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for Education

The of Education

Learning to Live Together

Selected papers presented at the
16th UNESCO-APEID International Conference



The of Education *Learning to Live Together*

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16th UNESCO-APEID International Conference

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Preface

Education is a key instrument through which governments can develop their country's human resources to spur national economic growth. On a more personal scale, it is seen as a way out for many families trying to escape the poverty trap. The International Labour Organization reported that 202 million people were unemployed in 2013 around the world, representing an increase of 5 million since 2012, with East Asia and South Asia accounting for 45 per cent of this increase. The number of additional jobseekers is expected to rise by another 13 million by 2018. These statistics make a compelling case for governments, communities and private sector entities to pressure the education sector to meet their respective expectations and objectives.

At the same time, many proponents are cautioning against using education solely for economic purposes in view of on-going crises and conflicts. The world remains vulnerable to political, social and environmental changes and fluctuations, and education has a fundamental role to play in fostering a deeper and more harmonious form of human development.

The Asia and Pacific region is home to a multitude of countries, cultures, ethnic groups, religions and languages. It is critical for the 4.2 billion people living in the region to appreciate the richness of this diversity, to recognize the many similarities we share and to accept the differences among us if we are to live together in peace and harmony. Clearly, the "right" kind of education is needed to inculcate respect for other people, their history, traditions and values, as well as to promote a culture of peace and understanding.

The education systems in many countries rely on examinations and tests to measure learning outcomes and accomplishments. Through such assessment tools and technologies, governments are able to evaluate and benchmark the quality of their education systems, and to review and reform them accordingly to meet their needs. While grades and degrees received are important indicators, policy makers, educators, parents and the general public do recognize the importance of the non-cognitive aspects of learning, such as values, ethics, social responsibility and civic engagement.

In 1996, UNESCO released the inspirational Delors report *Learning: The Treasure Within*. It presented a vision of education based on four pillars of learning: learning to live together, learning to know, learning to do and learning to be. The report emphasized that the survival of humanity is highly dependent on learning how to live together. The world has changed in many ways since the publication of the Delors report. Much has been accomplished, but a lot more needs to be done to translate the idealistic vision of education into actions on the ground. There is increasing demand for education to balance the focus on economic development with social responsibility and citizenship.



To help frame current thinking on education in a changing world, UNESCO Bangkok, the Ministry of Education in Thailand, the Asian-Pacific Network for International Education and Values (APNIEVE), Pearson Thailand and J.P. Morgan co-organized the 16th UNESCO-APEID International Conference, *The Heart of Education: Learning to Live Together* in November 2012 in Bangkok, Thailand. The Conference provided a forum for participants to share their knowledge and experiences, raise critical questions, provide constructive feedback and, most of all, express their commitment to imbue and translate the essence of learning to live together in their respective educational efforts. This report contains selected papers presented at the Conference to reflect the linkages between learning and social development, showcase approaches and tools, and identify enabling policies and instruments to promote learning to live together.

I hope that the readers of this report will likewise be able to discover how they can optimize their knowledge to enhance the desire and ability to learn, and to facilitate the education of the heart so that we can all learn to live together for the benefit of our family, country and the global community.

Allow me to share this inspiring Chinese proverb with you.

If there is light in the soul,
There will be beauty in the person.
If there is beauty in the person,
There will be harmony in the house.
If there is harmony in the house,
There will be order in the nation.
If there is order in the nation,
There will be peace in the world.



Gwang-Jo Kim
Director
UNESCO Bangkok



The Heart of Education: Learning to Live Together

APEID, UNESCO Bangkok¹

Introduction

Education ... the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.

Paulo Freire

Education holds the key to a brighter future for many people. Stories of how parents struggled to keep their sons and daughters in schools to ensure that they can escape the poverty trap are found all over the world. As a passport to better livelihoods, education has helped to spur human resource development and economic progress in both developed and developing countries.

Given the current economic climate and continuing concerns about the wealth of the nations, it is not surprising that the education sector is under great pressure to develop their country's human capital accordingly. Nonetheless, governments and civil societies alike are mindful about the pursuit of economic growth at the expense of the social and natural environments. Overall, standards of living have risen but inequality and discontent are still widespread, leading to public protests and demonstrations such as the "Arab Spring" and "Occupy Wall Street" movements. The tensions identified in the Delors Report, *Learning: The Treasure Within* (UNESCO, 1996), are as real today as they were 18 years ago:

1. The tension between the global and the local;
2. The tension between the universal and the individual;
3. The tension between tradition and modernity;
4. The tension between long-term and short-term considerations;
5. The tension between competition and concern for equality of opportunity;
6. The tension between expansion of knowledge and our capacity to assimilate it; and
7. The tension between the spiritual and the material.

In writing *The Treasure Within*, the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century stressed that education supported by four pillars of learning, i.e. learning to live together, learning to know, learning to do and learning to be, is at the heart of personal and community development. The Commission placed a greater emphasis on the first pillar – learning to live together – with the other three pillars as essential bases because it saw an immense need for individuals to learn about other people and their history, cultures, traditions and values in order to foster mutual understanding, peaceful interchange and harmony. By recognizing our interdependence, as well as the risks and challenges involved, we will be able to devise more effective solutions to manage and minimize conflicts.

1 APEID: Asia and Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development

Clearly, attaining material wealth alone is not enough if respect for human rights, diverse cultures and natural assets are absent. It is crucial for policy makers, education leaders, academics, teachers and civil society to re-visit the role of education and provide a balanced focus and direction for our education systems so that we can truly learn to live together peacefully, in harmony and sustainably.

The heart of education: learning to live together

The Delors Report underlined the need for individuals to learn how to learn, for learning throughout life and for diverse pathways for learning. Research on learning has mushroomed and is multi-faceted, ranging from psychology, anthropology, sociology, neurosciences, information studies, instructional design and so on. The OECD's 2010 publication on the *Nature of Learning* points out the disconnection between the rich research base and the realities of educational practice and policy making. This is in part due to the overabundance of research written by researchers only for researchers, fragmentation of the knowledge base with little attempts for researchers to reach out to colleagues in other fields, insufficient attention paid to the organizational context and culture, and the absence of political will. Strategies to bridge this disconnection are critical if we are serious about making inroads to improve learning outcomes.

Attempts to derive concrete measurements for learning outcomes have led to a profusion of projects spawning from standardized tests such as PISA, TIMSS, TALIS² and other programmes for assessing 21st century skills and competencies. At the same time, there is growing interest in looking beyond traditional measurements of achievements to consider non-cognitive learning aspects, such as values, ethics, social responsibility, civic engagement, citizenship, interpersonal relationship, trust, happiness and health. Examples of tools to measure such social development indicators include Bhutan's Gross National Happiness Index (Royal Government of Bhutan, undated)³ and the World Values Survey conducted by an international network of social scientists to determine the changes in basic values and beliefs in more than 50 countries (World Values Survey, undated). The linkages between these indices and education are not clear or fully explored, but the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (undated) which surveys students, teachers and school principals provides some information on the impact of civic education on democracy, national identity, social cohesion and diversity, and youth engagement in civil society.

As countries around the world struggle to address political unrest, ethnic conflicts, moral dilemmas and prejudices, it is necessary to return to the heart of education, i.e., to learn to live together. It is time to re-connect with scientists and researchers, education experts and educators, policy makers and administrators to bring together and put to good use the rich knowledge and experience on learning that will benefit the well-being for all.

Learning about human diversity, accepting our similarities and differences, and appreciating our interdependence through formal, non-formal and informal channels will have an impact on the way

2 PISA = Programme for International Student Assessment; TIMSS = Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study; TALIS = Teaching and Learning International Survey.

3 Recent development in Bhutan with the change of government has indicated a shift away from using GNH as an indicator.

we think, behave and act. Enabling people to learn to live together will be a major step towards the pursuit of a deeper, more harmonious and sustainable form of human development – during and beyond the 21st century. The challenge is to ensure that the beneficiaries of education – young and old alike – can love to learn, know how to learn, are allowed to learn high-quality contents, are learning appropriately and applying what they learn constructively and responsibly.

Nonetheless, there is a big gap in terms of how these theories and purposes of education are translated into actions on the ground. In response to economic and practical pressures, the education systems in many countries have become more examination-oriented, and success is often measured in terms of grades and degrees received. The clamour for education to foster more humanistic and sustainable lifestyles has highlighted a great need to better understand how education systems – from the curricula, pedagogies, school environment and settings, assessments and extra-curricular activities – can concretely bridge the gap between theories and practices.

UNESCO-APEID International Conferences

Based in the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Regional Bureau for Education in Bangkok, Thailand, the Asia-Pacific Programme of Educational Innovation for Development (APEID) has a mission to contribute to sustainable human development through the design and implementation of educational programmes and projects at the post-primary level of education, focusing on educational innovation for development. APEID has organized a series of international conferences since 1995 to provide a forum for policy dialogue, and information and knowledge sharing on development-oriented education innovations and exemplary practices in and beyond the Asia and Pacific region.

In collaboration with the Ministry of Education in Thailand, the Asian-Pacific Network for International Education and Values (APNIEVE), Pearson Thailand and J.P. Morgan, the 16th UNESCO-APEID International Conference, *The Heart of Education: Learning to Live Together*, was held on 21–23 November 2012 in Bangkok, Thailand, to facilitate discussions on leading-edge thinking about learning, reflect on the linkages between learning and social development, explore approaches and tools to enhance learning, and identify enabling policies and instruments to promote learning to live together.

More specifically, the UNESCO-APEID Conference provided a forum to:

- Increase understanding and knowledge of the concept of learning in general, and learning to live together in particular;
- Showcase and promote innovative and educational approaches, projects and practices that enhance learning to live together;
- Encourage national, regional and global collaboration across all sectors and levels to improve learning to live together; and
- Facilitate networking and exchange of experiences among policy makers, researchers, educators, administrators, youth and private sector personnel.

The conference was organized according to four sub-themes:

- I. Paradigms of learning to live together
 - Delineating contemporary theories of learning
 - Researching the context, content and mechanics of learning
 - Reviewing intercultural and inclusive education for learning to live together
 - Monitoring and assessing practices and outcomes to enhance learning to live together
- II. Innovative practices of learning to live together
 - Identifying innovative pedagogies, technologies and tools for learning to live together
 - Promoting innovative practices in intercultural and inclusive education
 - Enhancing professional development of teachers
 - Designing environments and resources to promote learning to live together
- III. Collaboration and learning communities
 - Strengthening collaboration in teaching and learning about universal human core values
 - Enhancing traditional and non-traditional schooling of the future
 - Developing intercultural and inclusive education for mutual understanding and peaceful exchanges
 - Encouraging peaceful resolution of conflicts through learning to live together
- IV. Policies and instruments for learning to live together
 - Formulating policies and institutional frameworks to promote learning to live together
 - Strengthening leadership in learning for social development
 - Devising financing and partnership models and mechanisms which promote learning to live together
 - Designing indicators and measurement tools to assess non-cognitive learning outcomes

Eminent speakers and paper presenters shared their rich experiences in linking theory to practice. Policy makers, educators, academicians, researchers, representatives from the private sector examined the broad concepts of learning, linkages between learning and social development, and the policies, tools and resources available. About 300 participants from 30 countries who attended the conference expressed their delight in rediscovering how they could optimize their knowledge to enhance the desire and ability to learn, and to learn appropriately and gainfully for the benefit of society.

Key findings from the conference

The theme of the conference was particularly relevant given that the Asia and Pacific region is extremely diverse with many countries, cultures, ethnic groups, religions and languages. More than 4.2 billion people live in this region, representing 60 per cent of the world's population. Inevitably,

there are disagreements, tensions and conflicts in an array of political, economic, social and environmental dimensions to this massive pot of humanity. Holding the key to sustainable success, investments in education have helped to lift countries out of poverty and steadily improve basic socio-economic conditions.

However, economic growth alone is not sufficient, as reiterated in several papers presented at the conference. Developing an understanding of other people and their cultures, respecting our differences and appreciating our inter-dependence will go a long way in helping us learn how to manage conflicts and transmit positive and desirable values to the next generation.

Conference papers have also shown how learning to live together is a broad and dynamic concept that relates to many issues at the individual, institutional, national and international levels, such as learning to live with oneself, with others and with nature; value education; education for international understanding; education for global citizenship; inter-cultural education; inclusive education; peace education; education for social cohesion; conflict prevention and resolution; post-disaster education; education for youth empowerment and so on.

Curriculum integration is rather important to put learning to live together into practice. Discussions during the conference reported several good ideas and innovative practices in the delivery of relevant programmes. Changing curriculum to integrate the learning to live together concept into all school subjects and developing separate learning materials on learning to live together are two major avenues for doing so. Likewise, enabling teachers to have the vision, motivation, knowledge and pedagogical skills to integrate various elements of learning to live together into their daily classroom teaching practices is a critical area needing more attention. Several papers touched on the use of information and communication technology (ICT) in the teaching and learning process for learning to live together and to enrich the students' learning experience. At the same time, efforts should be made to ensure a safe cyber culture for our children so that they will not be affected by the so-called infollution.

As in any situation involving multiple stakeholders and players, schools need to establish extensive alliances with parents, communities, universities, non-governmental organizations, and other entities to promote and support education for learning to live together. Partnerships featured prominently in the conference with the participation of several private sector organizations, with engaging discussions about tripartite partnerships among the public, private and international organizations in the promotion of learning to live together

Conclusions

The concept of learning to live together focuses on the development of understanding, consideration and respect for others, their beliefs, values and cultures. This concept is central to UNESCO's mission, recognizing that differences and diversities are opportunities rather than obstacles to growth.

Recognizing our interdependence, as well as the risks and challenges involved, is the first step towards the formulation of more effective solutions for learning how we can live together although this is not an easy task. There is no question that we have to produce generations of people who are highly capable, skilled, innovative and resourceful, but our fundamental responsibility – as policy makers, leaders, educators, parents and community members – is to produce people with hearts and people who care.

This report is not intended to be a compendium of learning to live together philosophy, concepts and principles. Rather it contains selected papers to highlight the sub-themes of the conference, bringing examples of innovative practices from various perspectives and levels – early childhood education, higher education, teacher education, community engagement, climate change education and ICT in education. They reflect the reach and potential impact of learning to live together on all aspects of our lives, and how important it is to integrate the concept and practice of learning to live together into our education systems.

Recalling the Chinese proverb in the preface, UNESCO hopes that the information and examples in this publication will help to ignite the light in the soul, to reveal the beauty in the person, leading to harmony in the house and order in the nation, so that there will be peace in the world.

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The Heart of Education Is the Education of the Heart

Paul D. Souza⁴ and Balakrishnan Muniandy⁵

Introduction

To be a good umpire you have to be a good person, have good people skills and have good values

Taufel, 2012⁶

The UNESCO (1996) report of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century titled *Learning: The Treasure Within*, outlined four pillars of education: Learning to Know, Learning to Do, Learning to Live Together, and Learning to Be.

Based on extensive literature reviews, Roberts (2009, p. 21) asserted that education, “must not be equated with ‘schooling’ or ‘training’ or ‘indoctrination’”. Echoing Roberts’ view on education, we believe that learning should not be only about individual development in terms of the ability to be literate and numerate, but should include learning how to care for oneself and others, being happy, and learning to build a sound and rewarding human relationship – in short, *learning to live together*. Effectively, what Taufel, an on-field adjudicator from the cricketing world, said is that a person can be good at any profession provided the individual is a ‘good person’ with a solid value system.

The message this paper labours to put forth is exactly that. The social process of education that has focused so far on developing professional skills must now make development of people skills its central theme. This shift is needed especially in the 21st century where social unrest within societies is being seen on a global scale from China to the United States, including many nation states in the Middle East. The vectors of such social friction could be economic, political, class, caste and so on. Irrespective of the causes, the consequences of such unrest is tearing away our social fabric and slowly marching us towards a regressive society.

Under such a dynamic scenario, the education system cannot be a bystander but has to proactively sow the seeds of sustainable understanding of social realities into the minds and hearts of the young learners who go to school to be educated. It is these young minds who will go on to become the leaders of tomorrow, and our society would have high expectations for them to perform better than current world leaders.

For this to happen, the concept of education that has been doing the rounds for the last century has to change radically. Education has to move away from being an exercise with an end goal of

4 Visiting Associate Professor, Pillai’s College of Education, Mumbai University, India

5 Associate Professor and Deputy Director, Centre for Instructional Technology and Multimedia, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia

6 Simon Taufel is a retired Australian cricket umpire, in an interview by Nagraj Gollapudi, an assistant editor at ESPN, <http://www.espn.com/magazine/content/story/591383.html>

merely transferring skills to a socio-emotional praxis⁷, that is *the education of the heart*. Such a praxis has a better chance of sustainably instilling the ethos of *learning to live together* and this is the clarion call of this paper.

Johnson (2008), citing Soliday (2003) and Shaughnessy (2003), stated that teachers believed skill building to be such an important goal that bringing emotions into the teaching-learning process would encroach on the time needed to build skills. This death-grip nexus between education and competitive skill building has to be broken down so that the socio-emotional praxis of being fellow human beings can be ushered in. This paper highlights the affective role of education in the *education of the heart* through a framework for education of the heart that integrates elements of (a) emotional intelligence, (b) empathy and (c) pedagogy of love.

Background

... education and cultural processes aimed at liberation do not succeed by freeing people from their chains, but by preparing them collectively to free themselves

Paulo Freire⁸

No analysis and suggestions can be complete without taking a hard look at what is on hand. The most important aspect of this paper – learning to live together – hinges on education and, subsequently, the betterment of society through education. In this section, we shall look at the *educational roots* of present times from which we aim to develop a new educational framework and the *social offshoots* that interplay with and affect the educational roots. This will provide a clear direction as to where we are and where we need to go.

Educational roots

If education is of the society, for the society and takes place in the society, then how can we have a discourse about ushering in a new praxis in education without examining the impacts of present day education on the society? Maatta and Uusiutti (2012b, p. 26) concurred on the vital connection between education and society: “There is an interacting relationship between a teacher and a student where the pupil’s individual education process, the renewal of culture, or the continuation of tradition ... take place”. Thus, whether we like it or not, education and society, teacher and student, learning and culture are intricately bound.

Let us look at what modern-day education professes to be and how it is different from that of a few decades ago. Figure 1 depicts a vertical shift in education from the need of simple reading and writing skills to communication and collaboration skills. It charts the progress of educational ethos from basic literacy skills (reading, writing and arithmetic) to logical and emotional skills (hand, head and heart), and finally to a modern-day need of people skills (creativity and collaboration).

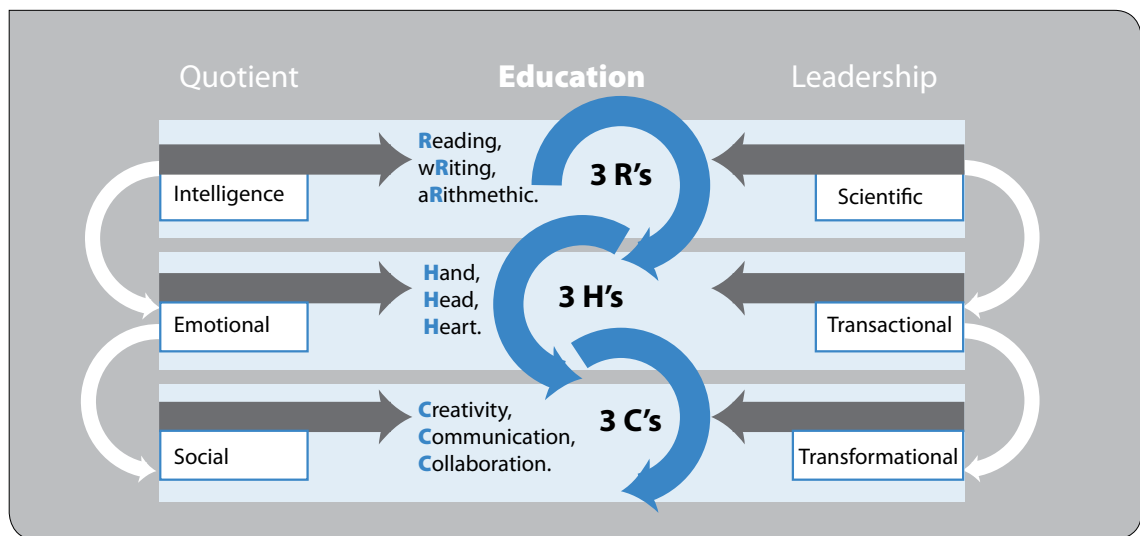
7 A praxis is said to be somewhere between theory and action. It is thought to be a continuous action with introspection. It can also mean reflection on lived experience which leads to a particular behaviour.

8 The quote is Freire’s work paraphrased by McLaren (2000) and is cited from Liambas and Kaskaris (2012, p. 188).

Likewise, this has led to a shift in the field of educational evaluation – from being an exercise to evaluate memorizing capacity (IQ) to that of gauging the emotional development of the learner (EQ), and finally to the current need to evaluate learners’ capability to internalize social skills (SQ). Consequently, these paradigm shifts in the educational and evaluation processes have been reflected in the leadership fundamentals adopted by society – from being purely scientific at the beginning of the industrial age to being transactional, and finally demanding a transformational leadership in line with modern day and age conditions.

The above commentary clearly depicts the great distance that education and evaluation have travelled from being solely the literacy agent of the society to being a vehicle for social impact, and how society has matched these changes step-by-step through analogous leadership principles. The pertinent question that needs to be asked is: has this change really percolated into the realms of pedagogical thought and touched educational life or are these changes only being reflected in scholarly treatises at educational conferences? If they indeed have seeped into the system of education, then is it only skin deep or has it taken deep roots? As the old adage goes, the taste of the pudding is in eating it.

Figure 1: Progress of educational ethos



Social offshoots

When we look at the functioning of the world at a social, economic and political stage, what stands out is the disparity in the well-being of individuals and well as social classes. We are faced with the facts of haves and have-nots; the north-south continental divide in affluence and quality of life; and the social, economic and political disadvantages and exploitative stances among nations and societies. These realities bear witness to the fact that although education has technically spread in the literate-numerate sense, yet somewhere, somehow education has failed to make people to learn to live together in a society where equality and fraternity are the roots of social justice and existence. Education might have managed to impart skills of the hand and that of the head – churning out workers of the world – but it has failed to impart the skills of the heart.

It may be too simplistic to say this, yet we say it: from what is seen in today's society so far, education has primed itself into grooming learners to be the workers of the world with no heart but killing-competitiveness. Purpel (1989), as cited in Johnson (2008, p. 111), reiterated that focusing too much on mechanical skill-building proved to be a deterrent because it failed to arouse in the learners the appreciation that education is "love, justice and joy". Historically, love, justice and joy – some of the major components of the 'skills of the heart' – have never been afforded more than a cursory glance in the whole process of education. That is the reason we find social frictions of the inhuman kind becoming a way of life, and precisely for this reason we have chosen the central premise of this paper as *the heart of education MUST BE the education of the heart*.

Of course, those of us with a purely theoretical approach to life, society and research will argue that such a simplistic view is not well researched and exhaustive to be truly representative to take a stand such as this. Nonetheless, one will agree that they are reliably representative from a purposive sampling point of view, representing the personal, political and social blocks of society. Scouring the literature over the past 50 years or so, there have many treatises about ushering in humanistic sensibilities in education. Even now, scholarly papers are lamenting about the chaos in education and society, echoing an urgent need to develop approaches to education that can instil such values in learners to ultimately make society more humanistic.

How can this *education of the heart* be brought about? Education of the heart cannot be a curricular outpost wherein learners are introduced to the intricacies of the working of the platonic heart and its effects on social transactions. It certainly cannot be transacted in a classical way wherein the learners are lectured on the 'skills of the heart' and then evaluated in a classical exam style. As one option, let us ponder over William James' eureka moment: "The greatest discovery of my generation is that a human being can alter his life by altering his attitude" (cited in Harees, 2012, p. 256). If a change in attitude can change life, then certainly it can change education. Thus, the praxis of the education of the heart can only be brought about through a thorough attitudinal change, not only at the individual teaching level but also at the planning level of education, and that means at a policy making level.

A framework for Developing the Skills of the Heart

To give shape to such an abstract educational concept called *the education of the heart*, this section presents a framework that integrates the elements of (a) emotional intelligence, (b) empathy and (c) pedagogy of love. The framework can guide the planning and implementation of the curriculum and methodology in developing the skills of the heart, emphasizing the interconnection and interplay of the three elements.

a. Emotional intelligence

Never again will I do anything for anyone that I do not feel directly from my heart.

Oprah Winfrey.

The rules that we follow in our lives – be they in sports, at work or privately – and the education that we receive have changed dramatically in the past decades. We are being judged by a new yardstick. It is no longer only about how smart we are or the expertise we possess. It is also about how well we handle ourselves and deal with others (Goleman, 1998). This refers to our emotional intelligence, which has become as important as, if not more important than, our academic and intellectual skills. The theories of emotional intelligence and emotional intelligence competencies are being increasingly used in many sectors including business and education. Emotional intelligence competencies comprise five main competencies listed below: (i) emotional self-awareness, (ii) emotional self-regulation, (iii) emotional self-motivation, (iv) empathy and (v) nurturing relationships (Byron Stock and Associates, 2013). The first three competencies are intra-personal in nature, meaning they occur inside us and are invisible to others. The last two competencies are inter-personal, occurring between us and other people, and are observable in our behaviours. The demonstration of inter-personal skills is dependent on the development of intra-personal skills.

- **Emotional self-awareness:** The skill to focus our attention on our emotional state – being aware, in-the-moment, of what we are feeling. Are we happy, excited, worried, or angry? Given that information about our emotional state, what should we (or not) do or say next?
- **Emotional self-regulation:** The skill to be able to choose the emotions we want to experience, rather than being the victim of whatever emotions occur – not letting others influence our feelings. It is about possessing the ability to manage our emotional state.
- **Emotional self-motivation:** The ability to use our emotions to cause ourselves to take positive action to pursue our goals even in the face of significant adversity or difficulty. This is about using our emotions to be positive, optimistic, confident and persistent rather than being negative, pessimistic and second-guessing ourselves and our decisions.
- **Empathy:** Not to be confused with sympathy – possessing the ability to listen effectively and accurately enough to put ourselves in the other person's shoes. This is not necessarily to agree with them, but to truly understand the situation from their point-of-view in order to improve communication, problem solving, and trust.
- **Nurturing relationships:** The ability to demonstrate sincere care (as contrasted with 'required courtesy') for others. Through word and deed, demonstrate appreciation for people's efforts and contribution. This is about setting a positive tone of cooperation no matter how difficult the situation or conversation and having other's best interests in mind while focusing on achieving goals to create win-win outcomes.

There is much in the literature to confirm that the use of emotional intelligence elements can improve the humanistic aspects of education. Two cognitive psychologists, Peter Salovey and Jack Meyer, who introduced the term 'emotional intelligence' in 1990, have conducted over 160 studies on emotional intelligence. Most of the studies showed that positive elements of emotions can

improve our well-being. Likewise, the emotional environment of the classroom should be healthy for effective learning to take place. Key findings from the literature are as listed below:

- I. Human beings are emotional beings and their emotions play a critical part in learning and in life.
- II. Being able to monitor our own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide our thinking is a very important life skill.
- III. Positive emotion nurtures positive learning environment.
- IV. Emotional intelligence is a very complex area and, although our understanding is growing, there is still a great deal we do not understand.
- V. Schools can help to teach young people how to develop their emotional intelligence. Classrooms also need to be emotionally secure places for both teachers and learners.

Teachers using the proposed framework of emotional intelligence competencies have a role to play. It is worthwhile for them to take note of these findings in their efforts to nurture and inculcate emotional intelligence in education and life.

b. Empathy

*It is a flash: a breakdown of the reality of this life that lives in us.
At such moments, you realize that you and the other are,
in fact, one.*

Joseph Campbell

Empathy is the capacity to understand and respond to the unique experiences of others (Ciaramicoli, 1997). Empathy is actually a very important part of the emotional intelligence competencies as detailed in the previous section. In the context of student-teacher relationship, both teachers and students expect the other party to understand their respective point of view. However, this is not an equal relationship because teachers have gone through the experience of being students whereas students have no experience of being teachers. In this context, teachers should have a higher level of empathy when dealing with their students.

There are many ways for teachers to express empathy and exercise empathic listening in the classrooms, such as asking open ended question, slowing down when giving instructions, and avoid making snap judgments. Teachers should also pay attention to their own behaviour and body language, and learn from past mistakes.

There are often calls for student-centred teaching instead of teacher-centred approaches. In a classroom, there are many students and one teacher. However, it is the teacher in most cases who does most of the talking. Students are not captive audience. Their voices and their feelings must be taken into consideration to provide for their needs and longings. One way to overcome this situation is for the teacher to do more listening and reflection. Empathic listening is always centred on the other person, and its goal is to make the other feel uniquely understood (Ciaramicoli, 1997). Teachers should exercise empathic listening to show that they care for the students.

c. Pedagogy of love

No one has yet realized the wealth of sympathy, the kindness and generosity hidden in the soul of a child. The effort of every true education should be to unlock that treasure.

Emma Goldman

Bell Hooks (2000) noted out that “all the great movements for social justice in our society have strongly emphasized a love ethic” (cited in Cummins and Griffin, 2012, p. 91). Education is no ‘small movement for social justice’ by any means: it is expected to liberate society from ignorance and as Paulo Freire in his extensive works, especially *Education: The Practice of Freedom*, had pointed out, education is charged to bring emancipation to the oppressed, through social justice. Similar sentiments were echoed by Purpel (1989) who said that “compassion ‘nourish[es] and enrich[es] what is best in us” so that the world of education can be instrumental in ushering a society “of love, justice, and joy” (cited in Johnson, 2008, p. 100).

It seems that the human need for love, justice and compassion are all intricately intertwined with education and society. These very human emotional constructs – compassion, love and joy – that Purpel, Freire, Cummins and Griffin spoke about are inherently the building blocks of the *learning to live together* paradigm that was dwelt upon at the UNESCO-APEID International Conference in 2013. Throughout his writings, Freire passionately spoke about love being the only paradigm that would be instrumental in ridding the world sufferers of oppression; his pedagogy “aimed at fostering greater love as a necessary condition for humanization and liberation” (Schoder, 2010, p. 1). Schoder added that Freire believed “education is an act of love” (p. 2) and had exhorted those involved in education “to teach with love” (p. 13). Thus, the kind of love in Freire’s writings can be only possible when we learn to live together and our education system is geared towards instilling these humanistic values into us. The challenge is to operationalize this into the process of learning and pedagogy, the science and art of teaching.

The pedagogy of love is complex because love as a concept has myriad dimensions. Beall and Sternberg (1995) “argued that love resists absolute definition because it differs according to time, place, and culture” (cited in Loreman, 2011, p. 3). Loreman (pp. 13–14) further identified several salient elements of love, including (i) love involves kindness and empathy; (ii) love involves intimacy and bonding; (iii) love involves sacrifice and forgiveness; and (iv) love involves acceptance and community.

Despite the complexity, perhaps it is safe to say that love embodies the freedom to be and let others be, which simply means learning to live together. Given this understanding, we would like to define the pedagogy of love *as the art and science of percolating love into every aspect of teaching and learning such that the learner’s world is transformed into a place where respect for one and all and their ways of life, becomes the core of social living.* Such a portrayal of loving sensitiveness in education will engender in the child respect for others and their ways. Maatta and Uusiautti (2012a, p. 264) concurred: pedagogical love, they said, is “to be sensitive and understanding, to take the child’s perspective and to respect the child.” Thus, a learner undergoing education immersed in the process of the pedagogy of love will be amply armed with the skills of the heart (compassion, love, justice, joy, empathy) and would show growth in emotional intelligence placing him/her in a strong position to avoid un-social, un-empathetic transactions.

It follows that education immersed in the pedagogy of love will be “about exercising the most loving and respectful disposition towards people and the world of which I am capable” (Cavanagh, 2009, para. 1). What else can better jumpstart the practice of *learning to live together* than learners freshly treated to an education immersed in the *pedagogy of love*?

c.1. A cycle of the pedagogy of love – the role of a teacher

Dialog cannot exist, however, in the absence of a profound love for the world and its people.

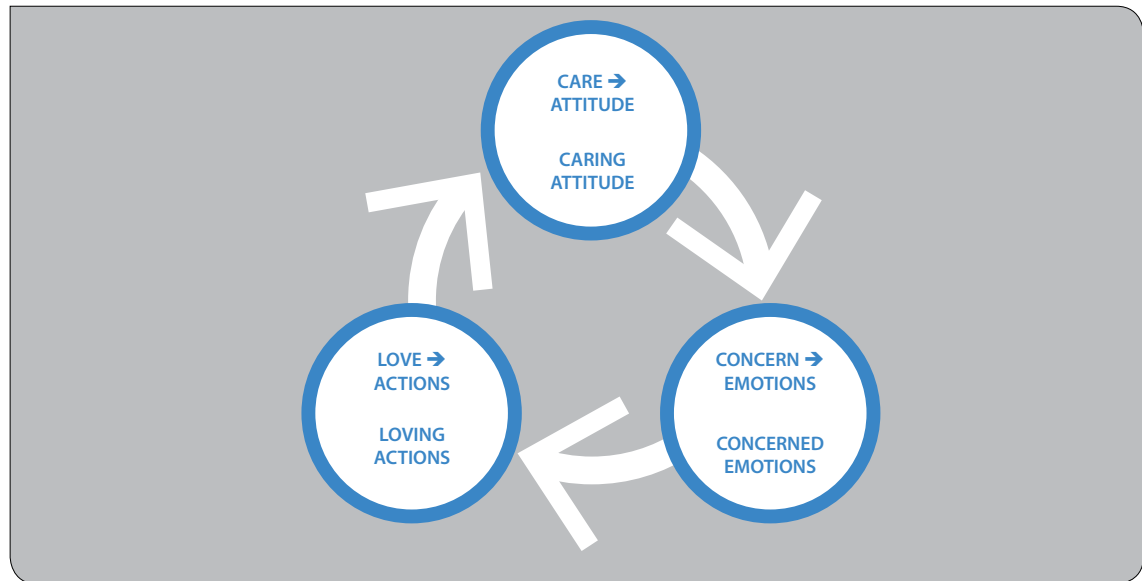
Paulo Freire⁹, 1997, Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Teachers have a vital role to play in ushering a paradigm shift in the educational process by embracing the pedagogy of love. “Teachers ... cannot be neutral ... [because they] have a potentially significant role to play in bringing about the kind of social change” (Fraser (1997) cited in Roberts, 2009, p. 8). In fact, more than being ‘neutral observers’, it is about being teachers who are “motivated by their passion for learning and teaching and their love for others” (Dader (2002) cited in Waite, 2010, p. 2). We must take note that it is the love that the teacher has for the learners that gives rise to the possibility of the ‘social change’. This pedagogical love, Maatta and Uusiautti (2011, p. 36) believed, “emerges through teachers’ emotions, learned models, moral attitude, and actions.” We have chosen three aspects of the teacher’s psyche – attitude, emotion and action – to be the scaffold for the pedagogical love, and their interactions within the *Cycle of the Pedagogy of Love* are discussed below and illustrated in Figure 2.

- **Attitude:** For the pedagogy of love to be put into practice, to start with, the teacher should *care* about all that is around him/her that pertains to the education of the learner. This caring nature will reflect in the attitudinal vista of the teacher.
- **Emotion:** Once the teacher’s attitude leads to caring about the learner’s interest, which in turn is internalized, it will metamorphose into a *concern* for the learner’s total well-being. This concern for the development of the ‘complete self’ of the learner will become part of the teacher’s bundle of emotions, and will lead to a thoroughly adjusted person bringing about the goal of learning to live together.
- **Action:** Attitudes centrifuge into concern; and concern metamorphoses into emotions. These emotions filled with concern for the learner’s ‘total self’ will transform into *love* and esteem for the learner. Therefore, a teacher’s love for the student’s ultimate welfare will lead to action in order to produce a complete self of the learner in becoming a vibrant and social citizen.

⁹ This quote is cited in Liambas and Kaskaris (2012, p. 191).

Figure 2: The Cycle of the Pedagogy of Love



The *Cycle of the Pedagogy of Love* is all about the caring attitude of the teacher, ultimately leading to loving actions, which in turn will touch the life of learner. As quoted by William James, “human being can alter his life by altering his attitude” (cited in Harees, 2012, p. 256), the touching of the learner’s life through the teacher’s attitudinal humanistic approach of care, concern and love should ensure the development of emotional intelligence of the learner so much so that learning to live together will eventually become a reality.

Some administrators and purveyors of education may doubt the effectiveness of the pedagogy of love approach, fearing that it will weaken the teacher’s position by catering to the whims and fancies of the learner, thus having less control over the academic output and ultimately her/his own performance. They could be correct if proper checks and balances are not built into the system, but in essence this pedagogical love, according to Cummins and Griffin (2012, p. 91), is the “pedagogical interactions between faculty and students that foster relationships, respect, and possibilities through challenging one another without pandering.” Nonetheless, we agree that without due appraisal of the social, economic and cultural circumstances and learned-nuances, blind implementation of any good paradigm, more often than not, will end up with less than the expected results.

The role of the teacher to execute the pedagogy of love can be said to have active shades ‘of compassion’ and ‘empathy’ towards the ultimate need of the learner to discover and grow in ‘self’. A news headline in the Daily Mail, a London-based tabloid, screamed, “Nurses ‘must be rated on compassion and not just technical skills’ amid fears that ‘cruelty has become normalised’” (ATOS, 2012; Borland, 2012). How much more so should it be for teachers in education. This is where the *Cycle of Pedagogy of Love* comes in to provide the rubrics for the implementation as well as the evaluation of teacher effectiveness.

c.2. The manifested dimensions of the pedagogy of love

Our own brain, our own heart is our temple; the philosophy is kindness.

His Holiness The Dalai Lama, undated

It is easy to wax eloquence and speak about the *Pedagogy of Love* and the teacher's role in bearing the fruits of this labour of love. But in practical terms, what are the concrete markers to this abstract concept of the pedagogy of love? How will those in charge of the planning machinery envisage a change in the traditional system of education?

Students in any given socio-cultural context share the same burden of existence and are bound by elements of common bonds, such as "sincere sentiments of love, solidarity, faith, hope, humbleness and confidence (Freire (1977, 2003) cited in Liambas and Kaskaris, 2012, p. 190). Freire also maintained that "humility, courage, tolerance and lovingness are virtues that help teachers dignify the educational process" (Freire, 1998, pp. 39–42, cited in Johnson, 2008, pp. 8–9). Darder (2002, p. 91, cited in Waite, 2010, p. 1) concurred: "teachers could find the strength, faith, and humility to establish solidarity and struggle together."

Based on this brief literature review, Table 1 shows the markers that manifested themselves out of the pedagogy of love. The dimensions in the table help to breakdown the abstract concept of the pedagogy of love into more concrete components. Still, the pedagogy of love is understandably much more than the sum of its parts since the impact is on the complex personality of a learner which can result in multiple pathways and outcomes.

Table 1: Manifested dimensions of the pedagogy of love

Caring attitude	Compassion	Courage	Emotion	Empathy
Encouraging attitude	Faith	Hope	Humility	Passion
Respect	Responsibility	Self esteem	Tolerance	Solidarity

c.3. The kaizen of love: the totality of the pedagogy of love

Education can either 'domesticate' or 'liberate'.

Paolo Freire¹⁰

In the first century Greek world, the word 'metanoia' was much in use: there is no equivalence in the English language but the closest is 'total change'. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines metanoia as "a transformative change of heart; especially: a spiritual conversion". This can be easily understood with reference to the early first century Christian converts who gave up their religious traditions to follow and worship a new saviour because they believed in Jesus' love for them through his teachings and his final act of being crucified. Jesus' preaching was a pedagogy of love for living

¹⁰ Cited in Mayo (2004, p. 2).

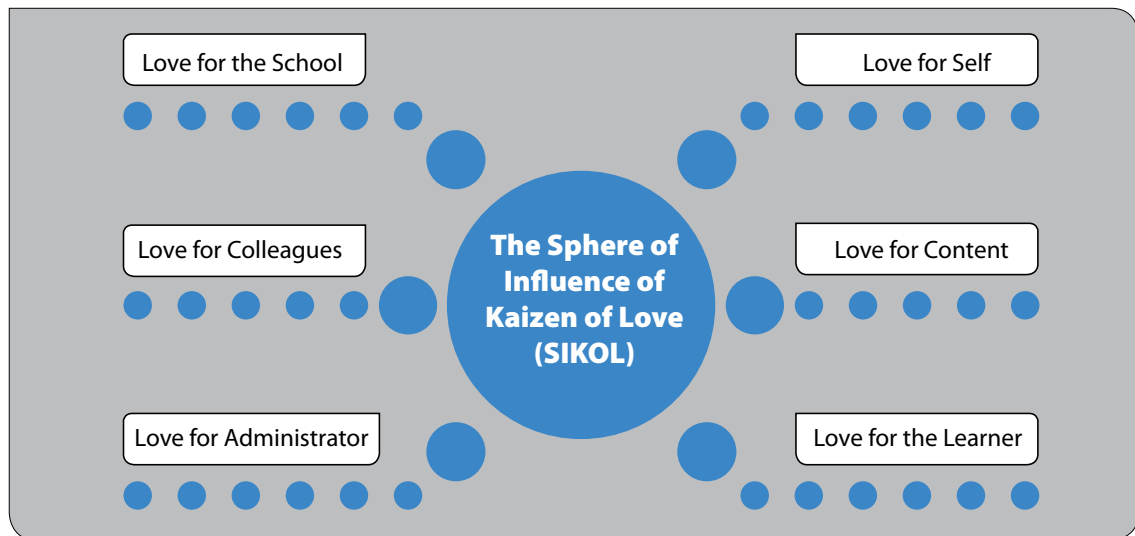
that prescribed total giving of the self for the benefit of another, thus achieving social harmony and social justice. Similarly, modern-day educationists, too, must strive hard to incorporate the truth of the pedagogy of love in education, in order to lead learners to the humanistic metanoia – that conversion of heart of the learners whereby they learn to live together as a natural and desired consequence.

This first century concept of metanoia is not very different from the 21st century Japanese word 'kaizen': "kai" means to change or correct and "zen" means good. Put together, kaizen is "a system of continuous improvement in quality, technology, processes, company culture, productivity, safety and leadership" (Stephenson, undated). The total-change concept of kaizen, as it took shape in the Japanese work environment after the 2nd World War and revolutionized the world management thinking, can also be assigned to humanitarian dimensions. Cavanagh (2009, para 6) commented on this humanitarian need of "changing ourselves for the better where "better" includes kinder, more compassionate, more connected, more joyful (even more sorrowful), more loving, more humble. This self-change is referred to as ethical self-transformation and it is, perhaps, one of the greatest challenges that lie before us."

When applied to education, the *kaizen of love* embodies not only teaching and learning but also the structures and entire process of education, and thus can give rise to a learner who has imbibed the art of learning to live together. The scope of the kaizen of love is wide and deep, as shown in Figure 3 depicting the sphere of influence of the kaizen of love (SIKOL) along with examples of major areas in a school setting.

Bringing about the humanitarian kaizen into the pedagogy of love in education is indeed a challenge that educationists must undertake to cleanse the system of the 20th century bent – a system which prided itself in developing the learner's skills of the head and the hand, and in a way grooming him/her to be a worker. With the aim of 'kaizenizing' education, 21st century educationists must devise ways and means to incorporate the nuances of the skills of the heart in every aspect of education to bring about what Cavanagh had referred to "ethical self-transformation".

Figure 3: The sphere of influence of kaizen of love (SIKOL)



Conclusions

Pedagogical love embodies the art and science of teaching, such that the benevolent concern for the good of others is imbibed into the psyche of the learner through the process of a normal day-to-day student-teacher interactions while transacting the prescribed curriculum, such that the seeds of the social goal of learning to live together are sown into the hearts of the impressionable learners.

In the weekly newspaper *Young India*, Mahatma Gandhi (1925) – an epitome of love, whom Indians fondly refer to as the Father of the Nation – published a widely cited list of social sins, two of which are “knowledge without character” and “science without humanity” (Wikipedia, undated). Thus, by extension, an education that fails to build character and humaneness is an education that will indeed fail to equip the learners with the nuanced understanding of living together with fellow human beings; harmoniously, in a peaceful social setting.

Assessing a teacher’s dilemma of the present-day education world, Johnson (2008, p. 106) pointed out that “[w]e spend our days and drown our energy trying to attend to the significant intellectual needs of our students, which keeps us from witnessing students’ deeper human potential.” This is the story of our current education system with its focus on the skills of the head and that of the hand, but no time or space or intention to develop the skills of the heart. In such a situation how is it possible for learners of today, who will grow to become citizens and leaders of tomorrow, to internalize the art of living together?

This is precisely why through this paper we have introduced the concept of the pedagogy of love, a concept that is intertwined with the constructs of emotional intelligence and empathy. Analogous to the intertwined strands of the DNA that encode the mystery of life, the three concepts of emotional intelligence, empathy and pedagogy of love encode an even more beautiful a mystery – ‘LEARNING TO LIVE TOGETHER’. The pedagogy of love is a pedagogy which emphasizes that without heavy and consistent dose of care, concern and love being injected into the teaching and learning process, there can be no real education and will never lead learners to appreciate, imbibe and live the spirit of peaceful co-existence.

Maatta and Uusiautti (2012b, p. 26) citing Siljander (2002) noted that “pedagogical love ... is the educator’s trust in the pupil’s ability to become civilized and self-determined.” Indeed, what can be more civilized than learning to live together and what a great honour it is, to education and educationists alike, that the responsibility has come to lie squarely on our shoulders to lay down that path. Modern-day educationists with reformist bent of mind who dare to usher in new paradigms for the progress of the society, will face many challenges in striving to bring about metanoia in education through the pedagogy of love. These educationists must take the cue from Freire: it is impossible to teach without the courage to love.

The time is ripe and the call is clear that the 21st century is in an urgent need of such educational ethos that would be instrumental in stringing together the ‘skills of the heart’ through the praxis of pedagogy of love ushering in the new paradigm: the heart of education **MUST BE** the education of the heart.

*Long live the education of the heart;
Long live the pedagogy of love;
And let's live long as a caring and loving society,
by learning to live together!*

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Helping Children to Make Wise Choices

Arini Beaumaris¹¹

Some challenges to learning to live together

If we are to learn to live together effectively as interdependent nation states, the primary question, as stated by the Universal House of Justice (1986) in their message to the world during the United Nations International Year of Peace, to be resolved is:

...how the present world, with its entrenched pattern of conflict, can change to a world in which harmony and co-operation will prevail. World order can be founded only on the unshakeable consciousness of the oneness of mankind, a spiritual truth which all the sciences confirm. Anthropology, physiology, psychology, recognize only one human species, albeit infinitely varied in the secondary aspects of life.

This statement is just as applicable to current society and suggests that the acceptance of the oneness of humanity and the idea that we can live together in unity whilst respecting our diversity is essentially a moral enterprise.

Morality is concerned fundamentally, with respect for persons, and hence with person-in-relationship; beyond that, with the whole quality of social life within which persons have their being. The study of morality takes us deeply into the areas of relatedness, trust, and responsibility; into the experience of value, the sense of freedom, the transcendence of social conditioning, the coming together of intellect and feeling in concern for other (Kitwood, 1990).

Need for ethical competencies

If we are to overcome entrenched patterns of conflict and live together harmoniously and cooperatively, it would imply a set of moral or ethical competencies that need to be learned around how we think, feel, respond and behave. By helping children to become aware of their feelings, actions and their impact upon others and how to make wiser choices is an important foundational step towards learning to live together.

What competencies?

The question is what competencies are of critical importance and at what age should we begin? The extensive research work of Berkowitz and Grych (1998) which integrated many current research findings identified three major areas impacting children's moral development. They are referred to as meta-moral characteristics, psychological morality aspects and factors of effective parenting suggesting the process needs to begin from an early age.

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Their four meta-moral characteristics were identified as:

1. Social orientation: moral behaviour flows from an interest in and concern for other people (Hoffman, 1976; Lamb and Feeny, 1995);
2. Self-control: control in the face of temptation (Kochanska et al., 1997; Etzioni, 1993);
3. Compliance: internalize external standards for behaviour (Eisenberg and Mussen, 1989; Westerman, 1990); and
4. Self-esteem: positive sense of self (Coopersmith, 1967).

Four psychological moral factors appear to influence moral behaviour:

1. Empathy: to become attuned not only to their own emotional reactions but also to those of others (Hoffman, 1983);
2. Conscience: internalization of moral standards and guilt (Hoffman and Saltzstein, 1967; Kochanska et al., 1997);
3. Moral reasoning: progression of increasingly more effective ways of thinking about and resolving moral problems (Kohlberg and Mayer, 1972); and
4. Altruism: giving to another at cost to oneself (Eisenberg and Mussen, 1989).

Five effective parenting strategies were identified in raising a child to be moral:

1. Induction: name the action and impact of behaviour on self and others (Kagan, 1984; Hoffman, 1991);
2. Expression of nurturance and support: warmth, responsiveness (Baumrind, 1980; Damon, 1988);
3. Use of demandingness and limit setting: set and communicate high realistic goals (Baumrind, 1980);
4. Modelling of socio-moral behaviour: teach by example (Lickona, 1983); and
5. Implementation of a democratic open family discussion and conflict resolution style: Kohlberg's Just Community school approach (Power et al., 1989; Lickona, 1983).

From moral judgement to moral action: research findings

In addition to these factors, my doctoral research (Beaumaris, 2010) which explored the gap between moral judgement and moral action, identified the importance of emotional safety and care a person felt in the situation, the ability to overcome self-preoccupation (temptation and deprivation) which was influenced by the level of respect towards other people and the degree of responsibility one felt towards others and oneself.

Of particular interest were the findings from my research that when a person acted on their moral judgement, they understood how they felt and the consequences of their actions on others. Conversely, the opposite applied when they did not act on their moral judgement. They did not understand how they would feel or the consequences of their actions until after not acting on

their moral judgement. The question then arose, when do we teach children how to reflect upon their feeling state and their actions, how can we do this and when can we start? Evoking feelings of guilt and shame were found to be insufficient to move a person towards moral action, for which most of our current approaches to behaviour management are based. The degree to which one could exercise a situational virtue seemed to provide the necessary impetus to finally act-on-moral judgement.

These findings brought into question our current approaches to how we can use the day-to-day management of the behaviour of children as learning opportunities. It also implies that the lack of the appropriate behaviour can be seen as the lack of moral competence or a situational virtue such as gentleness, kindness, compassion and the like.

How do we learn in the moral domain?

The discussion now turns to recent findings on how we learn best in the moral domain. Neurological findings have cast a very different understanding on this process. We create pictures of how to respond on the front part of the brain (somatic maps). If we have not processed the information ourselves or seen the desired action, neural pathways will not have been formed and the brain will not have access to what to do next time (Churchland, 1996; Jensen, 1998; Damasio 2003). Moral comprehension uses processes similar to learning how to read (Churchland, 1996), for example the use of rhyme, rhythm and repetition in the reading process. This translates to being consistent, systematic and repetitive in how we manage behaviour.

Jensen (1998) has identified that the brain learns through a process of trial and error and that it has an internal system of reward and punishment that is distorted by the use of external rewards and punishment. The good deed itself causes a person to feel good and becomes the reward and the wrong deed, if conscience has been embedded, will be the punishment. This is supported by the findings of Damasio (2003) that we are motivated in the moral domain by joy and sorrow; we will move away from what is sorrowful to what is joyful. He also identified that what is joyful can also be distorted. Under stress, the brain will downshift into the emotional part of the brain and no longer has access to a repertoire of moral behaviour (Hart, 1999), hence, the need to create a relaxed and joyful environment for learning to occur.

Two interactive moral learning cycles

Research findings suggest that there are two interactive learning-cycles based on two different emotional responses of joy and sorrow, which create an emotional landscape behind the moral decision-making process (Beaumaris, 2010). In the first instance, we may learn through initially not acting on moral judgement. It is based on a form of 'restorative justice' whereby a person, in order to overcome emotions of guilt and shame, needs to make amends by an act of restoration that repairs the wrong that has been done to another person. This act of restoration results in the person feeling good or joyful again.

The second cycle results from consciously choosing to act on moral judgement. This cycle of learning centres on a conscious act to set a moral goal (patience, empathy) and work towards its achievement with encouragement and resultant feedback of a positive emotional state (peaceful,

contented, happy). This can be reinforced naturally in a child's day-to-day play when they demonstrate a virtuous action naturally, for example, when they share their food with another. The naming of the virtuous action by the adult reinforces the child's empathetic and sharing behaviour. It is the power of the connected relationship and the desire not to disappoint the adult that also motivates the child to act positively.

This process of learning suggests the value of creating emotionally safe environments where a child can reflect upon their day-to-day behaviour. Traditionally the responsibility of developing character strengths has rested with family and religion, which continues to lose its influence. The challenge is to find suitable pedagogy for young children to learn how to make wise or ethical choices in educational environments. Developing capabilities to learn to live peacefully and harmoniously together therefore, needs to be integrated into educational practice. The use of day-to-day behavioural situations seems to be one of the ways such learning can be introduced.

Model of helping children to make wise choices: Super Six Heroes

The synthesis of the research findings resulted in the development of a series of steps, depicted as a story about characters that come to visit the child from the magical land of light, The Super Six Heroes. This formed a framework for parents, carers and educators to use to help children reflect upon their actions. The first three steps help children to create an emotionally safe environment so they can access their ability to think creatively. When an incident happens, a child is asked to share what just happened from his/her point of view. The other child in an incident is offered the same chance, without any interruption from the first child, to also share his/her story. This step is represented by Super Sara the Sharer. The second step, represented by Super Freddy Feeling, asks the child to share how he/she felt in the situation. The naming of the feeling state results in the re-engagement of the frontal brain and access to the thinking part of the brain. The third step, involves Super Ellie Empathy where the child needs to understand how his/her actions have affected the other child. This reflection back upon what happened helps the child to realise that his/her actions did not result in peace and harmony but were an unwise choice.

The actions cannot be changed but a child can now be helped to come up with new ideas for a wiser action that will bring about harmony, represented by Super Wanda Wish. If the missing virtue can be named, the child can then think about what actions will demonstrate the missing virtue. After coming up with several suggestions for how the child could have responded in the situation, Super Charlie Choice helps the child decide if the action will bring joy or sorrow to each of the children. This process helps to create pathways in the brain on how to reason through and evaluate what is a wise choice. The final step involves Super Theo Thoughtful who helps the child to reflect once again; after they have tried the new action, did it in fact result in bringing joy to both children. Emotion helps to pattern memory so the new action can now be embedded in the frontal lobe to be accessed as a new possible action in a similar situation in the future.

The facilitated reflection is supported by three steps the adult caregiver can incorporate into their day-to-day actions. The first step is based on clear expectations of what is expected of the child and what the behaviour looks like. For example, what it means to be orderly requires the child to put their toy away after he/she has finished playing with it. The second step is based on encouragement

which names the virtuous actions when they occur naturally or put into action with clear guidance, with a statement such as “I noticed your orderliness when you put away your toy.” The third critical step is the need to role model the action the caregiver wishes to see the child demonstrate.

The six steps have been developed around the story of Ben who was too rough with his teddy bear and how the Super Six Heroes helped him to find solutions to getting his bear fixed. The same steps and characters can be used with other stories that have a moral to help children use a step-by-step analytical process to give them practice in how to reason and act ethically. The kit comes with a User’s Guide that supports the adult to use a facilitated reflection process with the child about day-to-day behaviour. More information about the model and kit is available at <http://www.arinimethod.com/Books-Merchandise/books.html>.

Application of the Super Six Heroes model

The method has been applied in early childhood settings in Australia, Ireland, United Kingdom and the United States of America. The application of the methodology has resulted in peaceful classrooms and well-behaved children. The approach is based on a loving respectful engagement with the children that removes power assertion over the children. It is a process of action and reflection to develop the ethical capacity of the children as they learn how to understand the impact of their behaviour on themselves and others. In this way, moral prototypes are developed in the frontal brain which helps to internalize the children’s capacity to think systematically and make wise choices when faced with challenging ethical dilemmas.

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Modernization in Timor-Leste: the ‘Community’ at Stake

Paddy Tobias¹²

Introduction

This paper examines the ways in which state-building intervention has transformed cultural norms with regard to community in Timor-Leste, and illustrates the potential benefits of incorporating such norms in the educational curriculum. State-building and peacebuilding interventions are typically driven by efficiency and efficacy, getting the country back on its feet as quickly as possible, kick-starting the economy and establishing a stable political system, undergirded by the rule of law. In just thirteen years, there have been five United Nations missions in Timor-Leste,¹³ all of which supported the common interest of bringing about peace via means of development. This developmental preoccupation raises a concern for the implications of what is otherwise interpreted as rapid modernization, i.e., swiftly pulling away from, transforming, or discontinuing the social, political and economic systems of pre-independence society.¹⁴ After reviewing the various pre-independence institutional systems that encourage a sense of community and then looking at the subsequent cultural discontinuities of these, this paper proposes options for using formal education to re-instil community values, which are necessarily of a more-modern twist.

Peacebuilding theorist, Roland Paris (2004) warned against rapid modernization, or what he called “Wilsonian peacebuilding”¹⁵. Paris was concerned about the social effects of post-conflict reconstruction at the state-level vis-à-vis the “pathologies of liberalization”, namely democratization and economic liberalism. He argued that these were inherently competitive, adversarial systems, and logically antithetical to post-conflict environment. With particular respect to statebuilding in Timor-Leste, Damien Grenfell’s summation seems accurate: “the whole process of intervention has been both rhetorically and materially framed by efforts to entrench the institutional and social infrastructure of a liberal hegemony” (Grenfell, 2012, p. 210).

This paper is based on almost three years of qualitative and quantitative research, and focuses on the notion of community in the Aileu society. I take the analytical notion of community to be a cultural social system, which normatively-speaking involves the balance between rights of the individual

12 A PhD candidate at the Peace Studies, University of New England, Australia. Thanks to everyone who has been involved in the research. Particular appreciation goes to Gil de Jesus Mesquita and Abilio de Araujo for their invaluable support on the ground. Further thanks must go to Rebecca Spence, Adrian Walsh, Huy Phan and Steve Tobias for their guidance and supervision.

13 United Nations Mission in Timor-Leste (UNAMET) – June–October 1999; United Nations Transitional Administration in Timor-Leste (UNTAET) – October 1999–May 2002; United Nations Mission of Support in Timor-Leste (UNMISSET) – May 2002–May 2005; United Nations Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL) – May 2005–August 2006; and, United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) – August 2006–December 2012.

14 It could be argued that the modernization of Timor-Leste began long before, but 1999 marks a definite point where explicit development of the nation commenced.

15 Named after US president Woodrow Wilson, Paris identifies democratization and economic liberalization and marketization, which constitute this type of peacebuilding, the preferred approach by Western nations.

and responsibilities to the collective. I believe it is a fundamental part of nurturing a stable and peaceful society because of the caring spirit it inspires. Like all cultural systems, community evolves and adapts to its social, political and economic environment, but is equally vulnerable to becoming culturally devalued. Based on this notion of community – inspired mostly by social philosopher, Ferdinand Tönnies (2001 [1887]) in his magnum opus, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Community and Society) – a distinction is made between what one may refer to as the ‘continuities’ and the ‘discontinuities’ of community. This two-fold methodological approach helps to identify the phenomenological influences, pathological or otherwise, on the Aileu community. Furthermore, it enables the paper to conclude by proposing a number of broader implications for education policy with regard to protecting culturally-sensitive notions of community (as opposed to importing modern notions) in Timor-Leste.

Aileu is hidden in the mountains about 45 kilometres south of Dili. The comparatively small population of just 45,000 inhabit the district’s four sub-districts (Aileu Vila, Laulara, Liquidoe, and Remexio) and thirty-one towns (*sucos*). For spiritual and historical reasons, many villages are dotted along mountain ridges throughout Aileu. This does not only typify the topography of the district, but also gives an insight into the Aileu Mambai culture. With a cool, temperate climate for much of the year, the district’s altitude and temperature are ideal for growing coffee – Aileu’s principal contribution to the nation’s economy. The climate and high altitude also nurture a calmness and peacefulness expressed within local culture. The Mambai pride themselves on being some of the most peaceful people in Timor-Leste because of the coolness of the weather during the dry months over the middle of the year. Moreover, due to the relatively small population and sparsely spread villages, Mambai people rely on close communal networks. This value for familiarity in Mambai culture requires in turn a great deal of trust; a trust from my own experience that does not come cheap in the district. In many regards, trust is one of few forms of social security for an Aileu person. As such, once trust and familiarity have been established, there is a tremendous sense of community that flourishes in pockets of Aileu.

Modernization theory

There is a great deal of literature that discussed the concomitant breakdown of traditional social institutions (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1990) and the rise of individualization and individualism (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Slater, 1970; MacPherson, 1962) in the process of modernization. The push towards more modern ways, in sociological terms, means the departure from actual, real-life social relationships. Giddens (1990) referred to this as the “disembedding of society” to suggest that people’s relationships with each other are becoming less ‘real’ and less direct. Paul James (2006) expanded on Giddens’ thesis, calling this the process of “social abstraction”.

In their respective works, Max Weber (1864–1920), Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) and Karl Polanyi (1886–1964) called for the reinstatement of more traditional, concrete means of sociality. Late 19th and early 20th century was a time of drastically changing economies in the ‘modern’ world – comprising almost entirely Western Europe – due to industrialization, and its consequences of social stratification and isolation. Polanyi (1944) called this time the ‘Satanic Mill’, a Marxist concern that industrialization and the advancement of production tools, and its growing materialistic social consequences, were being accompanied by social dislocation; what Mooser (1983) referred to as

“the dissolution of the proletariat milieu”. Broadly speaking, Romantics (e.g. Polanyi, 1944; Tönnies, 2001) conceived traditional society as a social system of strong genealogical ties and of localized communal living, which were the social safety nets within society to mitigate the marginalization of individuals. Modernity, however, via educational provisions and cultural competitiveness, promotes the rationalization of knowledge, individual self-sufficiency and self-reliance. Some have referred to these features as constituting the ‘hidden curriculum’ of modern education (Freire, 1972; for an account of the modern education system in Timor-Leste, also see Hill, 2007).

In today’s age of technology and commercialism, society has evolved into, what Beck coined the “second modernity”. Accounting for the period from the mid-20th century onwards, modern society is typically becoming a society of personal independence (individuality), and, according to some, of self-centred individualism (MacPherson, 1962; Slater, 1970). Through greater education, mobility (i.e., the chance to transcend hierarchical social boundaries) and competitiveness, the late modern world is becoming more individualized and individualistic (Beck, 1992).

In traditional society, protection and social security comes from one’s family and community. Historically, traditional family relationships are sustained, not on emotional grounds of love and affection, but on the pragmatic grounds of ‘work and economics’; for instance, “their activities were closely coordinated with one another and subordinated to the common goal of preserving the farm or workshop” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 88). Due to this financial dependency, the family members were “exposed to similar experiences and pressures (seasonal rhythms, harvest, bad weather, etc.) and bound together by common efforts. It was a tightly knit community, in which little room was left for personal inclinations, feelings and motives” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, p. 88).

In modern society, however, the family as a social institution is losing its social significance, principally because the scope for personal advancements and freedom is far greater than in pre-modern societies (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). There is no longer the economic imperative to stay within the confines of one’s family. For Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, the process of individualization begins at the disintegration, or abstraction, of the modern family. The modern, “post-familial family”, in other words, might be considered as comprising a set of “elective relationships” rather than traditionally a “community of need” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, pp. 85–100).

Methodology

Inspired by the works described above, I am interested in the impacts of modernization and emerging individualization on the Aileu society. The Aileu district, along with all of Timor-Leste, is currently undergoing significant social and cultural shifts as a consequence of post-conflict reconstruction. Based on numerous interviews, field-notes and over 450 surveys¹⁶ collected over the past three years, this paper will discuss the notable social impacts of modernization on local conceptions of ‘community’. To an extent, these lessons can be expanded to the broader development process of Timor-Leste.

16 These surveys (2011 and 2012) comprised a five-point Likert scale, “1” representing “strongly disagree” to “5” = “strongly agree”. I have used SPSS Statistics 2.0 to analyse the data, including descriptive and one-way ANOVA testing. The data collection tried to be proportional according to gender and sub-district populations.

The framework for analysis is based on a conception of community inspired by Tönnies, who drew a distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (community) and its contrast-class, *Gesellschaft* (society) (Tönnies, 2001). The community, to Tönnies, is the embodiment of familiarity, comfort and security in social exclusivity. Hence, *Gemeinschaft* is the “genuine, enduring life together”, a “living organism” (p. 19), “unity of human wills” even if in separation (p. 22). While *Gesellschaft* is the newer social phenomenon, *Gemeinschaft* is the older, pre-industrial form of social makeup, based on feudalism and agrarianism.¹⁷ The community, to this extent, is more localized and tight-knit. An “ordinary human society”, on the other hand, we may “understand simply as individuals living alongside but independent of one another” (p. 19); there are only voluntary relationships between members of a *Gesellschaft*.

Indeed, since 17th century Enlightenment there has been a great deal of literature on the negative aspects of traditional community obligations, namely referring to its oppressive and constrictive nature, usually caused by a culturally powerful elite. In adopting the “continuist” perspective of Giddens (1990), this paper recognizes the respective deficiencies of traditional and modern senses of community. As Giddens stated (pp. 4–5), “there are continuities between the traditional and modern, and neither is cut of whole cloth; it is well known how misleading it can be to contrast these two in too gross a fashion”. Thus, this paper is an analysis of the social consequences of modernization (and not modernity per se)¹⁸ and is concerned with establishing a mixed model of traditional and modern social life, i.e., normatively extracting the positive elements of each. In other words, this analysis should not be considered a romantic view of traditional life in Aileu.

An Introduction to Mambai Culture

The Aileu people belong to the Mambai culture and language system, one of 30-odd in Timor-Leste. Cultural values and practices share particular themes throughout Timor-Leste, but each has certain nuances. Mambai culture falls within the greater Austronesian culture. According to Fox (2006), Austronesian cultures emphasize humanity’s common origin through the botanic metaphor of the tree. Although the origin story may differ significantly from one Austronesian culture to another, it is “founder-focus ideology” (see Bellwood, 2006) that is distinctly Austronesian (Fox, 2006, p. 5). The tree metaphor indicates the importance of historical precedence in Austronesian societies, specifically regarding the “reverence for ancestral founders, the naming of groups after them, and the ranking of positions in relation to such founders by which rights to land, labour and ritual prerogatives are derived” (Fox, 2006, p. 9). Due to the principle of historical precedence, the primary stratification of society is based on age and, to a lesser extent, on gender.

Furthermore, Austronesian cultures value inter-familial connections through what may be called “marriage alliances” (Fox, 2006, p. 11). In Timor-Leste, specifically, the process of establishing marriage alliances (*fetosa umane*) is a strategic part of building the family “tree”. Hence in the long term, the social security of one’s family is dependent on the family’s capacity to “marry out” its members. Marriage in Timorese cultures is fundamental to the creation of network communities, interwoven across the country (McWilliam, 2011). It recognizes the two families involved in the marriage process – the “wife-giver” (*umane*, the male house) and the “wife-taker” (*fetosa*, the female house). The formal process of

17 I define feudalism and agrarianism to be a society, respectively, based on lordships and fiefdoms and agricultural and horticultural farming, as was typical in Medieval Europe.

18 Modernization can be conceptualized as the process of modernizing. Unlike modernity, it is not an end, but a means towards social evolution.

the bride transferring her allegiance to the groom's *uma lulik* (sacred house) recognizes, according to reciprocity, the hierarchical relationship of the involved houses – the “wife-taker” *uma lulik* is indebted to the “wife-giver” *uma lulik* for the “suffering” of losing their daughter (Clamagirand, 1980).

According to Mambai legend, all of the *uma lulik* in Aileu and in parts of neighbouring districts derive spiritually from Raimansu, located in the southern mountains of Aileu Vila (field-notes 30/06/12; Traube, 1986). The community of *uma lulik* (plural) can be seen in public at the congregation of Aileu kings (*luirai*) invariably at important public events, such as visits by the prime minister or the bishops of Timor-Leste (e.g. at the St. Peter and St. Paul's feast, field-notes 29/06/12). Raimansu and its brother house, Hoholu, are the common ground for Mambai *uma lulik*. This centripetal community is geographically marked by so-called Mother Earth's navel (*husar*) (field-notes, 30/06/12).

During my visits to Aileu, people reminded me of the peacefulness of their community. “Aileu is not the same as other districts; Aileu is free from fighting. All the people here always work together, and mix around with each other” (interview, AB 18/07/11). I have been to the district four times so far, for varying lengths of time, and people have been eager to raise this with me. I believe the deep-seated respect for peace, cooperation and tolerance in Aileu derives from their traditional Mambai culture.

Even during the civil crisis of 2006, when the nation was effectively divided into two, between *ema lorosa'e* (the eastern people) and *ema loromonu* (the western people),¹⁹ Aileu remained calm (interview MK 21/07/11). In fact, Aileu was a safe-haven for many people fleeing violence in neighbouring districts, particularly Dili.

Over the last few years of studying the people of Aileu, their society and their culture in an attempt to look at effective ways of post-conflict peacebuilding in a grassroots context, I have found myself continually asking why the Aileu society functions so well relative to the rest of the country. I do not wish to idealize or romanticize the Aileu people and their culture. Indeed, there have been, and undoubtedly will continue to be, incidental tensions at the district and grassroots-levels – notably, land issues and political tensions – but there are certain social processes and institutions which mitigate the severity of such tensions. For easy analysis, one may term these cultural processes and institutions as ‘the continuities of community’, while the abovementioned social tensions may come from ‘the discontinuities of community’.

Continuities of Aileu Community

The reasons for the relative peacefulness of the Aileu society come from traditional and modern continuities of Aileu community. However, the very notion of community, as Tönnies argued, is inherently a traditional phenomenon. As such, the modern positive influences are largely traditionally motivated. The traditional continuities of community, which are discussed below, illustrate how the Aileu community is currently *conceived and preserved*. The assumption here rests on, first of all, the claim that the sense of community in Aileu would not exist without a cultural conception and appreciation; while, secondly, the daily acts of community create, condition and preserve the existing culture.

¹⁹ I do not want to over simplify the 2006 crisis, remembering Scambary's central point that the crisis was far more complex than just east-west (Scambary, 2009). But I reduce it to this dichotomy in order to express, albeit fleetingly, the encompassing scale of the 2006 crisis.

Community conceptions

I grew up in my society, and everyone is related to each other, it's hard to say that I feel unsafe living in this society.

Interview, AA 10/07/11

Community is conceived of, first and foremost, according to the family in Aileu. The institution of the family maintains social cohesion. According to Mambai culture, the family and *uma lulik* (sacred house) share part of the same social significance. Conceptually, we might consider the nuclear family (not the individual) as the smallest social unit while the *uma lulik* is the link between the family and the community. The *uma lulik* is central here. It is the physical embodiment of the extended family and the community. Trust, respect and reciprocity (two-way exchange) dominate social relations and culture because of this institution.

In the tripartite relationship among family, *uma lulik*, and community, it is difficult to determine where one ends and the other starts. As such, we may consider all three as one, comprising the social collective. "The idea of the *uma lulik* is to recognize each other [as brothers and sisters, as family]" (interview, LL 13/07/11). Hence, mention of one's family evokes images of his or her *uma lulik* and personal community, based on feelings of trust and respect (2012 survey).²⁰

The cultural norms of traditional community are in line with the more recently-introduced religious sentiments in the district. In fact, for this reason, one could claim that religion is embedded in, or a part of, traditional culture. In other words, "religion qualifies tradition" (interview, PD 14/07/11). Aside from the spiritual commonality of the two, religion, more specifically Catholicism, actively integrates with Mambai culture. Their common encouragement is "community" and shared living. For instance, a traditional marriage ceremony, *fetosa umane*, will take place first, and then the families will go to the church to make it official. As one respondent claimed, "92 or 93 per cent of the population is Catholic, but this does not mean that they have forgotten their [traditional] culture" (interview, AA 10/07/11).

Religion is deeply embedded in the social life in Aileu. Familiarity is a necessary factor of trust and, in turn, a broad sense of community. Sunday Church, for example, is an important instance of how religion plays a role in extending and maintaining one's conception of community. In effect, the church congregation is a modern derivative of the *uma lulik*. The *uma lulik* relies on family connections and the church on religious affiliations. Both are a means towards building community. As much as the *uma lulik*, a traditional institution, is open to inter-family community through *fetosa umane*, the church congregations in Aileu are open to an ecumenical, inter-religion community (interview, RS 11/07/11).

There seems to be growing tolerance and acceptance among the main religions of Aileu, Catholicism and Protestantism. Ten years ago there emerged various disputes between the Protestants and Catholics, including the desecration of Protestant churches in Liquidoe and Aileu Vila because apparently "they came to the district uninvited" (field-notes, 22/06/12). However, many are confident

²⁰ The 2011 survey suggests a strong liking towards traditional Mambai culture because of its promotion of inter-communal and inter-personal respect. In response to the statement, My traditional culture motivates me to respect all Timorese despite their differences to myself, almost 90% of respondents (N = 147) answered "agree" (29.9%) or "strongly agree" (59.2%).

that these issues have now subsided (e.g., interview, MK 07/07/2012; interview, PD 14/07/2011).²¹ Nowadays, religious leaders, representing the two Christian denominations in Aileu, support each other in the district society (interview, PD 14/07/11).

Preservations of community

In traditional culture, as mentioned above, the *uma lulik* (sacred house) assumes a central place because it evokes the concept of family and community. In Aileu culture, it forms the centre of one's identity and of one's belonging in the community. The vitality of the *uma lulik* is maintained through annual rituals, including for birth, death, marriage and agriculture.²² Although these ceremonies are different in their own right, their social purpose is to maintain the appreciation for the sacred house and of one's collective community (interview, GS 11/09/11). These rituals are not restricted to kinship; rather, some are public events intended to involve members beyond one's family. In the instance of death, for example, one respondent explained:

... when someone dies in the family, all the families gather. I go with some sugar, with some money, with some rice [and] we gather to eat together. And after that we got to the grave for the ceremony (interview, PD 14/07/2011).

Conflicts or disputes are commonplace in any community. As such, there are safeguards in place to overcome these in Mambai culture. Conflict resolution practices are many and vary according to the severity and duration of the conflict. A usual Mambai proceeding is reliant on participatory dialogue (2011 survey).²³ According to one respondent, for instance, "I gather them to listen to them, and after that we can try to have some good solution together" (interview, PD 14/07/2011).

In times of conflicts that are specifically internal to a family or *uma lulik* community, *hadame malu* is practised (field-notes, 28/06/12). As a particular form of *nahe biti* (spreading the mat) (see Babo-Soares, 2004), this traditional ceremony involves sitting together, all parties involved in the conflict, to accept either party's *malus* (leaves), lime and *bua* (bettlenut). The significance of *hadame malu* is expressed in one's confidence to eat the goods brought by the other (field-notes, 28/06/12). Thus, as with most traditional cultural activities, it is a symbolic ritual. The practice is usually conducted in the Mambai language to evoke the parties' common heritage and shared understandings of culture; it is a way of bridging the difference (interview, LL 13/07/11).

The marriage celebration of new family alliances is known as *lere dalan*, a figurative expression, best translated as "clearing the road". *Lere dalan* involves the exchange of barlaque (tokens), such as jewellery and animals (field-notes, 28/06/12), which are thereafter kept as *sasan lulik* (sacred relics) stored in the *uma lulik*, which denote the everlasting bond of the two families, long after the duration of the marriage. Hence, in effect, we may consider the marriage as a means towards the end, which is the inter-family/inter-*uma lulik* connection, the *fetosa umane*. Depending on the size

21 One cannot help but wonder, however, what would happen if the Catholic Church no longer predominate social life. Some have claimed that they were behind the 2006 crisis because the Church feared that it was losing its power in society. According to the results of the 2012 survey, there is still some skepticism between the religions. In response to the statement, I only trust those who follow the same religion as me, only 45% disagreed or strongly disagreed.

22 Traube (1980, 1986) classified these as white and black rituals and explained their social performances.

23 According to the results of the 2011 survey, almost 92% of respondents (N = 149) believed (34.9%) or strongly believed (57%) that building trust through dialogue was the most important part of preventing and resolving disputes.

of one's family, one may possess any number of wife-givers (*fetosa*) and of wife-takers (*umane*), all of which command certain rights and responsibilities to each other.

On a cosmological level, the *uma lulik* exemplifies the family's ancestors, its spiritual guardians. As mentioned above, the Mambai believe that humanity's origin comes from a spiritual mountain in Aileu, Raimansu and Hoholu. As with all creationist stories, the traditional Mambai believe that we all are *maun-alin sira* (older brothers and younger brothers). This phrase is commonly used in public gatherings to impress a sense of togetherness on the audience, to the point that the literal kinship meaning of "brother" (*maun*) is used far less often than the collective meaning, expressed as *maun-sira* (field-notes, 29/06/12).

Another common way of celebrating community and togetherness in Aileu is through the simple daily acts of eating, sitting and (importantly) talking together. In visiting another's house, one will always be greeted with a cup of coffee and something to eat. At arranged community gatherings, there will usually be food and drink. Symbolically, these represent the equal relationship that the involved parties share. This fact is a stark identifier of the traditional living that is still strong in Aileu, though it is also expressed in religious events, such as the Catholic *Coração de Jesus* (Heart of Jesus) ceremony. Here neighbourhoods are reminded of their proximate, spatial community. A statue of the Virgin Mary is transported around Aileu, being housed at a different village each night during the months of May and June. But uniquely in Aileu,²⁴ such religious gatherings are not exclusive to the neighbourhood, but, as one interviewee explained, "every Aileu person is invited to the *Coração de Jesus* ceremony because we are all related and we know everyone" (interview, GS 03/07/12). It is an opportunity to pray and eat together with your neighbours, reinstating these familial bonds, which seems very important more so for community reasons than religious/spiritual reasons (interview, MK 07/07/12).

A more recent mechanism for preserving the Aileu community at the district level is the inter-institutional cooperation between the Catholic Church (religion), police officers (law and order) and the district administration (state). The combination of these central political powers into what is known as the *tripica*, or 'the three pillars', seems to be an administrative legacy of the Indonesian times (interview, PD 04/07/12; field-notes, 21/06/12). The continuation of the *tripica* is for the purpose of governing and organizing the political society, overseen by the moral authority of Mambai tradition. Specifically, their mandate consists of, firstly, promoting collaborative community-building to engage the Aileu people in one community, and secondly, to resolve or mitigate any problems from the village (*aldeia*) to the district level. According to one respondent, "when a problem is involving many different groups, I try to pull them together with the police commander, the sub-district administrator" (interview PD 14/07/11).

Organized religion initiates and inspires numerous social welfare activities (2011 survey).²⁵ A religious leader explained, "I find it very interesting to be with people, especially poor people, because they need someone for them" (interview, PD 14/07/11). He told a story about helping an elderly couple, whose house was falling down and who had no money for its repairs. Their children had moved to Dili for work and education, and to escape their mother who had become "crazy", leaving the

²⁴ I was told that in other districts of Timor-Leste it is not common for people outside the neighbourhood to attend a *Coração de Jesus*.

²⁵ According to the results of the 2011 survey, 92% of respondents (N = 148) either agreed or strongly agreed to the statement, My religion inspires me to assist people.

60-year-old father to take care of the family house alone. Having realized their desperate situation, the local priest bought the necessary material, had it transported to Remexio, and organized a group of young people to “renew the house”. They all stayed a week there fixing the house. The priest was certain that this was a real community experience for everyone involved: “we were all there as one family; we ate together, we cooked together to have lunch and dinner together” (interview, PD 14/07/11). Asked about his motivation for helping the poor, the priest explained, “all the people for me are important, but especially the poor people because sometimes when there is no one to look after them, to have some contact, to meet with them, to discuss about their life, they feel nobody cares” (interview, PD 14/07/11).

Discontinuities of Aileu Community

The new ideology, the new doctrine, sometimes we need more clarification, explanation, socialization for the simple people, so they don't lose their own culture.

interview, PD 14/07/11

Now let us turn to the discontinuities of the Aileu community. By discontinuities I refer to the emerging social phenomena that contravene or challenge the traditional sense of community in Aileu society and potentially lead to social tension. We may consider these discontinuist phenomena according to two categories, the monetization of the social world and democratic individualism.

Monetization of the social world

One respondent believed that becoming nationally independent has brought about the notion of independence to a personal level too, in the form of individuality and competitiveness. Traditionally, as we have established above, the Aileu community is what one respondent described as a “group-orientated society” (interview, RS 11/07/11). But political independence and the increasing importance of money have impacted social life; “if you are not competitive enough, you don't survive in today's society” (interview, RS 11/07/11). Even cultural rituals such as the death ceremony (*kore metan*) or *fetosa umane*, have become money-orientated, as expected ways of raising money for the family (interview, PD 14/07/11; interview, AA 10/07/11). This represents a real change in understanding the relationship between the individual and community.

Possibly most culturally affected by the advent of state independence and the ensuing development process have been the younger generations. In contemporary times, youth are less socially confined to their original surroundings. Younger generations have greater mobility than older generations. The 2012 survey (N=289) results suggest that those 29 or younger have a significantly ($p < 0.05$) greater proportion of friends who live outside their town (*suco*) than 30 to 59 year olds. One explanation for this difference could be that many expand their social base, making friends from elsewhere, during their search for employment or education (interview, PD 14/07/11). Thus, they are not as confined to their original surroundings as the older generations.

Mainstream, modern culture through music, television and education is a principal driver of the psychological need to “succeed” amongst the youth. Modern conceptions of success, embedded

in the national education curriculum (see Hill, 2007), are directed by money and employment. One could speculate that the psycho-cultural urge for success is more acute in Aileu as a consequence of the comparative societal context, in which the Aileu society is more impoverished and has a weaker economy than Dili, its neighbour society. The anxieties of not having enough money to live securely are exacerbated by this immediate comparison with the Dili lifestyle.

In attempts to minimize these anxieties, many young people are moving to Dili. This has left behind significant social and cultural voids, and has undermined communities in Aileu (interview, AA 10/7/11; interview, PD 14/07/11). Youth seem to be increasingly detached from the Mambai institutions, including the *uma lulik*, family and community obligations because they appear obsolete and superfluous in the rationalist, 'modern' Timor-Leste (interview, AA 10/7/11; interview, JV 10/7/11; interview, PD 14/7/11; 2012 survey²⁶).

To an extent, the hardship of finding one's social, political and economic identity in the new nation has inspired a competitive culture of self-righteousness and entitlement particularly amongst young generations (interview, PD 14/7/11; 2012 survey²⁷). According to one community leader, a subculture has emerged since 1999 of "I can go wherever and do whatever I like". There is a strong understanding of one's rights, but not of their responsibilities to the collective nation (interview, PD 14/07/11). Individualism as a bi-product of democratization has been discussed by the likes of Karl Mannheim (1956, pp. 171–249), who explains that democracy may lead to, what he calls, "self-assertion and aggressiveness" in society (Mannheim, 1956, p. 173). Within this emerging entitlement culture in the Aileu society, there is an attitude of "when I come, just give me some money. So, I do nothing, but I like to receive something from you" (interview, PD 14/07/11). The issue of land disputes in Timor-Leste (Fitzpatrick, 2008) is an instance of this entitlement attitude of families, under pressure to create financial security at all social costs and expense to the community ethos (interview, KA 19/07/11).

Democratic individualism

Possibly the most distinct feature of modernizing society in Timor-Leste is the multi-party democratic political system. The proportional representation system of Timor-Leste has allowed for the generation of multiple parties based on divergent political visions. Since the creation of a democracy in Timor-Leste eleven years ago, twenty-four political parties have been established. For the 2012 parliamentary election in July, there was one political party per 20,000 or so voters.

Many of the political divisions are based on personal egos, rather than ideological or policy platforms (field-notes, 12/06/12; field-notes, 17/06/12), and there is concern, particularly amongst female respondents (2011 survey)²⁸, of the extent to which this is impacting social cohesion. The

26 For example, asked whether they liked to celebrate their *uma lulik* or not, respondents 29 year old or younger (N = 236; mean = 3.98) were slightly less favourable than respondents 30 years or older (N = 51; mean = 4.12) (2012 survey).

27 For example in the 2012 survey (N = 288), youth (18–29) were slightly more ($p = 0.69$) inclined to respond positively (mean = 2.74) to the statement, I am more interested in my own security than that of my friends, than their seniors (30–59).

28 Female respondents (N = 52; mean = 3.39; standard deviation = 1.235) were significantly ($p < 0.05$) more cynical than men (N = 92; mean = 3.84; standard deviation = 1.122) towards the idea of having many political parties.

emotionally charged political debates that occur in public have the potential to aggravate tensions between party support bases. There seems to be a lack of social reconciliation between party support bases. “Sometimes [the political system] is like this, I am like this: ‘So who will come with me? Ok, you’ll be my friend.’ And ‘who is against [political] idea? You are my enemy’” (interview, PD 14/07/11).

Political parties use negative language to slander opposing sides and mobilize support. In the first two elections (2001 and 2007), such negative tactics were prevalent during political campaign periods according to some (interview, GS 11/09/11; interview, JV 10/07/11). “My party is the best, and that party is the worst” (interview, PD 14/07/11) type of competitive rhetoric has been characteristic of Timorese politics. So much so, such politicking – mostly on unsubstantiated and emotive claims – has frustrated and disaffected many. “I don’t want to join with one political party because if you... join with a political party, [then this] maybe creates conflict between us [me and another party person]” (interview, MS 26/07/11). Another explained that he chooses not to support a political party because he is concerned about his “suffering” if he narrows his community according to political boundaries (interview, AB 18/07/11).

While some were quick to downplay the potential for socio-political divisions (interview, RS 11/07/11), there were definite cases where divisions had become apparent. For example, members of one village (*aldeia*) in Aileu Vila voted for the ASDT party, not because they agreed with the policy or historical narrative of the party, but because this political affiliation set them apart from the neighbouring *aldeia*, the members of which “can’t be trusted”, and who support CNRT, Fretilin or PD (interview, LL 13/07/11).²⁹ Thus, politics in this case was used as a means to distinguish between two social groups.

To appeal to voters, many political parties campaign on the allure of achieving a better life, such as eradicating poverty (field-notes, 09/06/12; field-notes, 22/06/12).³⁰ Of course, this is not unique to democracy in Timor-Leste, however we can see, because of the poverty context, that such unachievable short-term pledges have immense capacity to excite and then disillusion the electorate. Political parties come

... and play music from 5 o’clock in the afternoon, until 8 o’clock in the morning... they come from Dili, they have enough beer with them, they have enough money, they come for a few days, gather the people, eat something with them (interview, PD 14/07/11).

These political gatherings are designed to encourage a sense of hope amongst the electorate for what it is the party can supposedly achieve. However, more times than not, this hope is unrealistic and ultimately leads to more general disillusion with life amongst the electorate (interview, PD 14/07/11; interview, AB 18/07/11). The emotional disappointment of these elusive promises can be devastating to the motivational level of rural people, many of whom are already suffering from financial hardship. After the celebrations of political campaigns “the people go back again to their home” reminded that “we have nothing to eat” (interview, PD 14/07/11).

29 ASDT = Timorese Social Democratic Association; CNRT = National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction; Fretilin = Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor; PD = Democratic Party.

30 For example, the now president, Taur Matan Ruak, used the eradication of poverty in Timor-Leste as a central promise of his 2012 election campaign.

Inevitably this disillusionment with local and national politics has fuelled allegations of nepotism and corruption. There are high levels of cynicism and mistrust in the Aileu electorate towards politicians and political parties (2011 survey³¹; interview, AB 18/07/11). “In one political party”, one youth leader explained, “I can see their father is the president, their son is treasurer, and their daughter is secretary. This means that when they lead government, they will be corrupt” (interview, JV 10/07/11). Another argued:

They [politicians at the district-level and nationally] promise everything. It is the same everywhere [in Timor-Leste]. But they never deliver on their promises. So that is why I still worry about the political campaign because I believe them 100 per cent. When they win [the election], they don't do [what they promised]. The community is the victim. (interview, MS 26/07/11).

There seems to be conflicting interpretation of such things as nepotism and more broadly corruption. Under traditional social mores, supporting one's family was a vital aspect of belonging to the family. According to tradition, as an adult, the male should not develop himself without benefiting his *uma lulik* relations too. As discussed above, this obligation is enshrined in the *fetosa umane* process, where the male has an obligation to take care of his *umane* (male house). Nonetheless, this leads to common conflict between traditional obligations and the institutionalization of a liberal democracy, which condemns such traditional practices as *nepotismo* (interview, RS 11/07/11).

Nepotism is the modern form of what was once simply a family commitment. Still, with the hype about corruption and maintaining a transparent political system, such “commitments” are no longer acceptable in modern Timor-Leste, at least at the state level.

What are the lessons for educational development in Timor-Leste?

This paper has explored the notions of community in the small district of Timor-Leste, Aileu. Notable are the lessons that can be deduced from the underpinning research with regard to the national educational development process in Timor-Leste and, indeed, development programmes worldwide. There are three recognitions that underlie this paper. Each of these informs suggestions for a more culturally-conscious formal education system. The potential benefit that the education system holds for community preservation is via its ability to socialize its students. Thus each challenge to the sense of community, one may conclude, has remedy in certain provisions of education.

The first and most central of these is a recognition that promoting and maintaining a sense of community – of trust and familiarity in society – is necessary to rebuild a nation of people severely affected by war, displacement and at least a century of foreign rule. While contexts and cultures throughout Timor-Leste are unique in their own right, all of which must be thoroughly considered in the development process, particular interest ought to be given to general traditional cultural agents within Timorese society that encourage community within and between peoples. In the case of Aileu, such agents for continuing community principally derive from, to name a few, the cultural institutions of *fetosaun umane*, *hadame malu* and *Coração de Jesus*. In fact, the information presented

31 From a sample population of N = 143, people were inclined to agree (mean = 3.25) that political leaders were only interested in serving their family members than the Timorese nation. Interestingly, women (mean = 3.42) were more cynical than men (mean = 3.16).

in this paper would suggest that these cultural artefacts in Aileu society – some of which are more traditional than others – are still popular at the grassroots level precisely for their capacity to inspire a sense of community. The lesson to be taken from recognizing their place in local community conceptions is that government development strategies must better safeguard them, principally by way of an education curriculum that incorporates this cultural value for community, in order to promote a more peaceful and stable society.

The second recognition made in this paper is that modernization and development worldwide is inevitable. The global scope and speed of change are intrinsic features of modernity (see Giddens, 1990). With the first recognition in mind, the 'community' is the centrepiece of this Aileu, if not Timorese, desire. Given that today's 21st century model of modernity consists principally of democratization and liberal economics, the educational development process of Timor-Leste should be more conscious of the country's community desires before these are lost, culturally-speaking. The discussion of the Aileu people presented in this paper suggests that certain cultural transformations are challenging the value for community. If this is the case, then state-sponsored educational provisions which teach traditional values as a part of the official curriculum is a sure-fire means for keeping community at the heart of the national culture. Vice-versa, as long as the Timorese education system continues to pursue an individualist policy, community will be at stake.

The third recognition expressed was that the modernization debate is not as black and white between modernity and traditionality as one might think. Romanticizing either model over the other is analytically unhelpful, considering the culturally blurred lines between traditionality and modernity. Thus, in line with the second recognition, Timorese development must implement a considerate educational curriculum that finds a hybridity between modern and traditional cultural models and, according to the first recognition, that best suits and protects the notion of community. For instance, we can see from this exposé that Aileu community is maintained through some more-traditional practises (e.g., Mambai culture, sitting and eating together) and some more-recent conventions of socialization (e.g., religion, *tripica*). Yet, the monetization of traditional rituals as a result of instilled modern desires of success is undermining the sense of community, as well as the honesty and trust upon which it is maintained. In this case, the socio-cultural conceptions of success in state-sponsored education must be redefined to better suit the Timorese cultural value for community.

There is a concern with the rush towards modernization in fledgling nations such as Timor-Leste. In cases where the process does not properly preserve, presumably through educational means, the pro-community practices and values, then there will be risks of more divisions and instability, as well as a loss of the unique culture and identity of the nation. The UN withdrew from Timor-Leste in December 2012, following 13 years of externally sponsored statebuilding intervention and a century before that of foreign occupation. This has finally left Timor-Leste to find its own way as a nation-state. To do so, the nation should be mindful of what does and does not work for its community, and embed these lessons into the nation education curriculum.

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Beyond Insular Education Policy: Learning to Live together in the Face of Climate Change in the Pacific

Daniel Lin, Corrin Barros and Christopher Foulkes³²

Introduction

The islands of the Pacific have historically been thought of as small and isolated by the rest of the world. However, the people of the Pacific would tell you otherwise because for many of them, the sea is just as much of their home as the land. Much like land-locked countries that have relied heavily on trade and transport with neighbouring countries via roads and vehicles, island nations are also highly inter-connected – although their modicum for connectivity is the ocean. Thus, Pacific Islanders view the ocean not as a barrier, but an avenue, and for hundreds of years, the livelihood of the people has depended on the ecological balance between land and water. Sadly, this balance has changed as globalization coupled with the impacts of climate change – sea level rise, ocean acidification, changes in rainfall pattern, and storms – are steadily shifting the region towards a level that is unsustainable.

According to a publication from the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Secretariat, the average small island developing state emits only 1.5 per cent of the greenhouse gas that industrial countries do (UNFCCC, 2005). The notion that ‘those who contribute the least to the problem suffer the most’ is a commonly shared feeling amongst Pacific Island nations, many of which are in the process of developing adaptation, mitigation, and/or evacuation strategies. Education plays an important role in these strategies as subsequent generations of islanders will bear the brunt of these climate effects. However, education in isolation, from policy to pedagogy, is not enough to create generative change. Rather, the strength of these nations lies in their inter-connectedness, and it is through shared experiences that the people of the Pacific will learn to live together and move forward with a collective voice and purpose. Background on the Pacific region

At 60.1 million square miles (155.6 million km²), the Pacific Ocean is the world’s largest ocean, covering approximately one-third of the earth’s surface and almost equal to the total land area on the earth (CIA, 2011; Encyclopedia Britannica, 2012). Landmass in the four regions of Oceania – Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia and Australasia – totals about 3.3 million square miles (8.5 million km²). Islands in this region are home to about 37.5 million people as of 2011 (SPC, 2011; DBEDT, 2011; United Nations Statistics Division, 2012).

While the most populated locations include Australia, Papua New Guinea, and New Zealand, the most densely populated locations are Nauru (587.1 people/km²), Tuvalu (428.7 people/km²) and Marshall Islands (406.8 people/km²). With 135,663 km of coastline, it is no surprise that subsistence

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and commercial fisheries, along with tourism and agriculture, are major contributors to Pacific Island economies (CIA, 2011; SPC, 2011).

The environment of the Pacific region is diverse, both geomorphologically and biologically. The Pacific includes low coral atolls, high volcanic islands, and continental islands. As a result, there are a wide variety of landscapes – forested areas in Samoa; mangrove forests in Micronesia; deserts in Australia; lagoons in the Marshall Islands; and high mountains in Hawaii and New Zealand. Coral reefs throughout the region are abundant and productive, providing a wealth of marine life and protection. This variety, combined with the ecological isolation of many of these islands, means a high proportion of species are endemic (found only on one island or in one archipelago), making island species more susceptible to disruption by biological invasions and species loss. Further, the small size of most of these islands means terrestrial resources are generally limited (Shea et al., 2001).

Climate and impacts of climate change in the Pacific region

Most Pacific islands experience distinct seasonal rainfall variations with little differences in temperature, but at times extreme events: tropical cyclones, storm surges, drought and heavy rainfall. The major pattern of climate variability in the Pacific region is the El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO), a two to seven year fluctuation between warming (El Niño) and cooling (La Niña) and the fluctuation of a global-scale tropical and sub-tropical pressure pattern called the Southern Oscillation. Together, ENSO causes shifts in the Intertropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ), South Pacific Convergence Zone (SPCZ) and West Pacific Monsoon (WPM), which in turn have significant influence on rainfall, sea level and the risk of tropical cyclones in the region (Australian Bureau of Meteorology, 2011).

An overall increase in global temperature is likely to cause a continued rise in global mean sea level and changes to precipitation. In fact, scientists have reported consistent warming trends in all small island regions over the 1901 to 2004 period with accelerated rates of warming in the South Pacific (0.3-0.5°C in annual temperatures every 10 years) starting from the 1970s. This has been accompanied by an average rate of sea level rise in the Pacific of about 1.6 mm per year between 1950 and 2000 (IPCC, 2007). Drought, flooding and marine inundation caused by these changes, coupled with limited resources and socio-economic conditions, make Pacific islands highly vulnerable and likely to incur several detrimental impacts (Fletcher and Richmond, 2010; IPCC, 2007), including the following:

a. Food security

Currently, approximately one sixth of the world's population is considered to be living in hunger. In a report from Oxfam, up to 50 million more people around the world will be forced into hunger as a consequence of climate change (Oxfam Australia, 2009). Climate effects such as sea level rise, increased flooding in certain areas, and increased droughts in others are already affecting crop yields around the world. This can be particularly taxing on those who rely heavily on subsistence farming to feed their families. Furthermore, these trends will have a direct effect on global food prices in the future; a big concern for the Pacific islands where the vast majority of all food products are imported. Currently in American Samoa, for example, the Department of Agriculture claims that over 95 per cent of all food supplies are imported from overseas (American Samoa Government,

2012). Similarly, in 2008, the proportion of food expenditure accounted for by imported food for the Republic of Palau was over 80 per cent (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2011).

b. Water resources

Because of their limited size, water resources on small islands are vulnerable to changes in climate, especially changes in rainfall. Less rainfall leads to less water that can be harvested from the water catchment systems and wells from which people draw fresh water for drinking, cooking and washing (IPCC, 2007). For example, climate models suggest that a 10 per cent reduction in average rainfall by 2050 is likely to correspond to a 20 per cent reduction in the size of the freshwater lens (the source of well water) on Tarawa Atoll, Kiribati. This does not take into account the impact of sea level rise, which is likely to reduce Tarawa's freshwater lens by an additional 10 per cent (World Bank, 2000).

c. Displacement

Another major challenge for the people of the Pacific islands is the issue of displacement. As sea levels rise, coastlines will recede and the amount of habitable land will gradually decrease. Not surprisingly, the Pacific region, with half of its population living less than 1.5 km from the coast, is highly susceptible to population displacement (Malkin, 2009). This risk is much greater for low-lying atoll islands where the highest point of elevation is often less than a couple of meters above sea level. In fact, according to Oxfam, more than 75 million people living in the Pacific will be forced to relocate their homes by 2050 due to rising sea levels (Oxfam Australia, 2009). One country at the forefront of this issue is Tuvalu – a country consisting of 26 km² of land spread across nine atoll islands (CIA, 2012). For the 10,000 inhabitants of Tuvalu, the future of their islands is bleak. Former Tuvaluan Prime Minister Saufatu Sopoanga (2006) put it best when he addressed the UN General Assembly in September of 2003: “We live in constant fear of the adverse impacts of climate change. For a coral atoll nation, sea level rise and more severe weather events loom as a growing threat to our entire population. The threat is real and serious, and is of no difference to a slow and insidious form of terrorism against us.” These words echo the stark sentiment of leaders across the Pacific, many of whom foresee a dramatic shift in the way of life for their current and future generations.

Importance of education in climate adaptation

Today, much of the rhetoric surrounding climate change in the Pacific region focuses on themes such as: adaptation, mitigation, resiliency and preparedness. The regional summits and forums surrounding these issues stress the importance of preserving the earth for the next generation, yet little attention is given to environmental and climate education. This is a clear mismatch between rhetoric and implementation. Therefore, when devising adaptation strategies, decision makers in the Pacific need to keep in mind that the most effective strategies are the comprehensive ones – those that are interwoven with other existing sectoral policies (Mimura, 1999). Policies and frameworks that offer solely short term solutions do a disservice to the next generation of Pacific islanders who will inevitably inherit the problems of the present day. Thus it is imperative that future leaders of the Pacific attain the proper knowledge and tools to better address the climate-related problems of tomorrow. To do this, they must first develop a firm understanding of their local, regional and global climate situation at an early age. Education is one of the most important and worthwhile

long-term investments in any field; climate education is no different. Cordero et al. (2007, p. 866) put it well by declaring that: “an educated citizenry is required to make wise decisions regarding policies and practices aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions and the human impact on the Earth’s resources”.

Current landscape of Pacific island policies surrounding climate adaptation and education

These days, Pacific islanders live in a tenuous space where daily life is influenced by both traditional ways of interacting with the environment and the trappings of western society. In many ways, this space is created and reinforced by policy frameworks that do not value cooperation for the sake of mutual aid, but rather, place emphasis on trade and financial stability.

This section analyses policy action on climate change mitigation and adaptation from several perspectives. First, initiatives taken to combat climate change generally are examined both globally and regionally. In short, global action against climate change has been exceptionally difficult and, thus, little has been achieved. On a regional level, although a consensus has been far easier to come by, the small size of Pacific economies and their relative lack of influence have meant that any action in the region have been ineffective in stemming the tide of climate change.

Next, this section examines policy action specifically on education systems and climate change. Here we see a slightly more nuanced situation. Regional action in the Pacific on this issue has been swift, comprehensive and complex. The various regional forums have busily constructed frameworks over the last two decades which they hope can be used to implement climate change education across the region. However, at a national policy level, these regional initiatives do not appear to have flowed through effectively.

Major global climate change policy action

From a legal and policy perspective, there is a lack of international consensus and cooperation on a path forward when it comes to climate change adaptation and mitigation. This is true across all sectors, not simply in term of education policy. There have been widely varying views in the last two decades, first about whether climate change actually exists and accelerated by man-made activity, and later about what should be done about it and who is responsible for taking action. This means that in reality, there have only been two significant international agreements relating to climate change mitigation and adaptation: The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (Kyoto Protocol).

The UNFCCC was devised at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), informally known as the ‘Earth Summit’, in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (United Nations, 1992). The UNFCCC was a true ‘framework convention’ in that it contained no binding obligations whatsoever but simply provided an international structure for the passing of binding protocols to the convention in the future. This convention has been ratified by every member of the United Nations, except for South Sudan, Niue, Cook Islands and the European Union.

The Kyoto Protocol, adopted in 1997 and put into effect in 2005, was ratified by 191 states and was intended to impose binding obligations on developed countries to reduce the levels of greenhouse gases they emitted (United Nations, 1997). As is well known, the US refused to ratify the protocol and Canada renounced it in 2011. Furthermore, other industrialized states have failed to comply with the treaty even though they signed and ratified it.

Since Kyoto, the UN has convened four conventions on climate change. At the UNFCCC meeting in Durban in November 2011, international leaders established a legally binding agreement for all countries, including the US, to address climate change. In addition to establishing a US\$100 billion Green Fund to support adaptation in poorer countries, this agreement forced countries to recognize that their current policies are inadequate and sets a deadline for change by 2015 (UNFCCC, 2011). In doing so, this convention, like preceding conventions, was a show of recognition that climate change needs to be addressed at the international level.

However, international conventions do not fully address the issue, especially if larger countries do not comply and smaller countries can easily be ignored. When a single, small nation speaks out – as when the Republic of Palau announced in 2011 that it would seek an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice about whether there was an international customary law duty on states to prevent them emitting greenhouse gases – it may gain the world’s attention, but little real action is taken to address their need (UN News Centre, 2011). Climate change will still happen, Pacific islands will still be impacted sooner than other locations, and education still has an important place plans for climate adaptation.

Climate change and education

a. Global agreements

Given how little legal and policy action there has been on general climate change mitigation and adaptation around the world, it is not surprising that there has been minimal agreement on climate change and education. These two issues have generally been slotted in under other broad Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for them to be brought to the global attention, namely MDG #7 which deals with environmental sustainability and MDG #2 which deals with providing Education for All (EFA).

It is under the EFA goal that the most progress has been made, out of which has grown the concept of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), and further within ESD, the topic of Climate Change Education (CCE). EFA is one of the major agenda items for UNESCO, with ESD and CCE forming part of UNESCO’s programme globally.

One particular region that has shown significant progress in adopting the ESD ideas from MDG #2 is Southeast Asia. Specifically, in October of 2000, member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) developed the ASEAN Environmental Education Action Plan (AEEAP) to provide a “collaborative framework for the development and implementation of environmental education (EE) activities”. Within this framework, 144 action plans (36 for each of four major target areas) were laid out (Public Awareness and Environmental Education, undated). In September of 2007, the AEEAP was revised and renewed for 2008–2012. The aim of the AEEAP is to “promote EE

in the [ASEAN Member Countries] so that people of the region would be fully sensitized to care for the environment” (ASEAN Environmental Education Action Plan, 2008).

b. Regional agreements and activities

In the Pacific, the link between climate change and education was first formally established over a decade ago. In May 2001, the Pacific Islands Forum was held in Auckland and during this meeting, ministers agreed to a Pacific vision for education and to a number of goals including commitments under the EFA framework. The key outcome of this meeting was the endorsement by Ministers of the Forum Basic Education Action Plan 2001 (FBEAP) (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2001). One part of this plan was to designate the University of the South Pacific (USP) in Fiji as the coordinator of the development of the Pacific Regional Action Plan for ESD (PESD). Subsequently, in 2006, the Pacific Ministers of Education endorsed the PESD.

A replacement for FBEAP was implemented in 2009, called the Pacific Education Development Framework (PEDF), which runs from 2009 to 2015 (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2009). Of the eight ‘cross-cutting themes’ set out in the PEDF, theme #5 focuses purely on ESD. While the text of the theme does not mention climate change per se, it lists mainstreaming ESD as one of the priorities in the region (Hartmann et al., 2010). The aim of the Pacific ESD Framework is to integrate local content, conditions and culture to provide an umbrella for coordinated and collaborative action that can be applied throughout the Pacific (UNESCO, 2006).

Thus, awareness of the link between education and climate change has developed significantly in the Pacific region in the past decade. Yet, despite the increase in awareness, there is still a lack of a unified vision on this front, and without this, regional progress will be staggered and slow at best.

In tandem with these global and regional legal and policy developments, there have been corresponding regional initiatives undertaken to further cement climate change adaptation and mitigation in the field of education.

One notable area where these initiatives are taking hold is in pre-service teacher education. In addition to being responsible for developing PESD, USP is also mandated as a regional organization for pre-service and in-service teacher education and research on climate change and sustainability (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2001). USP currently houses the Pacific Centre for Environment and Sustainable Development (PACE-SD) and within the Faculties of Arts and Law, the School of Education and the Institute of Education (University of the South Pacific, 2012). As a result, pre-service teacher education at USP features climate change education. Two other national universities in the Pacific island region that provide teacher education are the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) and the National University of Samoa (NUS). Through the EduLink Pacific Network of Island Universities (NIU Project), these three universities are linked and working together on mainstreaming ESD. In addition, the Vanuatu Institute of Teacher Education has developed a course module on climate change within its pre-service teacher education Programme (Hartmann et al., 2010).

While these developments are promising, the overall linkage between education and climate change is lacking from most of the other higher education institutions in the Pacific region. In the US-affiliated Pacific Islands (USAPI), which consists of seven different community colleges, colleges, and universities, an effort is being made between higher education institutions and a US-based

NGO, Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL), to create a Climate Education Certification Programme for teachers. This effort, among others, will be discussed later in this paper.

c. National policy initiatives

At the national level, island governments have difficulties in translating the array of regional initiatives on education and climate change into explicit national policies and education systems, as illustrated by the examples below.

In **Vanuatu**, the Education Sector Strategy 2007–2016 has eight priority programmes that demonstrate some level of attention on EFA and quality education goals (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2006). While the Education Sector Strategy does not mention climate change, the draft curriculum statement does recognize the need for education to address climate change adaptation and mitigation in Vanuatu (Hartmann et al., 2010). Currently, the draft curriculum groups the environmental issues of biodiversity, climate change and land degradation together through their obvious linkages.

In **Tonga**, the Education Policy Framework 2004–2019 is a document that sets out the long-term vision and a broad strategy outline for the development of the education system (Tongan Ministry of Education, 2004). While this also does not explicitly mention climate change, it does commit to aligning the education sector with the demands of the present and future in order to meet the objectives of Tonga’s prevailing development plans. As such, it can be assumed that aspects of climate change will be included in school curriculum and the broader education developments. However, a stronger link between climate change adaptation and education is made by the Joint National Action Plan on Climate Change Adaptation and Risk Management 2010–2015 (Tongan Ministry of the Environment and Climate Change and National Emergency Management Office, 2010). In the vision set out in this document goal, nol. 2 of 6 is to ensure “enhanced technical knowledge base, information, education and understanding of climate change adaptation and effective disaster risk management”, which includes increasing relevant education and community awareness programmes. The Ministry of Education is listed as the main agency responsible for achieving this goal, so even though climate change education is not explicitly mentioned in the Education Framework document, it is being incorporated into the curriculum through the more recent National Action Plan.

In **Kiribati**, the Ministry of Education’s Strategic Plan 2008–2011 has now lapsed (Kiribati Ministry of Education, 2008), and a new plan is still being formulated (UNESCO Apia, 2012). While the previous plan did not mention climate change per se, it was linked to the government’s National Development Strategies focusing on “equipping people to manage change”. One such change is alterations in the regional and global climate. Therefore, it is likely that the new plan, once formulated, will contain a much stronger link between climate change adaptation and education policy.

In **Fiji**, the Education Sector Strategic Development Plan 2009–2011 contained seven broad priorities and outcomes, to be achieved through a competency-based curriculum, which is “well grounded in the local context”. Outcome #3 offers a link to environment by expecting that “school infrastructure and facilities are health compliant and ensure safety of children from natural disasters” (Fijian Ministry for Education, National Heritage, Culture and Arts, Youth and Sport, 2009). Although the

link is relatively weak and the plan has now lapsed, it shows that environmental issues are infiltrating the top level of education policy in the country.

Sufficed to say, although climate change is a pressing concern for governmental leaders and policy makers of different Pacific nations, the crucial linkage between these concerns and education still needs to be strengthened. Education will help to ensure that a new generation of leaders will be more knowledgeable and better prepared to adapt their communities and environments to the impending impacts of climate change. Concurrently, the immense amount of research into climate change and the environment, along with the ingenuity put into local adaptation and mitigation activities, provides incredible learning opportunities for learners at all levels. If linkages among climate change policy, action and education are strengthened and integrated, students would have access to the real-life, hands-on experiences that are grounded in effective science, mathematics, engineering and technology (STEM) education. Hence, it is imperative that the bond between climate change policy and education policy is strengthened regionally throughout the Pacific as well as globally.

Suggestions moving forward

There is no question that we are all living in an increasingly interconnected world and that even the remotest villages of the Pacific are, in one way or another, feeling the effects of globalization. Resultantly, it has never been more convenient to be connected. Today, leaders from both business and political realms can connect, communicate and collaborate across sectors and countries. Yet, more often than not, there is a feeling of isolation amongst individual island nations in the Pacific.

While some of the policy groundwork has been laid to address climate change at several levels of government, the need for solidarity among these islands has never been greater. As expressed by Alfred Roland Carlot, Vanuatu's Minister of Foreign Affairs and External Trade, "[t]he challenges we are all facing are a stark reminder for the need to reinforce globalism and to force long lasting partnerships" (Pacific Islands Work on Common Climate Change Policy, 2012). Globalization, with new technology and improved connectivity, can be used to the advantage of small Pacific island countries to sustain working partnerships and build a collective voice to advocate for their needs on the global stage.

Though a collective voice can present a unified front, it must also recognize the multitude of cultures within the Pacific region. Oceania is home to unique ecosystems, cultures, languages and indigenous knowledge. To blaze forth in the name of globalization can leave a society vulnerable to the risk of losing these invaluable treasures. Therefore, it is imperative that policy makers remain cognizant of the implications of globalization and to recognize that progress for the sake of progress is often too narrow a scope. To assist the development of worldly citizens in the Pacific, governments must find ways, through supportive policies and projects, to simultaneously develop and strengthen bonds amongst one another in an effort to bolster the collective voice and a multi-sectoral approach to climate change – one that looks closely at environmental and climate education.

Here, we will highlight the Pacific islands Climate Education Partnership project as an example seeking to combine the elements of climate change, education and collaborative action, all whilst balancing the importance of indigenous knowledge and cultural values.

Pacific islands Climate Education Partnership

In the US Affiliated Pacific Islands (USAPI), a movement has begun to reinvent climate education with the vision to bring community knowledge about climate into classrooms and students into community climate adaptation activities. The Pacific islands Climate Education Partnership (PCEP) – a collective of over 60 school systems, colleges, community organizations and government agencies funded by the National Science Foundation – builds on the heightened realization among Pacific island communities that climate change is happening and threatens to cause more deleterious impacts in the future.

While decision-makers and community leaders have enacted adaptation policies and activities discussed above based on the most accurate climate research and community action planning, these communities also possess generations of intimate knowledge about the environment. PCEP encourages educators in both formal and non-formal settings to capitalize on this opportunity for students to learn from both western climate science and traditional ecological knowledge.

As seen below, PCEP is not advocating for a particular policy – it is a strategy to work with school administrators and community leaders within the current policy framework. By creating the pedagogical and content knowledge among formal and non-formal educators at several levels, PCEP is building awareness of climate change and encouraging engagement in local adaptation activities among students, the next generation of Pacific island leaders.

a. PCEP strategic planning

The impetus of PCEP was two-fold: (1) there is an immense amount of policy- and community-level climate adaptation activity, accompanied by deep and pervasive traditional ecological knowledge, but (2) there is very little focus on climate science in schools. Focusing on climate science would require systemic change within the region’s ministries and departments of education to allow these community resources a place in the classroom. In a system of science education that tends to be strongly oriented toward the traditional science disciplines, the cross-disciplinary nature of climate science, and climate change in particular, means that the topic is often not well represented in curriculum standards, and finding a place for it in the classroom is not as simple as inserting a few extra benchmarks (Board on Science Education, 2010).

Initiating a shift of this magnitude requires planning and broad support from the K-12 school systems, colleges, and communities. Therefore, in its first two years (2010–2012), PCEP developed and nurtured a collaborative network of over 60 K-12 educators, local college representatives, informal educators, climate scientists, learning scientists and local environmental professionals to jointly develop both a Climate Education Framework and a Climate Education Regional Strategic Plan for implementing this framework throughout the region.

b. Climate Education Framework

The Climate Education Framework (CEF) outlines the main ideas and skills needed for K-14 (K-12 and community college) students to understand the science of global and Pacific island climates, along with climate adaptation and mitigation strategies. It is a ‘living document’ that draws strongly upon

the following climate science, science education and community action resources developed in the US and Pacific region:

- Climate Literacy Guide (USGCRP, 2009);
- Next Generation Science Standards (National Research Council, 2012);
- UNESCO Education for Sustainable Development and the Pacific Regional Action Plan for ESD (UNESCO, 2010); and
- Indigenous knowledges and practices related to the environment from elders and long-time community members (Barros, 2012).

Additionally, resources such as *Adapting to a Changing Climate and the Sandwatch Manual*, and their authors influenced the topics emphasized in the CEF. *Adapting to a Changing Climate* was developed by the Micronesian Conservation Trust in 2010 to be used as tool for establishing a common understanding of climate during community action planning (Gombos et al., 2010). Not only does it outline the basics of climate change and its local impacts with engaging visuals, it also emphasizes the importance of taking an ecosystem-level approach to discussing impacts and potential adaptation strategies. The Sandwatch Project is a UNESCO-support network of schools and organizations that monitors and conserves local nearshore environments. Additionally, it provides a model for project-based learning that highlights the value of marine and shoreline resources in Pacific island environments (Cambers and Diamond, 2010). The success of both initiatives in providing locally-appropriate programmes that allow individuals to learn about how to take action against climate change inspired the approach to many of the activities proposed in the PCEP strategic plan.

c. Regional Climate Education Strategic Plan

Concurrent with the development of the CEF, the core PCEP partners executed a comprehensive strategic planning process to ensure that the diversity of voices represented within the partnership significantly contributes to this new vision for climate education in the USAPI. To do so, PCEP engaged in numerous community-building activities to identify needs, brainstorm solutions and ultimately develop a unifying vision for the next steps. Planning was done primarily through seminal face-to-face planning conferences in Pohnpei (December 2011) and American Samoa (May 2012), followed by personal conversations and webinars to further develop plans.

The two face-to-face planning conferences (Community Partnerships for Climate Change Education and Adaptation Planning workshops) brought together a total of nearly 100 individuals representing a large majority of the partnership. Both meetings saw a diverse group of partners – representatives from local and regional environmental NGOs, K–12 teachers and administrators, community college instructors and administrators, and climate scientists – come together to develop a common understanding of climate, current adaptation activities and challenges of working within local school systems, and then begin making a change. At the Pohnpei workshop, participants developed a list of topics for the CEF. In American Samoa, building on the work of the Pohnpei workshop, participants initiated partnerships among schools and community organizations around climate education projects.

Out of these workshops, countless informal networking conversations, and the writing and feedback process itself came four priority areas for the PCEP Climate Education Regional Strategic Plan: (1) Climate Education Framework (CEF); (2) Indigenous Knowledges and Practices (IK); (3) Learning and Teaching (LT); and (4) Community-School Partnerships (CSP). All PCEP strategies centre on the theme of *place-based climate change education*: the entities of the USAPI are in a contiguous geographic region and will experience similar impacts of climate change with some significant differences. The PCEP Strategic Plan brings together many separate activities into a coherent programme, purposefully designed to integrate educational activities in such a way that the partners' actions and experiences can build on and inform one another.

d. Priority areas

Within PCEP's four priority areas, the CEF and IK serve a critical role in bringing together all PCEP activities to focus on our shared understanding of what we expect students at different grade levels to know and be able to do with reference to climate science and climate impacts. All activities in the LT and CSP strands are ultimately based on and guided by the CEF, which itself will evolve with lessons from IK activities.

Despite its coherence under the umbrella of a IK-embedded CEF, activities need to make sense in each of the individual geographic entities. The fact is that while all entities in the USAPI experience similar impacts of climate change, some very significant differences in potential impacts, local community adaptation strategies and education systems require that PCEP's education strategy has distinct emphases in content and pedagogy in these diverse locations. The adjustments include modifications to content emphases, grade-level expectations, timing of activities and forms of professional development.

Conclusions

The Pacific is a region that is rich in ecology, resources, history, culture and knowledge. Each island in the Pacific has a unique story, and climate change is now a major part of every island's story. Specifically, climate change has served as a catalyst for many changes on these islands, from the people, to the animals, to the land itself. This is a critical time in the story of the Pacific as the policies of today will ripple into the future. This is the time for ideas to become words, for words to become action, for action to become policy, and for policy to become practice. This is the time to ensure that the next generation of leaders will be equipped with the tools to face the climate-related challenges of the future so that they are able to continue writing the story of the Pacific.

As of the writing of this paper, PCEP is at the very early stages of implementing its strategic plan. While five more years lie ahead, the past two years have shown that this collective approach to climate education is serving as a model for how Pacific islanders are learning to live together again. Learning to live together does not mean homogenizing the diversity of Pacific island communities into a single entity. As PCEP's networking and strategic planning process shows, learning to live together is building on the work of others; sharing successes and reaching out for help; and developing a collective voice that is louder than any one individual, project, or country.

In the realm of climate education, this new collective voice is saying that our climate is changing; the inhabitants of the Pacific have valuable generations of experiences, resources, and knowledge that have brought us to this point in time and will continue to inform the way we live in and with our environment; and our communities, now and in the future, deserve a better way of life than what is in store for us if we do not learn from one another and take action together.

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Learning and Living Together in Higher Education: How Co-curricular Efforts Enhance Curricular Education and Foster Thriving Communities

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Introduction

In 1978, His Majesty the King of Thailand, Bhumibol Adulyadej pronounced, “Education concerns everyone, and not for a particular period... Education is endless” (The Government Public Relations Department, 2011). In this statement, King Bhumibol issued a challenge to grasp the importance of education for the growth and development of a nation. University education plays a vital role in the changing landscape of Southeast Asia and the world. While much has been done to evaluate and support curricula, little is known about how co-curricula can enhance university education in Thailand and positively affect the development of society.

Co-curricula are defined as activities outside the university curriculum. These include, but are not limited to, extra-curricular student activities, residential life, student leadership programmes, service learning, mentoring opportunities and student support services. This paper looks at a variety of developmental and experimental research from Thailand and around the world to explore the actual and potential benefits of co-curricular efforts in university settings in Thailand. What has been found is that a mostly curricular focus on higher education considerably undercuts the many values of co-curricula, including the bolstering of academic achievement.

This paper describes the background and rationale of the topic as well as the methodology of the study. It goes on to elucidate two primary emergent themes and four secondary themes in the data followed by a short case study of Payap University. While compelling research was found in support of all six themes, two are considered primary because of their prevalence in the available literature. Additionally, potential criticisms, limitations of the study and further research are discussed alongside recommendations for an effective theory of change in Thai higher education. Lastly, concluding thoughts are conveyed.

Background and rationale

Education in Thailand began in Buddhist temples and resided there until the late nineteenth century when King Chulalongkorn (1853–1910) brought about a widespread and progressive educational system (Baker and Pasuk, 2009). However, King Chulalongkorn’s system was largely derived from colonial models imported from Western nations (Selvaratnam and Gopinathan, 1984). In 1999, Thailand enacted the National Education Act (NEA) to improve the quality of education, taking it from rote memorization to more effective, student-centred methods. Since the NEA was enacted in 1999, access to education has broadened tremendously.

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However, despite increased efforts, which include doubling government spending in education from approximately THB 200 billion to THB 400 billion,³⁴ the quality of education has remained static (National News Bureau of Thailand, 2012).

Numerous concerns confront higher education in Thailand. The 2012–2013 Global Competitive Report (GCR) released by the World Economic Forum defines higher education and training as creating “pools of well-educated workers who are able to adapt rapidly to their changing environment and evolving needs” (World Economic Forum, 2012, p. 5). According to the GCR, Thailand ranked 60 out of 144 countries in higher education and training. Additionally, only one Thai institution of higher education was ranked in the top 400 according to the 2012 Times Higher Education rankings (Times Higher Education, 2012).

Very few evaluations, Thai or international, fault the 1999 NEA. Instead evaluations focus on problems of implementation. Most recently, in a mixed methods study of 1,819 Thai secondary school principals, Hallinger and Lee (2011, p. 139) found that the poor results of the NEA were due to an education “reform strategy that has emphasized top-down implementation” as well as “a cultural predisposition to treat change as an event rather than as a long-term process.”

The systemic focus on standardized academic performance also contributes to the problem. According to UNESCO (2006), in 2005, 90 per cent of student admissions into university were based on entrance examination results. Admission based on testing becomes increasingly problematic in light of the fact that the Ordinary National Education Test (O-Net) has come under consistent criticism for illegitimate testing methods (The Nation, 2012). The situation has begun to improve, however. More weight is being given to grade point average, which allows for “new teaching and learning pedagogies emphasizing greater student-centred learning” (UNESCO, 2006, p. 191). Still, the subtle disregard for the variety of measurements of a university student’s value neglects important components of a well-rounded education, vital for success in society.

Government and business leaders have raised questions and expressed concerns about how the quality of higher education will affect Thailand’s preparation for and participation in the ASEAN Economic Community of 2015. Questions abound regarding the challenges facing ASEAN economic integration (Simon, 2008; Narine, 2009). Many acknowledge education and training as key to regional integration and development in ASEAN (Cockerham, 2010; Umeniya, 2008). Much still has to be done to ensure stability in the ASEAN region so industries like transactional education will thrive (Rolls, 2012). Improving the quality of higher education is a key component to the realization of economic integration within ASEAN.

With significant emphases on curricula to foster educational development already in place, why should co-curricula also play a prominent role in education policy and practice? Research suggests that students’ involvement in co-curricular programmes significantly enhances their performance in educational contexts. Evans et al. (2010) have collected numerous studies which found that students who participated in co-curricula scored higher on metrics of mature interpersonal relationships, confidence and educational initiative.

34 US\$ 1 ≈ THB (Thai Baht) 30

In the foundational and meticulously researched *Education and Identity*, Chickering and Reisser (1993) noted that of the seven key influences to holistic university student development, three are co-curricular in nature: institutional objectives, institutional size, *student-faculty relationships*, curriculum, teaching, *friendships and student communities*, and *student development programmes and services* (italics mine).

Wherever co-curricula have been studied, it has been shown to play a vital role in higher education. For Thailand to continue to be successful as a nation in the changing world, it is imperative for university administrators and government policy makers to understand the effects of co-curricula in higher education and follow up with appropriate implementation.

Methodology

This non-empirical research paper draws from both theoretical and experimental research to entertain the question: what, if any, are the identifiable effects – and potential effects – of introducing co-curricular programmes/emphases into higher education in Thailand and beyond? This paper is interdisciplinary, drawing on developmental science, education and political science research to generate researchable questions regarding how co-curricula can improve higher education policy and practice in Thailand and Southeast Asia. Considering the dearth of available research on this topic, this paper attempts to be exhaustive, collecting available research on co-curricula in Thailand in particular and university students in general. It also seeks to introduce reputable and highly cited theory and research developed in North America.

Applying theories and research cross-culturally to Thailand or Southeast Asia that have been developed in another context – such as North America –can be highly problematic. As Henrich, et al. (2010, p. 2) have noted, “broad claims about human psychology and behavior in the world’s top journals [are] based on samples drawn entirely from Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic (WEIRD) societies.” This, however, does not mean extreme cultural relativism must exclude “basic aspects of cognition, motivation, and behavior” (Henrich et al., 2010, p. 5). Still, researchers and scholars must tread softly and think critically when applying theory to populations other than from where and when it was developed.

The fields of human development and education are complex, especially considering the obvious but often ignored fact that no two students are exactly alike. Henrich et al. (2010) rightly suggested that the available research does not “reflect the full breadth of human diversity” (p. 6). Evans et al. (2010) recognized this complexity by cautioning the use of “prescriptive application” based on human development theories.

Instead, they suggested using theory to paint a more comprehensive picture of reality, while remaining cognizant of its limitations. Ultimately, any theory must be critically assessed within the population to which it is being applied. This recognition compels scholars in Thailand and Southeast Asia to make culturally sensitive adjustments when using and applying Western developmental theory to create significant bodies of research on the diverse populations within the region. With these caveats duly noted, emergent themes in the literature became clear as potential benefits of co-curricula in Thailand.

Primary emergent themes

Co-curricular programmes promote curricular education

The purpose of higher education is to promote learning. The meaning of “learning” in higher education, however, has continually changed throughout history and around the world (Lucas, 2006), and continues to do so in tandem with a growing body of literature on human development. On a fundamental level, learning is about making and maintaining connections: biologically through neural networks within the brain, mentally with concepts within the sphere of ideas, and experientially through interactions with others and the world (Komives et al., 2003). Co-curricular programmes have the potential to help university students make connections between the classroom and their relationships, to what they read or watch, and to what they do in the world. Piaget (1952) laid the groundwork for this thinking in his seminal work *The Origins of Intelligence in Children*. He saw interaction with one’s environment and relationships as being vital for cognitive development. Later, educational theorists such as Baxter Magolda (1992) argued that involvement in co-curricula during university strongly aids in the creation of knowledge.

The education system on all levels is changing in Thailand. Many educational leaders find themselves at the crossroads of traditional educational practice and progressive change. Despite economic growth in Southeast Asia, certain cultural norms have been more resistant to change. For example, teaching methods such as constructivism that require students to speak more than their teachers pose problems for more socially hierarchical cultures such as Thailand (Hallinger, 2004). Co-curricula provide more informal interaction between faculty and students that could potentially ameliorate such stark social hierarchy and pave the way for more effective instruction. While education must prioritize the instruction of content, Hallinger (2004, p. 64) wrote that Southeast Asian education should “teach students to become independent, self-directed, lifelong learners.” While some fear co-curricular involvement may hurt academic pursuits, there have been numerous studies, even within Asian contexts, to reject this fear. Notably, a mixed methods research study of 627 Taiwanese university students found positive and linear correlation between academic and co-curricular involvement (Huang and Shang, 2004).

This desire for more than just classroom instruction is something understood by Thai university students as well. In a study of student perceptions of learning in Southeast Asia, the key suggestion was for universities to provide co-curricular workshops and support (Sudirjo and Sharma, 2009). Ponsan and Pimpa (2011) found that Thai university students perceived “social and communicational factors” as important contributors to their education and creativity. Relationships with other university students on campus, which can be fostered through co-curricular student activities, have important implications for students’ academic performance (Otten, 2003). Co-curricula can offer these social and relational contexts in engaging ways that could potentially enhance curricular pursuits significantly.

Student motivation is a key element in assessing academic achievement and co-curricular programmes. Astin (1984, p. 298) wrote, “The amount of student learning and personal development associated with any educational programme is directly proportional to the quality and quantity of student involvement in that programme.” If that is the case, an integral part of the educational process lies in the promotion of participation in co-curricula. Since co-curricular programmes have

the flexibility and potential to provide fun and interesting interactions, student involvement and participation can be more easily attained.

Second-language acquisition provides an interesting context for showing the relationship between co-curricula and academic achievement. The socio-cultural adaptations necessary to fully learn another language lend support to developing more co-curricular programmes. A lot of research has been done to show that acculturation through activities in and out of the classroom can lower language anxiety levels (Cheng and Erben, 2012). As English language acquisition continues to be on the forefront of discussions about Thai education, one study of Thai Rajabhat and traditional universities found that “good personal attitudes and behaviors towards learning English have a positive relationship with English language achievement” (Grubbs et al., 2009).

In an analysis of learning English as a second language, Masgoret and Gardner (2003) found that motivation was the most significant correlate with English language acquisition. They went on to define the motivated individual as one who “expends effort, is persistent and attentive to the task at hand, has goals, desires, and aspirations, enjoys the activity... and makes use of strategies to aid in achieving goals” (Masgoret and Gardner, 2003, p. 128). Fostering motivation is a task more holistic and all encompassing than most curricular practices can support. In more broad terms, English language acquisition could be greatly aided by co-curricular efforts, which can be more frequent, enjoyable, and less stressful than classroom study.

Recent cognitive neuroscience research reveals that learning is not just happening in the classroom, even for adults. Researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found that adult learners “acquire more syntactic knowledge than has been instructed” inferring a complex interplay of genetics and environment (Yusa et al., 2011). Therefore, social environments where the second language is heard and used, not only through classroom instruction, could promote more effective language acquisition.

We also know that students learn through a variety of styles (King, 2003). Considering this variety of student learning styles, King (2003) recommended educators to create a spectrum of learning experiences to account for these learning differences instead of simply utilizing only one method, which is typically classroom instruction.

The holistic and developmental nature of academic achievement is hard to measure through simplistic or short-term studies; however, the evidence above leads the authors to believe that longitudinal studies integrating effective co-curricula would reveal an increase in academic achievement metrics.

Co-curricular programmes foster community

Whether it is residence halls, student activities or leadership programmes, co-curricular opportunities are vital for students to build a sense of community. But what makes an effective community? Peter Block, author of *Community: The Structure of Belonging*, wrote, “Community well-being simply [has] to do with the quality of the relationships, the cohesion that exists among its citizens” (2009, p. 17). Community, then, can be defined as people relating to one another in effective and cohesive ways. Thai educators perceive the importance of this type of community as well. In a study of Thai professors involved in educational leadership programmes, Piller (2007, p. 54) found they all agreed

education was a vehicle for helping people “live in harmony with members of the world community.” Another study of over 300 students from Ratchaphruek College revealed that participation in extra-curricular activities helped students learn how to live and work together (Worranat and Kullaya, 2009).

What does it take to build more effective communities on campus? Chickering and Reisser’s (1993, pp. 45–53) acclaimed university student development theory described seven “vectors” of identity development that ultimately will lead to strong community development: (1) developing competence; (2) managing emotions; (3) moving through autonomy towards interdependence; (4) developing mature interpersonal relationships; (5) establishing identity; (6) developing purpose; and (7) developing integrity. One key co-curricular initiative that can build community is residential life programming, such as dormitories and student leadership programmes within the dormitories. “Residence hall arrangements can affect development of competence, purpose, integrity, and mature interpersonal relationships,” as noted by Chickering and Reisser (1993, p. 400). Presumably, effective models of residence life and student activities promote community development within higher education institutions.

Co-curricula also build community through student-support services. In a study looking at increasing mental and community health among Thai university students, Ratanasiripong and Rodriguez (2011) provided six recommendations which would fall under co-curricular programming in a higher education setting and also underlining the importance of co-curricula for the health and wellness of Thai university students, such as holding a Health and Mental Health Awareness Day and creating wellness groups where students can dialogue about college life.

Community is vital for effective learning as well. In a study of a Malaysian campus of Monash University, Nair et al. (2009) looked at student perceptions of the social experience of learning and found that it was important to a significant portion of students that they felt part of a group committed to learning. Without strong relationships and student support systems in place, this integrative aspect of learning and development will be truncated.

Secondary emergent themes

Co-curricular programmes and holistic human development

It is a growing understanding among higher education institutions across Asia that education is not just about acquiring knowledge. More holistic approaches to education take into account what are called soft skills including the consideration of students’ emotional health, and seek to foster development from a psychological perspective.

From the standpoint of developmental psychology, to develop requires specific conditions. Kegan and Lahey summed up the necessary conditions for effective human development (2009, p. 54):

The *persistent* experience of some frustration, dilemma, life puzzle, quandary, or personal problem that is... [p]erfectly designed to cause us to *feel the limits* of our current ways of knowing... [i]n some sphere of our living that we care about, with...[s] *efficient supports* so that we are neither overwhelmed by the conflict or able to escape or diffuse it.

Higher education provides an ideal context for this type of adult development to take place and in most cases, the last condition of “sufficient supports,” would fall under co-curricula. These types of “sufficient supports” in a higher education setting could be in the form of academic support (writing centres, tutors), emotional support (counselling centres, support staff, residential life programmes), and physical support (gyms, healthy food options). Still, there is no miracle formula for human development.

Development is a complex matter, a synergistic process across disciplines, which has led to theories such as Bronfenbrenner’s (1981) dynamic ecological systems theory which posited that human development is shaped by the interaction between individuals and their surroundings, such as their parents, friends, school, work, culture and so on. As the complexity of human development is unravelled, more scientists are finding that environment has a profound role in development. The role of the environment in development has also been seen with the rise of epigenetics, the study of how environment affects gene expression. The predictive power of the environment can be limited, however, by cultural differences and roles placed on people in social institutions and societies (Sameroff, 2010).

Physical health is a vital need of students that can be addressed through co-curricula. Traditionally, Thai students under-utilize health services on campus (Christopher et al., 2006). To counteract this trend, the authors recommended social support systems and community engagement for Thai students. Additionally, from what is known of the health risks of stress and its causes, co-curricula could potentially provide alleviating solutions (Lupien et al., 2009). Ultimately, to bring about this type of development requires well-trained staff and policies focused on co-curricular support. “To be effective in educating the whole student, colleges must hire and reinforce staff members who understand what student development looks like and how to foster it” (Chickering and Reisser, 1993, p. 27).

Co-curricular programmes and ethical maturity

The decisions made by university students are largely a reflection of their moral development (Evans et al., 2010). Lawrence Kohlberg (1986), a major student development theorist, observed that students went through certain stages of moral development, from stage one, “heteronomous morality” all the way to possibly a sixth stage of “morality of universal, reversible, and prescriptive general ethical principles.” He stated that the two main contributing factors to moral development were “exposure to higher-stage thinking and disequilibrium.” Kohlberg’s theory would later come under criticism regarding the methodology of using exclusively male students. These methodological shortcomings have since been resolved and these two factors, “exposure to higher-stage thinking and disequilibrium,” are widely used by contemporary theorists and can be implemented effectively in co-curricula. For example, “[o]utside the classroom, students’ exposure to diverse social and intellectual climates is likely to create development in higher-level moral thinking,” precisely because such settings are ideal for creating disequilibrium (Evans et al., 2010, p. 117).

Students also perceive the benefits of moral development as demonstrated in a study of over 280 Thai university students who found measurable benefits to participation in student activities in terms of ethical and vision expansion (Oranee, 2009). Additionally, Thai professors at Rajabhat universities saw higher education as vital for making rational judgments and choices (Piller, 2007).

Facilitating this type of moral development can be curricular in nature but can also be significantly aided by co-curricular efforts such as student programming, guest speakers, and service learning.

To Perry (1968), ethical maturity, as a developmental issue, is not directly related to a student's knowledge or religious experiences. His theory revolved around the progression from dualistic and mechanistic thinking to more relativistic considerations. When students reach more relativistic development, Perry argued, it affects their choices, decisions, and affirmations (Evans et al., 2010). Second generation theorists Knefelkamp and Widick created a model for developmental instruction that included direct links between co-curricula and students' moral development (Widick et al., 1978).

Ultimately, a key aspect of moral development is the student's achievement of integrity. Chickering and Reisser (1993, p. 236) noted that "movement toward integrity means not only increased congruence between behavior and values, but also movement toward responsibility for self and others and the consistent ability to thoughtfully apply ethical principles." This can be done intentionally through mentoring relationships, participation in community, and service learning programmes that empower students to develop.

Co-curricular programmes and socio-cultural adaptation

As cultures continue to intersect in the globalizing world, co-curricular efforts provide important contexts for socio-cultural adaptation to take place. "Over the course of the last ten years, mobility of students and academics around the world has become commonplace. Student flows among countries in the region and beyond continue to rise" (UNESCO, 2006, p.5). This is only going to increase with ASEAN economic integration and is already being seen with the increased opportunities of ASEAN academic scholarships. With more international foci, universities in Thailand will need to offer programmes that address a wide variety of needs and prepare students for diverse cultural experiences.

There are many different terms for communicating and working effectively in intercultural contexts such as socio-cultural adaptation and intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2006). Having intercultural competence, according to Deardorff (2011), means a more holistic, contextual understanding of a culture. It has been well documented, however, that mere cultural knowledge does not create intercultural competence (Perry and Southwell, 2011). Deardorff (2011) also put forward a method for educators to measure intercultural competence and calls for more research to be done in this area.

Promoting socio-cultural adaptation is important for preventing conflict and misunderstanding. In a study of intercultural conflict among students, Shupe (2007) found that conflict was a significant predictor of inadequate sociocultural adaptation. Studies in America showed that co-curricular interventions that promote interaction of diverse groups of students can promote openness to differences among students (Bergerson and Huftalin, 2011; Luo and Jamieson-Drake, 2009). It is plausible that effective co-curricular efforts such as seminars, intercultural communication training, and student activities that involve interacting across cultures could improve socio-cultural adaptation among students and faculty in international contexts. This was the case with Li and Lal (2005) who found that participation in co-curricula service learning promoted reflective thinking in multicultural education.

Co-curricular programmes and readiness for leadership

Being an effective leader in Thailand and Southeast Asia usually involves a mastery of diverse skills and abilities (Shatkin, 2004). In workforce environments, non-academic qualities such as emotional intelligence (EI) are becoming increasingly important. More specifically, EI in leaders “generates delegating, open communication, and proactive behavior” (Sunindijo et al., 2007, p. 166). Given their responsibility for producing effective workers in society, leaders in higher education are seeing that fostering non-academic qualities in students is a priority.

Like anything else, understanding leadership in Thailand must be done so in its sociocultural context. Johnson (2007, p. 221) advocated for “[a]nthropological approaches that seek holistic understanding of interpersonal influence processes.” This type of approach is important for leadership development within the Thai context. In his study of educational leadership, Hallinger (2004, p. 69) avered that educational change comes about by an “intimate... engagement of the [leader] with staff.” Co-curricula such as student leadership and mentoring programmes can be used to model effective leadership for students. It is plausible that co-curricula can effectively promote a readiness for leadership, even in Thailand, where leadership can be problematic. Hallinger (2004) pointed out that in educational institutions in Thailand, social hierarchy can prevent constructive criticism of one’s superiors. Still, co-curricular efforts offer diverse opportunities for valuable interpersonal interactions, which likely can mediate these types of concerns.

Payap University: a case study

It may be that private institutions of higher education in Thailand, such as Payap University in Chiang Mai, provide a unique opportunity for the development of co-curricula. Payap University offers “a comprehensive curriculum” (Praphamontripong, 2010, pp. 81 and 89) and has found “niches in humanities and social sciences.” Praphamontripong (2010, p. 89) also labelled Payap University a mix between a “religious and serious-demand-absorbing orientation,” meaning it is becoming more reputable in the region despite its private status.

It has already been mentioned that Chickering and Reisser (1993) saw notable benefits of strong residential life programming in promoting student development across all spheres. In the last two years, Payap University has devoted significant financial investments to build and staff student residence halls that house 1,500 students. The university has implemented a complex leadership programme that consists of a residence hall manager, resident assistants (Thai university graduates), student assistants (current university students), Global Ambassadors to Payap (native English speakers and recent university graduates) and a chaplain. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the system in place promotes holistic university student development through student programming, tutoring, student support, health services, English language tutoring and intercultural relationships. Thai students are also given exchange students as roommates to promote English language development and socio-cultural adaptation. While research still needs to be done to formally assess the outcomes of this residential life programme at Payap University, preliminary surveys and quantitative data showed statistically significant differences in the academic achievement between students who live in the residence halls and students who do not, favouring those who live in the residence halls. This residential life system is not simply an imported American model but uses

regularly updated methods developed primarily by Thais to meet desired outcomes.

Discussion

Toward an effective theory of change

Every educational institution, whether it acknowledges this premise or not, operates from a set of theories about reality (Weiss, 1995). This holds true for student services in higher education as well. McEwen (2003) argued that all higher education practitioners utilize informal theories about development to influence policy and practice. These theories function as a theory of change, i.e. a statement of the goals and outcomes, strategies, and assumptions of a policy or practice (Jones, 2012). Currently, the theories of change for many educational institutions are vague, out of date and full of untested and often unhelpful assumptions regarding effectiveness. For educational success, it is vital to have acute awareness of operative assumptions, strategies based on current theory and research, and a vision with measurable outcomes.

Educational theorists widely hold to some version of the following five key criteria for effective co-curricula policy and practice in higher education. These can be helpful guidelines as higher education practitioners seek to create new theories of change.

1. Student centred: empowering and encouraging students to become self-directed learners.
2. Developmentally sound: based on developmental and educational research.
3. Contextually salient: devised and effective for the diverse culture and context of the population.
4. Relationship-oriented: directly involving social interactions.
5. Interesting and motivating: engaging, experiential, and constructive.

It is vital to consider these criteria as policy makers and university administrators seek to improve higher education policy and practice through implementation of co-curricula

Potential criticisms

Four main criticisms of the assertions of this research are relevant to mention at this time. They centre on issues of transferability, execution, quality and involvement. Former senior Educational Analyst for the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Bruno della Chiesa, pointed out the complexity of educational policy and recognized the low level of transferability of policy and practice across cultures (Chiesa, 2012). Evans et al. (2010, p. 72) exhorted practitioners always to refer to the populations and time periods in which educational theories have been developed; “[c]ultural values, setting, and historical time affect development” and therefore affect how we assess and reassess education policy, practice, and research. While differences in population and/or time period do not invalidate insights and hypotheses, educators should be cautioned in assuming direct application.

Secondly, execution of co-curricular programming may prove difficult. Developing co-curricula in Southeast Asia may be a luxury delegated for the wealthy. Involvement in co-curricula is burdensome when most faculty members work second jobs and see the university as mainly a place for teaching

(Savage, 2011).

Thirdly, the implications of this research depend entirely on the quality of co-curricular programming being implemented. Not all co-curricular efforts have positive effects on students. For example, time-consuming athletic involvement and some Greek organizations in America have negatively affected students (Evans et al., 2010).

Lastly, other research shows that involvement in co-curricula, such as mentoring programmes, is often limited to the people who need it the least (Rice and Brown, 1990).

Limitations

As Thailand continues to grow and develop as a nation, higher education will need to become more economically self-sufficient and privatized. As it stands, higher education in Thailand is still highly subsidized by the government (Schiller and Liefner, 2007). While total self-sufficiency may not be a viable option, making co-curricular bridges into local industries through work-study programmes and service learning could aid in this endeavour.

Substantial educational reform may be difficult to realize considering the array of challenges facing the region including everything from preparation of staff to lack of systemic perspective (Hallinger, 2010). Implementing broad co-curricula in Thailand and Southeast Asia requires significant investments of money, time and policy considerations, which may prove difficult in educational systems that are “chronically under-funded” (UNESCO, 2006, p. 2). From a large-scale standpoint, implementation may be problematic; however, small-scale implementation, as in the example of Payap University, may be an appropriate starting point. Herein also lies an advantage of co-curricula in that it does not require government policy to carry out and can complement and enhance virtually any academic programme. Universities can devise and implement their own co-curricula, conduct research and report their findings to the academic community.

Further research

Evans et al. (2010) argued that much of the research available has been able to describe, explain and predict developmental outcomes. However, a “more comprehensive knowledge base” is needed before theories can control specific developmental outcomes (p. 24). Creating this knowledge base is no easy task. Perry and Southwell (2011) talked about the deficiency of many programmes in effectively and rigorously assessing intangibles such as intercultural competence. Therefore, substantial and methodologically sound mixed methods research on the effects of co-curricula needs to be conducted in a variety of contexts throughout Thailand and Southeast Asia. This will begin the process of discovering best practices.

Conclusion

With globalization and the availability of information worldwide, education in Thailand is changing from simple knowledge acquisition to skilful utilization of knowledge to solve complex problems within a global community. Ultimately, effective co-curricular programmes will enable students to actively and holistically engage the complexities of a changing world. In light of ASEAN economic integration, changing workforce needs and globalization, it appears that effective co-curricular

efforts are more crucial now than ever.

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How to Support Innovative Practices of Learning and Learning to Live Together?

The case of capacity development of teacher education institutions in Cambodia and Viet Nam

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Introduction

Teacher's professional development has repeatedly been identified as a top priority in education policies and is a most important aspect of educational innovation and change (Culp et al., 2005; Hamano, 2008). As pre-service teachers have a significant role to play in the sustained educational innovation in schools, it is imperative that they are exposed to innovative pedagogies, such as information and communications technology (ICT), in their training in teacher education institutions (TEI) (Steketee, 2005). It follows that the capacity of TEIs should be enhanced so that they can provide a meaningful context that allows pre-service teachers to critically examine their own pedagogical beliefs, while recognizing that the professional development of teacher educators is an important strategic action to build the capacity of TEIs (Lim et al., 2011).

The Flemish Association for Development Cooperation and Technical Assistance (VVOB) is a non-profit organization that, by order of the Flemish and the Belgian governments, contributes to the improvement of quality of education in developing countries. VVOB's core task is to provide technical assistance in programmes in the Global South. In Asia, VVOB is coordinating development programmes in Cambodia and Viet Nam. In both countries, VVOB supports institutional capacity development in TEIs at the provincial level and focuses on professional development of teacher educators. VVOB development cooperation programmes in the two countries started in 2008. The first phase was finalized by the end of 2010, and the second phase in 2013. Lessons learned and good practices in the TEIs are shared with the respective ministries of education in both countries and led to national dissemination of developed training materials and training approaches.

In this paper we describe in brief the educational context in Cambodia and Viet Nam and how certain needs had led to the programmes on quality of education in general and on aspects of learning and learning to live together in particular. The analytical framework of five core capabilities is introduced and the methodology described. Based on the findings, the conclusions highlight how these core capabilities have been addressed in the support programmes and how a different approach led to different outcomes. Finally, the different roles of change facilitators and on how these roles evolve over the course of a development cooperation programme are discussed.

35 The Flemish Association for Development Cooperation and Technical Assistance (VVOB)

Support to aspects of learning and learning to live together

Learning to live together

The concept of learning to live together (LTLT) is centred on the development of understanding, consideration and respect for others, their beliefs, values and cultures. This is considered to provide the basis for the avoidance of conflicts or their non-violent resolution and for on-going peaceful co-existence. Beyond that, it implies recognizing difference and diversity as opportunity rather than obstacle and as a valuable resource to be used for the common good (UNESCO, 1996). To achieve these goals and education objectives, we need to work with students in ways that not only build their knowledge but give them practice in developing basic competencies, and that help broaden their values, attitudes and behaviours to encompass living together with mutual respect and solving problems through cooperation, negotiation and compromise. The criteria for designing and assessing effective teaching-learning in the LTLT/life skills dimension of curriculum are listed by Sinclair et al. (2008). These criteria reflect a strong focus on participatory, inclusive and experiential classroom methodologies; systematic practice of skills; encouragement of skills, values, attitudes and behaviours required for living together and life skills. According to Ucko (undated), such approaches require applying methodologies that provide space for exchange, interaction, encounter, discovery, critical thinking, reflection and action.

The LTLT/life skills dimension of curriculum demands special skills and commitment on the part of the teachers, who themselves usually need special training and support for this work. Moreover, it is important for the ideals of mutual respect, human rights and democratic principles to be reflected holistically both in the working of the school and in teacher training processes (Sinclair et al., 2008).

Cambodia: Support to improvement of student-centred approaches in science and life skills teaching

Reform efforts in Cambodia are driven by the country's commitment to providing basic education for all students from grades 1 to 9, with strategies and goals as outlined in Education for All: National Plan 2003–2015 (Royal Government of Cambodia, 2003). In its Education Strategic Plan 2009–2013, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) has defined three main policies being (i) equitable access to education services, (ii) quality and efficiency of education services, and (iii) institutional development and capacity building for decentralization. Strategies to address the second policy, namely quality and efficiency of education services include “upgrading staff competencies in various forms of training for all teacher training institutes, including the training under the form of staff development programmes for teacher trainers to be conducted at the teacher training college level” (MoEYS, 2010).

Important progress has been made in increasing enrolment and completion rates for primary education. About 87 per cent of children completed primary education (UIS, 2010). However, drop-out rates in lower secondary education remain high. Only 35 per cent of pupils started with secondary education and only 13 per cent completed schooling (MoEYS, 2011). Around 80 per cent of the population of Cambodia live in villages. As one of the poorest economies in Asia, there is a large difference in standards of living between the urban areas and the rest of the country. The urban-rural divide is a major variable in explaining differences in access to education.

About 58 per cent of the 15–19 year old rural population do not attend school, compared to the 40 per cent for the urban population (WIDE, 2012).

Low quality education and a lack of relevance are factors that have contributed to these statistics. The MoEYS has repeatedly stated its commitment to improve the quality of education along the lines of the Child Friendly Schools policy. The Master Plan for Teacher Development (2010–2014) calls for upgrading the quality of teacher training through improvement of training curriculum and pedagogy. The 2009–2013 Education Sector Plan listed the improvement of the quality of teaching and learning nationwide to reduce dropout and repetition rate as one of its objectives. To achieve this, it is necessary to “upgrade staff competencies in various forms of training for all TTCs [teacher training centres]” and “upgrade teacher trainers’ competences in teaching methodology” (MoEYS, 2010, pp. 53 and 54, respectively). In 2011, the teacher training curriculum for lower secondary education underwent a major revision. Twelve hours of methodological training on the implementation of student-centred approaches in teaching were added.

Implementation of policy statements runs into practical, economic and cultural barriers. Teachers, pupils and school management have been used to rote learning for many years. Assessment is primarily based on recalling information. Teacher salaries are low and many take up a second job, resulting in issues about their time management and motivation to integrate student-centred approaches (Benveniste et al., 2008). Educational resources are severely limited in many schools, affecting possibilities for student-centred instruction. As Rennie and Mason (2007, p. 5) noted: “The student-centred pedagogy of much Western higher education depends on the availability of books, journals, libraries and online resources. These are very much more restricted in less developed countries and consequently reliance on the teacher and the content knowledge of the expert is understandable.”

Cultural factors are difficult to determine. Berkvens et al. (2011) pointed to the extremely high power distance in Cambodia, based on Hofstede’s model of cultural differences among societies.³⁶ A teacher is considered as the undisputed source of knowledge whose task is to transfer information to the pupils. Rennie and Mason (2007, p. 5) stated: “Where a belief in the importance of content and in the authority of the teacher as knowledge expert prevails, those forms of distributed education which pass more control to the learner are inherently suspect. The importance of the content prevails over the educational context, and learning styles are conditioned to perpetuate the role of passive learners rather than critical thinkers seeking to apply their acquired knowledge in new ways.”

In its education programme, VVOB supported the MoEYS and teacher training institutes in implementing student-centred approaches in science and life skills teaching. The programme had a strong focus on a collaborative development of mainly low-cost teaching resources such as posters, experiments and cards that support science teacher trainers in adopting a more student-centred approach. Instructor’s manuals, workshops, peer coaching and follow-up visits had been deployed to strengthen the capacity of teacher trainers and educational managers. For its capacity development VVOB adopted a train-the-trainer approach. A small group of teacher trainers were involved intensively in the programme for three years, and gradually took up facilitator and coaching

³⁶ Power distance is the degree to which the less powerful entities accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. Thus, in a high power distance situation, power relations are less consultative or democratic.

roles. The programme targeted primarily 24 Teacher Training Institutes – 6 for lower secondary education and 18 for primary education, and their attachment schools where student teachers did their practical training, involving about 150 teacher trainers and 400 teachers in total.

Viet Nam: Support to improvement of active teaching and learning

In Viet Nam, major directives for educational reform of the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) focus on the renewal of general education (Directive 14) and the acceleration of the learning and teaching methods in the teacher training (Directive 15). Directive 15 proposes the modernization of learning and teaching methods, with the aim of reducing one-way (teacher centred) education and stimulating initiative, creativity and self-study by the students. Modernization of the education administration and professional teaching staff is among the key priorities of the Education Development Strategic Plan 2011–2020. Measures highlighted in the Strategic Plan include: development of teaching and administration staff; innovated curriculum and materials; innovated teaching, learning and assessment methods and education evaluation and accreditation; education socialization; enhanced efficiency of scientific and technological activities in research and training institutions; and development of advanced education institutions.

In 2008, the MOET launched a holistic campaign (2008–2013) on ‘Friendly Schools, Active Students’ targeted at secondary schools (Directive 40). The goal was to build a safe, friendly and efficient education environment and to promote students’ active involvement and creativeness. Detailed implementation plans on the ‘Child Friendly Schools’ movement were formulated by the MOET, with teaching methods to evolve from passive transfer of knowledge to facilitation of learning, self-study, information gathering, analytical and synthetic thinking, independence in the learning process, and autonomous organizing of activities in school and at home. All teachers would have the opportunity to continuously participate in training courses. Priority was also given to strengthen the training capacity and innovation of the teacher education programmes at the university and college levels.

A great deal of international assistance has been provided for the promotion of this type of teacher education in Viet Nam (Hamano, 2008). VVOB had supported improvement of teaching and learning quality at secondary schools through institutional capacity development in five TEIs in five provinces. Central to VVOB’s support is the promotion and capacity building of educators in the use of active teaching and learning (ATL) methods. ATL refers to a wide range of student-centred, context relevant and activating approaches which are rooted in a social constructivist and situated cognition view on learning. Such an approach is expected to improve the quality of secondary education in Viet Nam by promoting contemporary knowledge, effective professional skills, creativity, independent and critical thinking skills, problem-solving capability and high adaptability to a continuously changing environment; all of the qualities that are emphasized in Viet Nam’s Education Development Strategic Plan 2011–2020. VVOB supported the TEIs in adjusting training methods, ensuring that students gain necessary competencies to become teachers who are able to apply ATL methodologies. The focus was on an integrated support for ATL methodologies with special attention to integration of ICT in education. In line with Directive 40 on Friendly Schools, Active Students campaign, ICT is conceptualized as a tool that can effectively support the innovation of teaching, learning and education management and contribute to improve efficiency and quality of education

Analytical framework, research questions and methodology

Defining capacity

Capacity is about the ability to do something. VVOB defines capacity in the education sector as the ability of people and institutions to support quality education and to adapt to changing contexts. Capacity development in education is a support action (facilitating processes) towards people or institutions through which their abilities are enhanced (becoming better performing) and self-sustained. To frame our work in capacity development, VVOB applies the European Centre for Development Policy Management model. Based on background literature and case studies, Morgan (2006) conceptualized capacity as being built on five core capabilities which can be found, to a greater or lesser extent, in all organizations or systems: the capability to act, the capability to generate development results, the capability to relate, the capability to adapt and finally, the capability to integrate. Morgan clarified that these capabilities are separate, but interdependent. An overview of the building blocks of each capability is shown in Table 2. The different capabilities are described and illustrated with examples from TEIs in Cambodia and Viet Nam later in the section on findings in this paper.

Table 2: Five core capabilities (Morgan, 2006)

Capability	Description	Building blocks
The capability to act	The capability to act deliberately and to self-organize, have volition, choose, exert influence, and move and develop with some sort of strategic intent. It is about human, social, organizational and institutional energy.	willingness, attitude, motivation, self-confidence, empowerment
The capability to generate development results	The capability to generate capacity as development result itself and programmatic development results (e.g. outputs and outcomes): capacity as an 'input' or as a means to achieve higher-order programme development results.	mandate, organizational enablers, organizational results and performance
The capability to relate	The capability to achieve a basic imperative of all human systems, i.e. to relate to other actors within the context in which it functions.	legitimacy, networking, resource mobilization (institutional and financial)
The capability to adapt and self-renew	The capability of an organization or system to master change and the adoption of new ideas.	contextual intelligence, self-reflection, openness/flexibility to change, learning, monitoring and evaluation
The capability to achieve coherence	The capability to achieve coherence within own institution's policy/vision/objectives (effectivity) ... to deal with the tension between the need to specialize and differentiate versus the need to bring things together and achieve greater coherence.	innovation vs. continuity, balance between vision driven vs. donor driven

Research question

Morgan (2006) identified a need to narrow the discussion about capacity, and a need for a more grounded operational way of assessing and managing capacity issues. A few key questions are suggested to sharpen strategic thinking and acting:

- What is the state and effectiveness of current capabilities?
- What capabilities do we need to make our contribution to and why?
- What capabilities do we need to improve and which do we need to downgrade?

These questions guided the evaluation of the capacity development programmes that VVOB implemented in TEIs in Cambodia and Viet Nam.

Research methodology

An initial analysis was conducted based on a desk research of the multi-year plan, progress reports and monitoring and evaluation reports of the programmes in Cambodia and Viet Nam. In 2011 and 2012, two exchange visits between Cambodia and Viet Nam took place to develop a better understanding of both contexts and compare the approaches of technical assistance and capacity development.

Findings

This section describes the state and effectiveness of institutional capabilities and VVOB's interventions to support the respective capabilities. In line with Morgan's approach, VVOB believes that capacity must be seen both as an end in itself and as a means to other development objectives. Nevertheless, in this paper we focus on the capabilities as targets for institutional capacity and will not go in-depth on overarching development objectives.

The capability to act

The capability to act is a pre-condition for initiation of the development cooperation programmes in both countries. If the partner institutions have no willingness, motivation and if they are not empowered to make a change, supporting educational innovation and change does not make any sense. As described in the part on how the educational context led to different support programmes on quality of education and learning to live together, TEIs in both countries play an important role in the targeted education innovation processes.

In Cambodia, the MoEYS has repeatedly stated its ambition to increase the quality of education. The adoption of more student-centred approaches is explicitly endorsed as a way to increase the quality of education. The curriculum of teacher training for lower secondary education has been adapted to reflect the changing pedagogical priorities. Strong support from central level departments of the MoEYS is considered an important precondition to enact changes in the schools, in particular in a strong hierarchical society as Cambodia.

In 2005, the government of **Viet Nam** adopted a Higher Education Renovation Agenda (HERA) (MOET, 2005), a reform plan seeking to achieve a comprehensive modernization of Viet Nam's higher education system by 2020. HERA has signalled that the relationship between the state and the higher education system must change, from one characterized by state control of the system to one characterized by state supervision. In this context TEIs have more capabilities to act deliberately and to self-organize. They can choose how to address, for example, professional development of

their faculty, how to organize the pre-service curriculum for their students, how to equip classrooms ... how to move and develop with some sort of strategic intent. As such, even though TEIs in Viet Nam closely follow MOET guidelines, they have the willingness and are empowered to envision education innovation and change processes in their institution. To guide this process at the start of the academic year 2008–2009, VVOB Viet Nam assisted the five TEIs to develop technology plans, following the Planning Guide on ICT in Teacher Education (UNESCO, 2002).

These plans were written by educational managers and ICT coordinators of the five institutions to address different operational components of integration of ICT as described by Kozma (2008). To encourage a positive attitude towards the integration of ICT in education and to motivate faculty staff, VVOB supported all TEIs in the provision of improved access to ICT for use in classroom teaching and learning. After implementation and revision of the technology plans, all TEIs started in the following academic year with a broader and more encompassing “Education Innovation Plan (EIP)”.

The capability to generate development results

In both programmes, the main focus has been on capacity development on aspects of learning and learning to live together. Different approaches have been designed and implemented to build the capacity of teacher educators.

In Cambodia, VVOB supported a demand-driven process for partners to acquire, localize and adopt innovations, strengthen capacity and improve processes. This was the main focus in the pilot stages, owned and executed by a limited number of pilot partners at the operational level (teacher training institutes and attached schools) while involving central departments of the MoEYS. A sufficiently long pilot phase where various approaches could be tried, evaluated, adapted and eventually scaled up or discarded was important. Quality assurance in this stage was pivotal to ensure effectiveness and sustainability of the results while the capacity of partner institutes was strengthened. During the subsequent mainstreaming stage, starting in 2011, the impact was increased by scaling up the piloted processes and outcomes to peer institutes in other geographical areas. Again, this was done by the operational partners under the guidance from the strategic level. Careful selection of the initial target group with people willing to change, who would benefit from it and who were in a position to influence others had been an important criterion for success.

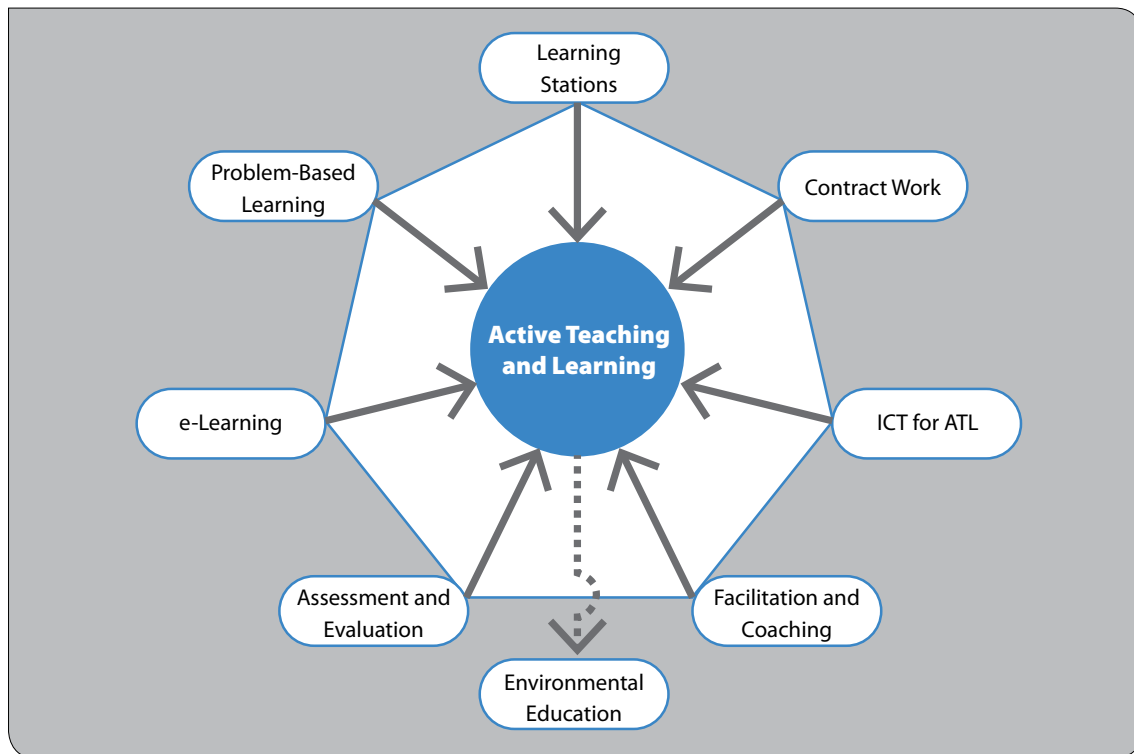
The programme in Cambodia focused on equipping teacher trainers with a wide range of educational materials to support them in teaching in a more student-centred way. This approach stemmed from the observation of a lack of materials in educational institutes and a low availability in general of resources such as posters, books and multimedia in the Khmer language. Most teacher trainers did not have a bachelor or master degree in the subject they teach. For these reasons, a more hands-on approach was adopted, in particular during the early stages of the programme. An intensive training programme with minimum 60 hours of training per teacher trainer was designed, including time for strengthening content knowledge and peer learning. A practice-focused approach was adopted, as we considered building in opportunities for staff to engage in the discussion and exploration of ideas and possibilities, share experiences and critique their practice as essential. Lesson study was introduced to teacher institutes as a system for peer coaching.

The Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge (TPACK) concept (Koehler and Mishra, 2009), derived from the concept of 'pedagogical content knowledge', introduced and articulated by Shulman (1986), has been a central concept in the implementation design. This concept stresses the need to treat content, pedagogy and technology as an integrated whole, rather than as three separated units. Trainings and teaching aids should not focus on one aspect, but integrate these components in order to be useful and successful. Temperley et al. (2007, p. xxxiii) concluded in their meta-analysis on teacher professional learning and development that "it appears that underpinning curriculum knowledge needs to be adequate in order to integrate it with effective teaching strategies."

Involvement from the management of the teacher training institutes and the central levels of the MoEYS was built in from the start of the programme. This contributed to the sustainability of the results, but also helped in realizing behaviour change with the target group. A sole focus on individual capacity development of teacher trainers is likely to be insufficient. It is equally important to design activities for school directors, government officials or, ideally, even parents as they affect the environment in which teachers will work.

In Viet Nam, the main focus, especially during the first phase of the programme, was on capacity development on ATL methodologies and improved use of ICT for teaching and learning, supporting ATL. In 2008–2009 VVOB established a series of core groups of teacher educators: on teaching methodologies, ICT in education, environmental education as well as research core group. Contextualised learning and training materials were developed with intensive participation from these core group members, national and international experts, and other stakeholders in Viet Nam, as shown in Figure 4: three teacher training modules on teaching methodologies (Problem-based Learning, Learning Stations, Contract Work); a self-study and training package on ICT for ATL and e-learning; and a teacher training module constituting an Environmental Basic course.

Figure 4: Overview of learning and training modules on ATL



In the second phase of the programme, two training modules were developed that supported the wider implementation of these teaching methodologies and the use of ICT in education: a training module on assessment and evaluation, and a training module on facilitation and coaching. These teacher training modules are easily accessible and comprehensible, requiring minimal time for organizing training activities based on the modules to allow easy dissemination without external support. With the core group as trainers, workshops and trainings were held on a large scale for other teacher educators and (pre-service) student teachers in the five TEIs. Teacher educators who participated in the professional development trajectory significantly improved their ICT skills and confidence, and we noticed an increased use of ICT and ATL methodologies in their teaching practice.

In an assessment of the professional development approach, we concluded that success in getting the most out of training is not so much about participation in workshops and trainings, but more about an individual's drive and additional engagement (Peeraer and Van Petegem, 2012). Our concern, however, is that staff training and development achieve little if it is only for the few who volunteer. Ways must be found for providing system-wide training (Latchem and Jung, 2010). As argued by Phelps et al. (2004), a metacognitive approach can foster the formation of support structures and networks which could support educators' learning beyond their involvement in the professional development initiative and, as such, it becomes a powerful vehicle to support change processes. Using ICT to support Communities of Practice (CoP) in which practice can be shared as a basis for mutual professional learning seems to offer the best hope for providing teacher educators and teachers with opportunities for continuing development (Albion et al., 2011). Apart

from supporting staff in providing workshops and trainings, TEIs ideally should promote a culture of social and collaborative professional development to harness the full potential of their resources.

The capability to relate

In general VVOB aims at developing the capabilities of those institutions at the meso-level that are responsible and/or having an impact on the development of capabilities of teachers and school managers. By doing that, VVOB gains a lot of valuable expertise that is being shared at the macro-level with the Ministry of Education to ensure that these lessons learned will be fed into national education policy (VVOB, 2012).

In Cambodia, the main work with teacher trainers (meso-level) had been complemented by regular cooperation with the central level departments of the MoEYS (macro-level) and involvement of the teachers of the practice schools (micro-level). This has provided the programme with a useful balance between macro effects, such as the contribution to a new curriculum for teacher training and the nation-wide distribution of resources, and micro effects, such as the opportunity to try-out approaches and resources in schools and incorporate teachers' feedback.

However, up to a large degree, VVOB had been a central node in the communication between educational stakeholders. There is a lack of regular communication channels, neither horizontal (between teacher training institutes) and vertical (between central level departments and teacher training institutes). A lack of financial resources was the main barrier to upgrading ad-hoc channels, set up by development partners, to permanent instruments of communication.

In Viet Nam, the main strategy to support the TEIs' capability to relate to other actors within the context in which it functions was through the highly participatory process of development of learning and training modules. Apart from the members of the core groups, national as well as international experts were closely involved in the development of the modules. All modules are in line with the current trends in educational innovation worldwide, contextualized to the educational environment in Viet Nam. Currently, four of these training modules have been positively evaluated by the MOET in Viet Nam and are now included in the national reference list of the regular professional training programme of the MOET.

The management boards of the five TEIs meet each other at least twice a year since the start of the programme, as VVOB facilitated yearly EIP steering committee meeting and a planning workshop. With support from VVOB, more core group members had also been involved as experts in networking and resource mobilization, such as workshops and trainings from other agencies in the field, writing tenders for grants, dissemination to governmental programmes on ATL, participation in international projects, and so on. On the topic of ICT in education, VVOB organized a key players meeting with key players from the public and private sectors as well as development partners, and initiated a working group to enhance cooperation between different stakeholders. VVOB also took the lead in networking and resource mobilization. It is not clear if and how TEIs are going to take up a leadership role on education innovation processes in their province and beyond. They do not seem to have a strategy in place to network and mobilize external resources. As such, it was recommended for the TEIs to explicitly take this up in their next EIPs and for VVOB to address the TEIs capability to relate.

The capability to adapt and self-renew

Capacity from this perspective is about the ability of an organization or system to master change and the adoption of new ideas. In both programmes in Cambodia and Viet Nam, the TEIs had to adopt the ideas of more student-centred teaching and learning approaches and master change in professional development of their teaching staff.

In Cambodia, sustainability is assured from the start of the programme by embedding all operations within the existing institutional structures, rather than during the moment of hand-over in 2013. For instance, a list of priority topics in the curriculum for teacher training was made together with the teacher trainers. The development of educational resources mainly targeted these topics. Moreover, all resources and manuals had been subjected to a continuous process of quality assurance, coordinated by MoEYS. After approval, these materials can be distributed nationwide and integrated in the Ministry's processes of professional development.

However, strong donor dependency in Cambodia may affect the capability of organizations to foster a workforce which capitalizes on the strengths of individuals, and equips them to continually learn, relearn and apply what they have learned to changing circumstances. Instead, organizations tend to take a supply-driven approach based on what development partners 'have to offer'. For example, many initiatives had been taken on science education due to the partnership with multiple donors, but for other subjects the progress had been more limited.

To support the capability of the TEIs to master change and the adoption of new ideas, VVOB Viet Nam started in the first phase of the programme with a research group in each TEI carrying out action research on education innovation practices. Regular conferences where educators shared experiences and research findings on education innovation practices were organized in all TEIs. VVOB Viet Nam also developed procedures to monitor and evaluate capacity building and development, and use of training materials that support training programmes.

In the second phase of the programme, the focus shifted to capacity development of management of the TEIs in planning, monitoring and evaluation. Together with the TEIs a framework of indicators and approaches for evaluation of capacity development have been integrated into the existing monitoring and evaluation (M&E) practices at partner institutions. M&E guidelines had been developed, based on these existing M&E practices. It was clear that for some TEIs, M&E was relatively new and there was little capacity to systematically perform M&E of capacity development. The M&E guidelines were implemented in different ways, depending on their vision on M&E and their capacity. The focus had been on collecting data. Time and skills to process/analyse data and evaluate was lacking. The focus was more on monitoring than on evaluation. It followed that the feedback loop with planning was not fully operational/implemented. Nevertheless, in all TEIs, a professional culture to learn from good practice as well as mistakes was developing. This environment was enabling them to adapt and self-renew.

The capability to achieve coherence

Multi-lateral policy goals such as the Millennium Development Goals, Child Friendly Schools and Education for All form useful frameworks to be translated in coherent policies and action plans. **In Cambodia**, the Education Strategic Plan (2009–2013) forms the basis for the Teacher Development Action Plan and the ICT Master Plan, among others.

Strong donor dependency has been a challenge for Cambodia to achieve coherence, as different donors have their own priorities, timelines and reporting requirements. To address this challenge, the MoEYS has installed a Technical Working Group on Education, and various sub-technical working groups (STWG), such as the STWG on teacher training. In these working groups, both central departments as development partners are represented.

In Viet Nam, VVOB had supported their operational partners at the meso level (the TEIs) in developing yearly education innovation plans, starting from a vision on education innovation and change. These plans served largely to envision a future on innovation in education, in line with the guidelines from the MOET, and to come to a coherent and comprehensive year plan. The plans covered the following operational components: infrastructure and resources, professional development of faculty, pedagogic and curricular change. VVOB financially supported the implementation of these operational components. Even though the plans have yet to lead to a well-communicated shared vision within each TEI, with these plans the TEI management has committed to achieving coherence. Education innovation and change in the TEIs is holistically operationalized; and diverse departments have been sufficiently integrated. The plans have been developed in cooperation between the different subject departments of the TEIs, as well as the administrative and professional development departments.

Conclusions

VVPB coordinates education programmes in Cambodia and Viet Nam in close collaboration with its strategic and operational partners. Both programmes share similar goals, improving the quality of education by supporting the adoption of a more student-centred instructional style. This focus is in line with the approaches to improve learning to live together as they are centred on the development of understanding, consideration and respect for others, their beliefs, values and cultures.

The operational partners in both countries are provincial TEIs as it is understood that it is imperative to build the capacity of TEIs to provide a meaningful context that allows pre-service teachers to critically examine their own pedagogical beliefs.

However, differences in educational context in both countries resulted in different approaches of institutional capacity development. In this paper, these approaches have been explored through use the 5-C model on (institutional) capacity development (Morgan, 2006).

The Cambodian context required a more hands-on approach, in particular during the pilot stage of the programme, as capacities of the partners were insufficient and a lack of resources was encountered. In the Vietnamese context, a more hands-off approach could be taken from the early stages of the programme as the TEIs had sufficient capabilities to generate development results: from the early stages of the programme; teacher educators (in core groups) were highly involved in the development of training materials on ATL and as trainers of their peers as well as pre-service students in the TEIs.

Therefore, capabilities to act and to generate results were the main focus for the Cambodian programme which had created the necessary conditions in terms of manuals, teaching aids and individual capacity development to adopt a student-centred approach. Educational stakeholders at

micro-level (schools) and macro-level (central departments of the MoEYS) had been involved from the early stages of the programme, ensuring that the capability to relate had been developed as well. However, limited financial resources constrained the sustainability of horizontal and vertical communication platforms, whereas strong donor dependency presented a challenge to achieve coherence.

The TEIs in Viet Nam were able to work more independently from the start on improving the teaching capacities of their staff as well as of the pre-service students. The programme's focus had been on the institutional capability to adapt and self-renew, and the capability to achieve coherence. Management teams in the TEIs had been engaged in development of their institutional vision on educational innovation and were trained on how to monitor and evaluate education innovation processes in their institutes. However, within most TEIs, the formulated vision was not widely communicated and shared, and therefore the change process was not fully co-owned. On the other hand, a professional culture and environment to learn from good practice as well as mistakes, to adapt and self-renew is developing in each TEI.

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