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Adult Learning Australia

AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF ADULT LEARNING

The Australian Journal of Adult Learning is an official publication of Adult Learning Australia (ALA). It is concerned with the theory, research and practice of adult and community education, and to promote critical thinking and research in this field. While the prime focus is on Australia, the practice of adult education and learning is an international field and Australia is connected to all parts of the globe, and therefore papers relating to other countries and contexts are welcome. Papers in the refereed section have been blind reviewed by at least two members from a pool of specialist referees from Australia and overseas.

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Non-Refereed articles

Book review

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From the Editor's desk

Tony Brown

This will be my final issue as Editor of AJAL. After 5 years I have decided to hand over the reigns. The next issue in November will be a Special Issue devoted to the Getting of Wisdom – Learning in Later Life, and will be guest edited by a group of international scholars, Barry Golding from Federation University, Brian Findsen from University of Waikato, New Zealand, Bernhard Schmidt-Hertha from the University of Tubingen, Germany, and Sabina Jelenc Krašovec from Slovenia's University of Ljubljana. In 2018 a new Editor will commence.

Change in the nature of academic research publications was already underway when I commenced in 2013 and that change has continued throughout the past five years. The pressure on academic researchers to publish, the expansion

of journals and their existence as both virtual and tangible publications, the commercialisation of journals through the concentration of publishing houses, and the growth of vampire journals have all been contributors to the new environment.

AJAL has been different. In 2000 the Association (Adult Learning Australia) took the decision to transform the then Australian Journal of Adult and Community Education (AAACE) from a non-refereed journal to one that carried both peer-reviewed and non-refereed contributions. Over time the Journal has become primarily a refereed journal like its education counterparts around the world. It now has its own website, an online submission process and its articles can be downloaded individually from the AJAL website. But in most other respects it remains a community owned driven project.

The Journal is produced in-house and not through a publishing company. It draws on a dedicated group of reviewers who provide detailed, rigorous and supportive feedback. ALA staff in Melbourne organise its layout and production.

AJAL has a broad scope. Its expressed concern is with the theory, research, history and practice of adult education and learning; and its aim is to promote critical thinking and research in and about this broad 'field'. It has encouraged contributions from within Australia as well as from overseas. How this has been realised over the past five years will be the subject of a more detailed reflective article in the next issue. However two details stand out.

Over this period the number of female contributors to the Journal has been approximately double that of men. And Australian contributors have been about twice as many as international contributors. The contributions in this issue's refereed section reflect that. Except that, all the authors in this issue are women. Two of the papers are directly concerned with Australian education, one is focused on South Africa, and the other two papers are about Australian educators' collaboration with colleagues in the Asia Pacific region.

The first two papers showcase collaborations between Australian university researchers with colleagues working in the Asia Pacific region. The first one by ***Barbara Pamphilon*** and ***Katja Mikhailovich*** from the University of Canberra details a community education approach to working with Papua New Guinea women smallholder farmers. As the paper's title foreshadows, this approach, developed in collaboration with a broad group of PNG community educators, leaders, academics and NGO workers as well as other Canberra academics, aimed to bring together learning from two very different worlds. The program

was delivered at the village level in different locations in PNG and worked to develop planning and farming practices that were more gender-equitable while taking into account existing cultural and gender sensitivities. Starting from an asset-based community development approach the authors outline how a critical and place-based pedagogy was used to build local teams as a basis for sustaining the program.

Digna Adonis and ***Jen Couch*** from the Australian Catholic University also address issues of collaboration and post-colonial education work in their paper on the experiences of attaining higher education for Igorot Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines. It is an account of the many barriers, physical, social, cultural and psychological, that Indigenous people have to overcome in order to attend university, persevere with and complete their study. Drawing on the experience of Igorot leaders the paper explains how they have used higher education to promote and maintain their culture.

From the University of South Africa in Pretoria ***Nomazulu Ngozwana's*** paper examines adult offenders' perceptions of rehabilitation programs in Africa. Nomazulu sought to understand offenders' perceptions of rehabilitation through using an interpretive paradigm and qualitative approach, individual interviews, observations and focus group meetings. The qualitative data generated the themes for analysis. The paper evaluates whether offenders are consulted when planning rehabilitation and the findings reveal that the programs are ineffective and imposed on offenders, a conclusion that has implications for offenders' rehabilitation and reintegration into their societies as transformed citizens.

The final two papers' focus returns to Australian education through a tertiary bridging program and a gender comparison of participation in two online foundation courses. ***Sandra Elsom, Ruth Greenaway*** and ***Margaret Marshman*** from the University of the Sunshine Coast investigate the experiences of a group of non-traditional students undertaking a tertiary preparation program at a satellite campus of a regional university. The researchers use phenomenography to analyse the university experience of nine students in areas such as motivation, social networks, staff-student interaction and other campus challenges. They develop three metaphors of a stairway (that must be climbed), a doorway (that must be passed) and a hallway (that offers opportunities for exploration) to describe the experiences and as a means of developing strategies of support.

Enabling programs are also the subject of research undertaken by ***Annette Morante, Valerie Djenidi, Helene Clark*** and ***Susan West*** from Newcastle

University. Their paper examines two subjects, Mathematics and History, in the online Open Foundation program, to investigate the engagement of male and female students. They start from the position that both enrolment and completion rates are higher for female students and from there pose questions asking if there is a correlation with time spent online, engagement in blogs and discussions, and student results. Using the data they sought to identify behaviours that lead to retention and successful completion.

In the non-refereed section of this issue, ***Barrie Brennan***, who edited AJAL's predecessor journal (Australian Journal of Adult Education) briefly in 1976 and then again for a 5 year period from 1984, has contributed a reflective article on Continuing Professional Education (CPE) in Australia. It coincides with the publication by Springer of Barrie's book on CPE - *A Tale of Missed Opportunities*. Here Barrie makes three points about the current state of CPE, new regulatory requirements and a lack of data on participation in professional education and development.

This issue's book review by ***Gayle Jenkins*** is of an edited collection on formal, informal and non-formal learning in the United Kingdom and Slovenia.

Editing AJAL has been a tremendous opportunity for me to, firstly continue to learn more about the range and diversity of research into adult education and learning from around the world and particularly in Australia. Secondly it has enabled me to work closely with experienced and emerging researchers who want to present their research to the broad adult learning research and practitioner community. Finally, I have been proud to follow in the footsteps of others who through their commitment have made AJAL and its former incarnations the longest running Journal in Australian adult education and learning.

It is now time to hand over to a new Editor and for a new phase to begin.

Tony Brown

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Australian Journal of Adult Learning
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Bringing together learning from two worlds: Lessons from a gender-inclusive community education approach with smallholder farmers in Papua New Guinea

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Smallholder farmers are the backbone of food production in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Due to an increasing need to pay for schooling and health costs, many farming families are seeking ways to move from semi-subsistence farming to activities that generate more income. The long tradition of agricultural training in PNG to support the development of farmers has focused on technology transfer and on the production of cash crops. This form of farmer education has primarily benefited men, who typically control cash crop production. It has often excluded women, whose significant engagement in it is precluded by their low literacy, low education, family responsibilities and daily work on subsistence crops. This article examines the lessons learned from a project that facilitated village-level community education workshops that sought to bring male and female heads of families together in a culturally appropriate way in order to encourage more gender-equitable planning and farming practices. Through the development

and capacity building of local training teams, the project developed a critical and place-based pedagogy underpinned by gender-inclusive and asset-based community development principles.

Keywords: *farmer learning; non-formal education; gender equity; critical place-based pedagogy; peer education; developing countries*

Introduction

The learning story of a Papua New Guinea (PNG) woman smallholder farmer:

> *Yes, I went to primary school – it was a 45-minute walk and we had to cross a river, so when it was dangerous due to rain my mother kept me at home. Some days she asked me to stay home to help in harvesting our crops and other times she needed me to go to market with her, so I always helped. Sometimes I stayed home when the younger children were sick, too, because I could help my mother. My parents said it was better for my brothers to go to school.*
>
> *I liked school. We had lots of children in our class and I made good friends. The teachers were very strict and we had to listen to what they told us. We were never allowed to talk and only spoke when the teacher asked us a question. There were not many books in the school, so the teacher wrote most things on the board. We worked very hard at reading and numbers. I did learn to read but I can't read as well now as I don't have much practice.*
>
> *I finished grade 3 and I hope that my children will be able to finish all of primary school or even go to high school. That will be very important as then they can go to trainings in town and learn about things like the new crops and how to grow them. I wish I could read and write so I could go to the trainings, but they are not for people like me!*

This constructed story has been created from the narratives shared by women semi-subsistence farmers in a project conducted in three

diverse areas of PNG.[1] While each of the areas were agriculturally and geographically different (highlands, islands and lowlands), the women's learning experiences were surprisingly similar. Most had limited education and low literacy and had not attended any agricultural training. However, all the women wanted to learn about improved farming and income generation for their family. The women's own depth of tacit knowledge about indigenous farming practices was invisible to them. These were the adult learners that our project wanted to support.

Our participatory action research project was designed to examine, develop and facilitate learning activities that would build the business acumen, skills and knowledge of women semi-subsistence farmers who increasingly need to engage in the cash economy to improve their family livelihoods. While the primary focus was on women, the project worked with both men and women to ensure the support and engagement of men, who are culturally recognised as the family head. The research focused on understanding the gender, cultural and regional enablers and barriers faced by farming families.

The project's Family Farm Teams Program (see Pamphilon & Mikhailovich, 2016) trialled a number of learning activities with these farming families. This article will focus on the design and lessons learned from the first module, implemented in the Western Highlands and East New Britain[2]. It will examine the process and lessons learned from 'bringing together learning from two worlds'.

The PNG context

PNG is the largest of the Pacific island nations, with approximately 7.5 million people (United Nations Development Program, 2015). Typically referred to as a 'fragile state', PNG faces formidable development challenges, ranking 157 out of 187 countries on the Human Development Index, and 140 of 155 for gender inequality (United Nations Development Program, 2014). Relationships, kinship and the family are key strengths of PNG social life, with the fundamental social unit being the extended family within clan-based networks (wantok).

PNG faces a considerable number of challenges due to population growth, rural populations spread across difficult terrain, land shortages and conflict over customary land. It has high levels of crime and

violence, low levels of school completion, high maternal and child morbidity and mortality, and a growing prevalence of HIV/AIDS (Anderson, 2010; Asian Development Bank [ADB], 2012; Lakhani & Willman, 2014; McCalman, Tsey, Kitau & McGinty, 2011). Rural poverty is an issue for PNG; over 90 percent of the nation's poor live in rural areas and over 80 percent of the poor are rural-based subsistence farmers (ADB, 2012). These hardworking farmers were the focus of our project.

PNG women farmers

Women farmers are the major producers of food in PNG (Bourke & Harwood, 2009). They contribute considerably to diverse, local, informal economic activities (Gibson-Graham & Roelvink, 2011). However, as in other developing countries, women's roles in family care and household management are overly privileged, so their roles as agricultural producers and economic agents are not always recognised (Manchón & Macleod, 2010). Although the informal exchange economy continues to coexist beside the cash economy, women generally hold low bargaining power concerning the distribution of household income. Women's access to income from production can be a major area of intra-household conflict (Koczberski, 2007).

Key constraints to women taking a more productive role in agriculture include poor access to productive resources such as land, water, machinery, seeds and fertiliser; lack of access to credit; poorly developed, unsafe transport systems; and low school completion and low literacy, as well as limited access to formal training programs and extension services (Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research, 2014; Bourke & Harwood, 2009).

Agricultural training and PNG women farmers

The education of PNG farmers through agricultural extension has typically focused on technology transfer and on training for the development of cash crops (Sitapai, 2011). This form of farmer education has primarily benefited the cash crop producers – men. It overlooks women's work in the informal subsistence sector. Further, it has often excluded women whose low literacy, low education, family responsibilities and daily work on subsistence crops preclude significant

engagement in this form of farmer education. Cahn and Liu (2008) have argued that, until recently, an 'invisible barrier' existed in the form of strongly delineated gender roles in agriculture and a lack of understanding of PNG women farmers' learning context and training needs. It was within this context that the Family Farm Teams Program was designed.

The Family Farm Teams Program

The first aim of the program was to develop a series of experiential learning modules that would enable male and female farmers to consider their family roles and develop them in a way that would improve the effectiveness of their family farm. The program's four learning modules were (1) Working as a family farm team for family goals, (2) Planning your family farm as a family team, (3) Communication and decision-making as a family farm team and (4) Feeding your family farm team.

The second aim was to build local teams of village community educators (VCEs) – peers who could contribute to the design, delivery and evaluation of the Family Farm Teams Program. VCEs (at least 60 percent women) were selected by the PNG partner agencies. After each experiential learning module, the VCEs applied the learning in their own family, then shared the learning with their extended family and clan, and with groups through their local affiliations such as churches.

The program was conducted by an all-women team: two Australian academics, an Australian community development worker, two PNG academics, two PNG regional team leaders and six village leaders. This cross-cultural team enabled activities to be completed in English, Tok Pisin (the two major national languages) and Tok Ples (the local language).

The Family Farm Teams Program module 1 overview

Module 1, Working as a family farm team for family goals, was a two-day workshop in which the VCEs used a range of experiential learning activities that focused on daily life and gender relations in the family and on the farm. It was designed to enable female and male family heads

of households to learn how to map their current division of labour and then consider more equitable ways to work as a family. It introduced the concept of a family team as an effective and inclusive way to work as a farming family. The family heads then collaboratively determined their own farming goals, financial goals and general family goals.

The village community educator training overview

The VCEs undertook learning about learning: the basic concepts of adult learning and the skills of facilitating learning sessions were integrated across the two days of module 1. The experiential learning cycle – concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation (Kolb & Fry, 1975; Kolb, 2015) – was introduced at the start as a way to understand how adults can learn from experience in a series of action learning cycles. Following this, other key learning principles and techniques were explained and then modelled alongside the relevant module activity. For example, knowledge, skills and attitude learning objectives were explained in an introductory way, then linked to each session – knowledge was linked to structural barriers to family goals; skills to mapping family workloads; and attitudes to working together as a family team. At the pragmatic level, work sheet handouts introduced the participants to the key components of training courses: planning, design, implementation, evaluation and reporting (Tovey & Lawlor, 2011). Each work sheet included simple summary points written in English, and room for personal notes.

The Family Farm Teams Program principles

From our standpoint as white Australian critical feminist women, we came with an awareness that we bring our own lenses of culture and knowledge to the research context. We were cognisant of the feminist postcolonial critiques of participatory action research (Schurr & Segebart, 2012). Such critiques not only problematise simplistic dichotomies of us/them but also draw attention to the power hierarchies and asymmetries that can persist even in participatory approaches (Kindon, Pain & Kesby, 2007). We wanted to work together in a two-way learning process, knowing that we are all engaged in thinking differently and knowing differently (Smith, 2006). We held that by working collaboratively with PNG women and men, and by bringing together learning from two worlds to understand the complexity of

the lives of farming families, together we could identify ways to build stronger families and more resilient, adaptable communities. Hence the foundations of the Family Farm Teams Program incorporated critical place-based pedagogy, capacity building and a gender-inclusive approach.

Critical place-based pedagogy

The critical dimension of our pedagogy arose from the work of Freire and the popular education paradigm. Freire's (1970) theory of conscientizacao (conscientisation) invites learners and teachers together to interrogate the social worlds in which they live and, in doing so, move towards greater autonomy and agency. As Jara (2010) argued, popular education rejects the neoliberal instrumental rationality of conventional education which sees the learner as a 'human resource'. Popular education:

> seeks to educate people as agents of change with the capacity to influence economic, political, social and cultural relationships as subjects of transformation. This is the perspective of ethical and emancipating rationality. (Jara, 2010: 290)

Critical pedagogy has an important place in developing countries where formal education is limited – indeed, where it is often limiting – and where many adults privilege a 'banking' (Freire, 1970) form of education. Many farmers have not had an opportunity to develop skills beyond the traditional ones they learned through the family. As Sen (1999) reminded us, a person is 'poor' not only when their income is below the poverty line but also when they have the 'unfreedoms' of capability and participation. Such 'participatory poverty' exists when a person's identity is negatively ascribed and their community or family contributions are invisible or taken for granted (such as women's family care roles). As a result, poor women, for example, are not heard or valued, or may even be silenced. Similarly, 'capability poverty' arises when people are deprived of the full learning and knowledge they need to be autonomous, independent and productive (Preece, 2010). Critical pedagogy seeks to address these dynamics by providing environments in which adults can name and value their own knowledge, share their knowledge, and have the confidence and skills to initiate the changes they value.

While Freirean critical pedagogy acts to make visible the sociocultural dimensions that impact on learners' construction of knowledge, it can be greatly enriched by a more nuanced place-based orientation. The project's place-based pedagogy acknowledged that people's lives are shaped by the places they inhabit, and their learning is linked to their lived experience. Somerville (2010: 326) has posited that our relationship to place is constituted in stories and other representations; place learning is local and embodied; and deep place-based learning occurs in a contact zone of contestation. Roberts and Green (2014) have further argued for spatial thinking (space and place) that acknowledges local demography, economy and geography as well as the more macro social dimensions. Place is not simply a singular geographic entity but also created and constructed by individuals and collectives through relationships with the natural world, through time, space and cultural reading (Coughlin & Kirch, 2010).

In PNG, a deeper engagement with place and space is especially relevant. Although the people share a Melanesian culture, the country is one of the most linguistically diverse, with 836 indigenous languages spoken (Central Intelligence Agency, 2014) and separate clans each inhabiting long-standing customary land. Hence our place-informed pedagogy overtly responded to the social, cultural and ecological places that people inhabit in their daily lives. Like Gruenewald (2003), we argue that critical pedagogy and place-based education, when they are used together, provide a powerful and ethical approach to learning and development.

Capacity building

Following asset-based community development (ABCD) principles (Green & Haines, 2012), the project used a strengths-based philosophy that understood individuals and local communities as knowledgeable, resilient and resourceful, rather than as 'needy'. An earlier project had demonstrated the efficacy of collaboratively developing the training skills of community members and local leaders (Pamphilon, Mikhailovich & Chambers, 2014). Hence our goal was to engage local community members in the design and delivery of the education activities.

As in many developing countries, the dominant model of farmer

education in PNG has been the 'top down' knowledge transfer model of 'training of trainers' (ToT) or 'train and visit' – also described by some PNG farmers as 'train and vanish'. However, in PNG there is growing recognition that participatory modes of extension – such as farmers' field schools, participatory action research and participatory technology development – have greater potential to engage farmers as collaborative problem-solvers who are more adequately prepared to adapt the learning to their ongoing complex situations (see for example Sar, 2012).

We wanted to ensure that local community members would develop adult education skills that could contribute to our program in the short term and be of ongoing value to their community in the long term. Building a team of VCEs was a critical facet of the program.

Gender inclusion

Given our awareness of gender inequality within PNG farming families, we knew that if we introduced families to new agricultural techniques and marketing strategies it was most likely that women would take up responsibility for these activities – we would inadvertently add to their daily burden of work. Our project recognised the importance of gender-awareness programs that acknowledge the different needs of men and women, and sought to promote gender-equitable relationships and asset sharing (Quisumbing, Rubin, Manfre, Waithanji, van den Bold, Olney, & Meinzen-Dick, 2014)

Acknowledging the strongly patriarchal nature of the PNG context, we believed that it was crucial to engage both men and women in dialogue, in order to bring issues to the surface in a manner that would enable both genders to determine ways to move forward. In a culture in which gender inequalities in power and constructions of masculinity have normalised aggression (Lakhani & Willman, 2014), we aimed to create an environment in which men would consider more positive expressions of their masculinity within the family. Munro (2017:46) notes that masculinities in PNG are seen to be in transition, with new emerging articulations of male identity being forged, particularly through monetary prowess, commodity consumption, sexual practices and Christian values. Koczberski and Curry (2016) illustrate the impact of growing individualism and the weakening of cultural ties between fathers and sons as further aspects of this transition. We believed that

a gender-inclusive foundation had the greatest potential to empower women and men to consider their relative roles in the family and in their farming practices. This foundation would support them to make collaborative decisions that could lead to greater equity in the family.

Discussion

There were many lessons to be learned as we strove to bring together learning from two worlds. The joy of working with enthusiastic adult learners cannot be understated. Equally, the challenges of creating an effective gender-inclusive intercultural learning space cannot be overlooked. As we built trust with our PNG colleagues, together we were able to adapt our practices as we reflected together on critical place-based pedagogy, capacity building and gender inclusion in action.

Critical place-based pedagogy in action

In order to bring together learning from two worlds, we sought to surface, value and integrate the knowledge of the PNG village participants and the knowledge of the Australian facilitators. This involved a process we call 'building learning from the inside out'. Central to this was the design of learning processes that resisted the 'othering' of our participants and of ourselves.

Building learning from the inside out

This process of 'building learning from the inside out' was an adaptation of a process trialled in an earlier small project in PNG (Pamphilon, Mikhailovich & Chambers, 2014). Through a collaborative process, workshop content was built up from material initially brought from outside by the facilitators, such as learning activities. That material was then built up further from the inside by the workshop participants. Such insider knowledge drew on the VCEs' understanding of local knowledge and practices, and their own experiences as farmers. This process was designed to empower local learning facilitators as experts on their own local community, as well as support them to use any insights from adult learning principles to design activities that would maximise the learning style preferences of local people.

There were a number of examples where the local knowledge of the

VCEs led to crucial adaptations. For example, rather than provide a list of possible family and farm goals (from the outside), a group activity was used to initially determine the range of family and farm goals (from the inside). This activity did surface the goals that had been documented in the literature (outside), such as improved housing, money for school fees and health costs etc., but it also surfaced (inside) goals relating to social capital, such as having money to contribute to church activities and being able to help wantok in times of need. When discussing the barriers to their farm goals, the VCEs also surfaced relevant local issues and challenges. For example, in East New Britain there was considerable discussion of the impact of the cocoa pod borer (Conopomorpha cramerella), which since 2006 had devastated the production levels of cocoa, which had been the mainstay of family livelihoods. Importantly, VCE teams noted significant gender impacts. Men had lost access to ready money from selling cocoa (known as the 'backyard bank'), and many felt they had lost their identity as the family provider. In contrast, women were working much longer hours than they had been to produce vegetables, but there were limited markets for these crops. This illustrated how 'identifying farm goals' was not simply an instrumental activity but one enmeshed in local place and practices. As most of the VCEs were facing this challenge in their own families, it was clear that their local and cultural knowledge would be an asset in leading group discussions in their communities.

This type of collaborative endeavour falls within a larger movement of participatory research partnerships between the academy, organisations and communities that seek to foster co-constructed, situated knowledges and to contribute through praxis to transformation (Horner, 2016)

Beyond us and them

The ABCD approach encouraged us to use a range of ways to enable the VCEs to name and acknowledge the strengths they have as farming families. Both men and women showed great pride in the range of crops they grew and their ongoing ability to adapt to challenges such as poor access to markets. However, as we moved into the sensitive areas of family gender dynamics – as the male and female heads of households considered the gender challenges in families – we were aware that we needed processes that would empower the learning group and provide

a safe environment for women. This empowerment would lie in the use of processes that contribute to the ownership of knowledge, enhance participants' sense of agency and personal power, and enable learners to achieve new levels of success, productivity and effectiveness (Thornton, Mattocks & Thornton 2001). We used a range of participatory practices to achieve these ends, including drama (Baldwin, 2010; Flynn & Tinius, 2015; Kilgour, Reynaud, Northcote & Shields, 2015) and drawing (Mitchell, 2008), as they have been recognised as powerful and effective processes in working with adult learners.

We shared examples from our own country and analysed these in front of the group, then invited them to work in gender-specific groups to explore whether there were similar dynamics in PNG families. For example, one Australian facilitator presented a pie diagram of her family and pointed to the lack of involvement of her husband and teenage sons, showing how the responsibility for housework fell mainly on her shoulders. She then presented the second pie diagram of the more gender-equitable role divisions that her own family team had agreed to. VCEs were then invited to develop family pie diagrams and stories that reflected PNG farming families and their distribution of work. In informal feedback, both men and women expressed appreciation for knowing that families in Australia faced similar challenges to their own.

Gender equity and gender inclusion in action

As feminists, we believed that robust family teams would be founded on gender equity. However, we held that the transition to more equitable families in PNG may be a very different path to the ones we had experienced and observed in Australia. We were also very aware that, although in PNG the productive contributions of women to the formal and informal economy have been increasingly acknowledged (Cameron & Gibson-Graham, 2010; Curry, Koczberski, Lummani, Ryan & Bue, 2012), women continued to provide significantly more hours of labour for the family and the farm, and the high rates of family violence were not decreasing (Human Rights Watch 2015). Therefore, we sought to support transitions to new gender roles for both men and women, by sharing family gender challenges from both worlds and by providing a safe and inclusive learning environment for both genders.

Surfacing gender issues from both worlds

To model the fact that gender dynamics are challenging in all families, and in order to initiate a relevant place-informed role-play, the two Australian facilitators created a scenario that might arise in an Australian family (an aggressive father and a submissive mother), and then created a second role-play with a more egalitarian dynamic. The VCEs then worked in small groups to create role-plays that would represent PNG family dynamics that they identified as being problematic for them.

In both regions, this activity was enthusiastically embraced, and a range of very direct role-plays were created. The most confronting role-play for the Australian team involved a dispute about money in which the 'father' hit the 'mother', who reacted by swinging back with her own hit. In response to this explicit example of family violence – and to the surprise of the Australian facilitators – the audience roared with laughter, then offered spontaneous advice to the 'mother' and 'father' in the role-play, such as, 'Tell him his dinner will be ready soon', 'Just walk out' and, 'Calm down, both of you'. The Australian facilitators observed the VCEs' willingness and competency to directly address gender-based violence through these role-plays. The spontaneous audience coaching of the 'father' and the 'mother' provided a valuable educational innovation to the standard role-play, as it allowed participants to model ways in which families might respond to family violence. Both the PNG participants and the Australian facilitators found themselves in a shared space as they considered the ways that families in both countries needed to actively address unequal gender dynamics. Importantly, both men and women VCEs committed to begin to address this inequity in culturally appropriate ways.

Such a process is built on the assumption that gender equity and an equitable distribution of labour between men and women is desirable. Some might argue that such Western ideals are an imposition upon cultures with a different set of understandings and arrangements of men and women's roles. However, decades of research has demonstrated that the pursuit of gender equity has led to benefits in women and men's social, economic and political lives across both developed and developing countries. This is evidenced by the United Nations'

Millennium Development Goal 3, to promote gender equality and empower women, and the Sustainable Development Goal 5, gender equality, both of which recognise that gender equity is a condition for inclusive, democratic and violence-free sustainable development.

Capacity building in action

The development of VCEs as peer educators able to deliver informal training to their families and more formal training to local groups was challenging. We believed that the VCEs knew best how to provide informal training to their family members and neighbours, but we also aspired to develop the skills of some to a level that would enable them to be employed by other projects wanting to deliver training at the farmer-to-farmer level. Therefore, we chose to introduce the VCEs, many of whom had low literacy, to core adult learning concepts and the language used in training courses.

Developing the skills of peer educators

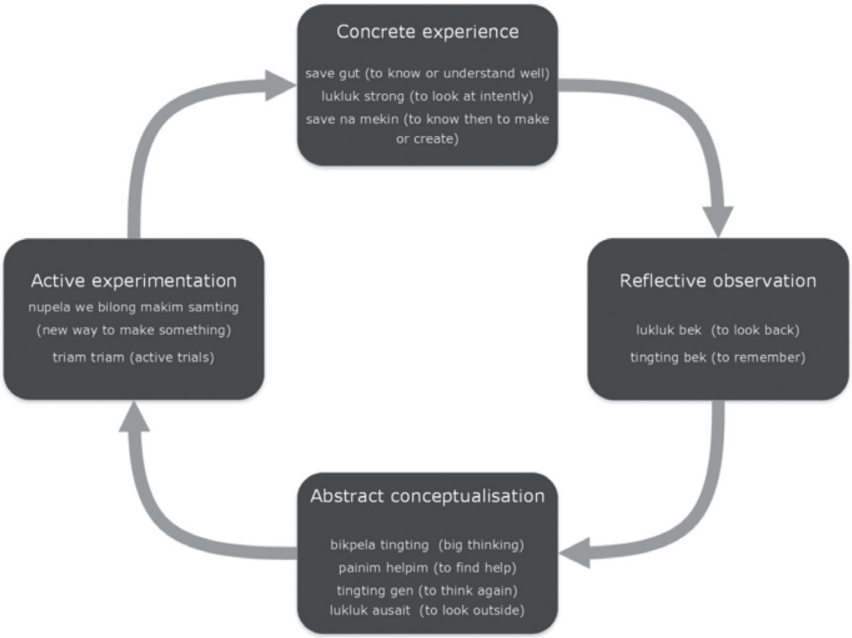
The Kolb learning cycle was initially selected because it had been used effectively with low-literacy farmers in Africa (Percy, 1999). We were cognisant of the critiques of Kolb's learning cycle that questions its Western individualist focus and the potential for understanding the learner in a de-contextualised way (Fenwick, 2001). However, we aligned with Seaman's (2008: 15) conclusion that experiential learning cycles are best understood as an ideology rather than a theory. Hence we emphasised the 'learner-centred' and 'problem-solving cycle' approach, in contrast to the conventional training model of 'information transfer'. This invited the VCEs to see people as active creators of knowledge who can be shown how to reflect on and build from their prior experience, rather than as Freire's (1970) 'empty vessels' to be filled.

The local VCEs related strongly to the 'concrete experience' and 'reflective observation' components of the experiential learning cycle, explaining that these were typically used in their agricultural work. For example, some women farmers outlined how they were changing their practices to address the impact of climate change. After observation and reflection, they were adapting their usual practices by harvesting at different times to ensure better crop outcomes. This process of trial and error became the basis for further experimentation (for example,

by trying later planting times). Through a discussion about the 'abstract conceptualisation' phase of the learning cycle, both men and women identified that seeking modern knowledge from agricultural officers and traditional indigenous knowledge from clan elders would enable them to see the bigger picture of what may be happening to their crops. That knowledge could then provide a wider range of, and new insights into, ways to experiment and adapt.

To assess whether there was any deeper resonance of the learning cycle, VCEs worked in groups to consider which Tok Pisin words would be most relevant for each of the cycle's phases. The aim of this activity was twofold: it would provide a shared and consistent language for explaining the cycle to community members, and, importantly, it would enable our team to understand how the concepts were understood and/or modified by the VCEs. In both regions the translations mirrored or slightly extended the original English concepts. Most importantly, there was strong ownership of the experiential learning cycle across the VCEs' groups.

Figure 1: *Tok Pisin interpretations of the experiential learning cycle*



At the end of the activity, VCEs were proud that they had defined their own PNG experiential learning cycle. As Diouf and colleagues (2000) proposed from their research with Senegalese farmers:

> Perhaps the ways in which adults learn best (i.e., hands-on practice followed by reflection with feedback) does not vary across cultures. Instead, differing cultural norms and values may influence what adults learn … when they learn … who provides the instruction … but not how they learn. (Diouf, Sheckley & Kehrhahn, 2000: 42)

Building on the strengths of multilingual learners with low literacy

In order to maintain the focus on 'learning about learning' through experiencing the learning activities rather than reading a manual, the work sheets were handed out one at a time in the relevant session. It was suggested that the VCEs use the work sheets to jot down notes. However, the worksheets were initially not well received; many of the VCEs appeared to be uncertain about what to note or record. Because they were written in English (and translated by the co-leaders into local language as each was used), the facilitators initially thought that the English language was the challenge. This was not the case. During the evaluation discussion, the VCEs explained that their learning style preference was to listen, and that the worksheets should be designed as memory prompts. VCEs who did take notes reported that they used English to record the technical areas, Tok Pisin for the general areas that would be relevant to many other communities, and Tok Ples for the issues specific to their own community best expressed in its own language. This reveals the complexity of working with multilingual learners.

Activities using symbols rather than words were essential for the many VCEs with low literacy. Again, here the local ownership of the program was apparent when VCEs ran a training session for invited farmers, the day after their own training. Their session had a number of adaptations of the symbol-based activities they had experienced the day before. For example, the traditional pie diagram circle to map family roles mentioned above was also re-presented by the VCEs as 'plots' in a rectangle-shaped farm. One-third of the family heads chose this more familiar shape of a local farm.

As the project developed, the teams explored other forms of visual resources to support cross-cultural communication and learning. Such resources included posters, bilingual picture books, and digital videos and stories. In the evaluation, the VCEs affirmed that visual activities were especially key for women farmers because of PNG's low levels of school completion.

Conclusion

The Family Farm Teams Program demonstrated the effectiveness of a critical place-informed pedagogy with men and women farmers in PNG. Both genders found the family teams approach to farming activities relevant and constructive. The learning activities for male and female heads appear to have been a non-threatening way to engage with gender dynamics in families. As one Western Highlands woman concluded:

> In the past our family never talked together. My husband never discussed plans or worked with me, I did things on my own. After the training, my family sits together and discusses our goals, my husband and the children work with me and we always plan together. My husband and I work together as best friends and I am so happy.

The resonance of the gender-inclusive family teams philosophy with the PNG farmer families in this project suggests this may be a way to facilitate more equitable and productive family environments for women. We would argue that supporting families to address issues of gender at the level of the family is an important pre-requisite to the delivery of technical training to communities. Our East New Britain regional leader concluded:

> This is breakthrough training – until we break through the attitudes, we are not ready for other training such as financial literacy.

The project has shown that learning activities can be more effectively place-informed when they are developed in partnership with local peer educators. Not only do these educators enrich learning activities with insights arising from their own lived experience as farmers, but their ongoing presence provides encouragement for others. As an East New Britain woman farmer said:

> We will not give up, when things go wrong. Life may seem hard but we will continue to work. This ACIAR [Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research] project is helping us to see how we can improve our practices and lives. Not everyone will change their practices but at least some can do it and they will be the example for others to follow.

The work opened a space for dialogue within families in the context of family goal-setting activities. When others in their community witnessed the changes in family dynamics and farm activities, these families became role models through social learning.

The concept of a learning cycle proved to be a valuable way to focus on the active reflective learning processes used by adult learners. The abstract conceptualisation phase of Kolb's cycle foregrounded the important Freirean critical dimension of the pedagogy. As such, our work aligns with the more holistic applications of experiential learning cycles, such as that of Desmond and Jowitt (2012), who name their approach 'dialogical experiential learning'. This component of dialogue is a key facet for the development of farmers as adult learners.

By bringing together learning from two worlds, we found ourselves at a productive intersection of understanding between cultures and between ways of learning. As feminists, although we were committed to ongoing reflexivity and responsiveness, we are nonetheless left with many questions. For example, we saw that our all-female team provided opportunities for women that would typically have been taken by men. However, we also saw how an all-women team could be readily dismissed by some males within communities and organisations. At another level, we are increasingly aware of the range of impacts of other actors in this gender space – for example, the Christian Church (Anderson, 2015; Eves, 2016) . Hence, as we continue our work, we are (re)defining our own feminist practices within the complex gender landscape of PNG.

Our work has supported the development of a gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive co-constructed curriculum designed with farmers for farmers. The development of community education teams has placed learning facilitators in the heart of the community. Critical place-based pedagogy has enabled local families to engage in their own situated analysis and become actively engaged adult learners. As

Bagwasi (2006: 340) has highlighted, adult education is an important 'vector of development' as it focuses on the most productive, active and experienced members of a population. Such learning flows on to the family through the influence of the adults on their children's lives. Investing in place-informed learning for farming families will pay many future dividends for families, communities and their nation.

Endnotes

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'The trails to get there': Experiences of attaining higher education for Igorot Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines

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The title of this paper alludes to the hours of walking on mountain paths, which one of the authors, growing up in an Igorot Indigenous community in post-colonial Philippines undertook to go to school. This is an apt symbol of the sheer effort it can take to overcome physical, social, cultural and psychological barriers to access, persevere with and complete, higher education. This article explores the hardships of attaining higher education and the effects of education on the Igorot community. The article shares the experiences of Igorot leaders and how they have used their higher education learning to work for the promotion of maintenance of their Igorot culture.

Keywords*: barriers to education, Indigenous learning, westernized higher education*

Introduction

Digna's Story:

I come from a remote village in the highlands of Benguet. At an early age, my siblings and I were trained by our parents to help in household duties, farm work and participate in family and community rituals, which according to the Igorot culture are good ways to learn about life and its wisdom. Shortly before I turned seven, government representatives came to our village and enlisted children, telling us we needed to go to school to learn. After I finished elementary school, I needed to leave home to study at a private high school in a mining town centre, about five to six hours walk from my village. My fees were paid for by a politician who promised to support the education of one young person from my village when he campaigned in the previous election.

During the first year of my study, I experienced discrimination in and outside the school. I was often scolded because I did not know how to speak and use respectful words in Ilocano and Tagalog. There were times when my classmates would resist accepting me as a member in group projects and assignments because they thought I could not contribute to the task. Many times, I had to ignore belittling stares and conversations of people about me. Knowing very little about urban ways and lifestyle, I developed the desire to attain education. In my mind, gaining a formal education and finishing a degree will give the confidence to survive in the mainstream society. So, the rest of my high school life through college, I had to move to the city, learned to speak and 'behave' like my classmates in order to be accepted and belong to a group and have friends. I finished my teaching degree by being a working student. The fact that working whilst studying meant I had to do a four-year degree over five years did not matter.

Like me, many Igorots who come from remote villages struggled to attain higher education. In the following discussion, we will start by giving a background to formal education in the Philippines and in the Igorot region. We will then give an overview of the methodology used in this study, since these methodological issues are an important part of our argument about the meaning of education for Igorot professionals. The hardships of attaining higher education and the effects of education on Igorots will follow. We conclude by sharing the experiences of Igorot

leaders on how they have used their higher education learning to work for the promotion of maintenance of their Igorot culture.

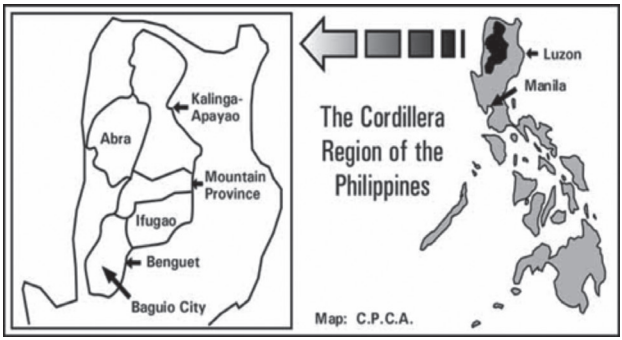
Research Setting

Benguet Province of the Philippines is located at the Northern Luzon of the Cordillera Mountain Range with an estimated population of 372,533 in 2007 (PPDO, 2008). As a result of government legislation originating from the Spanish exploration in the seventeenth century, Benguet is subdivided into thirteen municipalities namely: Atok, Bakun, Bokod, Buguias, Itogon, Kabayan, Kapangan, Kibungan, La Trinidad, Mankayan, Sablan, Tuba and Tublay. La Trinidad is the capital town and Baguio City, which used to be part of Benguet, now a chartered city of the Cordillera Region. Baguio used to be designated as an American military rest camp and the centre for the American government agri-business, transportation and mining industry development in the 1900s.

Benguet is primarily rural and characterised by rugged terrain and most interior communities can be accessed by public transport such as buses, jeepneys[1] and trucks (in areas with rugged roads). Most of the community's source of income is upland farming at a subsistence level. Most of business and trade take place in Baguio City and La Trinidad, making the villages integrated into the local market economy.

Although it is becoming increasingly diverse in population, the original settlers are the *Kankanaeys, Ibaloys* and *Kalanguyas*. Maps one and two show the location of the Province of Benguet, the study site:

***Map 1**: Location map of the Province of Benguet, the study site (DA CHARMP Project, PPDO Benguet 2008)*



Map 2: *The Map of the Province of Benguet (PPDO File, Benguet Province website 2011)*

Education and the Igorot Indigenous Peoples

Similar to the experience of many Indigenous peoples, the Igorots' encounter with the colonisers disrupted ways of knowing, learning and teaching. It also resulted in loss of lands, the erosion of cultures and ideas, and most importantly, the colonisation of minds (Wane

2008:183). The effects of the colonial education system were compounded by the different theories and strategies of development where the 'western ways of knowing' were viewed and adopted as the model for developing the poorer nations of the world (Sillitoe, 2000). International development was designed and implemented in the framework of western societies (Campbell, Pratt Gutrel & Lee, 2008; Escobar,1995; Said, 1989). From the colonial paradigm, literacy, numeracy, school, trades, socialisation and Christian morals were requisites of better living conditions.

The 'civilising mission' (Lewis & Murphy, 2006) during the American occupation of the Philippines was implemented through the introduction of Christianity, 'democratic' government and formal education (Bagamaspad & Manada-Pawid, 1985; Rigney, 1989). From the Spanish-run schools for priests and for Catechism purposes (Karnow, as cited in Litton 1999: 86-87), the American occupation brought colonial education to the people of the Philippines (Litton, 1999: 86-87). Several authors argue that education was used as a tool to train Filipinos to adhere to the creation of an ideal American image (Pastores-Palffy, 1999; Litton, 1999; Mendoza, 2001); Mendoza–Strobel, 2001. English was used as the medium of instruction in the schools; American soldiers were the first teachers called 'Thomasites', their educational materials were from the United States (Galang, as cited in Litton, 1999: 87). This led to an entrenched colonialism among the Filipinos (Mendoza, 2001). This is seen in the Filipinos' general view that their culture is second rate to the culture of the colonisers; their delight being able to speak English and their pride in wearing American fashion (Constantino & Constantino, 1999; Ponce, 1980: 160). Consequently, Revilla observes that young Filipinos today have an identity crisis that revolves around their lack of self-respect and self-love as Filipinos (Revilla, 1997:101).

From 1907-1933, the missionaries claim to have Christianised 370,000 Igorots, which led to changes in the traditional structures of the culture (Medina, 2004:98). The traditional dwellings where young people gather and listen to the stories of the elders called "*olog"* (for young girls) and "*ato"* (for young boys) were turned into schools and dormitories. It was here that the missionaries provided medical, food and clothing relief, trades and service training for young people

(Medina, 2004:63). The impact of the missionaries' education system was so great that the Igorots started to become professional workers (Medina, 2004:63). Over the years, the missionaries consolidated the Philippines' education system into both formal and informal education. Most of the mission schools left by the missionaries have now become private diocesan high schools, colleges and universities serving as the foundation of higher education in the region, north of Manila. In this light, it is considered that a formal system of education is one of the greatest legacies of America to the Philippines.

Igorot scholars argue however, that colonisation made them 'misinformed, miseducated, misrepresented, marginalised, left confused and forlorn' (Fiar-od, 2002; Dacog, 2003:6). Annavic Bagamaspad and Zenaida Hamada-Pawid (1985) in *The Benguet History Project* trace that the Spanish and American colonisation created the term 'Igorots', which signify the distinction between lowland and highland Filipinos (Afable, 1998; Scott, 2006). The Spaniards who encountered resistance from the upland peoples created an image of the Igorots as 'pagans', 'barbaric', 'savage', primitive and backward. This stigma of savagery led to the discrimination against Igorots in mainstream Filipino society (Scott, 2006: 7). Scott (2006) further argues that lowland religious conversion and affiliation with the colonial administrators made the Christianised Filipinos see themselves as superior to the Igorots and other ethnic groups in the country (Finin, 2005: 29). Discrimination is therefore perpetuated throughout the education system and structure primarily because everyone is required to adapt to the mainstream colonial education system (Mendoza, 2001). Additionally, research done on the Igorots in the last one hundred years, has been conducted primarily by foreigners (Brainard & Litton, 1999), particularly colonial officials, foreign anthropologists, Catholic and Anglican missionaries (Medina, 2004). From their perspective, they had brought 'civilisation' to this mountain's first people (Finin, 2005:19-20; Scott, 2006).

Methodology

The participants in this study are 36 Igorots from Benguet province from different ages, economic and work backgrounds. The data used in this paper are specifically those from stories, conversation and sharing about attaining higher education on their own or with limited support from

their family. The participants are from two groups; the first comprised young people ages 18-26 and the second, parents between the ages of 40-60, representing three ethnic groups – the Ibaloys, Kankanaeys and the Kalanguyas. The participants share the view that education is an important tool to have a better life in the future.

Inspired by the growing number of scholars advocating Indigenous frameworks for research, we chose to employ Indigenous research methodology for this study. This is a methodology aimed at 'mainstreaming' Indigenous Peoples' voices and knowledge systems (Batiste, 2000; Rigney, 1989; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). The utilisation of Indigenous frameworks, paradigms and methods is a result of adaption and creative additions to existing qualitative research methodologies from postmodern, postcolonial and critical theories that work on theorising the nature of the colonised and privileging the voice of the 'other' (Riley, 2009:228).

We specifically drew our methodology from Indigenous research frameworks that resemble the Igorot experiences and understanding, specifically Martin's (2003) 'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing' based on research in Indigenous Australia. Martin argues that there are three main constructs of Quandamooka ontology. The first is establishing through law what is known about entities, which she calls 'ways of knowing' (Martin, 2003:9). Second is the 'ways of being', which refers to establishing relationship with the entities. The third is the 'ways of doing', which is enacting the knowledge system and maintaining the relationship with the entities and with all other beings as seen in the way of life, arts, songs, rituals and ceremonies performed in Indigenous communities (Martin, 2003:11). The processes of knowledge acquisition and reproduction involves, listening, viewing, reviewing, reading, watching, waiting, observing and application of learning (Martin, 2003:7). The co-existence of the Aboriginal people with the entities is where they learn, relearn and pass on their knowledge system and wisdom. Parallel with Martin's framework, DA gathered the data for this study employing the Igorot ways of learning called *pansuka-el*, an Ibaloy word, which means 'deep search for wisdom'. *Pansuka-el* entails the process of seeking wisdom to attain full development as a person, as a family and as a community. The search for wisdom in the process of *pansuka-el* takes different forms in the experiential and oral tradition

and culture of the Igorots.

Sharing and discussion circles in pan-iistorya and pantatabtaval

From the stages of data gathering up to the analysis of data, sharing circles (Lavallée, 2009) called *pan-iistorya* and *pantatabtaval* (Afable, 1998) were the methods used in an attempt to strengthen the Igorots' participation in this research. Traditionally, these are the methods where elders share wisdom from the metaphors of life and experiences. *Pan-iistorya* is story sharing based on life experiences which traditionally happens during community gatherings and rituals, done by sitting (on the ground or inside the house) facing each other in a circular-like formation. Here the participants' perspectives on 'what is community' and 'what could bring development to the community' were asked. Central to this was their idea of education as a very important element in bringing them development. P*antatabtaval* on the other hand, is the discussion and sharing of analysis, perspectives, ideas and feelings on given topics; in this case, pertaining to attaining higher education.

The analysis of results and discussion of findings were also done in the sharing circles of *pan-iistorya* and *pantatabtaval*. This stage required that Digna as the researcher, participate both as a facilitator (peki-man/ peki-da) for the discussions and as a passive participant by observing (*panbisna*) and listening (*pantetneng*). As a facilitator, she presented the topics related to ways of attaining higher education for the sharing circle but as a listener, she listened, observed and came to know more details and background of the participants' opinions, perspectives and other important community dynamics during the fieldwork. Field notes were written using the village language and then later in English after consultation with identified elders and community leaders, consistent with Bouma and Ling's (2004) stress on the importance of consulting an authority as a way of knowing in research.

Use of real names and local terminologies

Indigenous theorising affirms the importance of involving Indigenous communities as research participants (Anderson, 2009; Sillitoe, 2001). Its frameworks emphasise not only in recognising and understanding but also, using the Indigenous community's knowledge systems,

ways of life and cultural values to increase their participation in the research process (Enriquez, 1992; McCubin, 2009). The participants for this study opted to use their real names, stories and situation. They also requested for the inclusion of the terms they commonly use and understand in their local Ibaloy, Kankanaey and Kalanguya languages. They viewed their participation in this research part of their 'participation in real life', thus there was no need to use pseudonyms or aliases in sharing of their Igorot knowledge systems. Overall, despite debates surrounding its rigour and credibility (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), we argue that Indigenous research methodology is the methodology that allows Igorots as active participants in this research.

Getting through the rugged trails of attaining higher education

Barriers and Trials

The participants identified at least five major difficulties that in one way or the other they have to overcome when entering a higher learning institution. These are the highlander-lowlander divide, adjusting to a mainstream values system, language, lifestyle, and poverty (strawberry farmers, *inpaki-istorya*). Igorots are considered 'uplanders [highlanders]' and this term would usually be associated with 'natives', 'primitive' and 'barbaric' imagery (Scott, 2006) while 'lowlanders' would usually be associated with 'civilisation', being familiar with the 'modern', being more 'advanced' (2006). Often, Igorot students are received negatively by classmates where they admit to being Indigenous, in some instances being called derogatory names like 'nefot' or 'Igoy' (Sabelo*, inpaki-istorya*). Many experience discrimination happen when they go to the country's lowland cities. Participants related stories where they were asked questions such as "if you are an Igorot, why are you wearing clothes?", "why are you not dark, with thick lips and kinky hair?","Is it true that Igorots have tail?", "Do you ever get to see modern things where you live?" (Picpican, *inpaki-istorya*). Despite such state of 'otherness', Igorots are determined to thrive in the higher learning environment.

For the young people, they believe that even if they attend schools and churches in the town centres, there is still a large influence of the experiential way of learning within the culture with parents and elders as facilitators. Moving to the city to pursue higher education

however, the Igorot learner has to move from traditional learning to a higher education learning facilitated by teachers and professors who learned from the university, earned a degree and have usually taken on a worldview influenced by western societies. Colonization mindset is evident that the students' cultural background is put aside in place of mainstream approaches (Wane, 2008). The imputing of a Western psychological self was at the centre of academic colonisation (Wilson, 2004) creating a Filipino scholar and elite who was divorced from his/her indigenous roots and one that lacked a holistic self-identity. Tertiary education therefore functions as a political activity, which disconnects indigenous communities from their roots so that the communities routinely neglect their traditional practices and indigenous knowledge (Barua & Wilson, 2005). Therefore, local knowledge and ways of learning are hardly recognised and talked about in universities.

For centuries, the Igorot used informal settings, which included story-sharing, apprenticeship and interactions with the elder family members to educate the young on their indigenous knowledge and subsistence based professions. Indigenous knowledge was also transmitted and maintained through rituals, ceremonies, and festivals. Community unity, collective work, mutual cooperation and assistance, selflessness and upholding the common good are the underlying values of villagers and tribes for peaceful co-existence (Asia Society 2001), and this can be said true in many respects of Igorot communities. Wisdom is gained from experience, observation, listening and participation in community activities and rituals (Benham, 2004; Martin 2003). Within the university system on the other hand, students have to learn about individual accomplishment, competition, material accumulation and self-promotion to be able to perform well and get better job opportunities after graduation. The contradicting value systems create tensions and crisis for the Igorot students – whether to assimilate to belong to the system or resist it and be marginalised (Benham, 2004).

Language is another aspect of adjustment to university life. Aside from their village languages, Igorot students must speak in Ilocano, the regional language and Filipino, the national language which is rarely spoken in the village to be able interact with people at the town centres and in the cities. They are also required to speak and write in either English or Tagalog at the university. Speaking different languages and

switching from one to another is not hard for Igorots, but it is for their accents that they are most criticised. Jokes and stories abound about how Ibaloys and other Igorot groups poorly pronounce Filipino and English words which at times could be a source of further discrimination (Sabelo, inpaki-istorya).

Aside from overcoming the impacts of the construction and representation as 'the other' (Batiste, 2010; Martin, 2003), one other significant barrier to Igorots' finishing higher education is a lack of access to services and resources. The economy of Igorot villages is based on a subsistence economy. The farm and its biodiversity is the source of living for the people. The little cash they get from selling their farm products is what they use to buy the family's needs. With their children going to university and living in the city, the foremost concern of parents is where to get the money to pay for tuition fees and other needs. One of the remedies is to go into cash crop gardening which means going into a higher volume of upland vegetable production with the use of chemical farming (Willie, *inpaki-istorya*). Many of the parent participants claim that they had to get scholarships or serve as working students even in odd jobs just in order to support their schooling.

Cultural values as 'tools to get there'

Most participants who are now working in professional occupations emphasised that they had to discipline themselves to obtain a higher education degree. Interviewees perceive that keeping Igorot cultural values such as being grounded on the land, hard work, listening and respecting elders' words of wisdom are broadly encapsulated in the words *inayan, yamyam* and *bilin*. The concept of doing good and avoiding the bad in the view of *mayat* and *Lawa* served as inspiration for them upon leaving the village (P. Abluyen, inpaki-istorya). Asuncion, who is now a nurse supervisor at a government hospital, shared that the greatest thing she can contribute to younger Igorots is by demonstrating determination and hard work and giving value to education as a way of improving her family's economic condition:

> *For me, education and finishing a degree is very important in being able to develop myself. My parents did their very best to help me finish my nursing degree because they said they have nothing else to give me as an inheritance other than education.*

> *As a sign of respect for all their hardships, my life revolved around just two main things at university – work and study. I only had two sets of clothing and disciplined myself to have a simple life (A. Anod, inpaki-istorya).*

The stories of the participants also revealed that the traditional values learned during their childhood in their *ili (*village) helped them thrive in the mainstream environment. Bonsian, who is now a manager of BABUDEMPCO cooperative said:

> *I keep in my heart the yamyam (counselling) and bilin (advice) of the elders when I started my work. The elders always advise me 'Ay-aywanam nan pilak di Ipugaw; adi kan kankanen!' (Take care of the money of the people, do not corrupt it). As a manager, I personally made a commitment to run the cooperative as taught by the elders. These values made me and the community strong and persevere in facing the problems of the organisation. For about thirty years now, our community cooperative continues to grow serving hundreds of members (B. Willie, Pannaki-istorya).*

Another parent participant, Manong Pablo, the executive director of Upland Development Institute (UDI), a community-based NGO, considers traditional values of his ili as the source of his strength and perseverance for all that he has become:

> *For me, the values of inayan (taboo), mayat (good), Lawa (bad) and other cultural values served as tools in pursuing my dream, of gaining higher education and serving my community. Our organisation now is working to raise awareness and solidify people's actions on alternative health and mining issues in Igorot communities in the Cordillera region…despite the discrimination that I have experienced from our lowland brothers while I was studying, I was not discouraged to learn the rituals and cultural activities in my community – I learned how to play gongs and other musical instruments and now that I am older, I have learned to preside over simple and basic cultural rituals. (P. Abluyen, inpaki-istorya).*

Cultivating the soil and planting crops is a basic life skill that traditionally every child in an Igorot community would learn and perform as a source of living. There are no other sources of income other

than 'mankapayat si luta' meaning 'dirtying the hands' by working with the soil. Participants who are now working in professional areas had to work either as house hold help, or work as day labourers while studying.

The young people participants admit that many of them tend to subscribe to mainstream values when they live in the city. They shared the feeling that because of education and religious influences, the opportunities to learn about Igorot traditional values is diminishing. Their wish is that parents would make the deliberate effort to teach their children the important Igorot values to help them survive in the outside world, proud of who they are (inpaki-istorya sin aanak).

The 'gains' and further 'trials' of obtaining higher education

Today, tertiary education has become a panacea for the variety of conditions relating to individual and social advancement, such as getting better jobs or being respected by the society members. It has also been deemed important for the advancement of the nation's economic and development interests. There is significant evidence that education has partially met the expectations of individual, economic, and political development. It has brought obvious benefits, such as an improvement in literacy rates. While Igorots suggest that formal education—adopted from the West and based on generalisations of culture, thoughts, practices, and content has broadened their outlook, brought awareness about female education, provided opportunities to diversify professions, and improved their social status, nearly all the participants responded that they see education as not only that which occurs in the classroom but it also includes participation and taking active roles in community and university organisations. Learning about culture was also seen as a big part of non-formal education (J. Dangiwan, inpaki-istorya).

With changing realities, most young participants have expressed fears about the loss of culture and cultural values amongst younger generations, especially those born in the city and town centres. Teddy, a Barangay Captain (government official), shared his observations on the 'changes of times':

> *With educated parents and modernisation, the traditional rearing of children has also changed a lot. Kids now are just in front of the television and they even don't help in the chores*

> *at home… Now that we have rights of children, computers, television and media influences, it's hard to discipline and teach them. My fear is, "how will they learn to live on their own in the future?"(T. Quintos, inpaki-istorya).*

Educated Igorots have contributed in lifting the economic activity and improving the health and hygiene of the Igorot people. If measured in terms of indicators, such as per capita income, life expectancy, literacy, levels of employment, and the human development index, we can say that there has been socioeconomic development among the Igorots. From an optimistic view, modern education gave the Igorots a broad outlook of life and an undaunted zeal to upgrade their standard of living as well as a means of better livelihood. It helped them become participants in the ever-changing global race.

But, the escalation of the Igorots toward lucrative market opportunities has resulted in the dearth of those willing to work on the land. Adelina and Peter believe that somehow education has made many Igorots search for an easier life and they no longer want to work on the soil, thus cutting their connection with the land. Adelina recalls elders' claim that 'eskoyla untangla' which means 'getting education distorts thinking and values' (A. Pater inpaki-istorya). Peter, an Ibaloy university administrator, similarly views education as a factor that has alienated most Igorots from their culture and communities:

> *Today, educated people are removed from active participation in their own communities because of the nature of their jobs. Their education made them different in their values, aspirations and lifestyles from their own kin and neighbours. They have a seemingly easy lifestyle that is away from the traditional occupations attached to the land and its resources, which instilled an ever-widening desire for education among the townsfolk (P. Cosalan, tabtaval).*

The dominance of the Western knowledge system aided by development intrusions has largely led to a situation where indigenous knowledge is almost neglected and ignored. Indigenous practices are fading away as they seem to become inappropriate or too slow to meet new challenges. This disappearing act of indigenous knowledge not only impacts the ones who carried it, but also causes permanent loss or disappearance of skills, technologies, artifacts, problem solving strategies, and expertise all at once.

With both the positive and negative effects of education on the Igorot culture and community, Igorot professionals are being challenged to reflect on their values. Dacog (2003), for example, shares her experience of decolonisation after many years of doing domestic work overseas, and about her desire to go back and learn more about her Igorot culture. She migrated to Canada, and she then decided to pursue postgraduate studies:

> *This project marks for me a beginning in my personal quest for meaning and direction in my life…to re-member myself with a cultural and personal identity I feel I have been robbed of… it is to come home, to acknowledge to my thirsty spirit, the Kabunyan of my ancestors; to return to the songs and stories, rituals, values and beliefs of a people… to the oral traditions that serve as a rich reservoir of the knowledge and wisdom of the Igorots, or 'mountain people' to whom I proudly belong (Dacog, 2003:2)*

This calls for a mechanism to bind formal education and indigenous knowledge together through collective action, so that the Igorots do not find themselves inclined to only one aspect while being alien to another or confused about both. Positive changes are taking place in Igorot society to preserve their indigeneity but it is happening in small circles. A few Igorot NGOS have been teaching children and youth Indigenous values. Adel is one of the program coordinators of the Shontuog Foundation – an NGO that developed an alternative entry childcare program for villages in Benguet to teach children about their Igorot culture. Adel shared that her job made her realise that culture is the foundation of individual identity and life skills, especially for Igorot children (A. Timoteo, inpantabtaval).

However, until these programs are given proper recognition and respect by the society and the nation as a whole, its continuity is hazy. The modernised way of learning and living has to see the value in indigenous practices so that the younger generations continue to bind these to their present way of life.

Conclusion

By giving voice to the Igorot Indigenous Peoples 'life story' in attaining higher education through the Igorot ways of knowing, being and doing in *pansukael*, this study revealed that education, though originally

used as a colonial tool to subjugate them, has served to empower many Igorots to become active part of the mainstream society. The participants identified overcoming the of lowlander divide, pressures of mainstream values system, language, lifestyle, and poverty as the major barriers that they need to overcome in attaining higher education. In doing so, they recognize that their traditional cultural values and concepts are their source of strength and determination. The participants however admitted that with the changing times, the traditional structures for learning cultural values among Igorots are slowly diminishing. It is recommended by the participants that Igorot parents make a deliberate move to teach their children about Igorot culture, values and traditions. There is also a need for a more strengthened advocacy for the recognition and utilization of Indigenous knowledge in formal education. The continuing challenge for Igorot professionals is to use the advantage of western tertiary education to achieve Igorot goals (Danner, 2004) for their development and self-determination.

Endnotes

1 A Philippine made public transport vehicle, which could carry up to twenty–two passengers for one trip.

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Adult offenders' perceptions of rehabilitation programs in Africa

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This article reflects on adult offenders' perceptions of rehabilitation programs in Africa. It also evaluates whether offenders are consulted when planning rehabilitation programs. Adult education principles were used as a lens to understand offenders' perceptions of rehabilitation programs. Using an interpretive paradigm and qualitative approach, individual interviews, observations and focus group meetings were held with offenders and other participants who were chosen through purposive and snowball sampling. Qualitative data analysis was used to generate the themes from the data. The findings revealed that rehabilitation programs are ineffective and imposed on offenders. Furthermore the data revealed that offenders see themselves as hard- labour while participating in rehabilitation programs. This has an implication for offenders' rehabilitation and reintegration into their societies as transformed citizens.

Keywords: *rehabilitation programs, adult offenders, reintegration, ownership, participation, motivation*

Introduction

Prisons all over the world have been going through improvements and transformations, placing rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders at the centre of correctional facilities (Laufersweiler-Dwyer and McAnelly, 1999). Although rehabilitation programs are offered in most African correctional facilities, there is a shortage of offices and staff, lack of motivation and proper training regarding the rehabilitation and reintegration roles to implement for offenders (Bruyns, 2007; Dissel, 2008; Mokoteli, 2005). Research studies on education in general and rehabilitation programs in particular for the inmates in Lesotho are limited, if not lacking, and there seems no apparent policy on offenders' rehabilitation programs (Tsepa, 2014; Setoi, 2012; Mokoteli, 2005). Moreover, what is lacking in the available literature (Tsepa, 2014; Setoi, 2012; Biswalo, 2011; Bruyns, 2007; Mokoteli, 2005) is whether offenders are consulted in decision- making and planning for the rehabilitation programs that aim to improve and address their needs and interests.

A well planned rehabilitation program would look at the holistic educational needs of offenders, including the resources to learn the skills properly and the life skills that can help them change their behaviour upon their release. The question is what should be the content of a rehabilitation program? The purpose of this article is to reflect on an investigation to answer the research questions on how adult offenders perceive their rehabilitation programs in terms of what is provided, whether they are consulted in planning for their rehabilitation programs and their recommendations for more meaningful programs within Lesotho's correctional institutions.

The Lesotho Context

Lesotho is a small, mountainous country completely surrounded by South Africa. It has a population of 2 million, of whom some 40% are classified as ultra-poor (BBC News, 2016). The Kingdom of Lesotho is made up mostly of highlands where many of the villages can be reached only on horseback, by foot or light aircraft. The source of living is subsistence farming. The major export is water to South Africa. The Constitution of Lesotho as the supreme law provides for the adoption of policies that aim to address education for all citizens under Section 28. The Lesotho Vision 2020, the Education Sector Strategic Plan 2005 – 2015 and the Non-Formal Education in Lesotho

Draft Policy Document of the Ministry of Education and Training also serve as policy frameworks for the provision of education in Lesotho. Lesotho's development priorities is inscribed in Lesotho Vison 2020: National vision for Lesotho (Government of Lesotho 2001); which places emphasis on democracy, good governance, political participation, peace and stability, a strong economy, well established technology infrastructure, environmental management and justice for all. The Vision highlights priorities for national development as: relevant and productive education, lifelong learning, vocational, technical and entrepreneurial education, and food security. However, it is worth mentioning that education in Lesotho is not enforceable by law, meaning that it is not compulsory as citizens including offenders may or may not choose to register and further their studies.

In the first section of this article I review the literature to gain an understanding of rehabilitation programs provided in African countries. Secondly, I provide an outline of adult education principles of learners' centredness and ownership, participation in learning and motivation as a theoretical lens to analyse the data regarding how offenders perceive rehabilitation programs. Thirdly, I present the research design and methodology before the findings section. Finally, I discuss the findings and the concluding comments. The next section discusses rehabilitation programs.

Rehabilitation programs

Rehabilitation aims to be the key function of correctional facilities in African countries, especially in handling offenders (Dissel, 2008). Various approaches are identified in offender rehabilitation (McNeil, 2012) for example psychological, judicial, moral and social rehabilitation. This article, however, argues from an inclusive general meaning that focuses on rehabilitation as any deliberate intervention that facilitates transformation of attitudes, personalities and mentality of offenders regarding acts of law-breaking (Dissel, 2008).

The Kampala Declaration on Prison Conditions in Africa (1996) concurs that rehabilitation facilitates social reintegration through allowing offenders access to education and skills training, which equips them for employment opportunities. Dissel (2008), however, indicates that in Central African Republic, Tanzania and Zimbabwe to mention a few, rehabilitation offices have a shortage of staff while the few available staff members lack proper training regarding the rehabilitation and

reintegration roles to implement for offenders, thus failing to create a conducive environment for rehabilitation.

Nevertheless, Kusada and Gxubane (2014) assert that rehabilitation of offenders encompass various issues such as educational programs, vocational skills training, recreational activities and psychosocial services. It appears that offenders' rehabilitation tends to equip them with vocational skills and educational programs, thus improving their social relationships with their significant others, including facilitating for their socially responsible character.

The Ouagadougou Declaration and Plan of Action on Accelerating Prisons and Penal Reforms in Africa (2002) and the United Nations (UN) Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1977) commends the rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders into their societies by encouraging their social development while still under prison custody. The Plan of Action further recommends that the programs should incorporate the awaiting trial and convicted offenders alike. While some bodies may hold that rehabilitation programs be provided to offenders who are already serving their sentences, the Plan of Action seems to be proactive by advocating the inclusion of awaiting trials in all the programs, seemingly the latter may unintentionally spend many years in prison custody.

In the context of Swaziland, the department of Adult Education at the University of Swaziland in consultation with the prison service, conducted a needs assessment between 1997 and 2009. This was done before developing the educational programs to ensure that the felt needs of the inmates were included and addressed by the educational programs offered, followed by monitoring exercises (Biswalo, 2011; Bruyns, 2007). Biswalo (2011) states that a needs assessment was conducted with the inmates through individual interviews and group discussions. Thereafter, prioritisation of needs took place based on the capability and the potential of the inmates to acquire and secure resources for conducting the programs that could develop into viable businesses after their release from prison (Biswalo, 2011). It shows that in Swaziland the officials work with offenders (Roberst and Stacer, 2016) not on them in order to address their needs.

Additionally, Biswalo (2011) and Bruyns (2007) found that offenders were provided with vocational, agricultural and generic work that included training on HIV/AIDS, day care, substance abuse and

anger management. Again the authors found that the trades and skills obtained from vocational training by Swaziland offenders were credited and certificated in order to obtain a qualification. Additionally the authors indicated that all offenders attended the church, but few inmates enrolled for Adult Basic Education & Training (ABET) educational programs, while the juveniles engaged in school education (Biswalo, 2011; Bruyns, 2007).

Nonetheless, Bruyns (2007) found that rehabilitation programs were not provided in a specialised and integrated manner, affirming that more attention was focused on spiritual care and the provision of employment opportunities, which aimed to prevent offenders from idleness. It can be noted that in some instances, educational programs are meant to keep offenders busy from boredom. However, a major problem with this kind of rehabilitation is that it is not compulsory, therefore, adult offenders may or may not attend the programs. On the other hand, some offenders may simply attend the rehabilitation programs just to impress the correctional officials who may, in return, facilitate for offenders parole, which can shorten their served sentences. In addition, Bruyns stated that very little was done to enhance offenders' educational and vocational skills. On the other hand, it can be argued that Swaziland inmates' contributions to the planning of their rehabilitation programs enhances their ownership to the latter, which also address and meet their learning needs (Biswalo, 2011). This is different from what happens within Lesotho's correctional facilities.

In Lesotho, the Ministry of Justice and Correctional Services offers education and training to the inmates as mechanisms to rehabilitate and reintegrate them with their communities (Setoi, 2012). These education programs are provided as formal literacy classes; basic and continuing education classes that are meant to assist the inmates to acquire qualifications for job opportunities in various correctional facilities. Ngozwana (2016), Setoi (2012) and Tsepa (2014) state that the inmates are further provided with skills training such as carpentry and joinery, stone cutting, building, welding, leatherwork, electrical installation, plumbing, plastering and brick making, upholstery and sewing. The juvenile centre in Maseru provides formal schooling for youth between the ages of 14 and 18 and skills training in building, carpentry, handicrafts, tailoring, horticulture and poultry (Ngozwana, 2016; Tsepa, 2014; Setoi, 2012). These authors indicate that female inmates are trained in skills like sewing, grass weaving, crochet, cookery, recycling of

tins, plastic and paper, hairdressing, housework and poultry. However, it is not stated whether the inmates are involved in planning their educational and rehabilitation programs in order to address their needs and interests.

Similarly Mokoteli (2005), in her study that was conducted in the Lesotho Correctional Services with juveniles at the Juvenile Training Centre (JTC), found that there was shortage of staff in the rehabilitation section, especially qualified social workers, therefore sociologists were employed. Additionally, Mokoteli found that few rehabilitation staff members had opportunities for in-service training, while the security officers were placed in the rehabilitation section to perform the work there (Mokoteli, 2005). From the literature, it can be concluded that rehabilitation in Lesotho is not done like in Swaziland where inmates are involved in program planning.

In South Africa, Mkosi (2013) found that managing a full-time school within the correctional facilities was challenging because education is not respected and not prioritised by correctional facilities management. More focus is on security with activities of lockdowns, head count and handing over all hindering the school learning process (Jules-Macquet, 2014; Mkosi, 2013). Nonetheless correctional education has been suggested as an empowerment tool for rehabilitating and reintegrating offenders into their communities as reformed members of society (Quan-Baffour and Zawada, 2012).

In Zimbabwe, Kusada and Gxubane (2014) found that male offenders participate mostly in agricultural and vocational skills training more than other components of rehabilitation programs. The authors revealed that Zimbabwean inmates are provided with psychosocial therapeutic programs that aim at transforming inmates' behaviours generally. Other programs offered were stated as recreational, vocational, educational and spiritual in nature. However, it is not shown whether these rehabilitation programs are addressing offenders' needs or not, or assisting in their behaviour change.

Research in correctional facilities has tended to focus on rehabilitation, looking at its different components rather than stating how it addresses the needs and interests of offenders. Little is known about whether offenders have a say in what they want to do and learn, which can change their lives, particularly in the context of Lesotho where there is a lack of formalised policy regarding how rehabilitation programs for offenders are provided.

Conceptual Framework

Learner centredness and ownership in learning, participation and motivation to learn are important aspects in adult education. These principles serve as a theoretical lens in which to understand the data regarding offenders' perceptions of being consulted in planning for the rehabilitation programs that aim at addressing their needs and interests in life.

Adult learners' centeredness and ownership in learning

As adult offenders need to exercise ownership over their learning needs, it is important to involve them when planning for programs that aim at improving their lives as well as allowing for identification of their learning needs (Huang, 2002; Cervero and Wilson, 1999). This concurs with the theory of andragogy by Knowles, particularly where the conditions of learning states that adults need to be involved in planning and evaluating their instruction (Knowles, 1980). The conditions further indicate that adult learners' instruction should be problem-centred rather than content oriented. This is due to their orientation to learning that is for immediate application of knowledge and skills (Knowles, 1980) instead of banking knowledge for future use (Freire, 1993).

In the context of community development, people should understand that they have a need, and do something about their need, in order to own the action (Swanepoel and De Beer, 2011). This suggests that adult offenders may need to have the decision -making power over what they own, while the other role-players can support and assist them in carrying out their responsibilities. Similarly, in rehabilitation programs, people who teach the inmates may only have to facilitate the learning process while the inmates take full responsibility for learning the content that suits and addresses their needs. This is because adult learners participate in various activities for several reasons and purposes, and therefore need to be at the centre of developing activities and programs that address their needs and interests for their success (Huang, 2002).

Huang (2002) states that adult learners know what they want to learn, hence they need to exercise ownership of their learning needs by setting their objectives and evaluating their learning progress. It can be argued that recognising and using adults' past experiences can enable them to choose programs and activities that are of interest, depending on what

they already know, which may improve their learning outcomes and change their behaviour. The next section focuses on participation by learners in a learning situation.

Adult learners' participation in learning

Adults engage in learning what is of interest to them for a certain reason, hence they voluntarily participate in a learning process. This is seen in Knowles' principle of readiness to learn where adult learners need to know why they need to learn something (Knowles, 1980). Similarly, Freire's theory of critical pedagogy advocates for liberating education based on dialogue between educators and learners, meaning that offenders as adult learners need to be become active and creative in their learning and do away with any forms of oppression. However, adult offenders' participation in learning is often a peripheral thing that happens, particularly under the bureaucratic situation within which their learning takes place. Participation of adults in any activity affecting their needs and interests is their democratic right (Swanepoel and De Beer, 2011). This means that the methods and approaches suitable for adult learners need collective participatory decision- making at all costs. Moreover, participation increases sustainability of any program that is meant to improve the future lives of adults. Participation, therefore, involves collaboration, consultation and information sharing (Swanepoel and De Beer, 2011). Likewise, Finn (2011) postulates that most adults participate in adult education programs for reasons such as career advancement and job related opportunities. Therefore it is critical to involve offenders in planning the rehabilitation programs that can crucially meet and address their participation needs and interests.

The lack of participation, as well as centralised decision -making in any program, creates irregular, unpredictable efforts with little or no accountability, to the disadvantage of those who need help (Swanepoel and De Beer, 2011). Moreover, the importance of participation, learning and ownership have to be planned thoughtfully, and appropriate to the needs and interests of those affected by the program to be put in place (Ibid). In the same vein, adult offenders should be engaged in planning their learning programs because of the conditions that are clear and understood by them because they know how best to change their situation. Thus, the extent to which adult inmates in Lesotho, as learners, are consulted in activities that involve them is not known. The issue of adult inmates' consultation regarding their participation in learning is likely to enhance their motivation to learn.

Adult learners' motivation to learn

One of the principles in Knowles' theory of andragogy that best describes how adults learn is their motivation to learn (Knowles, 1980), which is internal. Adult learners have different motivations for them to develop a drive to learn what is needed for their survival and success in life (Huang, 2002). Often adult learners have a view of practising what they learn when they participate in any educational program of their choice, which shows their successful experience. This means that adult learners are motivated to learn only what is of interest to them, and which they can quickly benefit from, rather than waiting for future results. Adult learners are differently motivated by their individual characters, the perceived value of the learning task and how much experience the adult learner has with the topic or content to be studied (Rogers, 2009).

Since adult learners have different reasons and purposes for learning, it is therefore salient to teach the content that is relevant and central to their needs. This will serve as motivation for their participation in educational programs (Merriam and Brockett, 2007; Finn, 2011; Rogers, 2009), and educators not only have to pay attention to the needs of the learners, but also have to incorporate their experiences into learning. Similarly, adult learners possess a self-directedness approach in pursuing their learning needs and ways of achieving those needs for immediate application (Finn, 2011, Knowles, 1980). Educators of adult learners have to critically recognise and use the experiences possessed by individual inmate learners so as to enhance their motivation to learn. The aim of the investigation is to assess the perceptions of adult offenders on rehabilitation programs and to evaluate whether they are involved in planning these programs that are meant to turn their lives around. The next section discusses the research design and methodology.

Research design and methodology

An interpretive paradigm using a qualitative approach was followed (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2009) to gain insights into the subjective beliefs and perspectives of the participants. The phenomenon is understood through the perspectives of people who actually live it and make sense of it – those who construct its meaning and interpret it personally (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006; Patton, 2002).

Correctional facilities are highly security-controlled environment, therefore the researcher communicated the research needs to the

management of correctional centres. The latter were requested to select correctional officials who are directly involved in the educational programs of the inmates, then they were approached to ask for their informed consent about whether they wished to participate in the study or not. For this reason, purposive and convenient sampling methods were used to select males, females and youths who participated in educational programs with the help of the correctional officials who served as liaisons officers.

A purposive and snowball sampling was used to select participants from correctional service institutions in Leribe, Botha-Bothe and Maseru Districts (Cohen *et al*, 2009), who participated in semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGD). Fourteen individual interviews were conducted with convicted male offenders in the two centres in Leribe and Botha-Bothe districts. Three focus group discussions were held, comprising eight convicted male offenders at Maseru Central Correctional Institution, six females from Female Correctional Institution and eight youths from the Juvenile Training Centre, making a total of twenty-two. Focus group discussions were preferred because they served as a confirmation technique, which increases the validity and credibility of the data. Three male ex-offenders who had served their sentences at either Maseru, Berea or Botha-Bothe districts also participated in the study through similar individual interviews. Their insights added value to the study because where information was withheld by offenders and officials, the ex-offenders' released status allowed them to participate freely without hindrance or fear of intimidation.

I adhered to the necessary ethical measures - willingness to participate in the investigation and informed consent. Ethical considerations were carefully attended to: informed consent, confidentiality, obtaining the necessary permission, privacy, anonymity and encouraging participants to speak freely without fear of repercussions (Cohen *et al*, 2009). The risk category was low because this research involved human participants directly and the study only caused inconvenience on their side. The research participants were adults who were based in their daily working environment. The other group were low risk security adult inmates who were already in custody in the correctional institutions. Moreover an ethical clearance certificate was issued by the university's ethical committee.

Triangulation by means of focus group discussions, individual

interviews and observations were used to validate the data (Louis *et al*, 2009). Further interviews for triangulation were held with Lesotho Correctional Service (LCS) officials in the five centres with three LCS officials in Leribe; three in Botha-Bothe and eight LCS officials in Maseru correctional centres, thus making fourteen LCS officers in total. Additionally, convenient and purposive samplings were used to identify twelve service providers (stakeholders) who were interviewed for this study. The entire sample for the study was 65 participants, as reflected in Table 1 below.

Analysis of the data

Qualitative data analysis was used to code and analyse data collected through individual interviews and focus group discussions by offenders, correctional officials, service providers and ex-offenders. Additionally, thematic analysis was used to generate the emerging themes, patterns, concepts and insights (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006; Patton, 2002). The process required several readings, initially looking for response patterns which then emerged as themes that were generated from the data. Then supporting quotations were chosen that showed the responses of different participants.

***Table 1**: Participants' information*

Facilities	Leribe	Botha-Bothe	Maseru Males	Female Institution	Juvenile Training
Interviews	6	8	0	0	0
FGD	0	0	8	6	8
LCS officials	3	3	4	2	2
Ex-offenders	1	1	1	0	0
Stakeholders	2	2	3	2	3
TOTAL	**12**	**14**	**16**	**10**	**13**

Findings

The findings are presented according to the research questions asked and with the inductively derived themes that emanated from the data, showing responses from the adult offenders. Where necessary, adult

offenders' perceptions are validated by responses from LCS officials, stakeholders and the ex-offenders.

Question one: What rehabilitation programs are taking place in the correctional facilities?

Offenders indicated their engagement in rehabilitation programs that are vocational, agricultural, educational, recreational, life skills and spiritual in nature.

Vocational activities

The offenders reported that they are involved in programs that are vocational in nature. Female offenders reported that they do not have formal school but are rather engaged in several vocational skills training. For instance, almost all female offenders reported that they participate in non-formal activities such as hair dressing, tailoring (where they sew female uniforms and other private clothes), beauty and manicure, decorating (make decoration materials), cooking and hospitality. The females showed that they are taught everything from the beginning.

On the same note, two male offenders stated that there are those who do woodwork, bricklaying and farming. They are not taught how to perform the activities, but instead do that as part of their daily work. On observation, offenders were seen engaged in woodwork, welding, building, tailoring, plumbing, wiring and papier mâché. Additionally children reported being engaged in activities such as drawing, arts, beads works (making beads), building, gardening, hygiene and cooking.

One ex-offender added:

> I was interested in steel work but then that was not safe for my eyes as there were no proper safe equipment. People who did steel works encountered problems with their eyes because there was lack of protective clothing (Ex-offender, Maseru).

The data indicates that the correctional facilities are providing vocational training for offenders in the male, female and juvenile training correctional facilities. This is demonstrated by various vocational projects that offenders seemed to be involved in. However, issues regarding their consultation to engage on these vocational skills training were not particularly prominent in the interview data. Instead some interviewees argued that they were not taught the skills while others indicated that they perform these vocational activities as part of their daily routine work that is assigned to them. These results

suggest that adults are not involved in the planning and evaluation of their rehabilitation programs (Knowles, 1980) hence, their divergent responses where others perceive their participation in rehabilitation programs as equivalent to the daily work assigned to them by the officials. Turning now to agricultural activities that were mentioned.

Agricultural activities

Male offenders stated that they carry out activities that are agriculturally oriented in nature. These include landscaping, gardening where they plough the land for growing vegetables, looking after animals such as cattle, poultry and piggery projects.

> I am involved in landscaping and making lawns. I do this to avoid an idling mind. Otherwise, I am not interested in all other activities because what I like is not provided in this facility (A male offender, Maseru).

Another male offender remarked:

> We are engaged in gardening where we grow vegetables for eating, and we feed animals like pigs while a few look after cattle.

Additionally:

> Here, we are engage in growing vegetables in the garden, which oftentimes is regarded as teaching us agriculture or farming (Male offender, Maseru).

An LCS official concurred:

> Offenders do piggery and poultry for the centre, and these projects do not have any educational value in them. They [offenders] perform these activities as part of their duties assigned to them while serving their sentences.

Female offenders reported that they engage in gardening in their spare time. The data reveal that offenders are engaged in growing vegetables for consumption, including keeping the animals. It is assumed that the latter may be used for their nutrition as well. In addition, it seems as if the correctional facilities use offenders to embark on different activities as part of their work while serving their sentences. Although adult offenders were involved in various agricultural activities, they are nevertheless not involved in planning for such activities. This has been validated by a quotation made by an LCS official, which revealed

that the "projects do not have any educational value." Interestingly, offenders' confusion about rehabilitation programs and work assigned to them while serving their sentences was observed. This implies that consultation with adult offenders is a necessity but not actually happening. The significance of consultation would ensure that good rehabilitation programs are implemented, which will address offenders' needs and facilitate for reintegration into their societies. The section on educational programs is discussed below.

Educational activities

In spite of the fact that illiteracy is a big challenge for most offenders in the sub-Saharan region (Ngozwana, 2016; Setoi, 2012; Biswalo, 2011; Dissel, 2008) it is not a high priority in the prisons in Lesotho. Very few inmates indicated that they learn how to write, read and compute numbers. This may be due to a lack of motivation as one LCS educator indicated that they provide formal education from Grade 1 up to Grade 7 for interested offenders. However, the LCS educator revealed that the writing of examinations is done within the Juvenile Training Centre (JTC). It became apparent that some adult offenders had no prior schooling at all before their incarceration into correctional custody. They were then placed into basic literacy to learn how to read and write. Therefore JTC is an officially registered formal school within the Ministry of Education and Training, where very few adult offenders who have enrolled for basic formal education are made to join the juveniles during the writing of examinations.

Though, information that was provided by the three ex-offenders counters the claim of provision of educational programs. One of the ex-offenders stated that offenders were educating themselves on many issues except education related information which, he stated, was not taken seriously by the correctional management. Seemingly, adult offenders were engaged in other educational activities that were beyond the scope of this investigations. It was interesting to note that their perception was that correctional management does not take offenders' education into serious consideration. There could be many reasons for such perceptions. However, this implies that very few adult offenders would participate in educational programs that are meant to address their needs and change their lives, if they view management as having a negative attitude towards their rehabilitation programs. The implication is that there is a likelihood that if offenders are released back to their societies with lack of skills and knowledge to empower them for

employment, chances are high that they might fall into criminality behaviour and re-offending. It was reported that the awaiting trial offenders are not engaged in any educational activities in the facilities, including the ongoing educational programs.

Two male offenders stated that educational programs offered to them were just like *kinder* [children's crèche] because there are limited resources and they are only taught how to read and write. The two female offenders pointed out that there are no educational programs taking place in the facility for females. For the children at JTC, attending school is mandatory. However, the JTC educator stated that the school has shortages of qualified teachers, inadequate materials and that it seems as if the LCS organisation had no clear budget and policy for education as it is faced with overwhelming challenges.

It can be argued that some offenders commit crimes because they lack the skills and knowledge that can facilitate their employment opportunities. The UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1977) stipulates that further education of all prisoners shall be provided and that education of illiterates and young prisoners shall be compulsory and special attention should be paid to it by the administration. The researcher believes that if functional literacy skills can be provided to adult offenders in all the correctional facilities in Lesotho that can curb the scourge of criminality and re-offending, which result from high unemployment rate in the country.

The awaiting trial offenders are not exposed to any kind of educational programs for the time they spend in custody. This is a concern because some awaiting trial offenders may happen to stay in custody for several years without being tried; hence they are idle and get bored with no activities to embark on. Furthermore, offenders commit crimes if they are idle, thus education can empower all offenders regardless of their status of being awaiting trials or convicted.

Recreational activities

Some of the offenders revealed that they engage in recreational activities while others mentioned the spiritual aspect. A female offender noted, "We engage in *litolobonya* [traditional dance] for recreational activities." Children, both boys and girls, stated that they play netball, football, and basketball, watch TV, and play snooker. Moreover, an LCS educator reported that Sesotho media occasionally provide educational

programs for children to watch on TV. Male offenders indicated that they played soccer, which is the only sport activity for them.

The data reveal that there are recreational activities that are provided for offenders, albeit very few. It would seem that children have more recreational activities than adult offenders. Recreational activities are important to relieve the stress and tension of being in the correctional facilities, therefore a lot more are needed for offenders. These activities can even unleash the offenders' potential and talent.

Spiritual activities

On spiritual matters an ex-offender noted:

> Religion was provided at the discretion of LCS officers. Some LCS officers were active in religious matters and therefore, that was provided to a certain extent. However, it was bias because only Christianity was allowed while other faiths like Islam and others were not allowed.

Female offenders and children at JTC confirmed that a chaplain usually comes every Sunday. This was the same for male offenders who articulated that a church service was allowed once a week.

It seems that offenders' spiritual needs are met as they attend the church services, however other activities such as participating in church choirs, bible studies or spiritual counselling were not mentioned. The ex-offenders specified that the provision for religion was biased and based on the interest of LCS officials who were on duty.

Life skills

Offenders mentioned that they are equipped with knowledge about HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis (TB) and cancer, among others. These skills are provided by various stakeholders such as NGOs, LCS officials and other civil society groups.

> We sometimes receive information about TB and HIV/AIDS by other people from outside such as health personnel and NGOs (Female offender, Maseru).

Additionally, one LCS official confirmed this, reporting that information such as health talks about TB, HIV/AIDS, cancer is provided in different correctional centres at least once in a quarter for the remote-based centres; and monthly for centres that are based in the urban

periphery. LCS is making a positive effort to enable offenders to receive information about HIV, which is a pandemic in most African countries.

Question two: How were offenders consulted in planning their rehabilitation programs?

Two themes emerged from the second research question, namely imposition of rehabilitation activities, and labour provision.

Imposition of rehabilitation activities

In terms of whether offenders were consulted in planning their programs, one convicted male offender lamented, "Rehabilitation work is imposed on us regardless of whether you want to perform it or not." Another convicted offender interjected, "We do not choose for ourselves. Our opinions are not heard by the LCS officials." Still another male offender noted, "We just do the rehabilitative work so that we avoid idling or being punished." These views indicate that rehabilitation activities are imposed upon offenders who have to perform the expected activities. It is interesting to note that offenders were not consulted when the programs were planned that were meant to change their lives. It can be argued that their needs and interests were not addressed. One possible implication is that if offenders were allowed to have a say in the programs offered, there is the likelihood that their needs and interests would be addressed, thus changing their lives for the better.

Labour provision

In the same manner most offenders reported that non-formal rehabilitation activities such as building and gardening, form part of their labour work instead of being labelled as educational programs. The lack of educational programs in the Botha-Bothe facility was supported by two ex-offenders and another LCS official. In fact one rehabilitation officer commented that the office of rehabilitation is unstructured and lacked resources to perform effectively, while some of the rehabilitation programs are not linked to parole conditions. It was again reported that rehabilitation programs are not a priority in that facility. Another LCS officer indicated that sports activities for offenders happen on a very small scale. He added that offenders look after pigs and poultry for the centre, and that these projects do not have any educational value for the inmates.

All the male offenders in Maseru central correctional institution complained that the rehabilitation section was ineffective. They

expressed their concern that the rehabilitation officers were humiliating them as they were asked about the crimes that they had committed and how they felt when committing such crimes. They indicated that there is lack of professionalism on how they are handled and that they are not interested in attending rehabilitation sessions at all. The situation seemed different for children because it was mentioned that counselling is provided as pre-release services to children, before they are released to their families.

From the above concerns by offenders in different centres it seems that offenders' needs and interests are not well incorporated into the existing rehabilitation and correctional education programs. Instead, the opposite seems to be happening where offenders are treated as free hard- labour for activities that are performed in different ministries. Nevertheless, the stakeholder observations bear a close resemblance to much of the above interpretations by offenders.

The lack of activities was confirmed by another stakeholder member in Leribe District who remarked that offenders do manual work for other ministries, and that is taken as educational activities, which are non-existent. "There are no manual or vocational activities that the offenders are engaged at", remarked a stakeholder member. It seems that offenders are confused between what constitutes labour and what is labelled as educational programs.

Question three: What recommendations can be made that can improve the existing programs?

The following recommendations were made by the participants of the study based on their experiences: more empowering educational activities, certificated programs, and more recreational programs are needed.

More empowering educational programs

Recommendations were made that more projects should be put in place and should be provided in a way that is empowering.

> I think more projects are needed because we are many in here. Even then, educators or instructors should teach or impart their knowledge in such a way that each one of us can be able to do the activities on our own (Male offender, Leribe).
>
> We recommend that LCS give offenders the start-up capital when

> they are released, so as to empower us (Male offender, Botha-Bothe).
>
> The programs that we do should be taken seriously and be formalised like other educational programs, be allocated enough materials and resources to [enable us to] perform the skill better (Female in Maseru).

The data show that offenders recommend the increase of projects in the correctional facilities. Moreover, some offenders want more empowering projects for them while others requested the capital to start and implement their own small scale businesses upon release.

Certificated programs

Most offenders, particularly females, asked for accredited and certificated programs.

> We would recommend that LCS should issue us with certificates for the vocational skills that we have acquired, so that we can search for jobs when we are released (Female offender, Maseru).
>
> If LCS can consider the vocational trades that we perform here to be important and make them official by arranging for their certification, we would be very thankful (Male offender, Maseru).

It was revealed that the work done by offenders is not accredited therefore certificates are not issued.

More recreational programs

A few offenders proposed more recreational activities.

> We need support for sporting items like jersey and the soccer balls (Male offender, Maseru).
>
> We would like to visit other schools for tournaments including arts and cultural competitions. But we would prefer the high school learners rather than primary schools because we are old and big to be paired with primary schools (Boys at the Juvenile Training Centre).

The data suggest that offenders are keen to have additional forms of recreational activities such as tournaments and competitions with other school going children. It seems that boys at the JTC are ashamed to be paired with primary level children because they are older in age and

appearance than other children from public schools. Therefore they would prefer to be paired with high school children.

Discussion and conclusion

The findings reveal that various rehabilitation programs are taking place within the Lesotho correctional service facilities. The offenders were found to be engaged in the following activities: vocational, agricultural, educational, recreational, spiritual and life skills. These findings support literature by Kusada and Gxubane (2014), Mkosi (2013), Setoi (2012), Biswalo (2011), Bruyns (2007), and Mokoteli (2005) who found that rehabilitation components that are offered to offenders in countries like Swaziland, South Africa, Lesotho and Zimbabwe involve vocational, agricultural, recreational, life skills and spiritual activities.

Similarly, the data established that offenders' needs and interests are not being met; instead the rehabilitation activities are imposed upon them. This counters Knowles' principles of adult learning (Knowles, 1980) and what Swanepoel and De Beer (2011) and Huang (2002) advocate in terms of adult learners' centredness and ownership of the activities they are engaged in. It can be seen that learner-centred practice is not happening with adult offenders who are engaged in rehabilitation activities that are meant to change their lives. Moreover the data reveals that offenders regard their participation in non-formal activities as the provision of free labour, which does not comprise any education element therein. Apparently the data disputes what Finn (2011) and Knowles (1980) proposes in terms of engaging adult inmates in planning for any educational programs that have to address their needs and interests. It can be argued that offenders do not see the importance of participation in rehabilitation programs hence they attach little or no responsibility to such activities.

This study demonstrated that rehabilitation for offenders in Lesotho is not very effective and is provided on a low scale. This is supported by comments made by different offenders that rehabilitation humiliates them because they are asked about the crimes that they have committed and how they felt when committing such crimes. It seems that in Lesotho adult offenders are not motivated to participate meaningfully in rehabilitation programs. The data from this study differ from what Finn (2011), Roger (2009), Merriam and Brockett (2007), Knowles (1980) and Freire (1993) advocate regarding the use of adult offenders' past experiences that serve as motivation to enable their participation in a

learning situation or in any activities that involve them.

In addition, the findings support what Dissel (2008), Mokoteli (2005) and Bruyns (2007) found in terms of shortages of rehabilitation staff who also lack the skills and training to conduct proper rehabilitation for offenders in the context of Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Swaziland. The authors found that the rehabilitation section is manned by security personnel who lack the motivation to carry out the rehabilitation program effectively (Bruyns, 2007; Mokoteli, 2005). Seemingly, the stakeholders and other LCS officers echoed offenders' statements that the rehabilitation section is unstructured and lacks resources to perform rehabilitation programs properly.

The findings have revealed that offenders would like more empowering educational programs that could meaningfully address their needs and interests. The data revealed that offenders want accredited educational programs and additional recreational activities. This is related to findings by Kusada and Gxubane (2014), Bruyns (2007) and Mokoteli (2005) where rehabilitation provision in Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho focus more on spiritual care and the employment related activities than educational and vocational skills training.

In conclusion, all the research questions were answered in detail and the aim of investigating on how offenders perceive their rehabilitation programs in terms of what is provided and their recommendations for more meaningful programs was achieved. Although the study is based on a small sample of participants, the findings from this study make several contributions to the current literature. First, it proposes that correctional facilities cannot work in isolation, but have to embrace the collaborative holistic approach in consultation with adult offenders in ensuring for their good rehabilitation programs. Second, adult offenders should be incorporated in their learning as well as planning and evaluating their problem-centred instruction as proposed in Knowles' theory of andragogy. Third, various stakeholders are needed to work towards the collective responsibility of reintegrating offenders into their communities. Further research needs to examine more closely the link between staffing and that of education, meaning, how does staffing impact on the ability of the programme to meet the needs of offenders?

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Experiences of bridging program students at a regional satellite campus

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The benefits of higher education to individuals and to society are acknowledged both in Australia and internationally. Increased access to higher education means that greatly diverse students are beginning their tertiary learning journey. We investigate the experiences of a group of non-traditional students undertaking a tertiary preparation program at a regional university, based at a satellite campus in a low socio-economic area. Bourdieu's conceptual tools are used to frame the significance that symbolic capital has on the experience of students. Using phenomenography, the experiences of nine students were recorded and interpreted. Interviews were used to identify which aspects of the university experience they considered were the most important. Students' motivation, social networks, staff-student interactions and the various challenges were among the most important experiences mentioned. These combined to create three analogous categories, stairway, doorway and hallway (SDH). The students' experiences in the program may be likened to a stairway

that must be climbed; a doorway that must be passed through; or a hallway that offers opportunities for exploration along the journey. The SDH model is a useful way to categorise students, to identify their experiences and develop strategies to support them.

Keywords: *Tertiary preparation, bridging programs, non-traditional students, satellite campus, widening participation, access to higher education*

Introduction

Tertiary education benefits both the individual and society. Access to university has been extended through tertiary preparation or bridging programs for students without the requisite educational qualifications for direct entry. The provision of satellite campuses outside major geographical areas has also facilitated wider participation, meaning that many new students come to university from distinctly different backgrounds, with different support systems and different life experiences from those of traditional students. This paper reports on the experiences of a small group of students, who were all studying a bridging program on a regional satellite campus in a low socio-economic area. A phenomenographic approach was used to allow the students to report their experiences in their own words. Following semi-structured interviews, the researchers determined which issues were most important to the students under investigation, and three thematic categories arose. These categories were analogous to seeing the program as a Stairway, a Doorway or a Hallway (SDH). The implications of the issues experienced by the students aligning to each category are discussed, as well as the potential for supporting further research.

Context

The program discussed here is a bridging program at a Queensland regional university with currently more than 500 students enrolled each semester. Enrolment is equity-based with anyone over seventeen eligible to enrol. Approximately half the students who enrol in the program complete it, and half of those students then enrol in an undergraduate degree at the same university.

Funded by the Australian Government's Education Investment Fund,

the University recently constructed a satellite campus in a regional, long established, low socio-economic area. The 2011 census showed that nearly 45% of adults in the region earn less than $400 weekly and that 48% of adults have a post-school qualification compared to 54% nationally (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). This illustrates the value of a satellite campus in the area making higher education more accessible. Classes commenced at the new campus in semester 2, 2013.

This campus offers a limited range of programs including business, commerce, primary education, nursing and the bridging program called Tertiary Preparation Pathways. Programs are designed mainly at the parent campus. Academics teaching in the program at the satellite campus are all primarily employed to teach at the parent campus but travel there to deliver lessons face to face. Student support staff, such as Academic Skills Advisors and library staff also visit the satellite campus regularly to assist students.

Theoretical background to the study

Students come to university with different dispositions such as backgrounds, motivations, and life experiences. This can be understood using Bourdieu's (1984) conceptual tools of habitus, capital and field. Bourdieu (1984) describes these collective histories, and internal rules, regulations and understandings as "habitus". A person's habitus relates to the "field" in which they find themselves. The field is the specific social and cultural environment with its own rules, regulations, expectations and discourses. The relationship between habitus and field determines a person's comfort and ability to cope with a situation (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002). For example, students who are lacking the required symbolic capital that make higher education a field in which they could feel comfortable, will be less likely to adapt to the new environment (Grenfell, 2012).

Symbolic capital refers to social and cultural capital, terms coined by Bourdieu (1984) to refer to the attributes that are valued within a particular culture. Social capital refers to family or cultural heritage and social networks whereas cultural capital refers to the knowledge that can be gained by attending higher education, in this context (Grenfell, 2012). Bourdieu asserted that "cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education…" and that "preferences in literature, painting or music, are closely linked to educational level … and secondly to social origin" (1984:1). Symbolic capital can be lacking in families from low SES areas,

thereby making the field of higher education a place in which they are unlikely to feel at home.

Students commencing higher education with a cultural background that does not include a familiarity with tertiary level studies could find themselves at a disadvantage. They might feel a form of culture shock because of their unfamiliarity with the cultural traditions of the learning environment (Zepke & Leech, 2005). These traditions are ingrained in the culture of higher education institutions, further supporting a bias toward traditional students (Yorke & Thomas, 2003).

The Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) database provides a broad description of non-traditional students as "adults beyond traditional school age (beyond the mid-twenties), ethnic minorities, women with dependent children, underprepared students, and other special groups who have historically been underrepresented in postsecondary education" (ERIC, 1977). Using this definition, all students enrolled in this bridging program are non-traditional students regardless of their age, ethnicity, marital status or external responsibilities as they are under-prepared for undergraduate study and face educational challenges.

Educational challenges can be exacerbated by income disadvantage, leading to a lack of the symbolic capital required to make a student comfortable in the field of academia. The Adult Learner Social Inclusion Project (Griffith University & QUT, 2012) noted that more than 60% of students enrolled in bridging programs received welfare benefits from the government. This is more pronounced in regional areas (DEEWR, 2010). Another reason for beginning university in a bridging program is that for some, English is not their first language, or their cultural background may be different. These factors suggest a risk of attrition in traditional studies (Jackling & Natoli, 2011). Other students commence bridging programs for reasons unrelated to academic achievement or desire to continue onto further tertiary study. These include an increase in confidence, development of skills for employment or improved social life (Bond, 1996). Tertiary preparation and bridging programs offer these students a low cost, low stakes taste of higher education.

Tertiary preparation and bridging programs have a retention rate of around 50% (Murray & Klinger, 2012). Some of the barriers that students face in completing their study may be structural (such as

university policies) or individual (such as child-care responsibilities) (Aird et al., 2010). Globally a large percentage of the students who complete bridging programs do not continue onto undergraduate studies at the same institution (OECD, 2012). However, UNESCO (1998:1) defines higher education as "all types of studies, training, or training for research at the post-secondary level, provided by universities or other educational establishment". The implication of this for bridging programs is that they are tasked with providing access to higher education, regardless of where the students continue their study. Hodges et al. (2013) claim that some attrition in a bridging program is desirable as it acts as a filter prior to study as students discontinue if they feel they are unable to continue and complete a program. Consequently, traditional measures of attrition and retention are not relevant to tertiary bridging programs (Hodges et al., 2013).

There is limited research comparing student outcomes from satellite campuses and the parent campus. Todd and Ballantyne's (2006) analysis of the student experience at another regional satellite campus in a new master-planned urban development noted that students were generally pleased with their satellite campus experience including staffing, class sizes and rapport with teaching staff. They were less satisfied with the availability of teaching and academic support staff outside of class times, the reduced likelihood of face-to-face teaching, and some organisational and structural issues. Students did comment favourably on the social networks and positive relationships they were able to form in the community environment of a smaller campus. Similarly, Ballantyne (2012) identified a feeling of ownership among the students at a satellite campus. It may not be the size but the physical environment of a campus that encourages students to remain (Wyatt, 2011)

Locating campuses in low socio-economic regional areas, even if the course range is limited, appears to positively influence university enrolments (DEEWR, 2010). Satellite campuses also play a positive role in the local community. Campuses in regional Australia are "central to regional economic and labour force benefits, including retaining graduates and professionals in the regions, generating diverse employment opportunities, and promoting regional research and investment" (DEEWR, 2010:2). Easy physical access to a study location, low travelling times, and the lower associated costs will

positively influence a student's decision to commence and continue higher education (DEEWR, 2010). Even so, students in regional and low socio-economic areas are less likely to attend university regardless of its location (DEEWR, 2010), and the limited courses available may not meet the needs of students in that region. Nonetheless, 90% of the respondents to a 2006 survey felt that the regional campus was a positive asset to their community (Bruning, McGrew & Cooper, 2006).

Students enrolling in a bridging program at a regional satellite campus are in a significantly different position from traditional students on parent campuses. These students are often academically under-prepared, may be older than average or have multiple roles and responsibilities, are frequently from low socio-economic areas, and do not have the benefit of the full facilities of the parent university campus. Bourdieu's (1984) concept of the field of higher education and the symbolic capital required to feel comfortable in such a situation can be used to explain how these students, limited by their background and experiences, are feeling as they enter the bridging program. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the needs of these students are the same as the needs of traditional students, who possess the symbolic capital, and are studying on a parent campus. The needs of the non-traditional students must first be identified in order to meet them. We investigated the experiences of students studying in a tertiary preparation program on a new satellite campus in a long established, low socio-economic area using the research question: *In what ways do students experience a tertiary preparation program on a satellite campus?*

Method

The methodology was based on the general principles of phenomenography, which was used to investigate the student experience and to answer the research question. This methodology was selected as it provides a way of collectively analysing individual experiences, and understanding the differences both between individuals and within individuals (Marton & Booth, 1997). It is often used to explore people's experiences of learning and understanding in different contexts (Marton & Booth, 1997) and to create a description of a thing, event or concept, as the participants perceive it. Phenomenography recognises that the experience of a phenomenon is the combination of the subject (the person experiencing) and the object (the phenomenon itself) and does not consider the two in isolation. The language of the participants is a true reflection of the

experience they have encountered (Yates, Partridge & Bruce, 2012). The student experience of the program is a product of the students' habitus combined with the social and structural field of the course. The students will conceive a range of overall experiences, and these conceptions will affect their outcomes. Phenomenography acknowledges that the descriptions achieved using this methodology may not accurately reflect how a situation actually is, but instead how it is perceived by those people who undergo the experience, because it "looks at issues through the eyes of the key players" (Trigwell, 2000:65).

The study was located at the satellite campus, which is in a low socio-economic area with many students being the "first in family" to attend university. One of the researchers attended an orientation lunch at the satellite campus and students enrolled in the course were invited to participate; subsequent invitations were proffered during lectures in the second week of classes. Fifteen students expressed interest, nine of whom scheduled interviews when contacted after week five. These students (four male and five female) aged from 17 to 38 (mean 25) were interviewed for 25-45 minutes, all by the same researcher. They represented half of the students who completed the program on this campus during semester 2, 2013 (Young, personal communication 2014).

Semi-structured interviews were used (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). Phenomenographic interviewing requires the interviewer to bracket their preconceptions about the experience under investigation before commencing interviews. Kvale and Brinkman (2009) call this "deliberate naiveté" and describe it as the process of being open to new and unanticipated phenomena and being critical of presuppositions in an absence of pre-determined categories. The questions were designed to be open, general and easy to discuss including educational histories, their first day in the course and what they liked or disliked about the program.

There were no predetermined categories for the thematic analysis of the data. The researchers first looked for the structural aspects of the experience – the characteristics that participants describe most commonly. These related to their motivation for study, the social aspects of the program, interactions with staff and other students, and the challenges that they faced. These structural aspects then combined to form the referential aspects that represent the outcomes according

to the principles of phenomenography. These referential aspects are the final categories of description. Although the use of analogy in the evolving methodology of phenomenography is not the norm, the researchers felt that as the categories emerged they created themselves into the SDH format.

Results and Discussion

Demographics

Table 1 gives an overview of the gender, age, study and work status of the nine students who participated in this research project and pseudonyms have been assigned.

Table 1: *Participant demographics including study and work status*

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Number of subjects enrolled	Study status	Work status
Cody	M	20	3	F	Not employed
Bailey	M	38	2	P	Carer
Kerry	F	23	2	P	Not employed
Morgan	F	19	3	F	Employed part time
Alex	F	19	3	F	Not employed
Bernie	F	31	4	F	Not employed
Jamie	M	22	4	F	Not employed
Sam	M	17	3	F	Not employed
Cassidy	F	33	2	P	Not employed

Note. F=Full time; P=Part time: Full time load = 4 subjects

Only one of the nine students interviewed was currently in paid work. This is in contrast to the research by James, Krause and Jennings (2010) where in 2009, 61% of full time students and 84% of part time students were in some sort of paid employment. This could reflect the employment prospects of the geographical area, and may explain the enrolment of some students.

Statements made by the students fitted in a number of categories that made up the structural aspects of the experience. These categories were purpose or motivation for studying, the social aspect of studying, student-teacher relationships and challenges to study.

Purpose / motivation for studying

Students generally identified that they enrolled in the bridging program as a gateway to an undergraduate degree:

> Kerry - *I want to be able to get into my first preference, which is nursing and midwifery.*
>
> Morgan - *I would like to go on and do a bachelor of primary education*

However, in discussion, students identified other motivations. For example, the students who were parents expected that their university study would positively influence the aspirations of their children:

> Bernie - M*y oldest son… he was so excited that I was doing a university course and he went and told everyone at school. So I think it encourages him to know that he can do something as well.*

Wainwright and Marandet (2010) claimed that university study could have as powerful an effect on the dependent children of students as it does on the students themselves.

Another student wanted to increase his self-efficacy and prove to himself that he could study at university level.

> Cody - *I've always wanted to do uni but just felt like I'm really just not smart enough to do it … I want to be able to show myself that I've passed.*

Some students were driven toward tertiary education by external forces, for example, avoiding unemployment, rather than an intrinsic desire for learning.

> Aaron - *I've been trying to look for work and just having no luck whatsoever. Just been picking up a bit of work here and there… moved to Brisbane, had a bit of work, lost work, had a bit of extra work, and still have no luck.*

The social aspect of studying

The social aspect of studying, whether positive or negative, was a common theme raised. Several students noted a sense of camaraderie that had risen from a shared sense of purpose:

> Cody - *we're all trying to achieve the same goal… I can't let the team down now.*

The level of social integration in a higher education setting can influence the student's success. When students wrote about their experiences in the first year of tertiary education, the connections they made with classmates and teaching staff was deemed the most important contributor to a positive learning environment (Donahue, 2004).

> Interviewer - *What have you liked the best?*
>
> Bernie - *Probably engaging with other people.*
>
> Morgan *[The lecturer] told us all to calm down and that it's not as scary as what it seems and then basically got us talking to the people around us, which was a lot more comfortable from then on.*

The sense of camaraderie does not appear to be dimmed by the recognition from students that they might not like, or be liked, by their classmates. For example, Cassidy said, "*I'm a really friendly person so I start talking to people so I made friends and it was okay"* but followed that up later with:

> Cassidy - *Well, I would really like* [university] *to have more enthusiasm from students. It's a really negative thing that other students don't turn up or they're like, 'I can't be bothered.' Then don't apply. Please, other people are trying to learn.*

Cassidy's comment is also an example of how many students felt they were different from their classmates. They were working together as a team to achieve a specific goal, but beyond that, they did not necessarily feel that they had a great deal in common.

> Bailey - *most of these people here still live at home…these kids have only just gotten out of school, and at their age I'd been working for four years.*

Students persisting in the course at the time of the interviews seemed

to regard themselves as survivors; they were more determined than others to complete the program. They also acknowledged that life circumstances can impede study.

> Morgan - *I think it's just the stress deters them and ... outside commitments and complications sort of thing ... they're unable to balance the worries of being able to do both.*

Bean and Metzner (1985) argued that social interactions might be less important to non-traditional students than they are assumed to be to traditional students. This could be because non-traditional students want more practical and utilitarian outcomes, rather than social. This research suggests that social integration was certainly important to the bridging program students, similar to the first year students interviewed by Donahue (2004).

Social integration refers not only to peer relationships, but also to relationships with teachers and support staff. Students see themselves as consumers, and expect to develop learning relationships with lecturers and tutors (Ballantyne, 2012).

Student-teacher relationships

Student-teacher interactions are "one of the most important characteristics of high quality learning" (Australian Council for Educational Research 2008:14) and students taking bridging courses have frequently had negative educational experiences in the past, and those experiences could relate to teaching staff.

> Bailey - *I've had bad experiences with teachers who failed me ... I could have shown in class I'm quite capable of doing [the work] and they've still failed me for it.*

The students in this program were critical of teaching practices that they felt were a hindrance to their learning. Negative feedback from teachers had an impact on their confidence.

> Kerry - *I found ... that our tutor had too high expectations for* [bridging program] *students... you know, like it disheartened me, it really, really did. It put me down so bad, I was kind of thinking like, 'well...why?' It kind of made me feel like I wasn't good enough ...*

Self-efficacy is a fluid concept, which can be influenced positively or

negatively by the comments (even indirect comments) of others (Wilson, 2012). Our research supports the findings of Wilson noting that when students received supportive or encouraging comments or feedback from lecturers and other staff, they were encouraged to continue.

> Jamie - *Our maths teacher… he just goes to extreme lengths just to help you out and to make sure you feel comfortable with it.*

There was significant recognition for the work of the Academic Skills Advisor who provides both onsite academic support, and help by email.

> Bailey - *But now that I've got* [academic skills advisor]*'s email, if I have any queries I just send it off to him and he just gives me a thing back with what I could do better and corrects me on my punctuation and highlights it and all that sort of stuff.*

Alex lamented that support and additional help was provided inconsistently:

> Alex - *One thing I don't like that I think could change is … some … give you as much as you want to know [about] an assignment but then there's teachers that kind of say no… you have to learn this and this is the way you have to do it – I can't give you anything.*

Recognition of the importance of the connections made with faculty staff (Donahue, 2004) emphasises the positive benefits of a teaching environment that can support students to overcome their challenges.

Challenges to study

Challenges to studying were often personal issues. Bernie discussed raising three young children as a single parent, and Cassidy talked about a potential crisis when her day care arrangements failed. Kerry hoped to pre-empt such issues by carefully balancing her study schedule around her family responsibilities.

Several students complained that it was sometimes hard to continue because they found the material boring, or they were unenthusiastic about going to class. Bernie admitted to struggling with academic writing because she found it dull. Cody wished that he had the same enthusiasm for studying as he did for skateboarding, and Bailey made a similar comment about motorcycle riding, whilst also complaining about the early morning starts. Morgan lamented that there was too much

time spent sitting and listening in a classroom rather than moving about doing things.

Analysis

In phenomenography, the interview transcripts are first analysed individually to determine the aspects of the experience upon which the participants focus – these are the structural aspects. The structural aspects are then considered as a whole to compare and contrast the differences in experiences as described by the interviewees. These final categories are known as the outcome space. We recognised that although the participants focussed on the same four aspects of the experience as described previously, their descriptions of those aspects differed based on the apparent attitude and focus of the students toward the overall program. We identified that that the students experienced the program in one of three ways, which we named Stairway, Doorway and Hallway (SDH).

Table 2 summarises how we used the structural aspects of the experience to create the outcome space and to develop the SDH model. The categories are less distinct than they are developmental, in that a higher category may encompass the descriptors of the lower categories.

***Table 2**: Structural aspects of the experience mapped to the thematic categories*

	Stairway	**Doorway**	**Hallway**
Motivation	Avoid unemployment Gain entry to undergraduate study.	Gain entry to undergraduate study. Gain self-confidence for undergraduate study.	Learn new skills for undergraduate study. Be a role model for children.
Social aspects of study	Tolerant of classmates	Mostly positive social experience Recognition of joint purposes.	Recognition of importance of teamwork. Positive social experience includes teaching staff.
Staff/Student Interactions	Doubts ability of teachers. Disheartened by negative feedback.	Accepts help offered.	Seeks additional help.

Challenges to study	Doubts need for content or structure of courses. Boring, other things to do.	Self-confidence Family responsibilities	Mentions challenges and how they were overcome.

To illustrate, all students have some experiences that equate to the Stairway, the challenges of study that must be overcome, and for some, that is the entire experience. Many students see the challenges as secondary to the anticipated reward of entry to an undergraduate program – the Doorway. Some students see both the difficulties of study and the entry to their preferred undergraduate program as less important than their personal and academic accomplishments throughout the program, and this experience is the Hallway.

It is noted that the physical environment of the university was not prominent as an influencer of the student experience. Wyatt (2011) found that although non-traditional students valued the facilities and pleasant surroundings on campus, it was less important than the intangible aspects of the experience.

Stairway

Four students perceived the bridging program as a Stairway. The analogy of a staircase implies that students see the program as a difficult climb or an unpleasant task that they must complete in order to move forward. The language indicated that they needed the bridging program to progress to undergraduate study. They described the courses as difficult, boring or challenging. The reasons for selecting the program often related to extrinsic motivations, where university study is a potential solution to an external problem such as unemployment.

Cody - *It's just I don't have a lot of motivation for any of this.*

Stairway students focus on the rank that they need to achieve to enter their chosen undergraduate degree:

Bernie - *I'm basically doing the* [courses] *that I need to get in.*

Whilst all participants were generally tolerant of classmates, Stairway students did not see the value in working together, or see similarities in their situations. Bailey commented that he had no particular interest in classmates. Alex characterised the class as "a zoo", where some people

were the "sloths" (lazy) and others were the "giraffes with their heads in the clouds". Bean and Metzner (1985) identified non-traditional students as focused less on the social outcomes of study and more on utilitarian outcomes, and this Stairway category reflects that attitude.

Students in this category often characterised their teachers as having unrealistic expectations of students, at this level of study. As previously mentioned, Kerry felt that her tutor had overly high expectations, and other students mentioned that they were particularly disheartened by negative feedback.

> Jamie - *When someone says you've screwed up, you've failed … and stuff like that. … it tends to dent your confidence for your future and that's what I felt like.*

Sometimes, external factors in a student's life meant that the Stairway experience was forced upon them:

> Bernie – *Um … yeah, well I've had a major thing going on in my life as well. I've had a custody battle and I've had to deal with that in the middle of this and manage my three children all around study as well.*

The Stairway experience reflects Bowl's (2010:142) assertion that non-traditional students often view university study as "initially, at any rate … a struggle for personal, academic, financial and emotional survival".

Doorway

In the second category of description, the Doorway, students see the bridging program as an opportunity to improve their life chances by allowing them entry to university study. Whilst the four students in this classification often mentioned the difficulties involved in study, the overall focus was on the entry to an undergraduate program rather than on the difficult journey.

> Morgan - *Overall I think the course has been beneficial so far like I can see why they set so many tasks and why it would be used in degrees and everything like I do see the relevance it's just sometimes they're a bit hard and you don't want to do them.*

These students generally displayed a confidence that they would finish the program and gain entry to further study.

> Interviewer: *And have you had any times during this last nine, ten weeks where you've thought you maybe wouldn't be able to continue?*
>
> Alex: *No.*
>
> Interviewer*: Never?*
>
> Alex: *No.*

Doorway students largely spoke of their classmates in positive terms, noting a shared purpose, or recognition of the benefits of having companions in study.

> Alex - *a lot of the people … didn't finish anything, … so I think that's why I relate to them … they want to better themselves and get into an undergraduate degree which is exactly … what I want to do so we're working together to achieve…*

Or, in simpler terms:

> Cody: *We're all trying to achieve the same goal.*

Even Bailey, who was generally ambivalent about his classmates, acknowledged the benefits of collaboration:

> Bailey: *In the start, it was hard but then I spoke to other people and I realised it's not really that hard, it's just confusing*.

Bean and Metzner (1985) and more recently, Jackling and Natoli (2011) reviewed a number of studies and concluded that social integration at university is positively related to persistence. The potential benefits are there even when the social interactions are only related to class discussions, group work or other academic issues (Wyatt, 2011).

Students can have contrasting experiences which can be seen in the responses to the question "How do you know what is expected from you?" Both of the following answers point to the assessment task sheet, which includes a marking rubric, as a source of information. Alex explains how the teachers use the task sheet, while Cody defines the task sheet more as a tool for students.

> Alex: *Um we have task sheets…and the marking rubric. But the tutors are really good and they'll go through the marking rubric with you and pretty much tell you what you have to do and what's*

> *expected … which is … good in some ways I guess.*
>
> Cody - *You're given a task sheet. Read off the task sheet first [to learn] what they expect from you. Read from that and just like work backwards from that.*

Students in this category took advantage of extra help offered by teaching and administrative staff.

> Alex: *He does maths revision from nine 'til ten on a Tuesday morning. And he'll go over the week, anything I'm having trouble with, from the week before.*
>
> Cody: [Staff member] *couldn't be nicer, she always helps me.*

Doorway students still struggled with personal difficulties, making study challenging at times, however the adverse circumstances mentioned were more likely to be attributed to internal factors, such as self-confidence or family difficulties.

> Cassidy: *It's difficult when you have little kids but I really want to become a doctor.*

This attitude toward the challenges of study was in contrast to Stairway students who saw the arduousness of study as related to the course itself. Aird et al. (2010) describe course-related difficulties as structural, and issues such as illness, family commitment and self-confidence as individual. Hence, the challenges expressed by Doorway students tended to be individual rather than structural. Similarly, Lisciandro and Gibbs (2016), in their longitudinal study of over 2000 students in an enabling program, reported that personal circumstances including health and family responsibilities were the primary reason for attrition in that program.

Hallway

Hallway students are those for whom the bridging program is life changing. They value the program for the learning they are doing, rather than for the grades alone. The analogy of a hallway illustrates that the students still need to climb the stairs (do the hard work of study) and enter through the doorway (into an undergraduate degree), but before they walk through the door they are passing through a long hallway that includes other doors, windows, photographs on both sides that represent opportunities for learning and self-improvement. The students in the Stairway and Doorway categories are so focused on the struggle, or on the

final destination, that they fail to notice opportunities along the way. This variation is seen in a similar program at another regional university: "The reality is that for some of our students, the STEPS program represents a ticket into university, rather than a life-changing experience" (McDougall & Davis, 2011:444). In our research, the Hallway students are those for whom the program was a life-changing experience.

Two students were classified into the Hallway category. In the interview, Cassidy did not talk about her grades or mention her required rank. Her initial goal was to "study a few subjects without going to university at all" and she was "here to learn" but she had found the experience so positive that she intended to continue onto studying medicine.

These students also mentioned that they expected their university study to have a positive influence on their children.

> Kerry - *My parents are excellent parents… but they never had degrees. So a lot of kids …, it kind of opens up their eyes more to say, 'Hey you know my Mum's got a degree, I can too.' It's not like 'Mum just works in the servo, I'll just work in the servo too'. So I want my kids to grow up knowing that it is possible to do it…*

The improved employment prospects that accompany a parent's tertiary education increase the status and financial security of the entire family (Scott et al., 1996). A tertiary education is as transformative an experience for the offspring of adult students as it is for the students themselves (Wainwright & Marandet, 2010).

These students tended to report more positive social relationships with peers, including an understanding of the benefits of teamwork. They described constructive communications with teaching staff, and had the confidence to ask for help, rather than waiting for it to be offered.

> Cassidy - *It was easy for me to approach…the teachers*

These students recognised relationships with both peers and university staff as an important influence of their learning experience. This reflects the findings of Donahue (2004) who asserted that these social connections were *the* most important factor in the creation of a positive learning environment.

The challenges described by the Hallway students were challenges they had faced and overcome, rather than persistent problems. Cassidy

described how she had solved a babysitting issue, and Kerry explained how her time management and organisational skills helped her to manage studying with two small children at home.

A comment from Cassidy, who was born overseas, effectively demonstrates the extent to which she saw the possibilities and opportunities afforded her by achieving a university degree:

> Cassidy - *Having kids doesn't stop you from learning, so that was really, really big thing for me… It's really wonderful. It means you are equal. You have kids, you're a mother, it doesn't matter. It's equal. So it really made me happy.*

McDougall and Davis (2011) recognised the indirect benefits of study as transformative learning (including personal and emotional development), which are likely to be very similar to the Hallway students in this study; however, we are conscious that the sample size is too small to generalise to the population.

The SDH model demonstrates that students at the regional satellite campus experienced the bridging program in three distinctly different ways. Their attitudes toward, and experiences of the structural aspects of motivation, social relationships, teacher-student relationships and challenges created overall experiences that the students explained in their own words. They focused on the challenges, on the opportunity to enter a degree program, and on the multiple opportunities offered through learning. While it may seem desirable to encourage students toward a Hallway experience, it is important to remember that a student's appreciation of their learning experience is heavily influenced by their habitus, and that all of these experiences, in this case, led to a successful completion of the program.

Conclusions

The SDH model recognises that students experience the same program in a variety of ways, in this case as either a stairway, a doorway or a hallway. It offers an effective way of categorising and understanding the experiences of students completing a bridging program at a regional satellite university campus. The relational aspects of the experience as portrayed in the outcome space are dependent upon the structural aspects of the experience as this group of students described them.

It highlights that many aspects of the students' experience involved matters

outside the academic structure of the courses. While the university might successfully manage the pedagogical aspects of the program, issues such as student motivation and social integration are beyond the control of the education provider. Having teaching, administrative and support staff who are empathic and accepting of students' individual circumstances is an important factor in supporting students to successful completion.

Most importantly however, the model indicates that student success can manifest in a number of ways and be categorised accordingly. As much as it is possible to succeed in any of these three categories, it is also possible to surrender. It is tempting to assume that the students who did not complete the course failed to climb the stairway but this may not be the case. Some students may be perfectly capable of climbing the stairs, wandering up the hallway and reaching the door, but choose to cease the journey midway. Perhaps they saw the opportunities available in the hallway and took an alternative exit. Or, perhaps the doorway to an undergraduate qualification is not the only destination. What this research has been able to demonstrate is that to increase access to tertiary education, bridging programs and satellite campuses are only the beginning. Students will withdraw from study or succeed in study sometimes despite their circumstances. Future research could investigate the experiences of students who withdraw from the program to investigate how their experiences fit within the Stairway, Doorway and Hallway model.

Student motivation for study is varied ranging from something as simple as avoiding unemployment, to as complex as the notion of empowering their children. They did not need to make friends to complete their study, but they did like the fact that they were not alone. They wanted to respect and be respected by the teaching and administrative staff at the campus, and they wanted support and understanding when they were faced with challenges. Universities can widen access to study by offering tertiary bridging programs and by building satellite campuses in areas of need, but as educators we need to keep in mind that the success of our students is greatly dependent on their individual motivations and experiences. Student success is frequently out of our control but students still need our support to achieve their goals.

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Gender differences in online participation: examining a History and a Mathematics Open Foundation online course

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With enrolment and completion rates in the University of Newcastle's online Open Foundation enabling program being considerably higher for women than for men, this case study investigates the engagement of male and female students in two different subject areas. History and Mathematics students' online behaviour is examined to identify whether they differ and if there is a correlation between time spent online and student results. Is low-level, or no online interaction a problem or does it differ for the two genders, and the two subjects? It is generally accepted that women engage more but does this lead to higher results for them? Students do not always appreciate how different the world of online learning is, and, in addition, some experience difficulties in understanding how to use Blackboard effectively. By examining students' online engagement we seek to identify the behaviours that lead to retention of students and ultimately to their successful completion of the program.

Keywords: gender, Blackboard, Higher Education, online learning, online participation

Introduction

As learning and technology intersect in tertiary institutions worldwide, implications about the ways women and men engage in online learning environments have become an important issue to examine. The growth of online courses requires researchers of higher education to consider how their students engage and find ways that ensure the learning environment can be successful for all. As lecturers, we were concerned that our students were not participating in the online courses as much as we had anticipated. We also noticed there were differences between how men and women were engaging with their course and each other. Further, research about enabling online education is limited, with little research on the ways men and women engage in online enabling courses. This case study will examine the differences in how men and women engage in two online Open Foundation courses; Mathematics and Australian History in their first semester of their courses. We seek to understand the engagement patterns of male and female students who are new to online university study, and to examine how engagement of both genders drops off as the semester progresses.

The first aim in studying the literature was to examine how men and women learn in the online environment and to discover if gender differences observed in the two cohorts of enabling students at the University of Newcastle were similar to the differences other researchers had found. McKnight-Tutein and Thackaberry (2011) asserted there was a strong body of evidence that suggested women learned differently from men, which made women inherently more successful in the online learning environment. They believed that women were uniquely positioned to be effective learners because they used affective learning methods that allowed them to learn in relational ways by drawing on connections.

Further, a study conducted in 2002-2004 with 191 learners at Open University UK indicated that, "women's access to technology and enrolment on the online version of the course was comparable to men's" (Price, 2006: 353). This study also found that women were significantly

more academically successful in the online version of the course than men, and a greater percentage of women than men completed the course. Similarly, a survey of 406 university students between the ages of 18 and 39 years old, found that female students were more receptive to online learning than male students (Selwyn, 2007).

These findings reflect the conclusions of Anderson and Haddad (2005) who also investigated the idea that female students were more reflective in their learning, appeared less hesitant to engage in the online environment, felt they had more control over their learning and found the mode a positive experience compared to face to face courses in similar academic areas. They believed online learning complemented women's 'ways of knowing' since, "many women are 'connected' knowers who make sense of reality by relating new knowledge to experience in the context of relationships" (Anderson and Haddad, 2005: 4). This idea that female students in online courses had greater opportunity for reflection, hence deeper perceived learning online was reflected in the research of both Anderson and Haddad (2005) and McKnight-Tutein and Thackaberry (2011) suggesting that this mode of learning was conducive to a high level of success for women.

Motivation and self-regulation also played a role in successful online learning. According to Yoo and Huang (2013: 156), "female students have a stronger intrinsic motivation to take online courses than their male counterparts." Studies by McSporran and Young (2001) found that women and older students preferred online courses, had a strong motivation to participate in online learning and were good at communicating online. They also noted that women did better on assignments and exams, were more successful at finding uninterrupted study time and at self-regulating. Women were also more likely to progress through a set task in a linear fashion, while men would jump ahead and run into problems.

Price (2006: 354) suggested that women were "confident independent learners who may outperform their male counterparts." Price's research suggested that women were more confident online than in face-to-face environments, were more willing to learn from other students, seek support, were more self-directed than men and had a strong desire to be academically engaged. Price's research also found women placed greater value on the pastoral aspect of tutoring and that their interaction styles were different to men's. Thus, the literature suggested the

differences between how men and women learn online was largely due to differences in how men and women perceived their learning, with women tending to be more receptive to, and reflective of their online learning. Levels of motivation, self-regulation and interaction also differed between men and women who studied online.

The second aim of our case study was to discover how engagement patterns differed between men and women. An examination of the literature about engagement patterns of men and women in the higher education sector was required so we could compare these behaviours of engagement with our enabling cohorts.

Li (2006, cited in Caspi, Chajut & Saporta, 2008) suggested women and men engaged differently in online courses; women were personal, task-oriented and liked to engage with others, whereas men were more likely to use information-driven approaches to engagement. Li's conclusions reflected Hirschman and Thompson's findings (1997) that differences between men's and women's interpretations or perceptions were significant, as women included their personal feelings in their interpretations, whereas men appeared more detached.

A study by Caspi, Chajut and Saporta (2008) investigated gender participation differences in online classroom discussions. They found that females posted more messages than males. Prinsen, Volman and Terwel (2007) also found that females posted more messages in their discussions.

Yaghmour (2012) completed a literature search about engagement patterns of online learners and found women were more likely than men to collaborate (Li, 2005a; Hermann Astleitner, 200; Li, 2005b; Prinsen, 2007), women contributed to online discussion more than men, and used communication as their motivation to be online (Hartsell, 2005). Yet Yaghmour also found that women were less confident as users as they tended to rate their technology skills lower than males (Liff, 2004, cited in Yaghmour, 2012). Li (2005) found that while both men and women were equally happy to disagree, when challenged women were more likely than men to drop out of the conversation. They were also more likely to apologise than men (Li, 2005) and were personal oriented (Li, 2005). Females preferred anonymous interaction to reduce gender-based judgment (Li, 2005), and had more searching and asking question behaviours (Astleitner, 2005).

In a 1996 study Savicki, Kelley and Lingenfelter found that in women-only groups, women acknowledged the other group members, responded to each other, and avoided flaming. Lewis (2007) referred to the work of Herring (1996, 2002) and Hawisher (1999) who found women tended to support each other in online contributions. Lewis (2007:86) stated, "women give more appreciating statements, send fewer flames, ask other participants for their opinion, and keep silent in aggressive arguments." These attributes are not found in the male-only groups.

Prinsen (2007) found that men disagree more and cites Montieth (2002) that this might be because men wanted to establish control and status. Men were more likely to use abusive language online (Prinsen, 2007), used authoritative statements (Li, 2005) and were fact oriented (Prinsen, 2007). The literature also found that women sent more messages than men (Li, 2005; Astleitner, 2005; Li, 2005; Prinsen, 2007), but men were more motivated to acquire new skills (Li, 2005). Male users had higher levels of enjoyment than women, men accessed the Internet for longer periods of time (Li, 2005) and had better access to the Internet (Prummer, 2004, cited in Yaghmour, 2012).

Thus, while some patterns of engagement differed between men and women, there were also engagement patterns that were similar for both men and women. According to Lim and Kim (2003, cited in Yoo and Huang, 2013) both male and female students engaged online to improve their ability, and were motivated to continue to study online if there were incentives for their efforts such as feedback and grades. These extrinsic motivations drove the desire to attain an educational outcome (Deci and Ryan, 2000, cited in Yoo and Huang, 2013). There was also evidence to suggest that intrinsic motivation played a role in online learning as students felt they could choose to engage, bringing them a sense of satisfaction (Martens, Gulikers and Bastianens, 2004, cited in Yoo and Huang, 2013).

In summary, patterns of engagement for women tended to be personal, task oriented and collaborative. Women posted more, used communicating with other students as a motivator for their learning and displayed more searching and asking question behaviours than men. Men, on the other hand, preferred information driven approaches to learning, were more detached online, and used the acquisition of new skills as their motivator to learn. Both men and women engaged online

to gain an educational outcome, were motivated to continue their study if their efforts were rewarded via feedback and grades and if study gave them an intrinsic sense of satisfaction. With this literature in mind, understanding why participation rates fall away for both men and women studying in enabling courses is important. To understand the complexity of why, or why not, students engage in their courses was the last focus of this case study.

In 2011 a comprehensive review of the Open Foundation Online program was conducted at the University of Newcastle. One finding of that review was that interaction and engagement was lacking for both genders, even at the very beginning of the course. Goode and Clark (2012:39) found that, "students were not engaging with each other, lecturers or support staff in a way that promoted the establishment of active or supportive learning communities". Bryson & Hand (2007, cited in Yoo and Huang, 2013) made the point that lack of engagement was not necessarily a result of lack of motivation, but rather, as adults having responsibilities to family and work, motivation became one of many factors that impacted student engagement. In other words, it was not motivation alone that determined if a student remained engaged in an online course. Along with the pressure of adult responsibilities, other factors contributed, including the level of interaction with instructors, institutional support (Leach and Zepke 2011, cited in Yoo and Huang, 2013) and prior online learning experiences and perceived barriers of the students themselves (Muilenburg and Berge, 2005, cited in Yoo and Huang, 2013).

In the online learning environment, research on gender and age differences as determinants of engagement were inconclusive and require further study (Yoo and Huang 2012). Ian Solomonides (2012) suggested that student engagement was embedded in the, "quality assurance and policy directions of many higher education institutions and regulatory bodies" which did not allow for more affective and socio-cultural reasons for engagement to be considered. He believed gauging engagement using quality assurance measures did not fully address the multi-faceted and complex nature of student engagement in the online setting. It appears, a wider view of what student engagement is and how it can be encouraged is required. Given the complexities of engagement, this study attempts to examine gender as one impact on engagement patterns.

There was some agreement, however, on strategies that might encourage student engagement. According to Tyler Griffin (2014) engaging and retaining students required instructors to keep content relevant, use questioning to keep students involved, and understand that students want more than the consumption of content, but to see connections between content and its relevance to their world and experiences. Griffin believed engagement happened when students had opportunities to share relevant problems with their teacher and come up with solutions together. He suggested the question uppermost in the mind of the teacher should be: why should a student in my class care about this? (Griffin, 2014). Pascarella and Terenzini (2005, cited in Richardson & Radloff, 2014:603) suggested, "students and staff should be regarded as allies in learning." Their investigation found that frequent interaction between student and teacher led to higher levels of engagement and lower attrition. Vincent Tinto (1998) also found that students who felt supported were most likely to persist with their studies and achieve academic success. Finally, Richardson and Radloff (2014:612) made as their final observation that, "notable differences [exist] between what students do and what teaching staff perceive students do in order to suggest ways of improving engagement and outcomes for both students and staff." Genuine engagement with students then was a key driver of long-term participation in online courses. There is a view that motivation alone predicts engagement patterns. Teacher perception of student behaviour was often at odds with why students exhibited certain engaging or non-engaging patterns of behaviour. This moves the gender debate about student engagement into a more nuanced space. University policies and regulations that did not take into account the affective and socio-cultural reasons for engagement risked reducing this complex and multifaceted issue into a student or teacher blaming activity when low levels of participation in courses were being questioned. Our case study seeks to highlight the individual and complex nature of male and female student engagement to find a diverse range of ways that can encourage increased engagement and participation.

Comments on the History Blackboard's Site and Students' Engagement

Methodology

The aim of focusing on a small cohort of students in a humanity course – Australian History – was to observe and analyse the ways female

and male part-time enabling students engage online during their first semester of studies. Enabling students who enrol in a 10 unit-course were expected to spend between 120 and 140 hours studying, which included one weekly two-hour lecture, and one-hour weekly tutorial. In a humanity course without weekly tests or quizzes, it can be difficult to maintain a regular online presence. Yet previous research demonstrated how a lack of social interaction can be seen as the most important barrier in online learning (Muilenburg & Berg cited in Whannell & Whannell, 2012: 28). Further, recent research on the teaching of history emphasises the importance of listening to students and providing them opportunities "to voice their ideas and process rational arguments" (Gare, 2015: 189).

This case study was based on data found in two main sources of information: the reports powered by Blackboard Learn™ and an online discussion board. Its aim was to learn about students' engagement by monitoring different kinds of behaviour and gauged not only students' online presence but also their communications. While the process of analysing the reports produced by Blackboard Learn™ can be time-consuming, the detailed data revealed how long each student stayed on different areas of the Blackboard site and how often he/she accessed them. The first report called All User Activity inside Content Areas Report was the most useful as it specified the number of hits as well as how each student spent his/her time online (as a percentage) between the different folders available: Assessment, Resources, Study Guides, Tutorials, Contact and Course Overview. We focused on the first four folders, as they were the most consulted and the most interesting pedagogically. The second report called Student Overview for Single Course broke up each student's activity per day and listed all items consulted, specifying the number of hits as well as the time spent on each item (See Appendix 1). This report was specifically used to calculate the average time spent online and observe students' presence in relation to tutorials. As the only online synchronous activity offered, the tutorials were an important component of the course that offered a platform to encourage discussion and exchange of ideas.

The third source of information used to understand students' online behaviour was the online discussion forum called 'History Matters Blog' and the posts written. We investigated the different ways female and male students interacted with their learning community and

communicated with each other or with their lecturer and classified the interactions as either communication or information. The blog was a space where students were encouraged to engage by asking questions on any aspects of the course as well as sharing their thoughts about specific aspects of history. We also wanted to observe the consistency of these two kinds of interaction during the semester.

Results

At the end of their first semester of study, 22 students were enrolled in the online Australian History course: 15 were female (68% of the cohort) and seven were male (32%). The small scale of the sample enabled a thorough study of enabling students' journey during their first semester of online studies in a part-time course. The report on the Content Areas revealed that women stayed online on average longer than men (51 hours versus 23 hours, see Figure 1). Interestingly, the distribution of hits between all folders demonstrated that female and male students navigated between them in similar ways: the Study Guides was the most often accessed area, followed by the folders Assessments, Resources and Tutorials (Figure 2).

***Figure 1**: Average Time spent on the Content Areas*

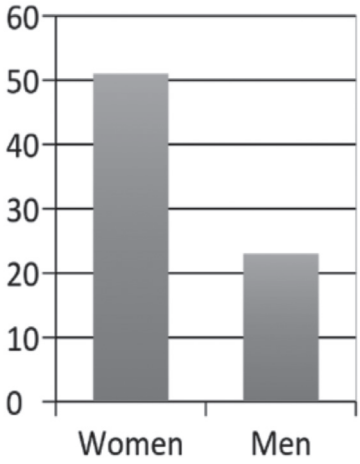
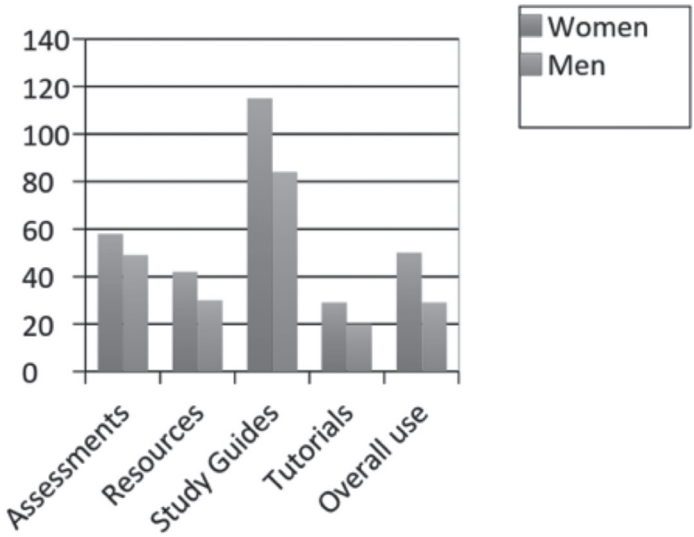
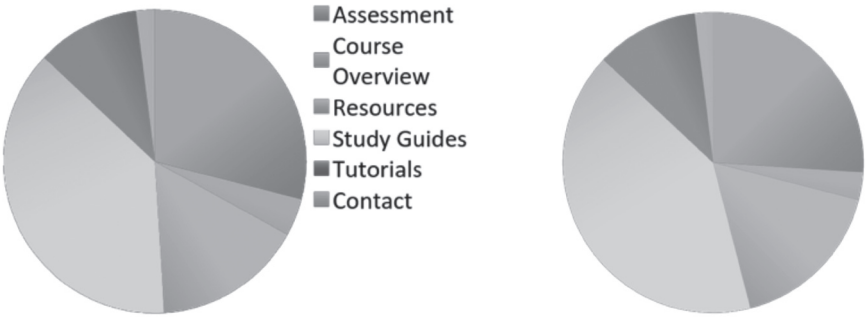


***Figure 2**: Students' Average Hits per Folder*



While students distributed their time in similar ways (see Figure 3), there was a slight difference in the percentage of time female and male students dedicated to two folders: Study Guides and Assessment.

***Figure 3** - Activity inside Content Area as a Percentage (Men on left, Women on right)*

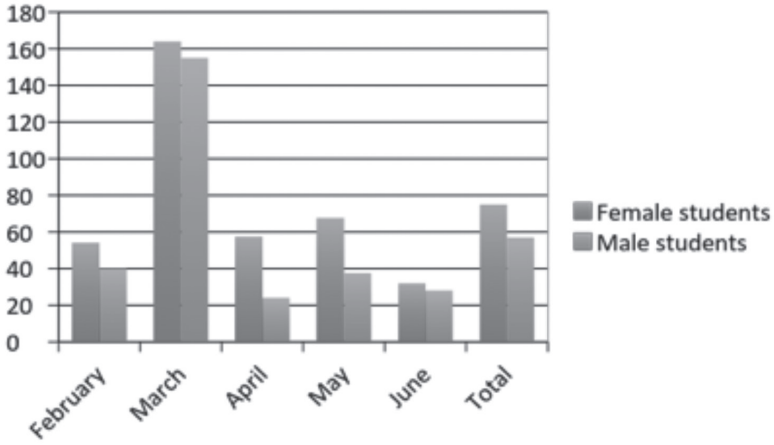


The Study Guides, which gave a weekly overview of students' tasks (recorded lectures, recommended readings, tutorial readings and questions, and advice on the work that should be done towards the assessments), was the most accessed folder by all students. Female students consulted this folder on average 115 times, while male students accessed it on average 84 times. This means that female students spent on average 41% of their hits on it while it represented 38% of male students' hits.

The two students who accessed the Guides the most often were female (370 and 351 times); the former spent 63 hours online while the latter spent 93 hours and both students had less than 60% as final results. The two highest numbers of hits for male students were 292 and 94; the former spent 66 hours online and was awarded 51%, while the latter spent 50 hours online and achieved 79%. These results exposed the difficulty of finding a correlation between the numbers of hits, the time spent online and academic results. Yet the gap between female and male students' highest number of hits confirms previous research: women spent more time online (Price, 2006). While a high level of online presence does not always ensure good marks, a very low presence and a lack of communication often lead to low marks. For example, a female student, who accessed the Study Guides five times and spent 14 hours online, failed the course.

The second most accessed folder was Assessment, where students could find documents that helped them understand and complete their assignments, which were well scaffolded and distributed over the semester[1]. Male students consulted it on average 49 times, the total number of hits ranging from 30 to 81. Female students averaged 58 hits, with a total number of hits ranging from 33 to 98. While female students spent 26% of their hits on Assessment, it represented 29% of male students' hits. Interestingly the graph on the average monthly access (Figure 4) indicated that the assessments' due dates did not greatly influence students' online access. This finding contrasts with students' interventions on the blog, which increased when assignments were due and declined sharply at the end of the semester.

Figure 4 *- Students' Monthly Average*



Analysing the data on the distribution of time exposed some of the problems online students face. Students who did not follow the average trend drew our attention. For example, the female student who consulted the Assessment folder the least (33 times or 7% of her total hits) consulted the Study Guides 351 times (71% of her hits). Her final mark for the semester was a pass (56%). Her engagement with the course revealed that throughout the semester she spent 93 hours online with a total of 496 hits – 12% of her hits were on Resources and 10% on Tutorials. This distribution of hits did not follow the average trend for female students, which was: 41% on the Study Guides, 26% on Assessments, 17% on Resources and 11% on Tutorials (Figure 3). She appeared to have accessed the Guides too often while not dedicating enough time to Assessment, which suggests either inadequate time management or difficulty grasping the course content and its expectations. Conversely, the male student who accessed this folder the least did it 30 times. He spent 11 hours online and was awarded 62%. Like the majority of students, this student spent most time on the Study Guides (36%), 25% on Resources, and 9% on Tutorials (or 10 hits or 7 minutes). While he had a credit for his progressive marks, his lack of engagement with the tutorials may have impacted on his exam mark (50%).

Interestingly, the male student, who accessed the course area most (463 times), spent the longest time online (66 hours) and wrote three

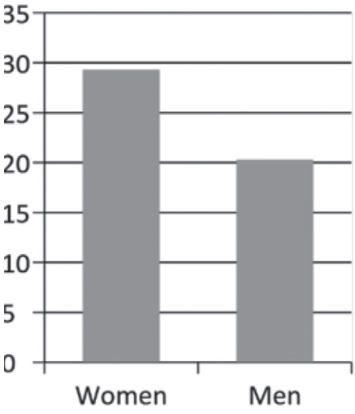
posts (one communication and two information). Yet, his final result (51%) illustrates how the time spent online does not automatically equate with success, and may indicate that the student was experiencing difficulties. The male student who was awarded the best mark (79%) spent 50 hours online and wrote one communication post on the blog. These different approaches to online studies support the need to further investigate students' online presence to guide the improvement and renewal of the online courses offered to our diverse enabling cohort of students.

Female and male students consulted the Resources folder, the third most accessed area, in similar ways: it represented 17% of female students' hits and 16% of male students'. The average was 42 hits from female students and 30 from male students. The male student, who accessed Resources the most (70 times), spent 50 hours online and was awarded a Distinction. The female student who accessed Resources the most (99 times), checked the Study Guides five times and the tutorials twice, she failed the course. Her lack of engagement with significant aspects of the course was confirmed by her silence on the blog throughout the semester. This demonstrates the importance of distributing well studying time throughout the semester, but also the need to encourage students to discuss the important issue of time management.

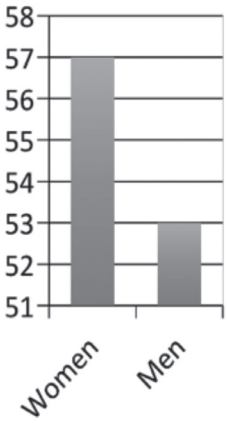
Analysing the three most used areas (Study Guides, Assessment and Resources) gave us an indication on the ways students navigated Blackboard and managed their time online during their first semester. While it is difficult to draw a correlation between the time spent online and the overall mark awarded, a necessary minimum amount of engagement appears important. This is confirmed by the analysis of the data on the tutorials. Students were told that the tutorial material would be tested in the end of semester exam. Interestingly, both female and male students spent 11% of their hits on the Tutorial folder. Female students accessed it on average 29 times spending 57 minutes on that folder while men did so, on average 20 times (or 53 minutes). The minima and maxima numbers of hits on the Tutorial folder by female students ranged from 2 to 54, and from 7 to 26 hits by male students. As for the other aspects of the course, female students were more engaged than male students. The tutorials were the only online synchronous communications during the semester but many students did not join

them. The ability to access the recordings later made them an important source of information that was quite readily used by students, even if they had joined the tutorials. This is a reminder that some students chose to study online because they were time poor and some did not wish to interact with their learning community.

***Figure 5**: Tutorial hits and minutes (women and men)*



Tutorials (hits)



Tutorials (minutes)

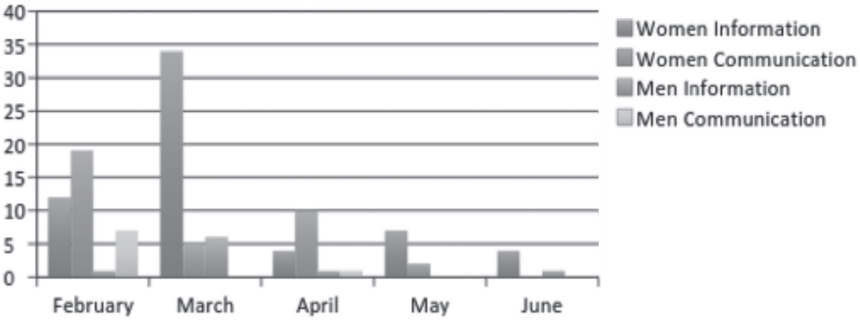
Another way to gauge students' engagement was to examine the posts written in the forum called 'History Matters Blog'. As an asynchronous mode of communication, the forum aimed to facilitate interactions between their lecturers or peers and create a learning community. The blog can be used as an information tool or a way to communicate or establish human-to-human interactivities. Accordingly, students' monthly engagements were evaluated depending on their purpose: either information or communication. Over the semester, female students wrote ninety-seven posts while male students authored 17 posts. February was the best month in terms of communication on the blog with 19 women and seven men writing a post. Most students seemed to enjoy answering the invitation to introduce themselves to their lecturer and peers. Some female students suggested the organisation of study groups and wrote about their eagerness to attend the Face-2-Face days.[1] Both female and male students commented

on their anxiety about starting a new journey and also mentioned their other commitments (work and families), which impacted on their engagement. As an enabling, part-time cohort, our students have multiple identities that may complicate further the building of a learning community. The blog aims to generate a sense of community by encouraging students to interact and hopefully support each other.

The blog experienced a peak in March. The gradual release of material on Blackboard throughout the semester and the fact that two assessments were submitted in March encouraged students to access the course on a regular basis. Few male students wrote posts about their assignments and rarely socialised. In accordance with previous research, female students were more likely to communicate and foster relationship building (Price, 2006). Overall, female students were prevalent on the blog: they wrote 82% of Communication posts and 87% of the Information posts. Both female and male students communicated enthusiastically on the blog, but after the first weeks the blog entries decreased.

Figure 6: *Australian History Blog post statistics*

Gender	Type	February	March	April	May	June
Women	*Information*	12	34	4	7	4
	Communication	19	5	10	2	0
Men	*Information*	1	6	1	0	1
	Information	7	0	1	0	0



The case study demonstrated how female students made more efforts to engage socially with their peers, writing more posts, and checking the blog on a more regular basis. They did so not only to ask questions, but also to answer queries from their peers. This engagement confirms that women are more likely to reach out (Anderson and Haddad, 2005). Yet, male and female students showed a reluctance to use the blog as a learning tool and a preference for using it as a platform to enquire about specific aspects of the course, often related to assessments. Despite the lecturer's encouragements to reflect on the course and their learning, only two students – female – answered her promptings. Both wrote a comprehensive post that might have intimidated others, resulting in fewer posts. Explaining to students how building a community of enquiry and learning can improve their learning outcomes and their satisfaction (Luhrs and McAnally-Salas, 2016:32) could entice them to make more efforts.

***Figure 7**: Correlation between Average Marks and Time*

Grades	HD	D	C	P	F
Time (hours) Women/Men	76/NA	NA/50	46/NA	53/28	14/15

***Figure 8**: Students' Marks and Engagements over One Semester*

	Total Mark (Average)	Average Hits	Average time (hours)	Average posts
Female students	65%	253	51	4.86
Male students	56%	195	23	0.93

The data compiled in the above tables compared the average marks with students' online various activities. Female students achieved highest marks with an average mark of 65% (Credit) versus 56% (Pass) for male students. Women had an average of 66% in their progressive marks and 62.5% at their exam; while men had an average of 60% and 52%. We can note that women's average exam mark did not decrease as much as men's, which might be explained by a more sustained engagement throughout the semester. Figure 2 linked grades with time spent

online and reminds us that women spent more time online. It certainly demonstrates firstly that female students spent more time online and secondly that students (male and female) who spent on average less than 15 hours online are less likely to succeed.

Although the Australian History cohort was small, the data confirm previous research on women's and men's online presence and engagement. Examining students' interaction patterns was instructive and suggests a need to find ways to encourage all students to be consistently active and facilitate their integration into their new learning community. Previous research demonstrated how such integration could positively impact on students' confidence. Enabling students often have doubts about their ability to succeed and it is important to facilitate and promote in different ways their engagement to build up their confidence – this is even more important in a course such as history where students need to discuss evidence and build rational arguments. More research on male students' expectations and engagement with a history course would help us understand how we can motivate them to interact more with their enabling community.

Comments on Mathematics Students' Engagement

This case study analysed the engagement in the weekly Discussion Boards of the 124 part-time students who completed Introductory Mathematics Online in a semester 1. Of those, 80 (or 65%) were female and 44 (or 35%) were male. We chose to analyse the weekly Discussion Boards only, as Introductory Mathematics is a course that is far larger than Australian History, and the Discussion Boards serve as an important teaching space, and as a forum heavily used by some students. Students asked questions about Mathematics problems that were most often answered by the lecturer, although sometimes other students, usually women, supplied the answers. Students also 'let off steam' when they were struggling, or their results were not what they hoped. Students appeared very comfortable doing this, which is a tribute to the lecturer's endless patience and kindness, and highlights the critical role of the teacher in online courses. The Discussion Boards were valuable as they were where so much communication, both social and Mathematics-linked, took place.

Overall use of the 14 Discussions Boards – Information and Communication

Student posts were divided into those that were predominantly about requesting, or supplying, Information, and Communication posts which were predominantly about more social matters. This is a breakdown of that interaction over the course of the semester:

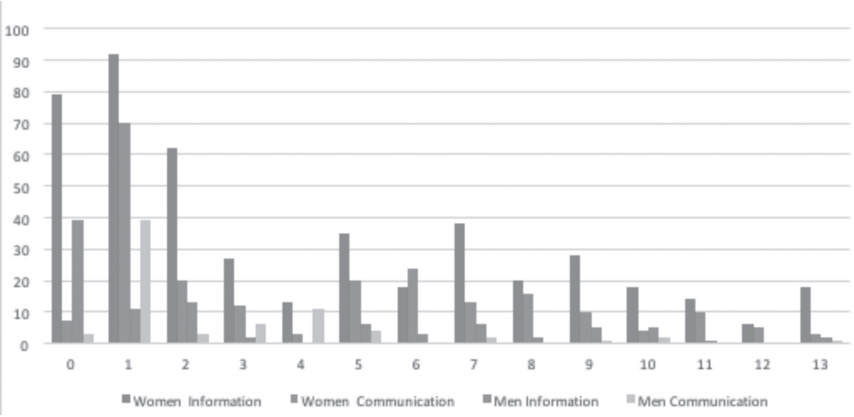
***Figure 9**: Communication Type by Week*

		Week														
Gender	**Type**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**Total**
Women	Information	79	92	62	27	13	35	18	38	20	28	18	14	6	18	468
	Communication	7	70	20	12	3	20	24	13	16	10	4	10	5	3	217
Men	Information	39	11	13	2	0	6	3	6	2	5	5	1	0	2	95
	Communication	3	39	3	6	11	4	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	1	72
		128	212	98	47	27	65	45	59	38	44	29	25	11	24	852

Predictably, there was a high level of activity of both types in the first three weeks of semester but it then dropped significantly. Gradually student posts in the Communication category decreased, and those in the Information category increased, as both men and women grappled with the various assessment tasks. In Week 7, posts by women increased, most likely reflecting the perceived difficulty of that week's topic. Overall men made only one-fifth of the Information posts while constituting one-third of the students. This supports Caspi, Chajut and Saporta's (2008) finding that females generally post more messages than males. That women made the majority of posts also suggests that they are less confident in their mathematical ability, and/or are more willing to ask for help than males.

The Mathematics course had weekly quizzes (worth 20% in total) and three other larger assessment items due in Weeks 5, 9 and 13 (each worth 10%), plus an exam (50%). The weekly quizzes caused women to ask for assistance, as did the Weeks 5 and 7 large assessment items. As women tend to participate more actively online than men (Chyung, 2007, cited in Yoo and Huang, 2013) it may have seemed obvious to many of them to ask for assistance while men's participation did not increase to the same extent when large assessment items were due. This may reflect men's greater confidence in their mathematical ability.

Figure 10: *Communication Type by Week*



We will turn now to the correlation between online engagement by male and female students and the overall marks.

Figure 11*: Summary of Student Online Behaviour and Marks*

Category of student	**Average mark**
Men who never posted – 18 (40% of all men)	84.9%
Men overall – the whole group of men – 44	80.3%
Men who posted from Wk 1 on – 18 (40% of all men)	77.3%
Men who posted in Wk 0 only – 10 (22% of all men)	77.0%
Women who posted from Wk 1 on – 50 (62% of all women)	77.2%
Women overall – the whole group – 80	71.4%
Women who posted in Week 0 only – 18 (20% of all women)	67.5%
Women who never posted – 21 (22% of all women)	59.3%

Twenty-two percent of the women and 40 percent of the men never posted on Discussion Board, and there is a 25-mark difference between the average results of these men and women, the largest variation of the four groups. If we accept that women tend to reach out more for online interaction, why did this group of women who gained the lowest average marks of all the groups, not do so? We can only assume that a

multiplicity of personal factors produced this behaviour. While three levels of Mathematics are offered on campus there is only one offered online (the introductory or lowest level) which results in students with a particularly wide range of abilities taking this course. Some men were aiming for courses such as Engineering, or high school Mathematics teaching, suggesting that they already had highly-developed skills in the discipline. Conversely, many women wanted to gain entry to degrees such as primary school teaching and nursing, requiring lower-level Mathematics, indicating that they began with a lower level of proficiency. Of those students who never posted on Discussion board, the men's average marks were very high, indicative of students requiring neither the assistance nor the social aspect the forum offered.

There was another group of students (20 percent of the females and 22 percent of the males**)** who introduced themselves in Week 0 and never posted online again. These women's results were lower than the average of *all* females, and also 9.5 marks lower than those of the males in this category. We speculate that, like the women who never posted online, this group of women found the online environment daunting and, in addition, asking for assistance can be difficult for students who do not like their shortcomings to be aired in such a 'public' forum. Australian girls and women tend to absorb the cultural belief that females possess innate mathematical skills inferior to males, and thus, as adult students have a psychological hurdle to overcome before they even begin to study Mathematics (on the gendered perceptions of mathematics and related careers, see Forgasz, Leder & Tan, 2014).

Those students who posted consistently, from Week 1 onward (62 percent of the women and 40 percent of the men) constitute the only category in which men's and women's average marks were virtually the same. Evidently these students found the lecturer's assistance valuable enough to override the concerns experienced by those who did not post beyond Week 1. Such students clearly understood their weaknesses, and were prepared to seek help online. In the other categories, the two genders' average marks were a minimum of 10% apart, with the women always having the lower average mark. Interestingly, there was little difference in marks between those men who posted in Week 0 only and those who posted from Week 1 onward. These were likely to have been the more able male students for whom online interaction made little difference although, like the female students, their interaction

might have lifted the marks, and improved the mathematical skills, of individuals.

Of the ten top performing students, five were women and five men, while the top two places went to women. The highest achieving five women made a total of 60 posts and the five men, a mere 9 posts. This suggests that even high-performing women need more interaction with the lecturer and fellow students than did the corresponding group of men which is in line with other researchers' findings (Li, 2005a; Hermann Astleiter, 2005; Prummer, 2004; Li 2005b; Prinsen, 2007).

Ultimately, the total number of posts by women was 685, and by men a mere 167 thus women posted at four times the rate of men. Women made far more use of Discussion Board yet in every category in the table above, women gained lower average marks than did the men. Women's results were an average of 8.9 marks below those of the men. The women who interacted online gained higher marks than those who did not, while for men, the inverse was true, with those men who posted online gaining lower marks than the men who never posted. We speculate, however, that the women's interaction might have served to keep them in the course; to boost their confidence and IT skills, and to gain higher marks than they would otherwise have done.

In this course, generally the more women interacted, the higher their final marks, thus struggling women need to be persuaded that online interaction will pay dividends. Conversely men who never interacted online gained the highest marks which is likely to be an aberration peculiar to this course. Taught online at the lowest of the three levels offered on campus, the mathematical content was not found demanding by the highest performing men who thus pragmatically refrained from ever going online, as they decided they needed neither the support nor interaction on offer.

Conclusion

Many questions were raised as a result of this case study; in some cases gender appeared to play a role in engagement, and at other times our results did not conform to the findings in the literature about how men and women participate online. A major feature of this case study was the extent to which choice and student individuality played a role in how and when a student engaged. These cannot be measured against some

university standard, yet they are aspects that impact engagement in an online course. This case study did not attempt to study what encouraged a student to participate, but rather endeavoured to see if gender had a significant effect on participation rates.

The findings from this study closely reflect current literature on gender in the online environment, but with some unexpected outcomes. Firstly, it was expected that due dates of History assessments would influence students' online behaviour; however, this was not the case. Students did not access their assessment folders more often or for longer periods of time when assessment tasks were due. Conversely, an impending assessment did seem to impact on student engagement on the blog and, as previous research suggests, women were more likely to blog than their male peers. In the Mathematics course, women posted more often when a large assessment item was due but the men did not, possibly reflecting men's greater confidence in their mathematical ability. The study of all History students' access to the different areas demonstrates that both genders behave on average in similar ways between folders. They progress through their studies in a linear fashion, which in turn may influence how they navigate online, and explain why on average they more often accessed all folders in the content area. This is confirmed by previous research by McSporran and Young in 2001.

Overall the online behaviour of female students confirms previous research, which has shown that female students who engage more with their learning community achieve better results. This also appears true for men who studied the Australian History course, but not so for the men who studied Mathematics. Further research into the perceptions that men and women hold about their mathematical abilities might shed some light on this finding, but this is outside the scope of this paper. In both courses, students were encouraged from the beginning of semester to interact with their lecturer and other students to gain information and establish a learning community. However, their presence decreased as they became more familiar with the courses and the expectations. This may demonstrate that students were becoming self-directed learners, yet research suggests that students who continue to engage with lecturers and students generally do better. Setting up online learning environments that allow students to interact in different ways may facilitate greater male student participation and improve the overall experience of all students.

Leaving aside the highest performing group of male Mathematics students, it appears that students need to spend a minimum amount of time online. In Mathematics the more often students posted in the blog, the higher their final mark although this relationship was not so clear in the History course. In History some students spent too much time in one area of Blackboard when other areas would have been more useful in successfully completing assessment items. With the increasing diversity in age and background of online enabling students, it is likely that some will find this particular online environment unfamiliar and therefore daunting. It is important that lecturers make clear what parts of Blackboard are relevant at various stages of the course. Additional online activities could be devised and utilised early in the year; the challenge is to make such activities useful and meaningful to both men and women.

Mullenburg and Berg (cited in Whannell & Whannell, 2012: 28) argue that a lack of interaction is the most important barrier in online learning. Many students are, however, time poor and pragmatically choose not to 'waste' time online unless they can see a good reason for doing so. This applies particularly to men in the Mathematics course (those 62% of men who did not post on the blog beyond Week 0 yet gained high marks), which suggests that they well understood the purpose of the blog, deciding they needed neither the assistance nor socialising on offer there. Of course, some students, both male and female, enrol in an online course specifically because they do *not* want contact with either lecturer or fellow students. This could explain the 22% of women in the Mathematics course who never interacted online and who went on to gain the lowest average mark of all the groups. It is also possible that a whole variety of life circumstances made it difficult for those women to spend time online. The nature of Mathematics and History seems likely to have resulted in some differences in behaviour. In Mathematics a student generally knew how to complete the content for that week, or they did not, whereas in humanities subjects that line is not so well-defined and students can be unaware of what they do not know, until an assessment task is marked. Thus the value of Blackboard participation is easier to ascertain in the Mathematics course than it is in History. While the rewards inherent in belonging to a learning community may seem clear to lecturers and researchers, some students – but particularly men – still need to be convinced of the value of

time spent online. This is an issue that could be investigated by future researchers.

Our results indicate that engagement is a highly individual and complex activity. The differences between how men and women engage varied between the two courses, suggesting that engagement is multifaceted. By understanding the complexity of the individual within our cohorts of enabling students and offer, if not compel, them to take the opportunities to engage in the challenging journey that is the first semester of study will, we believe, result in genuine engagement of both student and teacher.

Endnotes

1 Students submit a workbook (20%) in Week 4, an Essay Plan with an Annotated Bibliography (15%) in Week 6 and an essay (25%) in Week 8. At the end of the semester students sit an exam (mid-June), which is worth 40%.

2 Online students are invited to come to the Newcastle campus twice per semester to attend lectures and meet their lecturers and peers.

Acknowledgement

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A reflection on continuing professional education research

Barrie Brennan

This paper has arisen from my research on the first study of the story of Continuing Professional Education in Australia and the publication of my UNE PhD thesis by Springer, *Continuing Professional Education in Australia. A Tale of Missed Opportunities*. I will continue to work with the professional associations on their profession's CPE and the development of CPD. However, this paper is focused on issues that have arisen from the introduction of Australia's national registration regime for select health-related professions.

In addition to material gathered as part of the research on CPE/CPD, there has been more recent discussion as I have sought to promote my book. The subjects discussed have been CPE/CPD but also more general issues related to the National Registration scheme or concerned with questions of the future of' professional education. Those involved in these discussions have been linked to the professional associations, university faculties concerned with the education of those in a profession or those involved with organisations with an interest in a particular area such as learning or how various emerging issues may be dealt with. I have been surprised at the wide range of issues raised and the depth of the concern by some of the need for activity and action, decisions not just another report. The scope and nature of the questions

raised and the variety of the sources from which they have come have been the reasons for the writing of this paper.

Three areas have been selected for comment. The first is the new type of vocational education that has been clearly identified. The second is a question that needs to be answered and there is a hole that needs urgently to be filled. These areas have become clear to me in my seeking to understand the implications of the decision by the commonwealth government to establish the registration process for professionals at the national level. I accept that the process has not been completed but that there are certain foundations that appear to have been established.

The first point I wish to make is that the creation of national registration for professionals, but initially not all professionals, has created and identified a new part of Vocational Education and Training (VET). I have called it Continuing Professional Vocational Education and Training (CPVET). This identification is something 'new' but really only brings together three, what I have always called, 'sectors'. They are the initial university based period to induction and thirdly the old CPE (now CPD) sector that covers the professional development of the practitioner for his or her entire career.

This is an important development process of three sectors (though not broadly acknowledged or recognised). I have spent many hours arguing with professional associations that the three sectors are closely related with common goals. On one occasion, I think I helped a professional association CPE manager to accept that he could really conduct mentoring programs for his university students about becoming members as well as experienced practitioners. There were common factors in these two sectors.

While I have used the term 'sector' to identify the three areas, overseas the term 'continuum' is used widely and Knox (2000) has constantly argued in the USA for their use together, ie. of the three sectors, in a continuum. This term does stress the linkage and developmental aspects of the three sectors.

There have unfortunately been many instances when the lack of an agency created problems for the discussion of a potentially new approach within the three sectors. I was asked to review a book on a new approach to vocational teaching within universities. The book

was entitled *Work Integrated Learning* and proposed that much of the students' learning would take place on the workplace site, not the university campus. My review praised the quality and detail of the book. However, in exploring the ways in which two universities may have become interested in examining this new approach, I was informed in both examples that there was no 'channel' through which to explore the potential of this process. There were too many agencies/organisations with some connections to this new approach but there was no formal means of assessing this new approach. A CPVET-focused agency may have been able to provide a means to permit useful discussions. A colleague, who was critical of my praise for the book, made the comment that having the students' learning in a real workplace for large slices of the first two sectors placed a good deal of stress on the concept of a continuum across the three sectors. Gaining co-operation from organisations associated with the three sectors would not necessarily be an easy process.

The lack of means to assist the sharing of ideas and the development of techniques and methods across the three sectors is not just a current problem. Around the turn of the century, there were some arguments about the comparative value of the use of models and mentors in the three sectors being discussed here. There were no actual face-to-face discussions between those involved in the three sectors. There were however many responses to a paper I wrote for this journal (Brennan 2003). The argument from those who actually offered 'mentoring programs' was that the choice of 'models' was probably best used with reference to adolescents and their 'teenage dreams'. Cross sector discussion was needed at that time, as it is now. However, creating this discussion across the continuum may however continue to be a difficult task.

A more recent telephone message from the director of a general training unit was that she was very keen on mentoring across the three areas/sectors noted here. From the school leaver going to university to the just-graduated about-to-join the company person to the experienced practitioner who just needs some guidance, she had a wide range of potential users of their own experiences as the volunteering mentors. There were advantages in noting the varied requirements for persons in different settings, such as those in the three sectors of CPVET. Her perception acknowledged the presence and advantages of the continuum.

This newly identified group (if it is really at this time an accepted part of the current scene) may have a great deal to gain by sharing not only problems but possible solutions to common concerns. That can be through their professional association or perhaps with other providers of courses for various practitioners at different stages in their careers, or just other providers of advisory services to workers within VET. Progress may be made from the bottom up as well as from the top down.

One professional association has informed me that until last year (2016) there were three different types of mentors operating, under different sets of orders, in three different 'parts' of their association. They are proceeding to an integrated mentoring unit and have streamlined their management, have fewer staff but more members volunteering for one or other of the mentoring roles. My contact stressed that the association as a whole was made aware of this development and members offered the opportunity to participate.

The story of CPE's development stressed the number of missed opportunities that were such a significant feature of its story. One that needs to be stressed at this point is that related to the professions and VET (Vocational Education and Training) . The professions through their associations did not foster a strong relationship with VET. But as the title I have given to this 'agency group' stresses, it is concerned with Vocational Education and Training and those three final letters are VET.

The point cam be simply made that the vast majority of the professional associations became CPE providers. However, there were generally not the best relationships between VET and those associations who sought to be RTOs (Registered Training Organisations), the formally recognised VET providers. Positive comments about the relationship were usually outnumbered by examples of problems and difficulties. Few associations had an ongoing link with VET as RTOs.

The associations complained that the regulations from VET were regularly changing. The associations also were concerned that there was not a clear understanding by VET regarding the special features of professionals' CPE.

There is probably general agreement, though not necessarily shared by the associations, that there should be much stronger connections between VET and the professions. VET has a strong national focus: the

status of the new registration process and CPD are clearly national. If there is strong representation of the professions at the national level ... noting for example the national registration scheme ...then there must be a greater effort from the associations to raise their status.

There are several, rather different, features linked to this first point. There is not necessarily clearly identified means by which the different issues and problems identified can be given attention. The various groups with an interest must first discuss the problem or issue. To work under a single banner will be one step towards making progress and getting 'things done'. But action at the national level must be the result of the work of those operating under an established CPVET banner.

The second point links strongly to the topic 10.4 on 'The failure to recognise developments about learning' in the book based on my thesis (Brennan 2016, pp. 202-208.). The section presents a case outlining some of the developments - many of which are Australian research cases - that clearly demonstrate that research has shown how learning may be more effectively assisted through the results of a very wide range of research. The evidence is presented in the book chapter: the evidence of the use of this research on the learning of students is not able to follow on the earlier hoped-for promises.

This is an issue that has not been fought in open battle. Perhaps the opposing forces have never faced each other. The battle is between the technology that has been in the developmental stages since the late 20th century and those who carry on the experiments and research with the procedures and techniques that have been developed to assist the learning of material and information. I listened with colleagues for about 30 minutes to a group of academics and support (ie technical) staff at a university explain the technical procedures associated with the use of new 'teaching machines' and other relevant material as part of the presentation associated with the application for approval to teach a particular health-related professional undergraduate course for the next three or four years.. When the technical staff retired from the meeting, there was no one remaining who could answer the questions that were posed at the meeting by the visiting committee members and they were eventually answered in long written reports sent to the national office of the relevant professional association some weeks later.

I was not directly associated with the final report but I understand that

there was no satisfactory report presented from the university in answer to the questions posed at that meeting noted above. I was informed informally that money had more weight than difficult questions.

To reduce the discussion of this issue regarding learning and its status and the concern about its effectiveness and acceptance and relevance to the students concerned is to renounce all responsibility for the whole process of training these specially selected students for particular important roles and duties within the health professions.

This is at one level an issue about technology to service various functions. The implications of this question far exceed the scope of this paper. However, from the evidence of the above incident, it appears that the 'final decisions' about this particular area of teaching/learning will be decided, or that is the more likely outcome, than after more detailed examination of answers, such as those that may be given to the enquiry that was not answered but mentioned above.

The issue noted in this section is primarily about the conflict that appears to have arisen about the best, or most effective or most economical for use with undergraduate students.

The examination of this question does not proceed beyond this point. It has been offered as an example of the practical problems associated with the challenge that faces institutions about differences in the costs of various methods to assist on their students' learning and funds available. In this examination, the question of the struggle between technology and research on learning has also been raised with an outcome not proposed. The need for a solution is noted.

Having introduced the need to develop a link with VET, the necessity of an organisation of some sort to fulfil the needs of those who contribute to this field of professional activity, becomes more significant. So the third point is the absolute necessity for an organisation through a national agency that represents those organisations with an involvement in CPVET.

This is a requirement for which there have been requests from various agencies and individuals for many years. In association with my first published book on CPE – *Continuing Professional* Education (Brennan 1990) -- I communicated with the Australian Bureau of Statistics but was informed that the field of CPE was not of sufficient importance

to have data on the field formally collected. A similar response was received to a similar enquiry in relation to my PhD thesis.

With an extension of the data collection to include the three sectors of this field, then there is further justification for data collection in the three related areas. Having access to reliable national data will strengthen the three sectors and particularly those organisations involved in delivering the services.

Organisations providing programs and activities in these three areas have commented that with national data collection and an agency representing the three sectors, the efficiency and effectiveness of the activities offered will be developed on a sounder organisational basis.

The CPVET organisation must be national, have close relations with agencies associated with national professional registration, with higher education (through universities' involvement in the first sector), professional associations and agencies and organisations (government and non-government) and potentially others with a stake in the field. Developing the list of members qualified to become associated with the CPVET agency will be a complex task, and of vital importance.

The notion of those who provide education and training in these three sectors may find themselves in a new situation, with those offering similar programs and those who may offer programs in other sectors. A new identified level of unity may be one of the key factors to be produced from such an organisation. However, having data available in the long and short term planning of their education and training programs will be a significant positive factor in their planning.

It is not just the agencies involved in conducting programs and activities in this three-pronged field with a stake in the use of the data produced by recording who is involved in these programs. All those who employ professionals will have an interest in the participation of their staff member professionals in their mandatory CPD for example.

It may be an indication to the country as a whole that this new phenomenon, not really so new, has reached a stage of importance where it is absolutely necessary that the data on the participation of professionals in their CPD are recorded and known and appreciated by the wider community and those who use the services of professionals.

The discussion above suggests that the time appears to be appropriate

for the recognition by the government and those who use the services of professionals and who are involved in providing the programs and services that are the backbone for professional practice. The call for the provision of the relevant data for example and the need for an organisation to offer a means by which the area of Continuing Professional Vocational Education and Training may be established and recognised as a key part of the national apparatus to provide a base for these significant programs and activities to be planned, provided and assessed.

Many may argue that this is work that should have been carried through to the operating stage many years ago.

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Book Review

From Formal to non-formal Education, Learning and Knowledge

Igor Z. Zagar and Polona Kelava (Editors) (2014)

Reviewed by Gayle Jenkins
Deakin University

The Zagar and Kelava book collocates the deliberations of thirteen authors whose focus on formal, informal and non-formal learning in the United Kingdom (UK) and Slovenia is both insightful and enlightening while still leaving the reader with much to ponder. It becomes apparent very early on that educational systems are deeply embedded in their history. Also, recognition of learning in whatever form it occurs is a very contentious issue in the current neoliberal educational environment focused on preparing learners for the workplace rather than individual development. Each author in this collection contributes to this discourse in individual ways.

In Chapter 2, Drago Rotar explores the differences and interwoven connections among the different forms of learning and the various methods for acquiring knowledge. Using the anthropological perspective, the author attempts to describe how formal, informal and non-formal education (that is the acquisition of knowledge) differ from

each other but also emphasizes that these forms of knowledge are tightly interwoven and are reliant on each other. Valuing the benefits of this complex tapestry of learning, the author is critical of the increasing formalisation of learning and argues against this trend.

Building on the established concept of life-long learning, in Chapter 3 Tihomir Ziljak presents an analysis of non-formal adult education in the European Union. This article focuses on changes in the relationship between professional accountability and responsibility in adult education. Ziljak identifies three themes within the European Qualification Framework (EU), the conceptual and institutional changes affecting life-long learning and instruments of educational policy (QF); the various forms of accountability and responsibility in implementation (Governance Process) and the challenges these present. The introduction of a qualification framework and recognition of non-formal learning are identified as important forms of institutional change bringing formal and non-formal education closer within European educational policies. He includes some thought provoking comments attributed to Gert Biesta (2004) which deliberates the concern that an educational sytem focused on accountability removes the learners from the process.

Taja Kramberger begins Chapter 4 by providing an overview of the "modern Intellectual" in France, followed by discussion of various European environments and their contexts. Using the Slovenian context, this article finishes by developing an argument that highlights the destructive dimensions of anti-intellectualism in provincial Central Europe. The author argues that central Europe remains an anti-intellectual environment; a product of its history, where the value of alternative forms of learning are contested by the dominance of neoliberal education. She argues for the need to continually reinforce the place and recognition of informal and non-formal learning.

The following two contributions change pace a little. Chapter 5 contributed by Nives Licen, is a refreshing look at everyday learning within families, an area of study that is marginalized. She presents case studies exploring the learning that occurred for two people at different stages of the lifecycle, interpreted through, the dual theories of biographical learning and transitional learning. Complementing the

chapter of Licen, in Chapter 6, Antonio Fragoso looks at educational and developmental processes in deprived communities in southern Portugal. He reports on using participatory research frameworks and community development theory to allow a reflection on the consequences of educational change and the importance of these changes for the community.

Chapter 7 by Petra Javrh deals extensively with the topic of professionalising teachers in our ever-changing modern times, with a particular emphasis on changing personal and professional relationships. This article presents a range of perspectives on the development of teacher professional identity within the teacher life cycle, referring to teacher professional development in Slovenia. Insight from this chapter include a deeper understanding of the complexity of teacher professional identity development over time.

Marko Radovan in Chapter 8 comments on the European LLL 2010 project which investigated adults enrolled in formal education programs at all levels of education. By looking at data focused on life-long learning and how participation in non-formal education influences further education opportunities, Radovan identifies different UK counties' approaches to APL (Accreditation of prior learning) and APEL (Accreditation of prior experiential Learning). For example, some systems have well organsied and functioning processes, while others need improving. The overarching theme emerging from this article is one of concern regarding the acceptance, or otherwise, of the concept that knowledge can be acquired in a range of environments.

Chapter 9 by Klara Skubic Ermenc offers an overview of the National Qualification Frameworks (NQF) in a range of countries. She acknowledges variance in approaches between countries and for some it has resulted in a shift in focus when formulating NQF from an input model to an output model focused on Learning Outcomes (LOs), recognition of life-long learning and acceptance of the concept of equivalence. Using Slovenia as a case study, the article highlights the need for careful consideration of how Learning Outcomes (LOs) are defined and questions the validity of having them tightly bound.

By identifying the considerations needed to provide for learner needs, Polona Kelava, in Chapter 10, flips the focus from the current emphasis

in education on employer requirements and expectations to learner benefits. She questions the social inequities of the current system of validating learning processes without due recognition of non-formal and informal learning. This focus makes for interesting and provocative reading.

The final chapter reflects on the role university careers centers play in developing non-formal employability skills. Sabina Znidarsic Zagar begins by providing a range of definitions, as well as identifying knowledge and skill sets needed in the workforce. This is followed by an in-depth look at the Slovenian context.

For readers with little prior knowledge of the UK and Slovenian educational structures, this book provides a broad brushstroke look at the historical influences on the organization, function and challenges current in vocational education in these areas of the world. While the depth of detail and nuanced exploration of historical and current issues may be challenging, perseverance is rewarded with enlightened understanding. This book would be a valuable resource for anyone wanting to understand current developments in Vocational Education and the complex roles that non-formal and informal learning play in education in the UK and Slovenia.

About the reviewer

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NOTES FOR INTENDING CONTRIBUTORS

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Further information about possible articles can be addressed to the Editor,

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REFEREED ARTICLES

NON-REFEREED ARTICLES

BOOK REVIEW