

INFLUENCING PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS' INTENTIONS TO TEACH IN RURAL LOCATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Education is seen as a vehicle for supporting sustainability in rural and regional contexts, but attracting and retaining teachers in rural and regional contexts remains an area of concern across Australia as well as internationally. Therefore attracting teachers to rural and remote locations requires targeted intervention during pre-service teacher education. Ninety-nine students enrolled in a Bachelor of Education program offered by the University of Queensland participated in this study. A mixed method approach was used to capture the ways in which the sample of pre-service teachers understood their experiences of 'being, knowing and doing' (Gee, 1996) teaching in rural and remote contexts. The outcomes of this study provide insights into the effectiveness of initial exposure to a targeted online intervention, in terms of challenging pre-existing perceptions of practice in such contexts and the possibilities of accepting a rural and remote teaching position upon graduation. Graduates entering the workforce can find themselves working in contexts of which they have limited experience. As such, preparatory university programs of study need to reflect these changes and ensure that degree programs that are offered do indeed meet the ever-changing needs of the students that enrol, providing them with the necessary knowledge and skills to create a stable vocational identity and to understand the opportunities and challenges that choosing to practice in rural and remote contexts affords.

Key Words: Remote and rural education, sustainability, vocational identity, targeted intervention, preservice preparation

INTRODUCTION

Education is seen as a vehicle for supporting sustainability in rural and regional contexts, with research indicating that sustainable community development requires a depth of human, social, cultural and economic capital (Beutel, Adie, & Hudson, 2012; Gruenewald, 2003; Halsey, 2006; McSwan, 2003). In terms of human capital, the issue of building a sustainable education workforce in rural locations is often problematic and as such, a focus on better understanding the knowledges and dispositions required for successful transition to teaching in rural and remote locations is warranted.

Attracting and retaining teachers in rural and regional contexts remains an area of concern across Australia as well as internationally. Much research exists in rural and remote education, from a community development perspective (Halsey, 2005; McEwan, 1999; McSwan, 2003; Sharplin, 2002; Yarrow, Ballantyne, Hansford, Herschell, & Millwater, 1999) and is primarily focused on retaining qualified educators. More recently, the focus has been on gaining greater insights into the requisite knowledges that can be developed through pre-service teacher education in order to better prepare teachers for the realities of practice in rural and remote contexts across Australia (Beutel et al., 2012;

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Reid, Green, White, Cooper, Lock, & Hastings, 2008). Indeed various studies point to the fact that pre-service teachers are under-informed about rural and remote teaching (Halsey, 2005; McEwan, 1999; Sharplin, 2002; Yarrow et al., 1999). It is clear that many pre-service teachers rely on narrow, stereotypical images of teaching in rural contexts that are at best vague and dichotomous perspectives. For many these stereotypical images reflect an idyllic lifestyle while on the other hand, for others the imagery is vividly horrifying from both the professional and the social perspective. Therefore attracting teachers to rural and remote locations requires targeted intervention during pre-service teacher education to challenge these taken-for-granted grand narratives in order to create the possibility of practice in such locations as professionally and personally rewarding. Furthermore, the authors posit that what is required is not only knowledge acquisition about demography, but an ability to traverse the emotional geographies associated with practice in particular contexts.

At a regional campus of the University of Queensland, the School of Education aims to prepare educators for rural and remote contexts globally, drawing on a rural social space conceptual framework (Reid et al., 2008), used to understand what forms of knowledge are required to equip beginning teachers in preparing for teaching in such diverse communities. The pilot project reported in this paper however, is focused on moving beyond an understanding of rural and remote contexts, instead looking to better understand professional identity formation by way of challenging knowledges and dispositions through targeted intervention online. Drawing on the work of Hargreaves (2001), understanding teaching as more than a technical or cognitive endeavour is important in our approach.

Conceptually the promotion of metacognitive thinking that reflects multiple ways of 'knowing, doing, and being' (Gee, 1996) within a discipline (Noble & Henderson, 2012, 2008) is privileged here. Through a process of carefully scaffolding critical reflection in, on and through action, and by focusing on the notion of 'thinking otherwise' about taken-for-granted truths about what a rural or remote community is/is not and concomitantly what living and working in a rural or remote context might be like, a site for examination of existing practices in the preparation of pre-service educators for diverse practice contexts is created. Such a space enables pre-service teachers to realise future potentials and to consider broader possibilities for practice. As such, it is important that the emotional geographies of teaching are foregrounded (Hargreaves, 2001). Through greater awareness of the impacts of emotion on the ways in which patterns of human interactions – with others and the world around them – both shape, and are shaped by the interplay of self in place, intervention can be more targeted in terms of challenging and testing existing preconceptions.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERVENTION

Throughout the four-year Bachelor of Education degree program, the importance of context is embedded across all courses, especially those courses focussing on curriculum and pedagogy. However, students are also able to undertake elective study during their final two years where they explore issues of practice in rural and remote contexts in depth. It is during this time that students are presented the option of exploring their personal and professional identity development in relation to establishing one's fit within rural and remote contexts.

On the grounds that learners view and interpret new information and experiences through their existing network of knowledge, experience and beliefs (Darling-Hammond, 1996; Noble & McIlveen, 2012), the project's design acknowledges and anticipates that the pre-service teachers' perspectives will be shaped, in part, by what they 'bring' to their studies, but also by further exposure to new ways of 'being, knowing and doing' (Gee, 1996) throughout their studies. In this study, juxtaposition between preconceptions of beginning pre-service teachers (junior students, i.e., those in first or second year) and change in expectation and perception of pre-service teacher's undertaking focused courses on practice in rural and remote contexts (senior students, i.e., in third or fourth year) is the key focus.

METHOD

Participants

Ninety-nine students enrolled in a Bachelor of Education program offered by the University of Queensland participated in this study. There were 91 females and eight males, with 19 being under 21 years of age, 40 aged between 21 years and 30 years, and 39 aged 31 years or over. The study

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explored the attitudes of students enrolled in the first and second year of the program ($n = 68$) with those in the third and fourth year ($n = 31$). The junior students were enrolled in a compulsory course on curriculum and pedagogy which has an embedded practicum component. The senior students were enrolled in an elective course on teaching practice in rural and remote contexts.

Procedure

A mixed method approach was used to capture the ways in which the sample of pre-service teachers understood their experiences of 'being, knowing and doing' (Gee, 1996) teaching in rural and remote contexts. The 99 participants completed an online questionnaire which included a mix of quantitative categorical data and open-ended written-responses.

The quantitative items included gender, age-range, and year-level of program. In addition, the participants were presented with two questions that required selection of a forced-choice response. The question 'How do you feel about teaching in a rural and remote area?' required participants to endorse one of the following responses: I do not want to teach in a rural area; I am not sure; or, I want to teach in a rural area. The question 'Do you need special training in order to teach in rural and remote areas?' required endorsement of: Yes; I don't know; or No.

The open-ended items were: 'Please describe your experiences of rural and remote communities and/or schools'; 'What is meant by rural, remote, distance and isolated education?'; 'What are some of the implications for teachers teaching in these areas?'; 'How would you define 'successful teaching practice' in small rural communities?' and 'Please describe what you have learnt during this course'.

Quantitative data analysis

The quantitative data were analysed using SPSS. There was one missing response (from different participants) in the quantitative data for age and the forced-choice question on commitment to rural practice. The data from those two participants were treated as missing and not included in the analyses of the respective variables. Given the relatively small sample size, the responses of the two forced-choice questions were collapsed such that ambivalent responses (i.e., 'I am not sure' and 'I don't know' were combined with the respective negative response (i.e., 'I do not want to teach in a rural area' and 'No'). Combining the data in this way enabled clearer comparisons between the definite affirmative and ostensibly unequivocal/negative responses. SPSS crosstabs and correlations were used to analyse the proportional differences on the dependent variables, commitment to rural practice and perception of need for special training, and the independent variables age, gender, and program level between the junior and senior students enrolled in the rural practice elective. Qualitative responses were separated according to program level and then analysed to explore thematic similarities and differences between the junior and senior students.

RESULTS

There were statistically significant bivariate correlations between gender and program level, $r = -.200$, $p = .047$, and between program level and commitment to rural practice, $r = -.208$, $p = .040$. No other relationships were statistically significant.

The students' commitment to rural practice showed marked differences of proportions across the program levels. The junior students' preferences were equivocal with $n = 32$ (47.8%) not committed to rural practice and $n = 35$ (52.2%) committed. However, there was a greater proportion of senior students committed to rural practice $n = 23$ (74.2%) than not, $n = 8$ (25.8). Figure 1 depicts the proportional differences in responses which were significantly different, $\chi^2 = 4.229$, $df = 1$, $p = .032$. The correlation between program level and commitment is suggestive of small effect size.

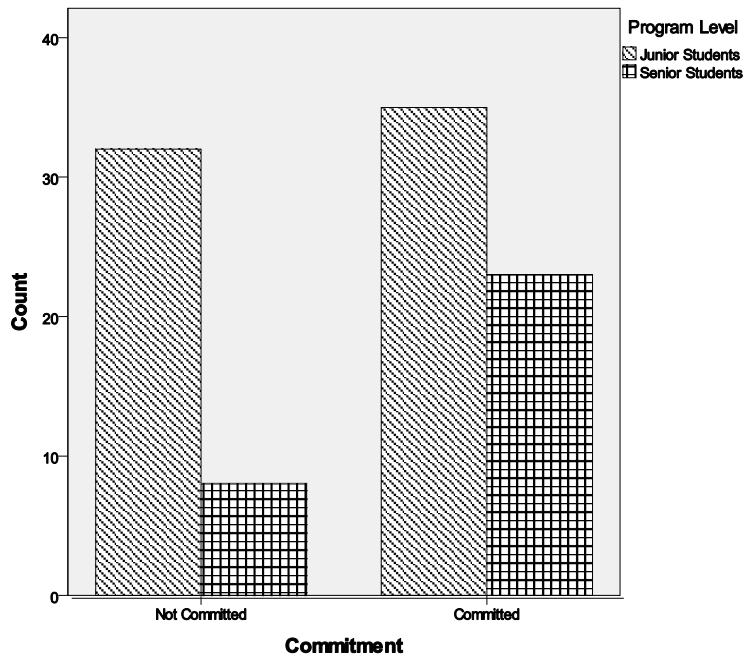


Figure 1: *Count of students by program level indicating commitment to rural teaching practice*

With regard to a perceived need for special training in rural practice, $n = 24$ (35.3%) junior students indicated that special training was required, however $n = 44$ (64.7%) of the juniors denied such a need; whereas $n = 16$ (51.6%) of the senior students affirmed the need, $n = 15$ (48.4%) denied the need. Figure 2 depicts the proportional differences in responses, which is most evident in the junior students; however the proportions approached but did not reach statistical significance, $\chi^2 = 2.355$, $df = 1$, $p = .095$.

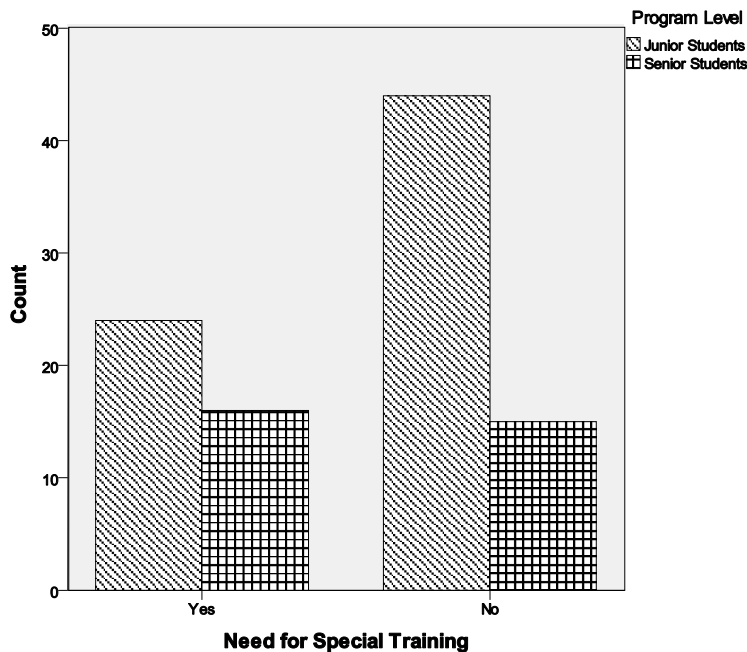


Figure 2: *Count of students by program level who indicate a need for special training for rural practice.*

The qualitative data obtained in the open-ended items were coded and comparisons made across the junior and senior cohorts, as it was for the quantitative analysis described previously. The two categories of qualitative responses were then thematically analysed to investigate in greater depth the differences in cohort's commitment to rural and remote practice. Participants were asked to respond to a series of questions designed to gain insight into their prior experiences and their preconceptions of what it means to be a teacher in a rural or remote context. A number of key themes emerged consistent with Hargreaves' (2001) emotional geographies framework – socio-cultural, moral, professional, physical and political dimensions. The following section overviews each of these dimensions, further evidencing the positive difference in the senior student cohort's (Bachelor of Education (BEDU) perceived commitment to practice in rural and remote contexts, as opposed to those in the junior cohort. What becomes clear is that through the lens of emotional geographies one is able to identify the opportunities and challenges to the emotional bonds relevant to rural and remote practice that pre-service educators hold.

Socio-cultural Dimension

The socio-cultural dimension refers to the distance between the pre-service teachers' preconceptions and rural and remote schooling contexts. It must be noted that the socio-cultural distance can often lead to stereotyping – the pre-service teacher stereotyping the community and vice versa. Indeed this is not necessarily person or place specific but rather can be generalised to be that 'all new teachers' or 'rural communities are all ...' and in this way the emotional distance between the different entities can be such that ethnocultural diversity further broadens the emotional divide. Popkewitz (1998) uses the term 'populational' reasoning to describe this phenomenon. What is clear from the data is that over time, pre-service teachers develop a greater awareness of the importance of socio-cultural understandings and diversity of context. Just as Sharplin's (2002) study found the perceptions of socio-cultural challenges to be faced were centred on lack of awareness of the cultural backgrounds and socio-economic status of rural and remote students.

The junior cohort generally conveyed narrow, negative stereotypical descriptions of rural and remote schools and communities such as:

- Lack of support networks;
- Lack of resources to undertake job; lack of face-to-face support;
- Lack of social facilities and sporting opportunities;
- Contending with small and combined classes;
- Students and parents not valuing schooling, lack of attendance;
- Transient nature of staffing;
- Lack of acceptance from local communities; constantly 'under the gaze'; personal and professional boundaries blurred and judged harshly accordingly;
- Culture shock; and
- Distance from home, travel time and increased cost of living.

On the other hand, the senior cohort was less absolute in drawing conclusions and tended to mediate their comments. For example:

Teaching multiple grades could be a challenge and would take some adjustment in the beginning.

Having to work to be accepted by the community; it's not just about being a teacher in a school, but being a teacher in that community is what you have to come to grips with.

Need to adjust your way of life and your expectations; not to expect sameness but instead to celebrate difference.

You'd be lonely at first, yet at the same time feel that you were making a difference by being there and doing the best job that you can.

As Hargreaves (2001) identifies, often feelings of powerlessness and helplessness, or low self-efficacy, drive tendencies to blame and complain in situations where one feels powerless to make a difference. Likewise, feeling overwhelmed can stimulate a process of insulation, where the boundaries between teacher and students/community are imagined to be greater than they actually are and thus the emotional distance becomes increased. It is clear that pre-service teachers, just like beginning

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teachers, have preconceptions based on their own direct and indirect experiences that directly impact perceived emotional distance. It can be postulated that over time and through exposure to interventions designed specifically to focus student's critical reflection on theoretical, pedagogical and practical aspects of rural and remote education, these preconceptions of 'situatedness' (Henderson & Noble, 2013; Henderson, Noble, & Cross, 2013; Noble & Henderson, 2012) can be challenged and reformed and thus the potential for insulation and increased emotional distance of beginning teachers in rural and remote contexts mediated.

Moral Dimension

According to Hargreaves' (2001) emotional geographies framework, emotions can be understood as a moral phenomenon and bound with our perceived sense of purpose. It is clear then that when one's preconceptions of teacher and teaching (core purpose) are not aligned with their contextual experiences, there is the potential for increased emotional distance. Indeed, where one's vocational identity and career decision self-efficacy are not clearly established, the moral dilemmas one faces in unfamiliar contexts can exacerbate one's ability to consider adaptability and acceptance of difference. From the responses of both the junior and senior cohorts in relation to experiences of rural and remote communities and/or schools and their associated feelings towards teaching in such contexts, over time challenging pre-service educators' critical reflection upon core purpose in relation to context can positively influence career decision self-efficacy. To illustrate, the junior cohort who had themselves not directly experienced rural and remote communities were reluctant to make comment and when they did were more likely to make commentary along the lines of:

Limited personal experience and understandings based upon opinions of others with more direct associations with rural and remote communities.

Therefore associated feelings towards teaching in these contexts were less positive. Comparatively, those in the senior cohort were more positively predisposed towards wanting to teach in rural and remote contexts and associations were made to their direct experiences of undertaking professional experience in such locations. Expressions of emotional closeness and alignment to core purpose resulted in comments such as:

Completed prac in rural schools and felt that students were respectful.

Enjoyed the friendly atmosphere and getting to know students as individuals not just part of the class.

Being immersed in the community and adapting your own teaching, philosophy and values to account for the needs of the children you are teaching.

Others in the senior cohort drew more explicit comparisons between urban and rural experiences in terms of community membership:

To be successful in a rural community I have come to understand that you have to want to be there, not forced to be by the department.

Successful practice would not only be about classroom practice, but also communicating effectively with students and their families and being accepted by the community.

You become more engaged in the community, making sure that you get to know your students as individuals but also becoming part of the community helps you understand their broader contexts too.

Living and working in tight-knit communities becomes all-encompassing and it is hard to see where the personal stops and the professional starts sometimes but your impact on the kids and their families is greater because of that and you become much appreciated when you connect.

What is apparent is that where there is an acknowledgement and understanding of common purpose, the emotional distance is narrowed and alignment of vocational identity and career decision self-efficacy more likely to be positively impacted.

Professional Dimension

The social distance between teachers and children/ families is the key feature of this dimension and relates to the institutionalisation of teaching and the social construction of adult-child authority relations as well as the 'professionalization' of teaching (Hargreaves, 2001). It is broadly accepted that while effective teaching and learning requires close emotional understandings between teachers, students and parents there is a need to establish and maintain professional distance from them at the same time. In comparing the qualitative data sets of the two cohorts this is articulated in various ways and pre-service educators appear to become more conscious of personal and professional emotional distance over time. For example, expressions of close emotional understandings juxtaposed with awareness of professional distance were expressed in the following ways:

New opportunities to develop pedagogical practices and establish my identity as a teacher but at the same time knowing that there is nowhere to hide in small communities.

To be self-sufficient and confident in my ability as an educator but at the same time becoming involved in the community is important too.

Having to stay in professional mode when you know the students and families on a personal level is something that you come to terms with.

Mixing with parents socially is hard sometimes, even when you are off duty you can't let your guard down as you know that you will be judged for it. The feeling of a different set of rules for the teachers was something that I felt straight away.

According to Hargreaves (2001) teachers who preserve their classical professional autonomy and create emotional distance from students and their families may well insulate themselves from the blurring of personal and professional identity, however, they can also become more vulnerable to social isolation if they are unable to traverse the social and professional contexts of living in a small community. Using the model of critical reflection of deconstruction, confrontation, theorisation and 'thinking otherwise' pre-service educators are challenged to become more meta-cognitively aware of 'being, knowing and doing' (Gee, 1996) personal and professional life in rural and remote contexts. Indeed, in this course (intervention) the focus is on self in context.

Physical dimension

The physical dimension of one's emotional geography as a teacher is most evident and clearly is inextricably linked to all other aspects of one's sense of self in place. Hargreaves (2001) reminds us that *the establishment of emotional bonds with teachers and students and families requires proximity and some measure of intensity, frequency and continuity of interactions* (p.1070). It is apparent that the perception that rural and remote communities being close knit affords opportunities, as well as challenges, is event across both the junior and senior cohorts. For example:

I know it will be different teaching there, here we go to prac and then when we leave school for the day there is a sense of being anonymous beyond the school gate.

It is important to find ways to connect with kids and their families beyond school, you have to because otherwise you quickly become really isolated there. It's not like there are lots of other people to socialise with, everyone there is connected to the school in some way after all.

The senior cohort, having undertaken the teaching in rural and remote communities course (intervention) and mostly having completed a professional placement in such a context, held overwhelmingly positive perceptions of belonging and feeling connected in those communities. They noted the openness and support within the community where they spent time:

It was great to be able to form relationships with families and the wider community so quickly.

They were really welcoming and appreciated us coming there.

The physical distance is therefore perceived as generally narrower in rural and remote communities where broad engagement in the school is perceived as greater than in urban locations.

Political Dimension

Emotions are not simply personal, but are understood to be tied to social conventions and cultural norms. That is, emotions are understood to be both psychological and social constructions and bound to one's experiences of power. Therefore, the emotional geographies of teaching are understood to be highly political in nature (Hargreaves, 2001). The well-publicised increased regulation and accountability placed upon the work of teachers, globally and locally, further intensifies pre-service teacher's awareness of the powerlessness to escape imposed reform, as evidenced in comments like:

Chance to contribute positively to the lives of students who may suffer reduced opportunities due to their location.

The fear is lack of support from the department, being out of sight, out of mind, so really being ignored and forgotten about in terms of professional support. The community can support you personally of course but it is not the same as being engaged with colleagues.

Indeed one pre-service educator, already living and working in a remote context as a teacher aide in central Australia directly addresses issues of politics as impacting upon experience, as follows:

My posting has a lot of political hurdles for the main company in the town where I am working. This political situation makes this current job a really poor experience but I think there could be grand benefits in other remote places where things are a little more stable in the community.

The pre-service educators also make the point that as beginning teachers who may be socially and professionally isolated, there is concern that community expectations may also be overwhelming, especially at first:

It will take a while to adjust to the country life and not always having what you need immediately available, and of course the community expectation is that you will hit the ground running. I think that it will be hard to get the balance right at first with doing what I need to teach day in day out as well as to engage with the community to build trust and a sense of belonging. It is all important but it will be about being able to balance everything and to remember that while parents might give you a hard time initially it is because they just want to know that you will do the best for their children.

This statement points to the dichotomy of power versus powerlessness. In any situation where power plays are at work, negative emotions often come to the fore, including fear, anger, anxiety, etc. There is a clear expectation that, given time, pre-service educators believe that the power will become more balanced. Equally it is understood that perceived professional and physical emotional distance or closeness will mediate the political space.

Viewing the qualitative data through the emotional geographies lens has focused less on rationalisation of teaching and instead highlighted the passion for teaching and the emotional intelligence recognised as essential in context. It is clear that senior students generally are able to articulate the desire and need to increase emotional contact and to develop strong and emotional ties to the rural and remote communities that they may teach in. More can continually be done to assist pre-service educators to make sense of this terrain and to focus on the combinations of distance and closeness that is understood to be the foundation of effective teaching and learning.

CONCLUSION

The findings from this project involving pre-service educators in considering practice in rural and remote contexts provides an evidence base that enables the generation of greater understanding about the ways in which teacher's personal and professional identities are constructed. The outcomes of this study provide insights into the effectiveness of initial exposure to a targeted online intervention, in terms of challenging pre-existing perceptions of practice in such contexts and the possibilities of accepting a rural and remote teaching position upon graduation. At the same time, given the limitations of the study, in terms of a snapshot approach as opposed to a longitudinal approach to tracking perceptions of the same cohort over time, opportunities to broaden the scope of the investigation become immediately apparent.

Graduates entering the workforce can find themselves working in contexts of which they have limited experience. As such, preparatory university programs of study need to reflect these changes and

ensure that degree programs that are offered do indeed meet the ever-changing needs of the students that enrol, providing them with the necessary knowledge and skills to create a stable vocational identity and to understand the opportunities and challenges that choosing to practice in rural and remote contexts affords. Using the emotional geographies framework (Hargreaves, 2001) more in this intervention to attend to the socio-cultural, moral, professional, physical and political aspects of teaching in particular contexts may assist us to develop greater understanding of the ways in which we can positively affect stability of vocational identity and support students in establishing career decision self-efficacy.

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