped by most Canadian standards. Homes were rustic (e.g., they included dirt floors, outdoor fire pits for cooking, etc.), poverty was plainly evident (e.g., students wore the same clothes most days; vehicles and bicycles would not be "road-worthy" in Canada, etc.), and medical care was largely lacking (e.g., many students had rotted teeth; the nearest hospital lacked many resources found in Western hospitals, etc.). For most participants, this was an entirely new and awakening experience. As Rachael shared:

As far as the teaching went, I certainly learned not to take things for granted. I realize how privileged my daughters are to go to school here as opposed to in Belize. I see that they have many more opportunities afforded them and that our education system, while certainly not perfect, is much more well rounded than the one provided in Maya Center. I can only imagine the frustration that members of the community must feel to have the control out of their hands but hope that while slow, change will come and the students will be given more opportunities. I have often listened to tales of teachers who have gone to third world or developing countries and shared their experiences and were envious but never really pursued this kind of trip for myself. I am grateful to have been given this chance; it was most certainly eye opening and life changing in many ways.

Ursula made similar observations, finding that she questioned the excesses of her own possessions, particularly given her observations of poor people living seemingly full lives:

I learned a lot from the stories that the children told of what their family life was like, the challenges they faced, the things they did for enjoyment, their responsibilities, what they deemed as important, and how little they needed to make them happy. They lived a very different lifestyle than that of a typical Canadian child. I also learned on a personal level

how little I needed to survive. In Canada, I am often in multiple outfits of clothes a day, always with my hair and makeup done, numerous pairs of shoes to choose from and even a car at my door whenever I feel the need to use it. In taking modern conveniences away for the 2 weeks, I not only have a greater appreciation for the things in my life, but I also have accepted that many are unnecessary and since being home have changed to minimize some things in my life. The learning and growth from this experience is endless. I continue to see it changing my day to day life since I have returned home.

So impactful was the experience in this respect that Luke shared that he was considering bringing his family to the same location:

Compared to the way we live in Canada, they have so little yet they seem extremely happy and care immensely for one another. The trip has brought a renewed appreciation for the luxuries and securities I tend to take for granted at home. My daughter does not have to sell tree berries on the side of the road, my wife only has to press start on the washing machine, and I do not have to have to whipper snip citrus trees for 15 cents a tree. I keep thinking about returning to Maya Center with my wife and daughter so they can experience it for themselves.

It was also somewhat comforting to discuss these sorts of observations with the participants. As also evidenced in their responses, participants did comment upon how “unfortunate” the local children and people were (with respect to an obvious lack of material goods). However, and perhaps more importantly, they also became more aware of their privilege and questioned their own excesses, wondering aloud what things they actually needed.

Concluding Comments

As was previously suggested, an international service learning internship ought not to be viewed as an occasion for university students to provide a service to others in a one-way transactional manner. Though we did not also research the impact upon the approximately 80 children and youths who attended the summer school program (many of whom, at their own expense, voluntarily travelled over an hour to attend), our daily observations certainly told us that our participants were having an immediate and positive influence. The students were engaged, many arrived very early, and many others had to be shooed home. Indeed, it was constantly reaffirming to see the obvious joy and excitement on the students’ faces.

Still, despite these positive results, our research has shown that through their participation in this international service learning internship, our own university students have also benefited—perhaps to a greater degree than the students. With their shared professional growth as well as their, admittedly, “life-changing” personal growth, the participants were very clearly engaged in a symbiotic experience. Both benefited from engaging with one another.

Continuing with such an international service learning internship in the future would not be prudent if all benefits were to be had by only the children in Maya Center. Granted, people might appreciate the opportunity to engage in a completely altruistic experience—to “help” others for no sake other than being helpful. However, our university students need to experience something—to learn something—from the international service learning internship if it is to have some degree of educational value to them and to our institution. While we would like to think we could teach and nurture the kind of professional growth they experienced abroad here at home in Canada, we strongly believe that only this very experience was capable of enabling the personal growth suggested by these participants. If we had been restricted to providing this sort of course within our own community, we could not have planned for such personal growth.

Without question, this course, this international service learning internship, is unique. It is the only thing of its kind at our university. We also understand few experiences like it exist within other Canadian MEd programs. Given the results of this research, we are hopeful that our institution and others might offer similar opportunities to in-service teachers in the future.

A Cautionary Note and Admittance

Despite our shared positive findings and our own anecdotal observations about the good done to and for the children and youths of Maya Center, we would be remiss if we did not also recognize that short-term international service learning internships have the potential to do harm to host communities. Indeed, there is no shortage of literature that cautions people about such a possibility (e.g., see Langseth, 2000; Reisch, 2011; Schroeder, Wood, Galiardi, & Koehn, 2009). While we may have taken some of these scholars' cautionary steps to limit or eliminate such harm (e.g., through engaging in significant co-planning with local partners, facilitating multiple information sessions with experienced people, offering daily debriefs with participants, etc.), our inquiry did not focus upon the potential or realized good (or harm) done to Maya Center or its children and youths. While our research participants did make mention of the perceived good they had done, we simply did not ask our hosts as part of our inquiry project. We share this here to be mindful of the sometimes unseen harm that can be done and to also remind readers to share in this sort of mindfulness.

Future Research Directions

Largely in an effort to ensure good and minimize harm, we have made a commitment to return to Maya Center in a number of capacities. Especially given that Maya Center is an Indigenous Mayan community, we have been particularly mindful of both the optics and realized consequences of failing to make and maintain ongoing relationships and partnerships with "those on the ground" in Belize. Currently, our university offers an annual service learning trip (for undergraduate students) to Belize, an almost biennial internship for pre-service teachers/undergraduate students, and a biennial international service learning internship for in-service teachers/graduate students. With these ongoing experiences, attention might best be directed towards investigating the positive (and possible negative) effects upon our partners in Belize. We are suggesting that future researchers within our program and also within programs like ours might turn their attention to their hosts as well as towards their selves in an honest and critical manner.

Additionally, despite the professional and personal growth evidenced by participants in this research study, future inquiries might further explore if and how such international service learning internships might also facilitate a sense of global citizenship amongst participants. That is, though the growth areas are, to us, admirable ones, some might suggest that they are still somewhat selfish—in the sense that they are all about the self. (Again, the growth areas were the following: creating an engaging and safe learning environment, (over)planning for the unexpected, teaching with (and in front of) others, letting go of control, facing fears and confronting anxieties outside of one's comfort zone, recognizing privilege and the excess of possessions.) Perhaps this sort of service learning opportunity ought to be more purposeful so that it can provide participants with knowledge, skills, and experiences to become (better) global citizens. We would suggest future research ought to consider this. Moreover, we note that some

of our participants evidenced some deficit thinking, benevolence mindsets, and othering (Bourdieu, 1989; Jefferess, 2011). Clearly, there is work and research to be done here.

A Final Note on Our Study's Limitations

Lastly, our suggestions for future inquiry have highlighted what we readily concede to be our study's limitations. Like many other similar studies (including those cited within our literature review), we have focused upon the outcomes for our own students. We have done this to, among other things, legitimize what we intuitively think makes sense. However, moving forward, we and others ought to recognize that an equal, or greater, importance must be placed upon considering at what cost (to the host community) such positive professional and personal outcomes are realized. That is, the assumption that things must also be entirely positive for partners in a developing nation needs to be investigated further. Relatedly, some within Canadian and other Western contexts have found that international service learning participants' perspectives of "the other" can be harmful (Dervin, 2012; Jensen, 2011; Larsen, 2014; Seider & Hillman, 2011). Future research studies and conceptual contributions might play a role in addressing these points and findings. So, to be clear, our study's greatest limitation would be its absence of a more critical focus upon the positive outcomes for *all* people involved. The omission of the voices of the children, youths, and adults within Maya Center is not so much a regrettable one; rather, it was simply a research design choice. Nonetheless, our (and by "our" we mean all of us who engage in this work) future work needs to take on this more critical and inclusive perspective.

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ⁱ Participants' responses are included here verbatim. Errors in grammar, punctuation, and/or spelling are the participants' errors and are not identified within the text (with, for example, "sic").

ⁱⁱ The terms "jungle" and "jungle gym" have been identified by some as being pejorative. We make this note here and also explain that we have replaced participants' use of the term "jungle" with "Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary" within this article.

Novice Teachers' Perspectives on the Use of Languages in French as a Second Language Classes That Include English Language Learners

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Abstract

In the Canadian context, although most considerations for home-target language use are centred on the presence of English in French Second Language (FSL) programs, the increasing number of immigrants to Canada in general and to southern Ontario in particular has provided an impetus to extend the discussion to include the use of languages beyond Canada's official languages. Through the use of questionnaires with novice teachers pre- and post- Bachelor of Education programs and interviews for 3 years following graduation, this study sought to explore novice teachers' perspectives on the use of languages in FSL classes that include English language learners (ELLs). Novice teachers consistently identified the need to maximize French use, minimize English use, and include languages from students' language repertoires as useful means to support the FSL acquisition by ELLs. In addition, the novice teacher participants revealed a preference for ELLs to be included in core French as opposed to immersion programming. Participants' consideration of English and languages other than French were limited to teacher use. Additional teacher reflection on if and when to provide space for students to use all their language knowledge may prove advantageous to supporting plurilingual development.

Keywords: target language use; multilingual language acquisition; second language education; French as a second language, teacher beliefs

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Second language teachers continue to be regularly challenged to consider the role and space afforded to their students' home languages within the learning environment and often assume that the home language(s) and the school language (i.e., English within this study's context) are the same. As is the case with most controversies within education, there is a continuum of views, ranging from perspectives that advocate for exclusive target language use (e.g., Atkinson, 1993) to those that see a place for the students' home language(s) as a way to navigate confusion and honour the reality that the students are bi/multilingual individuals who are naturally working to find connections between the target language and their home language(s) (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 2010; Cook, 2001; Turnbull, 2001). Where one's practice is individually situated on the continuum reflects personal belief systems (e.g., Arnett & Turnbull, 2007; Turnbull & Arnett, 2002), the context in which the language program is situated (Mady & Arnett, 2017), the type of language program (e.g., bilingual; dual immersion; foreign language) (e.g., Palmer, Mateus, Martínez, & Henderson, 2014), the teacher's proficiency with the target language (e.g., Chambless, 2012), teachers' perceptions of the students' skills with the target and home languages (e.g., Lo, 2015), the content of the lesson (e.g., Levine, 2014), and perhaps additional factors, or any combination thereof.

In the Canadian context, although most considerations of the home-target language use are centred on the presence of English in French Second Language (FSL) programs, whether they be French immersion (e.g., Culligan, 2015), intensive French (e.g., Netten & Germain, 2005, 2009), or core French¹ (e.g., Calman & Daniel, 1998; Howard, 2006; Salvatori, 2007), the increasing number of immigrants to Canada has provided an impetus to extend the discussion to include the use of languages beyond Canada's official languages. The factors mentioned in the previous paragraph have been evidenced in these research studies, but research (e.g., Mady, 2013) focused on the educational experience of a particular learner population—English language learners (ELLs)—has also revealed FSL teachers' perspectives linked to the role of English and home languages in FSL classrooms as means to support the minority group's FSL acquisition. Though teachers' language use patterns were not initial considerations of the research projects, the results from these studies added insight into the use of English in the French classroom. It should be noted that these studies occurred in classrooms from Grade 6 and above where the overall student population is generally presumed to have a solid command of English; we do not, however, explore students' English skills as a part of this review.

In her observations of two Grade 6 core French teachers instructing eight FSL classes, in a context where ELLs formed approximately 50% of the classroom population, Mady (2013) also discovered a variety of practices pertaining to teacher language use. Teacher A used a mixture of French and English whereas Teacher B taught almost exclusively in French. Although Teacher B shared a home language (i.e., Punjabi) with the majority of her students, she did not make reference to it during the observations that covered five classes. It is noteworthy that the students in the classes followed the teachers' example of language use. In other words, the students in Teacher A's classes used English frequently while students in Teacher B's class rarely used English. Neither group used a language other than French or English. Mady also conducted semi-structured interviews with the teachers. It is worth highlighting that Teacher A, who frequently used English in class, acknowledged the language use debate stating her judgment that such translation should be avoided. This declaration underscores the potential for teachers' practice to be contrary to their beliefs when considering English language use. Such a discrepancy may be influenced by the curriculum's statement that French is the language of FSL classes (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 4) without acknowledgement of other language use. Although

not observed, both teachers in the study recognized that use of ELLs' prior knowledge includes use of their home languages by the teacher highlighting commonalities among languages. While research (e.g., Jessner, 2008; Kemp, 2007) in additional language learning contexts supports the use of students' languages in order to increase students' metalinguistic awareness and strategy use as means to improve language acquisition, other research highlights the necessity of the teacher to make explicit reference to students' language knowledge in order for students to access such resources (e.g., Castelotti & Moore, 2005; Moore, 2006).

This research thus shows a tendency to use English as an adaptation to instruction in order to support students' French acquisition. Although the Canadian student population has changed to include students from a wide range of language backgrounds and competencies, the limited available research shows a continued use of English without teacher attention being brought to the other languages represented in the classroom, as well as an apparent assumption that English is of equal benefit to all students in the classroom. Given research that underscores the importance of the teacher to make explicit reference to connections between languages in order for multilinguals to access bilingual advantages associated with language learning (e.g., Grosjean, 2008; Herdina & Jessner, 2002), this study sought to examine novice teachers' perspectives of language use in their FSL classrooms.

Conceptual Framework

For FSL teachers to consider the intentional use of languages other than French in the FSL classroom, a shift from the former curriculum's recommendation of sole use of French to one where students' FSL acquisition could benefit from using all of students' linguistic resources may prove to be beneficial. Whether the new curriculum (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013), introduced post- data collection, that recognizes students' languages as resources will expedite such a shift remains unexplored. In addition to studies that examine the benefits of using one language to inform the acquisition of another (Cummins, 2001; Grosjean, 2008; Herdina & Jessner, 2002), the diverse array of students' languages in a southern Ontario context necessitates an examination of a plurilingual framework and accompanying research. In the context of this present study, plurilingual refers to ELLs, that is to say learners who can use more than two languages to communicate. A plurilingual framework recognizes that while students' language competencies vary, the combined accumulation of such competencies serves as a resource that can enhance additional language learning (Cummins, 2008). Practical implementation of such a framework includes the use of multiple languages in a learning context in order to reveal linkages (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009) that may lead to enhanced metacognition and strategy use potentially resulting in improved language acquisition. In her research with Chinese immigrant children in French immersion, Moore (2010) revealed, through image-based research, that young children (i.e., 6 and 7 years old) draw upon and benefited from their multiple competencies to complete a task provided in the classroom language (i.e., French), thereby demonstrating how a plurilingual framework positions languages as iterative, dynamic resource bases from which the students can draw (Council of Europe, 2001). Also in a multilingual FSL context in Canada, Moore and Sabatier (2014) worked with teachers to use resources in a variety of languages and observed their implementation. The researchers found that such use supported students' literacy development. Moore and Sabatier, however, qualified that teachers are not yet equipped to undertake plurilingual practices in the FSL class, and while it was not explicitly mentioned in their conclusion, it could be a result of the fact that such a shift requires a shift in viewing other languages as a resource, not only as a benefit to the development of the students.

Research Questions

Although English and other languages offer potential resources to support students' FSL acquisition, it is evident from the variety of teacher practices that there is not a common understanding about how to best use said resource. This study aims to respond to the following research questions.

1. How do novice teachers conceptualize language use in FSL classrooms with ELLs?
2. Within novice teachers' thinking about how to support language learners, to what extent is another language a consideration?
3. How do novice teachers consider the ELLs' home language as an influence on their experience with FSL?

In general, we sought the perspectives of novice teachers in recognition of their struggle to apply scientific knowledge related to inclusion learned in the Bachelor of Education (BEd) program to FSL classrooms (Arnett & Mady, 2018). In particular, research with novice FSL teachers has shown them to struggle with the inclusion of ELLs in FSL classes (Dunn, 2011).

Methodology

This study sought to examine novice teachers' perspectives on inclusion of ELLs in FSL classes pre- and post-BEd programming. In particular, we explored the teachers' views on the inclusion of ELLs during their BEd year and continued to gather interview data 3 years following graduation. To do so, the study used a mixed-methods approach with a pre- and post-BEd questionnaire for both qualitative and quantitative data collection and an interview protocol for more in-depth probing. In the first year of this study, we used the questionnaire and interviews to gather data from novice teachers whereas for the remaining 3 years we gathered data using interviews.

Questionnaire

The pre-questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section pertained to the participants' demographic information. The second section included questions regarding the participants' perceptions on inclusion of ELLs in FSL that also served as the post-BEd questionnaire (see Mady & Arnett, 2017 for full questionnaire). In addition to the quantitative data collected (Arnett, Mady, & Muilenburg, 2014), the questionnaires gave respondents the opportunity to answer an open-ended question pertaining to strategies used with ELLs. Although no item on the questionnaire addressed the use or importance of languages, the significance of this issue became apparent as the respondents revealed this theme in their responses to the open-ended question.

Interview Protocol

A subset of novice teachers were interviewed for this study at the end of their BEd program and once a year for the following 3 years. The participants were asked a series of 14 questions pertaining to their perceptions and experiences with ELLs in FSL. The interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed. Subsequently, a content analysis was conducted to identify themes. Although no question addressed the use of language(s) precisely, use of language and judgment thereof was a consistent theme revealed by the participants over the years.

Participants

Questionnaire participants. An invitation to participate in this study was sent to 28 FSL teacher educators in Canada with the request that they share the electronic link to the pre-questionnaire with their FSL teacher candidates in the fall of their BEd year. As shown in Table 1, the majority of pre-questionnaire participants were female. Although five regions in Canada were represented, the majority of respondents came from British Columbia.

Table 1

Basic Description of Pre-Questionnaire Participants

	Pre-questionnaire participants
Number of participants:	78
Gender:	Female ($n=67$) Male ($n=10$)
Province of Teacher Education program:	Alberta ($n=2$) Atlantic Canada ($n=12$) British Columbia ($n=41$) Manitoba ($n=14$) Ontario ($n=9$)

The participants from the pre-questionnaire who chose to share their email information were subsequently contacted the following April, nearing the end of their program, to complete the post-questionnaire. Whereas 78 participants completed the pre-questionnaire, 48 of the 78 also completed the post-questionnaire. Similar to the pre-questionnaire, the majority of respondents to the post-questionnaire were female and from the province of British Columbia (see Table 2).

Table 2

Basic Description of Post-Questionnaire Participants

	Post-questionnaire participants
Number of participants:	48
Gender:	Female ($n=41$) Male ($n=5$) Missing ($n=2$)
Province of Teacher Education program:	Alberta ($n=2$) Atlantic Canada ($n=7$) British Columbia ($n=23$) Manitoba ($n=7$) Ontario ($n=9$)

Interview participants. The 48 post-questionnaire respondents were invited to participate in an interview. The first year, a research assistant conducted 15 interviews to target participants' perceptions relating to inclusion of ELLs. The interview data presented in this paper is limited to the 10 participants who completed interviews at the completion of their BEd year and in the years to follow. As with the questionnaire respondents, the majority of interview participants were female (see Table 3). Forty percent ($n=4$) of the interview participants were from Ontario,

30% ($n=3$) from British Columbia, 20% from Atlantic Canada ($n=2$), and 10% from Manitoba ($n=1$).

Table 3

Basic Description of Interview Participants

	Interview participants
Number of participants:	10
Gender:	Female ($n=8$) Male ($n=2$)
Province of Teacher Education program:	Atlantic Canada ($n=2$) British Columbia ($n=3$) Manitoba ($n=1$) Ontario (N=4)

Findings

Questionnaire Findings

The focus of this paper is on FSL teachers' perceptions on the use of languages as considerations in meeting ELLs' needs in an inclusive classroom, as identified by the questionnaire and interview respondents. Given that there was not a direct question pertaining to languages on the questionnaire, the findings presented here are limited to the one open-ended question on the questionnaire: "What strategies would you use to meet the ELLs' needs?" This item provides the most data in response to the second research question of this paper, which considers how teachers conceptualize support of students and if another language is viewed as a support. The pre-questionnaire respondents ($n=78$) offered 29 different responses. The most frequently given suggestion was to use visuals. The second most common response was to use French as the language of instruction, which is where we first see attention to language as a support in and of itself:

I think if a teacher teaches FSL by speaking exclusively in French and using gestures, etc. to get his/her points across (as opposed to speaking in English or referring to English when something isn't understood), then the students of the class will be on a level playing field irregardless [sic] of whether they are an "English language learner" or not. (Destiny)

To include English learners, I would try and speak only in French as much as possible. (Sean)

For the next two most common types of suggestions, the results revealed specific attention to other languages—first, English, and then the home language of the students. Two representative quotes are provided:

Since I will minimize the use of English in my classroom, the strategies that I use to teach native English-speakers will be the same as I use for English learners. It might even help me to speak English less. (Bethany)

Look for opportunities to include the ELL's first language in class. (Meredith)

As with the pre-questionnaire, the post-questionnaire provided an open-ended question asking the respondents to list the strategies they would use to meet ELLs' needs in the FSL class. In the

pre-questionnaire, the respondents offered 29 suggestions, while in the post-questionnaire they ($n=48$) offered 44 different strategies. The two most frequent suggestions remained the same pre- and post-questionnaires: use of visuals (e.g., images, gestures) and use of French as the language of instruction. In the post-questionnaire, using the students' first languages was mentioned as the third most frequent response. Stacey provides a representative comment: "Using their first language to help them relate to both French and English."

Interview Findings

Although there was no direct interview question pertaining to languages as a consideration when preparing to include ELLs in FSL, as was the case with the questionnaires, the interviews provided data pertaining to using French as the language of instruction, reducing the amount of English, and using the students' first languages. These data were used mostly to respond to the first and third research questions, respectively, with some additional insight for research question 2. To give additional context to the responses to the interview questions, it is worth noting that in interviews, novice teachers revealed a preference for ELLs to be part of the core French program, rather than immersion, as they judged the core French program to allow them to focus on their English development.

Conceptualizing Language Use in the Classroom

First and foremost, the novice teachers focused their conceptions of language use on the target language of the classroom: French. Within those data, their use of French were further conceptualized three ways: as a model for students of what they should produce in the classroom, as a tool for equitable access to learning for English learners in the classrooms, and as a support in and of itself for the learning environment. Representative quotes are provided in the order of the themes:

You know, speaking in French as often as we can I think will help because if we are modelling our language, then they will hear what they need to be using especially if they're new to the program and haven't ever had a French class, then they really need to hear how the sentences are structured, and how the sounds go together and things like that. So, I think just using the language and modeling that would be really beneficial to ELL students. (Colleen)

When I teach French I'm just speaking French. ... You just need to experiment a lot of French around him [ELL in class]. So, everything I can in French, I'll do it, and even outside the classroom. (Annalise)

Well, I think the main thing is that you have to be conscious of using French more and not falling back on English you know, because then they're all in the same boat if you're using French all the time. Everyone in the classroom will be in the same, have the same comprehension I guess you'd say, and it would make them all equal, if you rely on English too much at that point then you're probably excluding that one ELL learner because they won't follow the English either. (Sean)

It is worth noting that this last quote from Sean echoes a theme within the open-ended questionnaire data, as evidenced by the included quote from Destiny.

Part and parcel with many of the responses about the need to maximize the use of French for English learners were clarifications about the role of English in the classroom. Many respondents specifically outlined how English was not used in the classroom and the ways in which they would try to avoid its use. Thus, in relation to research question 2, we also see many teachers who are not viewing English as a support of student learning in this context. In fact, many of the participants positioned English as part of a wider cultural toolkit that students may not be able to fully use to support their learning:

I use a lot of chiming and visuals and that sort of thing ... and I don't speak English to them either. I tried to incorporate their home culture into my activities. (Roger)

Just trying to use a lot more gestures and pictures, things that are more universal and not specific to the English language. (Terry)

I guess using more visuals instead of relying on English to translate into French. (Whitney)

In addition to Sean's earlier comment, two other interviewees also elaborated that they chose not to use English as it was not helpful for ELLs:

I think the first thing is just constant awareness that the English Language Learner doesn't, for example if you explain things in English that might not help. And that they don't have the same cultural cues necessarily that someone born in Canada might. (Meredith)

You could tell that there were some challenges when I would use some English to try and explain things when they just weren't understanding the French and my gestures, and them just not being able to pick it up and then trying to throw in the English just wasn't very helpful. (Terry)

Although the majority of interviewees agreed that reducing the amount of English in class would be beneficial to ELLs, one interviewee identified the use of English as a strategy to encourage transfer:

Cause really with French there are so many words that are, you know, there are over 80,000 that are the same in French as they are in English, they're just pronounced a little differently, and they mean the same, so there can be so much transfer. (Jenny)

Consideration of Students' First Languages

Research question 3 was interested in how the novice teachers' viewed and possibly used the students' home language to support their study of French. Without being prompted through a question stem, all of the interviewees recognized that use of ELLs' first languages should also be a strategy to meet ELLs' needs:

It would be easy to apply their native language to learning English and learning French at the same time. (Stacey)

If I know examples from the language that they speak in their home then I will try and use that as well. (Colleen)

One interviewee expanded this further, stating that it would be beneficial to use ELLs' languages in order to provide comparisons to French and thus introducing some thinking about plurilingualism:

I would try to compare to their native language, and see the best comparisons I could make there, at least to make them feel more comfortable. ... Well depending on what their first language was, like if it was another Latin-based language then I think, for example, a lot of the vocabulary stuff, you can point out the similarities, there might be similarities. (Colleen)

In addition to making comparisons with the ELLs' first languages, teachers linked such comparisons to strategy use:

Like I said, finding more about their native language and how you can compare it to that, and help them learn that way and using the strategies from them learning English. (Colleen)

I think you need to be aware that, yeah I think just being aware of the language of what they speak at home so maybe you could tie some of the similarities in too like those kind of metacognitive skills of like oh, what word does this one look like in your language. Or if there's any similarities at all, so still teaching those strategies, I guess. (Tabitha)

One interviewee recommended using the ELLs' first languages to offer translation:

You are going not from an English to French translation but you are learning that vocabulary from their mother tongue and you will say oh well *mi madre* [my mother in Spanish] is *ma mère* [my mother in French] instead of going my mother, *ma mère*, and just be able to give some of their original language to them. (Jenny)

Although the vast majority of the comments on language use in the FSL class pertained to the teacher's use of language, one interviewee indicated that students would use the ELLs' first language to aid comprehension:

I find sometimes the other kids will transfer into their maternal language to talk, especially the entry level ELL learners, to explain things to them. (Tabitha)

Expectations About English Learning

Though this was not an initial focus area for this paper, a fourth theme emerged strongly in the data: the extent to which participants were concerned with the English learners' progress in English. This was evidenced through various comments related to their perceptions of the best/worst programming options for English learners.

In addition to considering language use in class, the interview participants revealed that their program recommendations for ELLs are also language dependent. In response to the question of which FSL program would be best/worst for ELLs, the majority of interview participants preferred core French for ELLs so as to allow them more time in English:

The worst, would be I guess immersion in that sense just because if they're, if they're communicating in French all day ideally, it would hinder their practice of English. So they would not be communicating in English as much during the day and they would not be able to develop their skills. (Maria)

I think immersion would be more difficult since their primary language that they would need to be speaking and working on would be English so I would recommend, if I was allowed to give a recommendation, that they would stay in an English program with core French. (Colleen)

This theme is worth noting because of how some of the participants created a language hierarchy for the English learners. While there was general agreement in the value of FSL study for these learners, there was also an interest in ensuring that progress in English was not slowed due to the program choice for French. English, ultimately, was the language the teachers were most concerned about for their students in the long term. Because this was not a direct question in the research and again, recognizing that these data were collected before the promotion of the plurilingual framework, any further analysis would not be helpful.

Discussion and Conclusion

In their interviews with the researchers and in their responses to the open-ended question in the pre-and post-BEd questionnaires, the novice FSL teachers in this study considered their use of languages in the classroom in several different ways. First, French was positioned as the “target” to model for students, as a tool of equity for reducing gaps between English learners and their English-speaking peers, and as a support, in general, for helping them advance in the French language. As it pertains to the language use debate in the context of ELLs learning FSL, FSL teachers in this study worked to maximize their French use, minimize the use of the majority language (English), and be open to use of students’ home languages. Given that the data stemmed from indirect questions on support of ELLs, their reasons for such choices are means for conjecture. On one hand, given that the majority of FSL teachers in this study reduced their use of English with ELLs in particular supports the potential perspective that ELLs are English deficient and therefore unable to use their English language knowledge as support. Such a perspective is more indicative of a view of language knowledge as segmented rather than that of a plurilingual approach where the underlying competencies are viewed holistically as a resource. Similarly, this choice may also be indicative of teachers’ judgment that French cannot be of support for ELLs’ English development or perhaps their view that their role is exclusive to FSL development or for fear that English may become more dominant in the classroom. In fact, the presence of ELLs may encourage teachers to maximize the use of French in FSL classes. Macaro (1997) noted that almost exclusive use of the target language was more often found in classes where there were a variety of home languages represented.

However, beyond the English/French language use continuum, FSL teachers in this present study sought to use their knowledge of other languages to support ELLs’ FSL development. Teachers suggested using students’ languages to provide links to French and draw comparisons as supported benefits of using a plurilingual approach. Although teachers were open to using students’ home languages, for the most part such use was limited to teacher rather than student language use thereby limiting language use, for the most part, to the teachers’ language repertoires rather than providing space for students to share and use their language repertoires beyond that of the teacher. This is a limitation of this study’s focus on teacher language use; it would be beneficial for future research to examine teachers’ perspectives on student use of multiple languages in the FSL classroom. Provision of a multilingual space could encourage students to not only use the languages for structural comparisons but also for strategies on how to learn a language (Harris & Grenfell, 2004).

In addition to choosing when and if to use languages other than French in the FSL classroom, the participants showed a preference for core French to French immersion for ELLs for reasons of increasing their English language development. Such a perspective is congruent with other research. Mady (2011) also found that FSL teachers preferred the core French program option for ELLs due to the perceived higher demands of the French immersion program. It is important

to note that although this study's participants' perspectives reflect those of other studies, they are contrary to research that shows ELLs' potential to learn English and French in the French immersion program (e.g., Mady, 2013). Whereas the FSL teachers chose when and if to use English to support ELLs' FSL acquisition, they are seemingly unaware of the potential for French to support their English skills. Such a prioritization of English denies research that shows ELLs to be able to add both English and French to their language repertoire to the same level of the Canadian-born peers within the French immersion program (Mady, 2017). Teachers' preference for the core French program may also be associated with the exclusive use of French associated with the direct method often used in French immersion programming.

The above findings highlight the need for BEd teacher educators to not only highlight the potential advantages of a plurilingual approach but also means by which to put it into practice. For example, the FSL teachers in this study may have benefitted from practical examples of ways to create space for students to use languages other than French while still maintaining French as the language of the classroom. In addition, given that the past FSL curriculum document (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1998) underscores the need to have French as the sole language of the classroom and the present document (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013) lacks direction as to if and how to use other languages to support FSL acquisition, it would be beneficial to have Ministry personnel open the discussion as to if and when the use of other languages is appropriate in an Ontario FSL context. Further to these more practical suggestions, future research may provide support to inform language-choice decisions. Research that informs teachers of a plurilingual approach and follows its practical implementation in core French and French immersion contexts in addition to explicitly exploring teachers' views over time could provide the additional evidence required to better support their students' FSL acquisition.

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ⁱ French immersion is a program in which students study subjects in French for at least 50% of the day; intensive French is a program where students study in French for one term during Grade 5 or 6; in the core French program students study French for approximately one period a day beginning in Grade 4.

BOOK REVIEW

Title:	Interest in Mathematics and Science Learning
Editors:	K. Ann Renninger, Martina Nieswandt, Suzanne Hidi
Publisher:	American Educational Research Association
Year of Publication:	2015
Reviewed by:	Jeff Irvine, Ph.D. Candidate, Brock University

Emotional response, and more specifically, interest, is recognized as an important component of student motivation. This is particularly important in mathematics and science, because student achievement in these subjects has been shown to be strongly linked to motivation (see, e.g., Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004). The editors of this book have brought together authors from around the world, including Canada, Australia, Korea, Israel, Turkey, and the United States, blending both theoretical and practical research in the field. A number of these authors are recognized as experts in the study of interest. Indeed, the editors, K. Ann Renninger (Swarthmore College), Martina Nieswandt (University of Massachusetts), and Suzanne Hidi (University of Toronto) are among the world's leading researchers in interest. In addition, there are chapters coauthored by recognized experts such as Johnmarshall Reeve and his colleagues at the University of Korea, Jacqueline Eccles from the University of California, and John and Mary Ainley at universities in Australia. I was struck by the diversity of authors. Indeed, even for papers coauthored in the United States, authorship typically spanned three or even four different universities. Clearly, the academic interest in interest is widespread and indicates its importance as a dimension of motivation.

The four-phase model of interest development (Hidi & Reninger, 2006) is summarized in the Introduction. This model postulates that initial interest is triggered by a situation or topic (Triggered Situational Interest), which may be fleeting, and may be positive or negative. If interest in the situation becomes more sustained (Maintained Situational Interest), this phase is characterized by positive student focus and persistence with the material. If the student develops Emerging Individual Interest, they are likely to independently re-engage with the material or classes and ask curiosity questions, building stored knowledge and stored value about the material. Finally, at the Well-Developed Individual Interest stage, the student willingly re-engages with the content, self-regulating to reframe questions and seek answers. This level is characterized by positive feelings towards the material, perseverance through frustration and challenges, and actively seeking feedback on his or her learning. The four-phase model has abundant research evidence supporting it. All three editors of this book have worked extensively with the model.

The book utilizes the four-phase model of interest development to frame the chapters in the book, which is divided into three parts: interest as a dimension of motivation, interest in subject matter (specifically science and mathematics), and how interest is developed in students

from pre-school through university, with particular attention to instructional strategies that have been shown to support students' development of interest in a particular subject or topic.

Johnmarshall Reeve et al. (Chapter 5) emphasize that interest can be viewed through three different lenses: as a basic emotion, as a vitalized affect (mood), and as an emotional cognitive schema. They provide a graphic (page 82) comparing and contrasting these three lenses. These lenses are explored in other chapters, where various authors discuss research projects linked to the four-phase model and one or more of the lenses.

A particularly interesting dimension of this book is the discussion of links between interest and other dimensions of motivation; interest and self-efficacy; interest and self-regulation; interest and self-concept; interest and engagement; interest as a component of value in expectancy-value theory; interest and student achievement. All of the reported research emphasizes the reciprocal nature of the links. For example, Eccles et al. (Chapter 18) discuss research on students' choices related to STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) linking the four-phase interest model to expectancy-value theory, emphasizing that this is a bidirectional link; a greater level of interest leads to higher valuation of STEM careers, which in turn leads to greater interest in such careers.

Also of importance to educational practitioners are the instructional strategies that have research-supported evidence of their efficacy in increasing student interest (see, e.g., Turner et al. Chapter 14). Pressick-Kilborn (Chapter 20) emphasizes the vital role that teachers play in the development of students' interest and thus the enhancement of students' achievement.

The strengths of this book are the diversity of viewpoints and research, covering pre-school through university, as well as the recognized authority of many of the authors. In addition, the four-phase model of interest development provides a unifying framework for the exposition. The book also features high quality research designs and analysis in all the research studies reported. Of particular importance is the section on emerging issues and themes in current research on interest, which points to areas of future research. The biggest weakness of the book is a rather misleading title. The majority of the chapters relate to science education, with only one mathematics study cited, along with four combined mathematics and science studies and other tangentially related studies (statistics, STEM), compared to 14 chapters devoted solely to interest in science education contexts. In spite of this limitation, this book is a must-read for any academic with an interest in the role of student interest in motivation or achievement.

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