

# **Interrogating practice in culturally diverse classrooms: what can an analysis of student resistance and teacher response reveal?**

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As classrooms have increasingly become diverse and complex, developing culturally responsive pedagogies is a professional imperative for teachers. However, considerable international research suggests that meeting the needs of diverse pupil cohorts is challenging for many teachers. In this article we highlight how curriculum and teaching practices reflect hegemonic values and cultural practices and can potentially marginalise minority ethnic students. We draw on data from a study conducted in a culturally diverse lower secondary school in Austria where mandatory swimming classes are a source of tension between Muslim female students and their teachers. Our analysis of the intersection of student resistance and teacher authority raises issues of power, compliance and the construction of cultural difference as problematic. We suggest that scenario-based learning and in particular, the analysis of examples of student resistance and teacher response, may facilitate teachers' reflexivity about the values and beliefs that underpin their practice.

**Keywords:** culturally responsive education, social justice, culturally diverse students, student resistance.

## **Introduction**

Over the last two decades, classrooms in many places in the world have become increasingly characterised by cultural and linguistic diversity. The movement of people within the 'borderless' European Union, the forced migration of those escaping war and/or political turmoil and education markets attracting international students, mean that culturally homogenous classrooms have become rare. For example, in Austria, students who speak a language other than German at home now make up more than 20% of the overall student population (Herzog-Punzenberger and Schnell 2012) with most from the former Yugoslavia (excluding Slovenia) and Turkey (Fassmann et al. 2013). Similarly diverse classrooms are to be found in most European countries. In Italy approximately 8% of students are born outside the country (Council of Europe 2011), and come mainly from Romania, Albania, Morocco, China, Ecuador (European Commission 2013a). In the Republic of Ireland in 2009, the school population consisted of approximately 11% of immigrants with Polish and Nigerian students making up the largest non-British groups (European Commission 2013b). In 2010-2011, the number of foreign students in Spanish schools was 9.5% of the total student population (Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Educación, n.d.). These immigrant students originate from Morocco, Ecuador, Romania and Colombia (ibid.). In 2012, in some urban areas of Scotland such as Glasgow, primary school students for whom English is an additional language, numbered 15.8% of the total student population with numbers being as high as 65% in some areas of the city (Scottish Government n.d).

While countries such as the USA, Canada and Australia, sometimes referred to as 'classical immigration countries' or 'traditional immigration countries' (Dustmann, Frattini and Lanzara 2011), have had culturally diverse communities for many decades, this is not the case

everywhere. Of particular significance is the rapid rate of demographic change in some countries (OECD 2013) which has led to challenges for school systems in regards to resourcing and the development of teacher skill and knowledge.

There is significant body of research that suggests many teachers enter the profession because they want to make a positive difference to the material and social aspects of students' lives through education (for example, Kiriacoou et al. 2010; Sanger and Osguthorpe 2011; Watt and Richardson 2008). Manuel and Hughes, whose research investigated teacher education students' motivations to teach, suggest that 'spiritual endeavour; social mission; [...] and a belief in the power of ideas and relationships manifested in education to alter the conditions of others' lives for the better' (2006, 20) are significant in shaping teachers' decisions to enter the profession. However, there are tensions between teachers' desire to teach for social justice and the educational experiences of students from some ethnic minority groups who continue to underachieve in comparison to their 'mainstream' peers. In many cases, the educational outcomes of some groups of culturally diverse student lag behind those of students from the hegemonic mainstream (OECD 2012; European Commission 2011). In general, first and second generation immigrant youth are more likely to leave school early, less likely to access university education (OECD 2010) and consequently more likely to be unemployed or employed in low paying jobs (Portes and Rivas 2011). While some students and their parents have been born in the country where they live, they may have experienced racist and discriminatory practices that have worked to marginalise them, sometimes for generations. For example, Gypsy, Roma and Traveller groups (Wilkin et al. 2010) and First Nations and Aboriginal groups are likely to experience educational disadvantage (Doyle and Hill 2008; Cherubini et al 2010).

There are many reasons for the disparity between the educational outcomes of some groups of students and the rhetoric of equality. One reason is that teacher education has not adequately prepared teachers to be culturally responsive practitioners. Many teachers are simply ill prepared to teach students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Eg. Gay 2010; Darling-Hammond 2012; Siwatu 2011).

In this article we present a vignette of data from an interview with a teacher participant in a four-year longitudinal study conducted in Austria. We present this vignette of data and the accompanying analysis and discussion, not as a means by which to draw generalisations about classrooms and teachers in Austria — it is only one example of data from one teacher in one school. Nonetheless, we present it to highlight the complexities of teaching in a culturally diverse context and the nature of knowledge required by teachers in such contexts. Our findings may, however, resonate with researchers and practitioners working in similarly diverse classrooms beyond this particular school, and this particular national context.

## **The Study**

The vignette of data presented here is from a large scale government funded research project that evaluated and documented the implementation of a comprehensive Austrian school reform program at the lower secondary level, the 'New Middle School'<sup>i</sup>. After obtaining ethics approval from the provincial school authority, a team of researchers from the University of Vienna collected data between 2010 and 2011 at four selected school sites that were characterized by large populations of immigrant background students<sup>ii</sup>. Data comprised

participant observation and semi-structured conversational interviews with teachers in individual and small group interviews (two team teachers) as well as with groups of two to three students. One to two hours of classroom observation preceded each interview. Particular incidents observed during the pre-interview observation were used to prompt participants to reflect on actual episodes from daily situations. A total of five teacher interviews and 11 student interviews were conducted at each of the sites.

The vignette of data we present here is a small section of interview data obtained from one of the teachers, Margit<sup>iii</sup> who was a participant in one of the four case studies. Here, she speaks about the challenges of integrating immigrant background students into an Austrian school, with particular reference to conducting swimming lessons at a local pool. We have drawn on principles of critical discourse analysis to analyse the vignette of data because we are interested in identifying how social identities and relationships are constructed in this particular text of classroom practice. Gee (1999) suggests that critical discourse analysis is a means to ‘assemble situated meanings about what identities and relationships are relevant to the interaction, with their concomitant attitudes, values, ways of feeling, ways of knowing and believing, as well as ways of acting and interacting’ (86). We were interested in investigating not only what Margit said, including the repetition of images and phrases, contradictory statements, and declared positions, but we were also interested in what she left out or only implied<sup>iv</sup>. Silences can also suggest underlying values and beliefs and relations of power. We interrogated the data using the following specific questions.

- How does Margit position herself and the other teachers?
- How are the students positioned by the teachers?
- What aspects of agency do the students take up?

We concur with Fairclough’s (2003) argument that ‘there is no such thing as a complete and definitive analysis of a text’ (14). Our reading of these data is subjective and we do not wish to claim our analysis has revealed ‘the’ truth. However, we do want our analysis to open up for consideration, the complex range of discursive positions taken up by the teachers and the students in this particular instance, and the ways in which practices of resistance and compliance were intertwined.

### **The swimming pool as a battle site: teacher authority and student resistance**

Margit is a white, middle-class Austrian teacher. She teaches at Spellenberg, an urban public junior high school with a student body characterised by diverse culture, religion, nationality and language. Margit is a form teacher, which means she accompanies her class throughout their entire four years of lower secondary schooling. She is an experienced teacher in her late 40s but has relatively little experience of teaching students of immigrant background. She belongs to a generation of Austrian teachers for whom culturally homogenous classrooms have been ‘normal’ practice.

Margit reports that Austrian parents are dissatisfied that their children are in classes containing children of immigrant background because they are concerned that academic standards will be lowered to accommodate the language learning needs of the immigrant background students. The parents have therefore lobbied the school to group students in classes according to German language proficiency. This has resulted in all the students of

immigrant background being in the same class. The students in Margit's class are first or second generation immigrants, with the majority from Chechnyan Muslim refugee families who have arrived in Austria in the past few years. Most students are between 11 and 12 years of age. Margit describes her segregated class as an 'experiment' because the students have been streamed or segregated into language ability groups.

We have chosen the following vignette to present because we were struck by the issues it raises in regards to curriculum, teaching practice and teacher-student interactions. Margit speaks about the challenges of getting the Muslim girls in her class to go swimming, even though swimming is a mandated part of the school curriculum<sup>v</sup>. The students are always divided into separate gender groups for physical education and the girls always have a female physical education teacher. However, the pool is a public pool and not an exclusively female space. The pool attendants are almost always men.

We had swimming lessons this year. The boys loved it, but we had problems with the girls. First day we went to the pool, almost half of the girls didn't show up at all. We knew there was an issue with some of the girls and their parents but we remained very strict. We said: 'Swimming is part of the curriculum, it is mandatory'. Next time a couple of girls came with a doctor's letter to excuse them from swimming. We said: 'OK! You're excused from swimming but not excused from school. So, they had to go with us to the indoor pool, sit there, watch and come back to school with everybody else. [...] Next time a few more girls showed up for swimming, but they came in long leggings and T-shirts. Thank God, the pool attendant was tolerant; sometimes they don't let you in the water if you're not wearing a normal bathing suit. And then Amina shows up with a headscarf. [...] So, she is standing there with a headscarf, long trousers and a loose fitting T-shirt. You can't let her get in the water like that – with the headscarf and all that. I said: 'No way! At least tight pants and a tight-fitting T-shirt'. One of the girls was wearing two tight T-shirts on top of one another. We told her she doesn't need two; Amina should get one of them. We had her put on the tight T-shirt and said: 'you don't have to tell anyone'. We took off the big headscarf and tucked her hair under a small one, and then she could get in the pool. She was blissful in the water, she was ecstatic. She had made it. ... But we do have a massive problem (Margit).

This scenario is reminiscent of a battleground in which the students (and indirectly, their parents) clash with Margit and her colleagues over expectations, practices, beliefs and culture. Margit reports that swimming is a mandatory part of the school curriculum, for *everyone* — and therefore, there can be no exceptions. Participating in physical activities and knowing how to swim are important elements of the curriculum in Austrian schools - as they are in most schools. This expectation, like much school curricula, reflects dominant views about what is valuable knowledge and what are valuable activities for young people. Similarly, the practices associated with swimming, such as wearing swimsuits, are also often taken for granted as 'normal' — and in fact, *necessary* for swimming. These practices reflect particular perceptions of the body and of body modesty that may be the norm in some cultures, but are not shared universally. For many Muslim women, body modesty and the covering of the arms, legs and head is integral to their faith — it is what Benn, Dagkas and Jawad (2011) refer to as 'embodied faith', the connection between faith, body and identity. They claim that 'Adherence to Islamic requirements for body modesty [...] can lead to incompatibility with body cultures in physical education' (Benn, Dagkas and Jawad 2011, 18). In the case of the school reported here, the expectation that all students *will* go swimming, and they *will* all wear 'conventional' swimming suits in a mixed gender pool, is at the core of the conflict between the teachers and the students.

Strategies of control and authority, characterise the teachers' interactions with the girls. Their determination to 'remain very strict' is evident in their responses to the girls' resistance. The girls' strategies to resist the mandate to go swimming, such as absenting

themselves from the lesson, then providing doctors' certificates to support claims of illness, seem to be taken by the teachers as insolent, wilful, and ill-founded troublemaking, rather than a reflection of the girls' deep concern about being asked to do something that compromises their cultural values and practices. The teachers respond with increased determination to assert their authority and to adhere to the sanctioned curriculum and processes.

Throughout the vignette, student resistance and teacher authority is in a dynamic and changing power relation. Resistance can take on different forms and can be overt, covert, individual, collective, intentional, unintentional, engaged and detached (Russell 2011). In this case, the strategies of resistance used by the girls are intentional, collective and overt. They are a demonstration of the girls' agency in contesting schooling ideologies and practices that are in conflict with their cultural and gendered values. At times, these strategies of resistance position the students powerfully, and at other times, it is the teachers who are the more powerfully positioned. While it might be the teachers who determine the girls *will* go swimming, it is the girls who determine the conditions under which they will participate, and how they will dress.

Amina's demonstration of individual resistance, that is, to come dressed to swim in a 'headscarf, long trousers and a loose fitting T-shirt' is countered by the teachers who take it upon themselves to re-dress Amina. Their advice to her as they do so, ('You don't have to tell anyone'), suggests they know that this action would attract disapproval from her parents, family and other members of her community if they were aware of it. However, if the girls don't tell them, they won't either, and it will be a secret the teachers and Amina share. Maybe they believe this 'secret' will indicate to Amina that they are on her side. There is an implication here that Amina is a victim of an unreasonably restrictive culture —if it were up to her, she would choose to go swimming. It is the expectations of others that are *imposed* on her. It is popularly thought that Islamic women are oppressed by their fathers, brothers and husbands and forced to observe particular codes of dress and behaviour — they exercise no individual will or agency in doing so. The hijab is often seen by non-Muslims as symbol of oppression. Prouse suggests the hijab is 'an object that has become symbolic of an essentialised patriarchal Islam and a victimized Muslim woman' (2013, 4). She goes on to problematise this view, arguing that calls to ban the wearing of the hijab on the basis of claims of equality, is a 'technology of power that (re)produces [...] paternalism' (Prouse 2013, 2). Similarly, Wagner et al. argue that Muslim women are constructed as oppressed and in need of liberation, most often 'in ways which are prescribed from a Western, most often white, yardstick which codes and represents cultural "Others" from a position of dominance and superiority' (2012, 523). However, for many Muslim women, the hijab represents the opposite of oppression - it is liberatory, and an assertion of identity (Haw 2010).

Margit's claim that Amina was 'ecstatic' and 'blissful' when she eventually goes into the water, suggests that Margit saw the outcome as a positive one. That 'She had made it', implies that Amina had actually *wanted* to participate in the swimming class all along. The teachers had simply facilitated her participation. Although Amina's acquiescence may have suggested this particular issue has been resolved, Margit's final comment, 'But we do have a massive problem', implies that Margit sees the issue of non-compliance as an ongoing one. While the nature of 'the problem' might be the resistance of Muslim girls to participating in physical education, Margit's comment might also be read as a reflection of her dissatisfaction with immigrant background students' attitudes to assimilation, in general.

Our analysis of this vignette of classroom practice leads us to ask why the curriculum and teaching practices in this school conflict with the values and practices of these students. One explanation is that the teachers don't understand the students' cultures and that Islamic values and practices require females to cover their legs, arms and heads when they are in public. Understanding the 'informal, cultural, or personal curricula that children embody – the curriculum of home, the curriculum of community/ies, the curriculum of lived experiences' (Goodwin 2010, 25) is vital if teachers are to engage effectively with the learning needs of their culturally and linguistically diverse students. This is a principle with which we concur completely. However, given Margit's statement that the girls can keep their participation in swimming a secret, we think it is unlikely that the teachers lack fundamental knowledge of Islamic culture. We think the teachers *do* know that Muslim girls cover their arms, legs and heads in public. However, the girls' desire to do so, and the culture that shapes this desire, appears to be seen by the teachers as a problem, a hindrance and a barrier to the girls' engagement in 'normal' schooling.

We suggest that what is at the core of the problem, is not teacher ignorance of these cultural practices, but disregard for them and a lack of respect for the students for whom these practices are important. Whether this is inadvertent or otherwise is unclear. However, the result is an educational setting characterised by tension, conflict and, ultimately, ineffective student engagement.

While acknowledging the importance of teacher education that develops teachers' awareness of the characteristics of particular cultural groups, we believe it is equally important for teachers to reflect on their values and beliefs and the 'hegemonic ideologies' (Bartolomé 2008, x) that inform their perceptions of students and underpin their practice. If Margit and her colleagues were able to interrogate their views of the students, and importantly, *why* they hold these particular views, they might gain greater insight into their 'teaching actions'. It is commonly accepted that students' beliefs and values shape their identities and practices as learners — this is clearly demonstrated in the girls' responses to the swimming lesson. However, the same is rarely considered in relation to teachers' identities and how their work is shaped by the values and beliefs they bring to the classroom. According to Applebaum,

When it is assumed that teachers can act as if they bring nothing into the classroom, teachers do not have to examine how their own identities and the frameworks within which they are constituted influence how they understand who their students are and what can be expected of them (2009, 383)

We have argued elsewhere that understanding how they are positioned as members of the hegemonic cultural mainstream with the power and symbolic privileges that accrue to them is important teacher learning (Santoro 2009, 2013; Forghani-Arani 2011). Such understandings can lead teachers to greater insight about their biases (and blindness) about the centrality and value of their own cultural practices. In turn, this awareness may enable them to reflect on the impact of their practice, and how the nature of particular interactions with students, expectations of students and particular curricula can work to marginalise students whose cultural values are different. This is however, a difficult lesson because it demands that teachers interrogate what can be deeply held views about others and requires that they problematise that which they have assumed to be correct and normal. This self-

awareness may lead to more thoughtful practice, greater respect for the values of culturally diverse students and, ultimately, practices that are more culturally responsive.

In what follows we argue that a critical teacher education providing opportunities for reflection and reflexivity is essential if teachers are to move beyond simply knowing about the cultures of others, to knowing how their views about the cultures of others have been shaped. We suggest an analysis of student resistance and teacher response has the potential to provide such insight.

### **Towards a Critical Teacher Education: Analysing student resistance and teacher response.**

Critical teacher education pedagogy, like critical pedagogy in general, has, at its heart, a focus on question and critique and education for social change. It 'aims to assist teachers and prospective teachers to "see beyond the obvious", the commonplace and common-sense of the culture of everyday life in order to understand the interrelatedness of human activity at a range of levels' (Kirk 2000, 203). Teacher education that encompasses a critical perspective has the potential to 'expose prospective teachers to a variety of ideological postures so that they can begin to perceive their own ideologies in relation to others' and critically examine the damaging biases they may personally hold' (Bartolomè 2007, 281). However, far too little teacher education develops teachers' knowledge of self, even though knowledge of self and knowledge of others are 'mutually constitutive, as each builds upon, and is dependent on, the other to make meaning' (Santoro 2009, 41).

The skills of reflection and reflexivity, that is, deep thinking about incidents as well as one's own actions, is a key component of critical teacher education that seeks to facilitate prospective teachers' and graduate teachers' understanding of self. One strategy to develop reflection and reflexivity is to use, as a basis for discussion, scenarios based on real classroom events and occurrences. Scenario-based learning, sometimes called problem-based learning, has been used widely in teacher education for a variety of purposes including to develop creative and problem-solving skills, to stimulate discussions, extend debate and enhance critical thinking skills (Allard and Santoro 2010; Sorin 2013; Mahon et al. 2010). The vignette of data presented in this paper has potential to be developed into a scenario that can assist teachers engage with the concept of student resistance, relationships of power and the values and beliefs that underpin these relationships. Such a scenario invites deep reflection and reflexivity about the nature of the students' resistance and the teachers' responses to the students' resistance.

The concept of student resistance has often been linked to social class and is seen to represent working-class struggle and a challenge to social reproduction (Russell 2011). There are however, many reasons for student resistance which is a demonstration of individual or collective agency. It can be a way for students to 'contest wider hegemonic ideologies and practices' (Russell 2011, 67) and to disrupt practices that negatively shape their experiences of school. Student resistance is not simply a wilful and petulant challenge to teacher authority. According to Solorzano and Bernal (2001) '... the concept of resistance emphasizes that individuals are not simply acted on by structures [...] individuals negotiate and struggle with structures and create meanings of their own from these interactions' (315). An analysis of how and why students resist particular school practices can reveal to teachers how students seek to work within, and shape institutional structures. Similarly, an analysis of the ways in

which teachers respond to such student resistance can also make visible, teachers' beliefs and values.

Scenarios are most useful when accompanied by a set of carefully structured guiding questions that scaffold and support teachers to think beyond the obvious 'story' that the scenario presents (Santoro and Allard 2008). The key questions and themes for discussion that could accompany the swimming pool scenario are:

- How do the teachers appear to understand the purpose of the students' resistance and what could underpin the teachers' views? Do the students have the *right* to resist what is common, taken for granted and valued curricula practice in Austria? Why? What choices are the students making?
- What is shaping the teachers' responses to the students' resistance? Is the fact that the students are Muslim relevant to how their resistance is viewed by the teachers? Is it shaped by anti-Islamic sentiment? It can be argued that in many predominantly non-Islamic societies, Muslims have been constructed in the media and by politicians as a threat to 'western' values and lifestyles (Allen 2010). Could the girls' and their families' resistance to Austrian educational practices be seen by the teachers as rejection of Austrian values more broadly? Why is there no acknowledgment in the vignette by Margit that the girls are Muslim?
- Could the teachers think they are freeing the students from these restrictive practices?
- How do the teachers appear to understand their authority and the boundaries of their authority?
- Does it appear that the teachers support an assimilationist view of education, seeing it as a means to enculturate culturally diverse students into the ways of the dominant cultural mainstream by failing to acknowledge the value of attitudes that deviate from those of the hegemonic majority. Could Margit and her colleagues believe that by expecting all students to go swimming, without exception, that they are treating students equally, and therefore fairly?

In addition to its potential to facilitate teacher critical thinking whereby the values and beliefs that underpin classroom practices are raised, this scenario can also facilitate discussion about practice-based solutions to a curriculum that lacks relevance for these students. While we understand that the teachers in this context were enacting mandated curriculum, it appeared there was only one way for them to do so — that physical education could *only* occur according to a particular set of practices. However, if Margit and her colleagues had developed awareness of the ideologies upon which their views of the girls' otherness, is based, and had they acknowledged the limitations of their approach to the swimming lessons, they may have been able to find solutions that enabled the girls to participate in physical education. Research into physical education in other culturally diverse schools suggests that there are multiple ways to engage Muslim girls in physical activity — they, and their parents are not necessarily opposed to physical education and the issues that concern them are not insurmountable. It is the environment in which the activity takes place, as well as the dress code, that prevents Muslim girls' participation (Dagkas and Benn 2006). Strategies commonly used in other schools with Muslim female students have included specially

designed swimming suits and female-only pools. Benn Dagkas and Jawad (2011) note that flexible practices, shared decision-making in which parents and students are involved in decisions about how to best accommodate the students' needs, as well as situation-specific policies, were important in the a quest to find workable alternatives for Muslim girls in physical education. 'Where school physical education or sport environments challenge the right of Muslim women to embody their faith, the result is inevitably non-participation, negotiation or coercion' (Benn et al. 2011, 24-25). In this school curriculum, teaching practices and teacher interactions with students have attempted to regulate the bodies of Muslim girls and discipline them into compliance. The possibility of these students becoming marginalised, or further marginalised within this school setting is great.

We acknowledge however, that Margit and her colleagues cannot be held solely responsible for the culturally inappropriate swimming class. For example, in most schools, the nature of the curriculum and what is taught, is not the decision of an individual teacher. Neither would individual teachers be necessarily empowered to adopt some of the solutions mentioned earlier as being alternatives for Muslim girls' participation in physical education. These, too are often whole school decisions. Furthermore, we do not want to suggest teachers should carry the responsibility for socially just and culturally responsive education. Teachers' classroom practices are nested within, and shaped by complex and intersecting socio-political discourses and policies, over which they often have little control and/or awareness. In the case of Austria for example, the concept of intercultural education has been introduced by the Ministry of Education as one of the thirteen general educational principles that guide teaching practices (Bundesministerium fuer Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur 2013). While this guiding principle states that diversity and multilingualism should be positively acknowledged by teachers, in practice, the approach is one of assimilation aimed at cultural homogenization, especially through linguistic integration (ERICarts 2008, p. 88). Teacher education for culturally diverse contexts is generally limited to the development of technicist skills to teach German as a second language. Therefore, the implementation of intercultural education and culturally responsive pedagogy, depends largely on individual teachers and individual school administrators (Forghani-Arani 2012).

Wider education discourses such as curriculum policy, resourcing, mandated assessment practices and curricula can privilege the knowledge of the dominant majority and work to reproduce unequal relations of power. In turn, these discourses can shape what is educationally possible as well as what teachers are able to envision. However, if teachers are to be agents of change and to achieve the social justice goals that so many of them say shaped their motivation to become teachers in the first place, it is imperative that they understand the ideologies of the dominant cultural groups to which they belong. A critical teacher education, at both the initial and graduate level, offers the potential for teachers to critique the conditions of their work, the wider socio-political discourses that shape their work and how the practices they assume to be 'normal' and 'natural' are socially constructed and situated.

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<sup>i</sup> The New School reform was partly triggered by PISA results that indicated great disparity between student groups in the Austrian school system. The reform was introduced in 2008 with the aim of limiting marginalisation and improving transitions and trajectories within an inclusive school system.

<sup>ii</sup> *Immigrant Background* is the official term used in Austria for children who were not born in Austria or who were born in Austria of immigrant parents.

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<sup>iii</sup> All names of people and places are pseudonyms.

<sup>iv</sup> The data has been translated from German into English by one of the authors. We acknowledge the difficulties of capturing the nuances of language via translation.

<sup>v</sup> On many occasions, Margit uses 'we' to refer to herself and her colleagues. In referring to 'the teachers' we refer to the actions of the collective as reported by Margit.