Raising Your Sights Beyond Your Immediate Understandings

An interview with Emeritus Professor Keith Ballard

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If you look at those little children we saw this morning, and as a grandparent now, I'm very attentive to anyone under 5 because I want to know more about how do they do these things. When you see a little child of the first 3 or 4 years of their life, what I see is this deep trust. You can say "go there", "do that" and they do. And this is profound in terms of what it means to be human; that these little humans have this sense of you — which is about trust. But it's also profound in terms of saying something about learning and I think as an adult learner, what I haven't told you is that I sat U.E. twice; obviously I failed it the first time.

When Emeritus Professor Keith Ballard was interviewed specifically for this edition of Kairaranga, he was in a reflective mood. The following day he was to give a keynote address, the Herbison Lecture, at the annual New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE) Conference in Christchurch. That he was asked to give this lecture to the educational research community in New Zealand shows the esteem in which this man is held: someone who has achieved a large body of scholarly work in education, while deeply caring about people and their place. That he had entered New Zealand shores from another country 45 years ago without tertiary or teaching qualifications showed something equally important; Keith Ballard has, by and large, always known how to tread with care in new terrain, has continued to forge new pathways for himself and others, has taken the courage to talk about contentious issues he cares about, and is a risk-taker searching for an understanding of others. He has not been afraid to take the hard road. In this interview he laughed a lot, chuckled as he recalled various people and events, and was contemplative as he recalled his struggles and learning over his educational career. So what happened in those intervening 45 years when a young man, full of new beginnings, probably hope, immigrated to New Zealand without tertiary qualifications or A levels, and who at that time, had no idea what was ahead of him? Who were the people that shaped his subsequent remarkable influence on teaching, teachers and learning, both in New Zealand and internationally? Who is Keith Ballard?

In terms of what influences how I think, it probably is quite relevant to think about that background. My background is West London and I left school with very modest passes in what I think we used to call an O level and an A level exam. I came out very weak in that and so I left school in England and I began training as a laboratory technician. Part of why that is an influence is that I've always loved the precision of science, or what we would say now is the assumed precision probably. But there is something elegant about chemical analysis, for example, and about the ways in which we try and understand the physical nature of the world. So in a way my limited school achievements left me with two things actually. It was this respect for the notion of science, and also one teacher who one day said to me that I would pass the English exam. Now I think people very rarely told me I would pass anything, and I did pass. And English and Literature have always been a core thing for me.

And so if you like, the next part of that story would be coming to New Zealand and working for a couple of years as a lab technician. Realising that this was not what I wanted to do any longer, and there were all sorts of reasons for that, I did a lot of work with animals and I can only do so much of that, and that was enough. While I was a lab technician I enrolled for University Entrance with the Correspondence School because I wanted to see if I could pass those exams. Don't anyone ever criticise the Correspondence School. The Correspondence School is a New Zealand marvel, I tell you. The Correspondence School was the most wonderful teaching I'd ever had, those green canvas bags, they just kept coming. I failed it the first time and I passed it the second time. And I've always looked back with great fond regard on being a graduate of the New Zealand Correspondence School.

I then worked assembling cars in a factory for a year or more. And you see again in terms of influences, in those days we are talking the 60s, ordinary people could work at Ford Motor Factory or whatever else was available and we used to get time and a half [pay] for the first half hour of the morning until 8am. We used to get time and a half from 5.00pm or 5.30pm, and double time afterwards. And you would get these rates on a Saturday. So ordinary people could have a life, a family and a house on a working person's salary. And that again for me was a significant part of my

memory of how a society can be. Now there were all sorts of things about that society that were seriously problematic. The treatment of women, the invisibility of Māori and so on, but I guess that memory of a society that is determined that the economic resources of a country can be organised in such a way that families can thrive; that to me has been an influence.

But anyway, after I worked assembling cars for a while I went to teachers' college. The influence to do that again was one person, Mavis was her name, and there was something that we had to do where school kids would come around and we had to explain what we were doing and I always ended up doing that. And someone said to me, "you'd be a teacher" and it was as simple as that, not quite as simple as that, but I knew that I wanted to do something else. So I went to the Wellington College of Education as an adult student and again that has been a significant influence, because I have always respected "oldies" who can go into an education environment and who like myself had no experience or background in the idea of tertiary education, none at all. So for me it was a totally unknown world. And really the idea of teachers' college, as we called it, was that it was much safer than the idea of university, I mean that was just beyond the pale . But you'd turn up at teachers college and Jack Shallcrass, who was one of the very fine people who I met there, said "all of you people going to University line up over here", and so I did. So I did university and college work, and this is obviously getting much more personal than I had thought.

INFLUENCES THROUGH PEOPLE

As we can see in the section above, people and relationships have been pivotal to Keith's decisions, directions and his way of thinking and working: "In each instance there has been a moment or a person who has said something."

While he identified people who had personally and professionally made a difference to him, his own ideas were sharply honed by being an avid reader and in his interest in science. Through also holding firm to the necessity that the issue of human rights binds all our lives and work, Keith created a blend of ideas that were always destined to push the boundaries. These came through in his work on assessment, learning, teaching and inclusive education.

In those early days when studying to be a teacher, Keith portrays a student eager to learn, willing to immerse himself in new ways of thinking and being. Remembering that only a few years prior he had come to New Zealand, he was at this stage in relative culture shock. Two incidents described by Keith during the interview illustrate how his vulnerability and eagerness combined, created and forged his future. These incidents help illustrate how a young man figuring his way through the maze, but grasping opportunities that came his way, was creating the something, or someone, he did not yet know.

An English lecturer at the college simply gave us this enormous list of books, which I thought I had to buy – so I did. It was actually a reading list, but I thought I had to buy them so I bought them. So I ended up owning this pile of New Zealand literature and it was simply a revelation.

It was extraordinary literature from New Zealand about New Zealand. Everything from Katherine Mansfield; for me living in Wellington that made Wellington a reality for me. And 'Owls do Cry', by Janet Frame, and it was just endless. 'God Boy', lan Cross — the impact of that on someone thinking about teaching was profound. So there I was, really engaged if you like with the idea of reading and this time someone was saying that there is actually value in this reading, so that was exciting. Very much later in my work in the university I then deliberately began to use the notion of novels and poetry as a way of knowing the world, which was as legitimate as other ways in which we make claims about what we know and understand.

I suspect that moving to New Zealand was always seen as a permanent thing. And one of the other things again is a strong memory of what I now understand as culture shock. I came to New Zealand as a white English speaking person and there were other people that looked like me, but they weren't. You know the meanings and the values were often different, there is so much that is different, and that is an important experience; if we think about any movement in people across countries and cultures I guess that is quite a useful experience to have.

LEARNING ABOUT BEING A TEACHER: THOUGHTFUL ENGAGEMENT WITH OTHERS

I think my education began at the Wellington College of Education with people who understood education as a process of becoming knowledgeable, so you had to know things and become aware of ways of knowing. Which I now think is a kind of political and ethical thing; that you raise your sights beyond your immediate understandings. So the college did that. It was an environment that was designed to do that.

So the next influence on my learning would have been the couple of years I spent at Johnsonville Primary School, which had the most extraordinary team of teachers. I counted the other day; I had 42 children in my first class. So I often wonder how they are all doing. But again, that was an astonishing time and there is nothing harder than being a classroom teacher. I've never done anything before or since that was as challenging as that. It requires enormous thought about each child. It requires enormous commitment to do something that will make the child's learning happen. I think I was really only beginning to comprehend this when I actually left teaching after a few years.

Then I went to Victoria University of Wellington as a junior lecturer and soon after, I did my educational psychology training in Auckland. I was interested at that time in retaining a practical professional practice. So that exposed me to people like Marie Clay and Ted Glynn, who had a great influence on my subsequent work. And so I kept on with that career path of an interest in children, knowing about children.

I think if I had to name the influences there, they would be too great to name, but Marie Clay was an extraordinary person with this deep knowledge of human development. And also my memory of her is very much of her as a very strong person, because her development of reading assessment and Reading Recovery seemed to be way outside mainstream thought. And I think Marie Clay modelled for New Zealand researchers the notion that you need to sit alongside children. That you need to sit alongside teachers and that you need to be thoughtful about what it is you are seeing.

So again if you like, coming back to the beginning of our conversation, truth claims, what we claim to know, can come from a number of sources. But one important source is that thoughtful engagement with another person. You want to know something about how they think or what they know or what their experiences are. And indeed many years later I worked with Lous Heshusius on our book, that was really the core of Lous' work was how we know in relationship to others.

UNDERSTANDING CHILDREN THROUGH ASSESSMENT

Keith Ballard wanted most to understand children in order to support their learning. After teaching in schools for a few years, and then as a lecturer, he turned to educational psychology as a way to understand how he could make a positive difference to children's lives. While he thought he would find answers through his educational psychology training, he discovered the tensions in psychometric testing and in exacerbating testing regimes and contexts. Thus began the forerunner of a research agenda as he set out to question the conventional wisdom or accepted practice of psychometric testing.

I expected to learn very specific things about how you knew children. And I was going to use this knowledge and be useful. And what I found was it wasn't like that. When I came to this requirement in our course, that we learned to give the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and the Stanford Scale, I thought, "this will be interesting, because here is a specific thing". And I have to say that I later thought not just that they were absurd activities, but I actually thought that it was inappropriate to ask children to do these things. And so I began to look at the whole notion of where the tests came from and the claims that were made of these tests. I mean basically they can't be substantiated in the most simple sense and that is you have to challenge testing on its own terms. And what I wrote about in a number of papers over several years was simply using the criteria that the test makers say are the important ones. For example, there are a number of different kinds of validity, but the only one that really matters is construct validity and that is the one that the Stanford Binet and the Wechsler Intelligence Scales do not have. What is the "construct" you are measuring? And it's kind of extraordinary, as what is said under that heading is so critical.

I came across people like Stephen J Gould, 'The Mismeasure of Man' and his account of the harm done by IQ testing. You then have to have something else that you are going to use as a psychologist and so that became, if you like, the next challenge. And not just for me either, a number of other people in the field at that time were looking at ways of working that did not involve testing. But the education system itself was strongly grounded in requirements for

testing for certain purposes. So to stay in an ordinary school, or to get removed from an ordinary school, you had to have that test score, so I found that a very difficult issue.

I thought there would be something magic in these boxes [that the tests came in], and what was in the box? They were basically trivial, they were devoid of anything useful to humanity and, in fact, vastly worse than that of course, I honestly believe they are deeply harmful tools, because they maintain a stereotype of human intelligence and they maintain a strategy for labelling and segregating some children and adults. So it is not an issue that has gone away, even today. I find it remarkable actually that there are still many programmes for training psychologists that would include this kind of instrument scale. Even then, compared to some other psychometric instruments, the IQ test on its own terms stands up quite well, so I mean there are a whole range of assessment tools which are so deeply and seriously flawed that unless the professional bodies take their own ethical standards seriously, I guess they'll get replicated onwards forever.

There were a number of people who were active in developing other ways of working with children. And this is why I think behaviour analysis, I think it was such a valuable tool at that time where you had strategies for evaluating both the child and its environment. So with Ted Glynn's approach to behaviour analysis as a strategy of evaluating the child-environment connection, that was a strong influence on me. I think that Ted and myself were never strongly operant people. We could understand the argument for the conditioning models, but I didn't find those engaging strategies when in fact your responsibility I think was to pay more attention to the environment rather than just to some particular elements of the environment; to strive to organise the environment in a way in which it would be a more responsive environment for the child.

To understand why people choose certain ways of working I think it comes back to understanding the person — of the assessor, for example. In the same way, to understand teaching we have to understand the person of the teacher. To understand research we have to understand the person of the researcher.

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGIST

Keith worked as an educational psychologist for a few years, a career that took him south from Auckland to be based in Christchurch. While these years were not particularly memorable for Keith, he did enjoy the Psychological Service¹ and the people there.

There were some marvellous people; I mean Denis Longley and others who were very experienced psychologists with a strong commitment to children and school systems and teachers. There was a lot for me to admire and strive to be able to do the kinds of things that I needed to do as a psychologist. As a psychologist you work with parents and children but [back then] the work of a psychologist was

¹ The Psychological Service was an independent service. This was disestablished and replaced, after the 1989 Education Act, with Special Education Services, which has since been amalgamated into the Ministry of Education. Educational psychologists now primarily work for the Ministry of Education, Special Education.

pretty much trying to work out what might be happening and providing some advice and support and, hopefully, some strategies for teachers and parents.

I don't think testing got in the way other than that I was different from a lot of other psychologists, and that is not a particularly easy thing to be. I tend to feel that we have a responsibility if we have got an idea that we feel strongly about then we should put it in the public arena. And that's a position I think we should consider taking, because it may be an idea that could be useful to others. But equally important is your ethical responsibility to put it out there and see what happens. I received a great deal of criticism for the writings that I did about IQ testing.

It's just something that I felt that as public servants, basically we shouldn't hold things to ourselves. If we genuinely thought we had something useful then we had a responsibility to put it out there. Also, feedback might indicate that you have got it wrong. I felt that sense of being a public servant right the way through my career. People sneer now, "who are these people paid by the State?", yes we are, university lecturers are paid for by the State. And because I feel we have a responsibility to say "look this might be useful, see what you think." There are many people that have had very substantial influence on what has happened in New Zealand, by the way in which they have been able to explain systems, or explain ideologies or whatever, people like John Codd, for example and others.

COURAGE THROUGH IMAGINATION, THROUGH RELATIONSHIPS

When we talked with Keith about his work, both of us having been postgraduate students of his in the late 1980s at Otago University, we asked how he found the courage to put himself constantly in situations where he was an "outsider" or taking strong positions that required ongoing debate and critique. For example, moving to a new country, working in a technician role and deciding to commence tertiary study, and tackling contentious issues such as the IQ debate, and later inclusion, where conflict was rife. We dared to mention his courage, in taking a different path. Our discussion on courage did not sit comfortably with Keith, and instead took us to a key point of his work: relationships with others, and incorporating the strengths of others to support his work. Ultimately for Keith, forging new ground and supporting learning is about relationships and how "we relate one to another." And the answers to this have come through people, as well as through science and literature.

I think it is very kind of you to frame it like that. I'm very reluctant to have the word "courage" used at all because imagine how challenging it is for people who come from Samoa or Tonga, or anywhere, to this place, compared to a Pom. Actually one of the things I had forgotten is I never met any Māori after I first came to New Zealand. I kept expecting to see Māori people and the first time I met Māori was on the assembly line when I worked at Fords and so one of the things I did at university was a Māori reading knowledge paper as a way of finding out about this new place I was in.

I understand what you are saying and it is very kind of you to frame it that way but I think a reader would think "oh who is this character?" I think it is true to say that I kind of ended up a number of times in a minority position of views. My views have been minority views. And I think what I would say about that, is that it has never been comfortable. If you want a quiet life this isn't the route at all. I guess there is some recent work as well, that comes into that.

Rather than say that I have chosen a difficult path and shown courage, for me I would delete all of that, and say that what is important to me have been particular people. You know at each time if you like, of change or learning, each time of a change or learning for me, there has been a person or sometimes several persons. And I think one of the issues there is a theme, which I am still struggling to understand, but has always been a theme of my work, and that is this issue of relationships. How do we relate one to another?

I think also the influence [of literature] has been extraordinarily important, and still is to this day, this week, where the novelist has a highly significant position, I believe, in the human world, by telling humans about what it is to be human, because it is such a complicated thing that you need a poetic imagination to achieve that.

[Other influences included] students at every level who have said something to me, who have written something, who have asked a question and you think "goodness gracious, how do I think about that?" And I think that student energy that is part of being in that environment is an amazingly privileged position to be in. Also, the university gives you opportunity to travel and see what is happening in other places, which is absolutely critical here in New Zealand. It's only when you leave New Zealand that you are reminded of how extremely insignificant we are in so many respects. And also you learn how good we are in some areas.

So what I did after a while was to rethink and rewrite a lot of my academic teaching within the university and I made this shift from a positivist behavioural position toward what I refer to as qualitative thought. And there was a great comfort in the sense that I could now see that there are other ways of thinking and being as a researcher, which are in fact extraordinarily demanding. I mean people seem to think that what is called qualitative research, which is many things, but qualitative research which is undertaken within a named position of constructivism or whatever is very difficult research to design, to meet the assumptions and expectations of the position that you claim to be working in and it's very difficult to do because mostly it's about an engagement with someone. It's about a relationship from which you expect to know something. So this theme of relationship again emerges.

I'm still pursuing an interest in how we relate to one another as people. That is the core of what is both, I think, exciting in terms of striving to understand what on earth that actually means. You get some glimpse of how complex it is if you are located into another culture don't you? Where you have got a language and a whole system of meanings and values that you don't yet know.

Have you ever needed to imagine other realities for yourself?

I think that is everything I have said. Each of those moments has been a possibility of something different. I'm sure and I can think of moments that I haven't been brave enough ... I think you see things that you haven't thought of and you kind of imagine "oh what if?" and then you have to make some decisions about what are the implications of that. I mean sometimes it's so intangible that it might not have anything to it, but I think that other times it is a challenge to say, "well all this time I have thought in this way and now look." And I'm absolutely sure that this will go on in our lives. That when we think we know something is probably the dangerous moment, don't get too confident.

RESEARCH PARADIGMS

Keith completed his doctoral work in behaviour analysis at The University of Otago and subsequently worked in the area of educational psychology and behaviour analysis for some years. At Otago some of Keith's initial work with postgraduate students in projects involving adults with intellectual disabilities eventually took a new direction toward qualitative research, human rights, and the study of inclusion and its meanings. Theory and practice, combined with the daily and lived experiences of disabled people, became influenced by a strong qualitative and rich research agenda for change and justice.

Where I initially found some of the most exciting teaching was with my postgraduate behaviour analysis group. We used to work primarily with adults within intellectual disabilities. We'd ask them what they might like to know or learn. It might be learning a bus route, so they could be independent going to and from home and work. I mean we never knew what it was that someone might say they wanted to work on, so that was really exciting. But after some years I made a very deliberate move into what I call qualitative thought, I felt much more comfortable then in thinking differently about the work that I was doing, which again was something I was unsure of at first. And so I shifted from the psychology work of individuals and groups to a more serious examination of the wider notion of context. Again I think this is a personal thing. I mean some people do important work in the area of individual children and families, and so on, and there is nothing critical of that, just because I shifted out of those. It is not a criticism of that at all. It's just that I felt this need to, if you like it is a selfish need, the opportunity was there, and I decided I needed to do something different, to begin thinking in a different way. And what happened was as soon as I opened up what is there I became very interested in the field of disability as a contextual issue and I had an enormous influence from Anne Bray – an unquestioned leader in New Zealand in this field of disability.

And then somehow or another from the work I was doing on social and ideological contexts I got invited to a meeting in England with Mel Ainscow and Tony Booth and Roger Slee and Linda Ware and others and this was again a life changing experience. What became known as the International Research Colloquium on Inclusive Education was a small group of people who met every other year in a different country. And we were different people at the end of it.

Our assignment was to research and write something, to send it around the group and we spent the week discussing those writings. So we were just putting our work in front of everyone in the group and I had never learnt more ever and we would critique it for as long as it took. That group across 5 or 6 years was enormously important to me. It was that kind of environment where you had a sense of respect for each other, a sense of trust and you were prepared to ask questions about responsibilities and understandings in working out what inclusion might mean. And those questions led through to the notion of social justice and then to human rights. So if you like there is some kind of personal connection here in terms of how a group of researchers have found themselves working together and learning from one another. And the same fundamental issues of relationships come through in teaching and learning.

One of the other significant areas of learning for me originated with Ted Glynn at The University of Otago when he said that we should know about the Treaty and that we should engage with mana whenua and off some of us went. We were extremely fortunate to have people like Alva Kapa, Khyla Russell and many others who provided learning and support for those of us who were striving to understand our roles and responsibilities under the Treaty. So that when Ted left Otago I felt that I wanted to continue with that agenda and one of the things I felt would be valuable was to examine what a Māori position might be in my main area of research at the time, which was in the field of intellectual disability. So I tried to find out where that might come from. And in various diverse ways I ended up having contact with a group Te Roopu Manaaki I te Hunga Haua in Eastern Bay of Plenty. And I did some work with them. We shared some research ideas, we shared research projects and the leader of that group was Tame Iti. So I had visited a number of times in the Eastern Bay of Plenty and they provided an enormous amount of support so that we might do the learning that we needed to do, an enormous amount of support for us to continue to learn.

I think that a key theme for me [in being involved with different groups] was the constant willingness to be critical about one another's ideas and work. And to do that you have to have a great deal of trust. I think many of us know that if we are frightened it's hard to learn, it's even harder to get it right. Fear is not a context for effective learning.

LITERATURE

Keith is always reading for new ideas and directions. On the surface science and the arts are usually considered world's apart, but they both rely on people imagining new possibilities.

And the most recent one is a beautiful book by Lynn Hunt, an American historian, 'Inventing Human Rights' and what I love about it is that she says that in her research into how people come to believe that there should be human rights, that is that people should have some equality in rights, is an act of imagination. That they begin to see that someone else is like themselves. And for me that is a kind of magic moment, because it takes you back to the world of literature

where constantly you see the world in another way and you know those people are like yourself.

This notion of imagination is perhaps an extremely important one. Perhaps it's an extremely important human capacity to make something up. So I think it must be an important basis for art which I don't pretend to understand anything about apart from the fact that you can look at something and it will make you feel things you can't articulate. And also imagination is as Paulo Freire says "we must imagine other realities." Where we have got a reality that is harmful to children and people we must imagine something else as an alternative. So Freire is saying that if you accept what is there and it's harmful then you are complicit with oppression. But humans may not at the moment actually understand that there is a problem. For example, look how long it has taken, and it is still not the case that it is resolved, for the emancipation of women. Many people cannot imagine yet the full implications of what that might mean. I think that a notion of a critical imagination has got a lot of work yet to be done.

ADVICE FOR EDUCATORS

When asked for advice for educators and to readers of *Kairaranga*, Keith was initially reluctant to give "advice". This was in part due to believing that teachers had one of the most difficult jobs in education, and partly because of a strongly held and genuine regard for people as leaders and learners based on their own understandings and experiences.

I don't think I can give advice really to anyone. I think my responsibility, such as it is, is to do what I said at the beginning and that is say "look here is something that makes sense to me at the moment." You may choose to read this; it may say something to you. We have to take seriously the profession of teaching as grounded in critical thought and ongoing learning.

- [Regarding] professional ethics, professional responsibility. It means we should be thoughtfully critical about ourselves. The basis for our critical thought should be ongoing attention to the literature of our field of work.
- There is no such thing as practice without theory, it doesn't happen. There is always a theory behind practice. And if you don't know what your theory behind your practice is you can't be very effective in using it thoughtfully, because you don't understand the basis for what you are doing. So theory is very important. There is no disconnect between theory and practice, they are deeply interconnected.
- I think to take seriously issues of caring for others in whatever way one does that. It might be by doing a good job each day as a teacher, or a researcher, or a psychologist, that would be one way of thinking about it. But also striving to know about what is happening to others. For example, disability is not an area that is well understood and yet this is an area of serious discrimination in New Zealand. Where families are being excluded from ordinary schools and classrooms. Their children are often

- excluded so there is a challenge, an issue of social justice in classrooms.
- I would like to see a theme of respect for the Treaty.
- Read lots of good books and whatever your definition of a good book is that is probably a good book, and look at lots of art.
- We need to imagine the world differently because, for example, there are many New Zealand children living in poverty and we have to imagine what alternative social and economic arrangements would end that poverty.

Evident in the ideas he captures and the portrayal of himself and others in learning, Keith has taken on this pivotal role of teaching, leadership, and inspiring others in the same way that he received through his diverse network of support. Here is somebody who has a passion for people based on professional responsibility and an ethic of care. For Keith, it is within the dialogue of trusting relationships that the most effective learning is realised. The imagined becomes a possibility and then, a reality.

FURTHER READING

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INTERVIEWER PROFILES

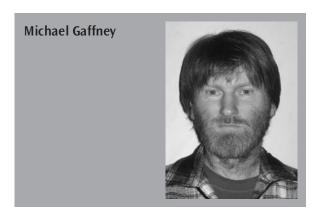


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Keith Ballard is Emeritus Professor of Education, University of Otago. He has a background as a primary teacher and educational psychologist. His publications include work on paradigm shift in education and social science research; classroom studies of academic and social learning; studies with parents and teachers on inclusive education; and analysis of the role of ideology in issues of poverty, racism and social justice.

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