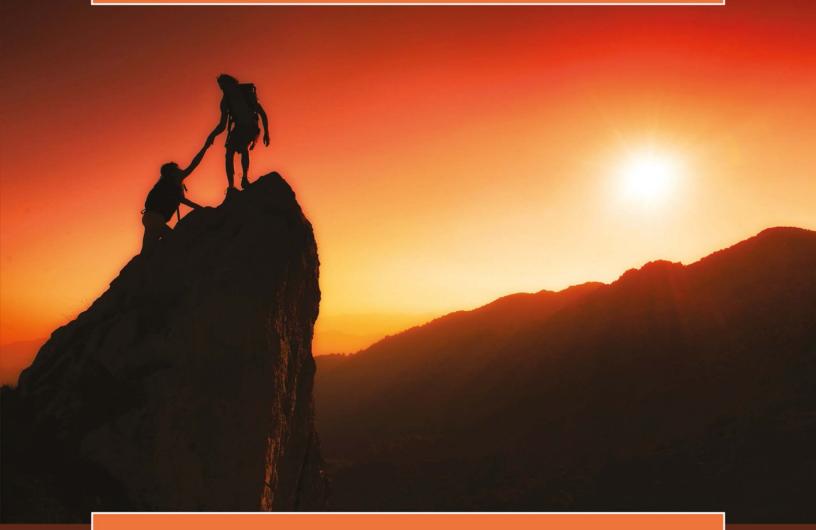# Continued Momentum: Teaching as Mentoring

How Teachers Engage in the Mentoring of Students

Matthew DeJong

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All chapters in this book have undergone peer review.

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THE CONCEPT OF TEACHER AS MENTOR

As a former youth worker, I led youth groups that focused on mentoring junior high and secondary school students. My practice centred on recruiting and training adult mentors from a wide variety of backgrounds to mentor students on a weekly basis, both in small groups and one-on-one sessions. Though much of the youth mentoring literature focuses on at-risk students, the mentors that were part of our programs noticed that even students who were not at-risk, which were the majority of our students, still grappled with major life issues, from deep relational difficulties with parents or siblings, feelings of failure and insecurity at school, and pessimism about their post-secondary school opportunities.

After changing professions and acquiring employment as a teacher in a large board in central Canada, I noticed that those needs among students who were not at-risk were evident as I was spending each and every day with them, rather than the few hours I spent with students each week at large group sessions as a youth worker. Teachers worked more directly and more intensively than youth workers and volunteers, whose specific mandate was to guide students through difficult life choices. Increasingly, I realized that there were even more difficulties that students who were not at-risk were experiencing than I had previously considered. These difficulties were exacerbated by a structural reorganization that saw more change in the organization of schools in five years than in all of the region's preceding history (Gidney, 1999). A standards-driven shift decreased teacher availability, ultimately ensuring more pressure on students while limiting the time that teachers required to help them cope with these new pressures. Privatization and individualism are ever encroaching, and institutions facilitating care and social cohesion are a liability to those ends.

However, it was in the midst of the last decade that I saw teachers still dedicated to the task of not just preparing students for their entrance into the knowledge economy, but also mentoring their students. Teachers had been publically shamed by the use of the conservative government media campaigns throughout the late 1990s, ironically suggesting that teachers were balking at having "to spend a little more time with their students" (Progressive Conservatives, 1997). Yet teachers, though frustrated by the area-wide humiliation by their employers, still quietly and assiduously went above and beyond their job descriptions to mentor students in a multiplicity of ways.

This book, therefore, represents a portrait of mentoring in the secondary school context, revealing the stories and struggles of both teachers and students as they experience public secondary school in the modern cross-cultural dynamic. Chapter one introduces the rationale for such an exploration, as well as the objectives and

significance of this book. Chapter two explores the literature around mentoring, teaching, and the realities of schooling, offering a definition of mentoring to guide the discussion. Chapter three presents a qualitative approach to examining teachers as mentors, including data collection, methodology and participants. Chapter four presents the profiles of both primary and secondary participants, secondary school teachers and former students respectively. Chapter five explores insights from the five teachers based on their diverse experiences as they continue to mentor students. Chapter six engages four former students who were mentored during their formative years. The emerging themes from both teachers and former students, as well as the literature that connects to these themes, were divided into chapters seven and eight. Finally, chapter nine suggests broader ways that mentoring can be seen in the context of today's schools, including implications for teacher education and educational policy. As well, further research is suggested to expand the growing body of research in the area of teachers as mentors.

PERSONAL RATIONALE: THE MAKING OF A MENTOR

As a student whose parents were often on the precipice of divorce, my home life was at times tumultuous. As a result, I used attention-seeking strategies that included being the "class clown." This behaviour resulted in me often speaking out of turn, or attempting to make the class laugh when the lesson was focused. My sixth grade teacher attempted a strategy beyond simply punitive measures. During our in-class speech competition, mine was drastically under the time allotment. However, my teacher realized that my humorous take on a pop-culture phenomenon had potential and said he had never seen a class laugh so hard. He laboured with me after school, initiating leading questions that prompted me to foster well-researched information into my speech. He then provided me the platform to perform the speech multiple times in front of the class until I met the time requirements. After a vote from the class, my speech was declared the winner, and I was chosen to perform it in front of the entire school. He helped me polish the speech over the next few weeks, and then took me to the gymnasium numerous times so I could see what it would be like in that environment. He would ask me to pretend that there were hundreds of teachers, students, and parents watching me so that I would picture the day before it happened. He also said that since I often enjoyed making people laugh in class, just keep on doing what I was always doing and entertain a larger crowd. I was never more nervous in my life than when I performed that speech, but as the laughter began with my first few sentences, I realized he was right: I enjoyed making people laugh. With his mentoring, his understanding of my personality, possibly an understanding of my home life, I was able to complete a task I never dreamed I would be able to do. He must have seen the reports from previous teachers, especially the one from the year before when the principal had scolded me to "stop disrespecting" the teacher during class. The day I delivered the speech was the single greatest moment in my public school career. He did not have to help me. He could have marked my original

speech which was entertaining, but missed the mark in at least one of the required categories. But he partnered with me to excel, inside and outside the classroom, and to understand that my gift, if used at the right time and in the right way, could bring great reward.

PROFESSIONAL RATIONALE—FROM MENTEE TO MENTOR

As a teacher, I have often thought of what that moment meant to me, and have tried to live as a mentor to my students. For instance, Sandeep was a Sikh student of mine who was in my grade eleven class. Until the first report card, Sandeep held the record for the most number of lates I had ever seen a student incur. He would receive detentions from me, and even detentions from the office. We would call home and speak to his parents with no success. He was not interested, and school did not matter.

During one of his detentions he started asking me questions about my life and my experience in school. After explaining my background and revealing some of my difficulties when I was in school, I then turned to him. In a moment of honesty, I simply stated that within a year and a half he would be out of secondary school and be making major decisions about his future. Then I suggested that detentions, even though the office recommended them for lates, would never fix his attendance or level of participation. It was something that just had to come from within him. In a non-threatening way, I said that he just had to start growing up and realize he was almost an adult. I told him that there can be many frustrating experiences in secondary school, but that it was up to him to make sure school did not get in the way of his education—a phrase I often employed to let students know that learning is something that had to be made personal, beyond simply the test mark or dispassionately completing the next assignment.

He sat for a moment and something must have shifted in him. He said he was going to make an effort to come on time and start taking school seriously. Even though I encouraged him to do so, I frankly did not expect him to follow through on his promise. I was surprised the next day when he showed up in class twenty minutes early "just to catch up." I encouraged him to keep it up, but really did not expect his new found energy to continue. It did.

He regularly came in early and participated in all class discussions and activities from then until the end of the year, raising his mark from mid-term by about fifteen percent. In grade 12, I had Sandeep again. He continued his pace, achieving throughout the semester, often arriving early, often staying late after school to "discuss" what he now found very relevant and exciting. Then, one day, he was absent, and when I asked his friends where he was they said that his father had passed away. I did not even know his father was sick. He had been diagnosed some months earlier with colon cancer and passed away quite rapidly.

When Sandeep returned to class, I offered to help him catch up and continue his great work. With the knowledge that he did not like to go home right after school

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because of the depressing atmosphere of his house, I and some of his friends started a video game club after school. Every day, after school, they would bring in video games and we would set it up as a big screen on the wall. It brought some much needed laughter and distraction back to his life. He was soon back focusing on his school work and completed one of the best independent study unit presentations I had ever seen. He finished my class with an A average. I told him on one of the last days of school that I could never replace his father, but if he needed someone to be there for important milestones in life, like graduation or receiving community honours, to let me know as I would be proud to be there. The following semester, he updated some of his other marks so that he could attend the university program he wanted. He dropped by every few days to let me know of his progress. He then applied to university and was accepted into his desired program. He still visits me a few times a year, and will often email me to ask my opinion on everything from life choices to academics to popular culture.

Therefore, my interest in mentoring is that when I was mentored by my grade six teacher, among others, the practice not only made a significant difference in my marks, but also improved my self-esteem and attitude towards school and learning. My interest is also in the fact that when I have been a mentor to students such as Sandeep, I have seen a tremendous improvement in their academic achievement, motivation, personal choices, and attitude towards life-long learning. In a word, a teacher mentoring a student "works"—students become more engaged in school and tend to have a more positive outlook on the trajectory of their lives.

ACADEMIC RATIONALE: THE MENTORING EFFECT

According to literature on mentoring (e.g., Tierney et al., 1995; Dubois et al., 2002) mentors can have a dramatic impact on the life of a teen in reducing harmful behaviours and promoting school engagement. Adolescents in such relationships have significantly reduced drug or alcohol use, aggressive reactions, truancy, and have higher grade-point averages.

As Langhout et al. (2003) note, mentoring can be beneficial to teens in several different ways: it can improve "youth's self-concept and academic achievement" (Linnehan, 2001; McPartland & Nettles, 1991); among students who have had problems with the law, it can help "lower recidivism rates" (Davidson et al., 1987); mentoring has also proven to be effective among adolescents who have a history of substance abuse (Aseltine et al., 2000; LoSciuto et al., 1996). In their work on lower income youth, Williams and Kornblum (1985) state of the many reasons teenagers successfully negotiate the turbulence of adolescence "the most significant is the presence or absence of mentors" (p. 108). In Public/Private Ventures' (Tierney et al., 1995) landmark mentoring study, they revealed that students tended to have more problems as they progressed through secondary school, but those with mentors "worsened" at a slower rate.

Adolescence is often marked by a period of change and insecurity. Inhelder and Piaget (1958) note that during this time, thinking patterns may change dramatically as students move from concrete thinking to formal operations. This change in thinking is coupled with physical growth, an awareness of sexual identity, and peer group interactions. It may also coincide with events like divorce, a family's loss of income, relocation, and other life traumas such as the death of a family member.

Public/Private Ventures' (Tierney et al., 1995) findings that all teens have gradually increased problems as they move through their teen years would corroborate the research that suggests the work load for secondary school students, stress, and post-secondary hopelessness is at an all-time high (Bailey, 2012; AP, 2010; Mundy, 2005; Ramirez, 2009; U.S. Department of Education, 2005). Similarly, researchers cite school-related issues as among the leading cause of stress for secondary school students (Salmela-Aro & Tynkkynen, 2012; Kaiser Family Foundation, 2005; Stuart, 2006).

Within specific North American spheres, researchers suggested that the manner in which the reforms of the late 1990s were administered left teachers demoralized and situated the public education system on a very dangerous path: "standardized educational reform has brought [schools] to the brink of a recruitment and retention catastrophe in teaching" (Hargreaves & Shaw, 2002, p. 123).

With the growing concern around secondary student stress, and the deepening challenges regarding youth, such as increased competition and limited post-secondary opportunities, the position of today's secondary teacher is one that requires a broadened notion of the teacher's role and teaching. Teachers have to respond to the increasing student stress, yet must also creatively engage students beyond the regularly structured class. In the context of this realization, I interviewed secondary school teachers and former secondary school students in order to explore how secondary school teachers understand and enact mentoring with their students.

OBJECTIVES AND BENEFITS OF STUDYING TEACHERS AS MENTORS

The objectives of this exploration are threefold: the first is to expand the literature around mentoring and the broader notions of teacher and teaching; the second is to provide a resource for secondary school teachers to consider, reconsider, and improve their practice; the third is to provide a resource for those who can support teachers who mentor, namely administrators and policy makers.

Within the literature on mentoring, there seems to be a paucity of research on secondary school teachers as mentors to their students. As well, the majority of studies in the area of mentoring youth concentrates on high-risk youth. Scholars have tended to concentrate less on school-based mentoring efforts, and even less on students who are not at-risk. Similarly, within the realm of literature around schools, teaching, and learning, mentoring may erroneously be assumed of those who teach—the mistaken notion that teaching is always mentoring, or the presumption that extensive

caring practices are normative. That some might even suggest teaching needs to be separated from mentoring and left up to an alternate group like Big Brothers Big Sisters, or a more defined position like the guidance counsellor or social worker, narrows the definition of teacher to one who provides classroom instruction and assigns grades. Therefore, one of the major objectives of this book is to address the gap in the literature on mentoring. But, more succinctly, this exploration is intended to broaden the view of teacher and teaching, revealing that teachers often fill the role of mentor, a role that requires a choice. The benefit of the emerging literature on teacher as mentor will help establish a discourse between the literature on mentoring and the broader notions of teacher and teaching, acting as a vehicle for discussion in both disciplines, even though the primary focus will specifically be on teacher and school development.

The second major objective is to provide a resource for local schools to discuss, challenge, and implement strategies and clarify practices of teachers who mentor. As school communities struggle with increased student stress, lack of achievement, and student disengagement, studying how teachers mentor students will improve how students view their experience, and ultimately provide an increased motivation for learning. Pre-service and in-service teachers alike will benefit from such an investigation as they grapple with the realities of teaching in the modern public school system. Caring for students may seem like a "nice idea," but in a teacher's endless daily tasks of marking, lesson planning, and meetings, caring may simply remain a desire rather than an intentional reflective practice.

This exploration will provide a working definition of mentoring, as opposed to the notion that all teaching is mentoring. This definition will suggest a determination through which a teacher will be able to implement a practice that students, by their own admission in this research, find extremely valuable. This research will be of great benefit to teachers as they will be able to observe how experienced teachers create an atmosphere for mentoring that commences within their classrooms, and then extends to different models of mentoring. Teachers will also be able to see specific examples and strategies of different mentoring practices, some focused on psycho-social caring, while others are academically based. If teachers are motivated to be mentors to their students, they would be well-served by understanding just what mentoring, in relation to caring, actually looks like.

Forms of mentoring have been developed by teachers who have, at times, had to learn from their mistakes, and constantly reflect on the strategies that can improve their work. These cautions can be of great benefit to both young and experienced teachers alike as they, for example, employ new forms of social media or have to respond to adolescent pressures not necessarily experienced in their own school careers. Teachers also will benefit from seeing that diversity may prove challenging, and how teachers negotiate these challenges.

The third objective of this book is beyond the great value it can offer to teacher practitioners. Administrators need to see how teachers are caring for their students. In wanting significant connection between teachers and students, they would be

well-served to understand what environments promote and sustain such activities. As professionals in a supervisory role, they need to understand the practice well enough to offer guidance and mentoring to their staff on how to effectively mentor, what it looks like, and what cautions need to be considered. Similarly, if policy makers at the board and provincial levels realize that teachers are regularly mentoring students, this might influence elements such as class sizes, time allotments, annual budgets, and resources provided to encourage and sustain such activity. An examination of the phenomenon of teachers mentoring students could help directors of education and superintendents, as system thinkers and planners, to ask serious questions about where mentoring fits into the schema of the broader structure. Specifically, if mentoring improves student performance and participation more than other initiatives, then other programs may have to be redacted to sustain more effective methods.

SIGNIFICANCE OF EXAMINING TEACHERS AS MENTORS

A discussion regarding how secondary school teachers mentor their students is timely. A recent Canadian effort by the Toronto District School Board's 2011 (Yau et al., 2013) that surveyed over one hundred thousand students between grade seven and twelve yielded dramatic results. Sixty-six percent of students revealed that they are under a lot of stress caused by school, home life, and peers. Over half reported they were actually losing sleep because of their stress. Almost fifty percent of students were concerned with family issues, while seventy three percent of students between grade nine and twelve were worried about their futures, such as acceptance into highly-competitive programs and lack of prospects upon graduation. This realization had prompted the board to conclude that there seemed to be a gap in addressing the mental health of not only at-risk students, but also the majority of students who are not considered at-risk (CBC News, 2013).

Such a need in the system to respond to student stress is highlighted by the notion that resources previously available have been removed. In recent decades, this environment of obvious need and dwindling resources was where today's teachers found themselves. Teachers accepted the responsibility of the curriculum they were required to deliver, but also confirmed the need to mentor students.

Therefore, this book provides an opportunity to analyze how teachers mentor their students. As suggested throughout the literature review, there is presently a gap in the formal research regarding how teachers are mentoring their students—many teachers are mentoring students, but little if any research analyzes the dynamics of this behaviour. Mentoring literature has a rich history, especially in areas of at-risk adolescents and community programming. However, what seems to be lacking are the investigations of teachers who mentor those students who are not designated as at-risk.

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CHAPTER 2

MENTORS, TEACHERS, AND SCHOOLS

A Literature Review

IN THE BEGINNING: MENTORING AS MYTH

Mentor begins not as a phenomenon, but as a name. Homer's *The Odyssey* introduces the Greek hero Odysseus who, upon leaving for the Trojan War, leaves his son Telemachus "in the care of Mentor" (Mullen, 2005, p. 30). Keller (2010) notes that, "In this case, mentoring entailed substantial responsibility for raising a youth at the request of an absent parent" (p. 25). Thus, mentors, as seen in this tale, or even in real life examples such as Aristotle's relationship with Alexander the Great, were ever more than teachers. They were often hired by the powerful to groom children into becoming successful rulers. Of particular note in *The Odyssey* is the fact that Mentor is a trusted old man, but in assuming the responsibility for both Odysseus' household and his son "largely failed in his duties, taking care of neither" (Turner, 2004, p. 1). The goddess Athena then takes the form of Mentor so she can impart wisdom. Through this relationship, "Telemachus develops shrewdness without sacrificing virtue, two qualities that Mentor treats as a formative part of a 'higher' education" (Mullen, 2005, p. 30). Mentor is originally viewed as a tutor, but becomes more than that as he, although actually Athena, shows his protégé "how to think and act for himself and assumes responsibility for nourishing all facets of his life—intellectual, spiritual, social, and professional" (Mullen, 2005, p. 30).

One of the first modern uses of the word Mentor is found in the novel *Les Aventures de Telemaque* by Francoise Fenelon published in 1699. This story revives the character of Telemachus and Mentor, and is widely viewed as a satire regarding the reign of France's Louis XIV. The novel was the "the most reprinted book in the 18th century" (Turner, 2004, p. 1), possibly because Fenelon was considered "a great educator" (Turner, 2004, p. 1). Roberts (1999) argues that "Fenelon's Mentor… should be referred to when considering the popular environmental connotations that the word mentor now implies" because "*The Odyssey* is more concerned with the trials of Odysseus than with the education of Telemachus" (p. 6). Therefore, the exegesis of some of the early mentoring works reveals educator and mentor seem to have a close relationship. However, this adaptation reveals that mentoring has been an evolving, and at times, contested construct, dependent on the values, contexts, and purposes of the writer.

DEFINITION OF MENTORING

Mentoring has been associated with areas like coaching, guiding, advising, leading (Rix & Gold, 2000), pre-service (Maynard, 2000) and in-service teaching (Halai, 2006), and junior professors (Miller & Thurston, 2009). The vast number of mentoring domains has produced at least one hundred different definitions of mentoring (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002).

Mullen (2009), citing Clark et al. (2000, pp. 262–268), reveals that one of the most common definitions of mentoring, that differentiates the practice from teaching, is that mentoring is an "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) effort. In the area of faculty mentoring, Mullen (2009) suggests that mentoring is behaviour that seeks to "enhance the education of protégés outside the traditional supervisory or advisory context, they [faculty members] mentor beyond the demands of their position" (p. 18).

When considering many of the possible domains, mentoring denotes behaviour that requires a special effort. For instance, a new professor might have colleagues to rely on for questions and advice, but a mentor would be that one colleague who chooses to provide an effort "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) other colleagues. A new manager might see a vice-president relate in a way that is beyond the supervisory role. Secondary teachers provide regular academic and psycho-social help to their students, but what behaviours do teachers and students see as "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18)?

Similarly, such special effort must be more than a one-time event with a particular student. While a teacher might have a conversation with a student about a particularly challenging situation, this would be seen as a caring occasion (Noddings, 2005) and not necessarily a mentoring relationship. Some students might describe caring, relational teachers, but not necessarily consider them mentors. The term mentoring then, for the purposes of this exploration, is helpful in describing a sustained special effort, a series of caring occasions practiced beyond the regularly structured class.

Mentoring also takes place in an environment of need or vulnerability. Such need may be seen in the traditional mentoring forms of relational guidance, but may also be seen in opportunities for increased achievement. It also must be noted that within the context of the ethical responsibility of a teacher, working with children is working with those who are deemed vulnerable. As well, teachers may be mentoring students engaged in extended tasks or situational leadership, whose present skills might make them vulnerable to failure while navigating the complexity of a newfound challenge.

Therefore, mentoring is considered a sustained above and beyond effort in an environment of vulnerability or need.

MENTORING FOR DIVERSITY

The effects of same-race mentoring continue to be debated. Rhodes et al. (2002a) concludes that although race may have an effect on the relationship, such outcomes

are difficult to determine. Some suggest that matches along ethnic lines tend to experience less conflict and can have a higher degree of closeness and support attributed to the relationship (Ensher & Murphy, 1997; Liang et al., 2006). Same-race mentoring is believed by some to be crucial to the process as a history of racism, exclusion, and oppression by a majority culture might provoke strong emotions and attitudes impeding the development of cross-cultural relationships (Tatum, 1992, 2003, 2004). Others suggest that a healthy engagement of the majority culture does not begin with a mentor from the dominant culture, but one that represents similarity to the mentee (Ogbu, 1999). Such proponents claim that race and ethnic background transcend other designations like social class or location. However, there are other researchers, such as Morrow and Styles (1995), who suggest "that effective [mentoring] relationships [are] just as likely to form among cross-race pairs as same-race pairs" (Rhodes et al., 2002, p. 2117). Others supportive of cross-race mentoring might not be intending to necessarily be inclusive, but see it more along pragmatic lines. They would say, "Given the shortage of minority mentors, minority youth might remain on waiting lists for a relatively long time" (Rhodes et al., 2002, p. 2117).

There is also evidence that gender can influence the type of mentor sought by a mentee (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002). A female secondary school athlete, for instance, might prefer to seek out a female teacher rather than have a male coach to develop her skills.

One of the difficulties in suggesting that mentors and mentees should be of the same-race or gender is that individuals may hold multiple group memberships, which may still affect them differently (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002). For instance, a Chinese boy with a physical disability might be paired with a Chinese man because of complimenting gender and ethnicity, but might be better paired with a Caucasian woman who also has a disability. Also, to be noted is the fact that some religious orientations would forbid opposite gender pairings, or a mentor who is gay or lesbian.

However, diversified mentoring is a practice that may pair those mentors and mentees who are different in terms of gender, ethnicity, religion, class, and disability (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002). Those suggesting that people of different group memberships can form effective mentor-mentee relationships may point to the fact that diversity in the beginning stages of team development may prove slow, but overtime outperform homogenous relationships (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002). Mentors themselves might even choose a mentee based upon their own background as they might see the mentee as a younger version of themselves (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002). However, the critical point is this: when mentoring, mentors and mentees need to find other commonalities besides group memberships and past representations (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002; Grossman & Rhodes, 2002). These commonalities take time to discover and develop. But far more central to the success of the relationship seems to be not in the pairing of mentors and mentees along the lines of group memberships, but in the duration of the relationship (Grossman & Rhodes, 2002; Rhodes, 2002a) and the perception of competence of the mentor

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(Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002), a competence which, admittedly, is often susceptible to the nature of stereotypes.

<div style="text-align:center">MENTORING AND TEACHING</div>

Kathy Kram's (1985) pioneering work in the discipline "provided the core concepts for the next two decades of research and reflection on mentoring" (Allen & Eby, 2010, p. xviii) and suggests two very broad categories or functions of mentoring: career and psycho-social (p. 6). Whereas career-based mentoring often means learning skills from more experienced professionals, psycho-social implies a mature listening ear or a cheerleader to help when feeling frustrated or in need of personal resolution. From this seminal work, much of mentoring can be seen through the lens of domains. The domains indeed are very far reaching, from medical schemas (Mullen, 2005, p. 32) to spiritual development (Rhodes & Chan, 2010). Allen and Eby (2010) organize their work around "three domains: the workplace, the academy, and the community" (p. xvii). When discussing the academy, Allen and Eby (2010) specifically refer to graduate or post-graduate "student-faculty" relationships that occur primarily among adults, while community specifically refers to "mentoring of youth" (2010, p. 3). Within the realm of youth mentoring, Rhodes (2001) suggests that the two categories "school-based programs" (p. 30) and "community-based youth organizations" (p. 30) provide "important contexts for positive youth development" (p. 30).

Interestingly enough, "there is relatively little research on school-based mentoring" (Dubois & Karcher, 2005, p. 339). In terms of community-based mentoring, "Researchers have shifted attentions away from specific problems to a general focus on positive aspects of youth development…because of the limited long term effectiveness of problem focused mentoring" (Rhodes, 2002a, p. 10). This attitude suggests that "mentoring doesn't always have to save at-risk kids" (Rhodes, 2002a, p. 10).

Surprisingly, within the search for domains of mentoring research, the domain of classroom teachers mentoring adolescents seems underdeveloped. Indeed, Trepanier-Street claims that "the professional literature on teachers as mentors focuses on teachers mentoring other adult educational professionals" (2004, p. 66). Those studies that show teachers as mentors to students often mimic community programs in their attempts to provide at-risk students "on-site intervention" (Eby, Rhodes, & Allen, 2010, p. 15). However, it is rare to see studies that "describe the process of teaching itself as mentoring or study regular classroom teachers mentoring children" (Trepanier-Street, 2004, p. 66).

In the literature on youth mentoring, there is sometimes talk around teachers as mentors. Eby, Rhodes, and Allen (2010) suggest that mentors "can fulfill the role of a teacher," but do teachers also fulfill the role of mentors? Rhodes (2002b), in her landmark book *Stand By Me,* says that she may "allude to other kinds of naturally

occurring relationships such as those between teachers and students," but, like most scholars in the discipline, admits that teachers "are not my central focus" (p. 4).

Even for those who discuss in-school mentoring programs, the teacher rarely if ever seems to be a focus. For example, the major study *Mentoring School-Age Children* (Herrera et al., 2000) concludes that "School-based mentors also have more contact with teachers" (p. 8), yet never suggests that teachers themselves are front-line, school-based mentors. It may be interesting to note the study was funded by the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement. One might then question whether teachers as mentors actually offer "Educational Improvement." The study states that when mentoring programs "first gathered momentum," many programs failed to establish "infrastructure sufficient to support the growing number of mentoring relationships" (Herrera et al., 2000, p. 13). Most schools, however, seem to possess an infrastructure conducive to adults mentoring young people.

Kolar and Mcbride (2011) in their study, "Mentoring At-Risk Youth in Schools: Can Small Doses Make a Big Change" suggest that school-based programs may benefit from "additional support from school staff that could influence the effectiveness of the program" (p. 128). Like many other studies, teachers are seen as those providing "additional support" (Kolar & Mcbride, 2011, p. 128) to a mentoring program, but teachers are rarely seen as forming the foundation for mentoring students.

In the study, "Evaluation of a School-Based Mentoring Program for At-Risk Middle School Youth," Converse and Lignugaris/Kraft (2009) suggest, "Using school personnel as mentors might be cost-effective, simplify program operations and provide opportunities for students to view school personnel in a positive light" (p. 33). School personnel are not then seen regularly as mentors to teens, yet, because of their proximity to students, may be seen as "cost effective" if they chose to become mentors. Additionally, what seems even more alarming is the fact that students need new experiences in order to view their teachers as people available to guide them.

It may be that perhaps scholars are simply choosing to put their efforts elsewhere, in studying the work and assessing the validity of community and site-based programs as opposed to classroom teachers. However, there are some who are intentionally "sceptical about teachers and children engaging in a mentor-mentee learning relationship" (Trepanier-Street, 2004, p. 68) and seem to warn against it. There are several reasons offered for such scepticism.

First of all, critics highlighted in Trepanier-Street's work "point out that teachers just do not have the time to develop positive mentoring relationships with children" (2004, p. 68). Hargreaves and Shaw (2002) seem to echo this concern as they discuss mandated decisions that "reduce contact time with students" (p. 152) leaving teachers "overwhelmed...because they [do] not have the time" (p. 152). Finding enough time with students is a tension that most teachers have to deal with. But in the current milieu, sceptics argue that "Given the large number of children in

each classroom and the current pressure and emphasis on academic achievement and assessment, they doubt teachers have the time to develop strong, collaborative learning relationships with children" (Trepanier-Street, 2004, p. 67). Rhodes (2002b), referring to students experiencing social difficulties, argues "although schools are the site of nearly 75 percent of preventative interventions" (p. 115) with young people, "close and confiding student-teacher relationships tend to be more the exception than the rule" (p. 116). Rhodes (2002b) further laments that "Sadly, many adults who were initially drawn to the teaching profession out of desire to establish meaningful connections with their students have become increasingly disillusioned by the structural impediments to relationships in schools" (p. 116).

Secondly, some question whether it is even the teacher's role to develop relationships with children (Trepanier-Street, 2004). Policies of accountability limit teacher roles to those that can be quantified (Noddings, 2005). And those who are looking to justify roles of reduced contact time with students might agree with Shreffler (1998) who concludes that intense personal interactions, like the ones that form in a mentoring relationship, can lead to burnout.

Thirdly, some suggest that teaching is about evaluation and not building relationships. Critics see "the teacher's role as evaluator of children's learning as incompatible with the mentor role," that a teacher should have "an authoritarian teaching approach" because a "mentoring relationship may unduly influence the evaluation" (Trepanier-Street, 2004, p. 68).

When considering the notion of mentoring, several observations can be made. To begin with, in mentoring, relationships are central to the process. In a secondary school, teachers may have up to one hundred and eighty students a year, and may not be able to develop a close relationship with all of their students. Therefore, while relationships may help the teaching process, in mentoring, the relationship is the process. Another observation is that mentors may be sometimes seen as short-term workers. That is, especially in terms of at-risk students, a mentor might be someone designated for a limited time. The student might be mentored through an issue, and then once "solved" move on from that mentor. Additionally, the literature on community mentoring suggests an extremely high turnover, where often the relationship breaks down in the course of a few months. In a teaching situation, mentored students are often present in the same class or school for years, even long after the mentoring relationship has been terminated. Furthermore, mentoring is a time-intensive relationship. It often mandates an extended period of time to earn trust between a mentor and mentee. This requires several or many prolonged instances to develop such a relationship, time that not necessarily every teacher would be ready to avail. Finally, mentors can be differentiated by their experience. Those who are mentoring for the first time might not have the wealth of experience from which to provide advice, nor have enough practice with resolution skills if the relationship sees conflict between mentor and mentee. With these observations in mind, the suggestions in this book could therefore aid a teacher in the construction of a philosophy of teaching: are teachers supposed to be mentors? If the answer is

yes, then it is worth exploring how such an approach fits within the literature on teachers and teaching.

APPROACHES TO TEACHERS' KNOWLEDGE, LIFE, AND WORK

Behaviourist Perspective

At the beginning of the 20th century, behaviourism and scientific management influenced the perceived role of classroom teacher, and has also resurged in the present era of accountability. Behaviourism suggests that learning is based on observable behaviours, and that such learning can be sustained through the use of rewards and reinforcement (O'neil, 1995). Within such a framework, a teacher's role was to present small amounts of largely knowable information, use repetition to reinforce the learning, and then provide rewards, and in some cases punishment, to achieve "correct" outcomes. The empirical and behavioural sciences seemed like a natural conduit for the organization of schools based upon the work of Frederick Taylor. Taylor's *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911) rose from the "shop floors of various industries" (Friesen & Jardine, 2009, p. 9) as a way of creating maximum efficiency within a structural system. Taylor's model required relegating a task into parts for sequencing to create experts, while at the same time improving the speed of the required tasks. Taylor's "prospect of efficiency swept through all facets of then-contemporary life, from Mayor's offices to hospitals to, of course, schools" (Friesen & Jardine, 2009, p. 9). The influence of Taylor's work can be seen in such educational theorists such as Thorndike, Bobbitt, and Ralph Tyler. In fact, the theory was so pervasive that "Our very understanding of the disciplines of knowledge that have been entrusted to teachers and students in schools has been formed and shaped by the fragmentation inherent in Taylor's efficiency movement" (Friesen & Jardine, 2009, p. 13).

Sawyer (2006) suggests that, based on behaviourism and a factory management approach, the role of teacher would be as follows:

- Knowledge is a collection of facts about the world and procedures for how to solve problems;
- The goal of schooling is to get these facts into the students' heads;
- Teachers know these facts and procedures, and their job is to transmit them to students;
- Simpler facts and procedures should be learned first;
- The way to determine the success of schooling is to test the students to see how many facts and procedures they have acquired.

(Friesen & Jardine, 2009, p. 13)

The role of the teacher was thus to act as expert, and successful teaching was proven as transmission of knowledge from teacher to student could be validated. However, within such a mandate "difference and diversity become a problem to be subsumed"

(Friesen & Jardine, 2009, p. 14). If the assembly line approach to teaching was not working, the alternative was to create "new assembly lines" (Friesen & Jardine, 2009, p. 14). And, in an ever-changing world, if the "demands increase, all the assembly line can do is *accelerate*" (Friesen & Jardine, 2009, p. 14). The factory model of teaching, then, does not take into account the complexities of working with adolescents. As stresses grow on students and disengagement from school becomes obvious, an "assembly line" (Friesen & Jardine, 2009, p. 14) approach to simply get facts into the heads of students is problematic, especially when their heads might not be interested in the facts being disseminated. What has to be taken into account is that students construct their reality, attempting to negotiate new experiences with the past or present experiences. Teachers have to understand previous and present circumstances in a student's life before considering how to facilitate these new experiences. Thus, knowing a student, rather than just knowing a subject, becomes of prime importance.

Constructivist Perspective

An alternative to the behaviourist view of the role of the teacher can be seen through the work of the constructivists. Whereas behaviourist approaches to teaching begin with an expert teacher who knows the facts, Dewey (1938) "became famous for pointing out that the authoritarian, strict, pre-ordained knowledge approach of modern traditional education was too concerned with delivering knowledge, and not enough with understanding students' actual experiences" (Neill, 2005). In fact, Dewey (1938) suggests that despite rigorous debate on educational theory "there is one permanent frame of reference: namely, the organic connection between education and personal experience" (p. 25). For Dewey (1938), all "human experience is ultimately social" (p. 38), and education should be based on these experiences. Such experiences arise from two principles: continuity and interaction. Dewey's (1938) principle of continuity derives from the "quality of the experience" (p. 27), which has an immediate aspect and "its influence upon later experiences" (p. 27). In effect, continuity derives from the belief that "Every experience is a moving force" (Dewey, 1938, p. 38). An experience which provides "growth" (Dewey, 1938, p. 38) therefore "arouses curiosity, strengthens initiative" (Dewey, 1938, p. 38) and provides in the present that which can "carry a person over dead places in the future" (Dewey, 1938, p. 38). Noddings (2005) has seen challenges to Dewey's followers in that they often concentrated on one aspect of continuity, namely the past or present. However, she claims Dewey often "chided" (Noddings, 2005, p. 64) those who did not take into consideration a student's past, present, and future experiences (Noddings, 2005). One such offering is that democracy, often a strong theme of Dewey in relation to education, cannot be something that is simply based in the past through studying previous elections, nor "by giving them masses of information to be used at some later time" (Noddings, 1995, p. 34). Such prescient learning must presently provide "forms of democratic living appropriate for their age" (p. 34).

The second principle, interaction, is a philosophy that assigns "equal rights to both factors in experience—objective and internal conditions" (Noddings, 1995, p. 42). Objective notions are those "competent" (Noddings, 1995, p. 42) professionals who make "a special study" (Noddings, 1995, p. 42), likened to educational theorists, yet also allow for "intelligence that is exercised in personal judgment" (Noddings, 1995, p. 42), much like the teacher who has to respond to specific situations. Such cohesion exists between continuity and interaction when "successive experiences are integrated with one another" (Noddings, 1995, p. 44) and "a world of related objects is constructed" (Noddings, 1995, p. 44).

Dewey (1938) suggests that teachers "should know how to utilize the surroundings, physical and social…to contribute to building up experiences that are worthwhile" (p. 44). In essence, educators "direct the experience" (1938, p. 40) of children. Dewey (1938) claims that "basing education upon personal experience may mean more multiplied and more intimate contacts between the mature and the immature than ever existed in the traditional school" (p. 21). Furthermore, such contacts require "more, rather than less, guidance by others" (Dewey, 1938, p. 21). Thus, the role of teacher is one where the "teacher loses the position of external boss or dictator but takes on that of leader of group activities" (Dewey, 1938, p. 66). Dewey's (1938) constructivism, therefore, offers a broader notion of teacher and teaching than a transmitter of information.

Vygotsky (1978), similarly a constructivist, differs from Dewey in his interpretation of how knowledge is constructed. Referring to primates, he suggests that animals learn through a process of imitation. That is, they can watch other animals, or even humans, and attempt to reproduce an action, but "their intellect" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 88) cannot be developed. Through training, animals can learn to use "mechanical and mental skills, but it cannot be made more intelligent" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 88). This intelligence he defines as being able to "solve a variety of more advanced problems independently" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 88). Vygotsky (1978) suggests that "animals are incapable of learning in the human sense of the term; *human learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them*" (p. 88). In other words, culture for Vygotsky (1978) can be defined as those formal, ethnic, religious, or family constructs that influence the learner. In essence, Vygotsky (1978) threatens the proposition of cultural homogeneity or what it means to be "cultural." One's orientation is often a product of local experiences, yet is also influenced by personal ideology, and such complex factors such as unconscious desires and even biochemical processes. Indeed, Vygotsky (1978) "was the first modern psychologist to suggest the mechanisms by which culture becomes a part of each person's nature" (p. 6).

Thus, Vygotsky (1978) sees "culture as the raw material of thinking" (Glassman, 2001, p. 3). And, within culture "activity involves action and subtext" (Glassman, 2001, p. 9). This relationship between "action and consequence moves to the internal

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plane of thinking over time. The individual builds this up through life experience" (Glassman, 2001, p. 9). Therefore, while constructing knowledge, the consequences for two children might be different based on culture. The end for one student may be markedly different than another. Furthermore, the reward of such learning could be "greater social cohesion and advancement of the social group" (Glassman, 2001, p. 10). Yet, in not adhering to cultural norms, some students might also feel rejected and experience a lack of advancement in their social group. Vygotsky (1978) thus offers the theory of the zone of proximal development as an approach to understand learning. This zone of proximal development "is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). Therefore, as Dewey (1938) may see a teacher as more of a facilitator with a hands-off approach, Vygotsky (1978) sees it as necessary to have an adult who is more part of the process. He claims that "children are capable of doing much more in collective activity or under the guidance of adults" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 88). As Vygotsky (1978) is interested in how culture shapes learning, such a process requires an adult with "instincts" (Glassman, 2001, p. 10), someone who "has in mind the child's needs and the intimately associated realm of the child's *interests*" (p. 10). Thus, for Vygotsky (1978), the teacher becomes a "social interlocutor" (Glassman, 2001, p. 4), who Glassman (2001) refers to as a mentor, where an adult helps an adolescent reach a place he or she could not necessarily reach alone.

Notions of teaching have therefore broadened from an expert who transmits knowledge, to someone who constructs learning environments to someone who is a "social interlocutor" (Glassman, 2001, p. 4) who understands the influence that culture has on learning. As opposed to behaviourism, constructivism has more relevance to the examination of how teachers mentor their students. Specifically, Vygotsky's (1978) constructivism forms the theoretical basis for the process of mentoring (Haines, 2003; Wertch, 1985; Clifford & Green, 1996; Rhodes et al., 2006; Keller, 2010; Eby & Allen, 2008). Whereas behaviourism would suggest an expert who expects the novice to replicate correct behaviour, Vygotsky's (1978) constructivism sees a partnership of exploring new situations, yet moving toward a goal with the aid of an experienced adult.

Interpretive Perspective

Jackson (1968) was among the first researchers to study classroom life and "depicted the enormous complexity of teacher's life and work in the classroom" (Niyozov, 2001, p. 30). Inherent in Jaskon's (1968) work is the belief that the complexity of the classroom cannot be viewed by one single perspective. Carter and Doyle's (1987) research attempts to deal with the complexity of classroom life by developing a framework for understanding classroom knowledge. Their central argument was to create meaningful tasks through a program of action. However, this reduced

the notion of teacher's knowledge as "event-and task-structured particularistic in content" (Niyozov, 2001, p. 32).

Prior to the past few decades, "focusing on teachers' lives and telling their stories was not thought of as serious scholarship" (Bullough, 2008, p. 11). This lack of attention left teaching and teachers as largely unexamined (Floden & Huberman, 1989). This shift towards the nature of teacher knowledge and practice includes practical knowledge (Elbaz, 1983), that is a teacher's general knowledge, beliefs, and thinking (Borg, 2003), which can be seen in teacher's practices and personal practical knowledge (Clandinin, 1985; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988). Through the telling and retelling of stories, Clandinin and Connelly (1999) suggest teachers "define who we are, what we do, and why" (Huber & Whelan, 1999, p. 38). In some ways, the research that had excluded the teacher as part of the process shifted "to assure that teachers' voice is heard, heard loudly, heard articulately" (Goodson, 1992, p. 112).

This particular approach to hearing from teachers broadens the notion of how teachers act in complex classroom landscapes. Through the "tensions and dilemmas teachers encounter in the classroom, they make decisions based on their values and beliefs about what is appropriate and relevant for their students' present and future" (Niyozov, 2001, p. 35).

BROADENING THE ROLE OF TEACHER AND TEACHING

Professional Knowledge

The last three decades have seen significant research into teacher's professional knowledge and lives (e.g., Beattie, 1995; Clandinin & Connelly, 1995; Witherell & Noddings, 1991; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; He, 1998). Educational researchers have proposed a number of different frameworks for understanding teachers' professional knowledge (e.g., Elbaz, 1983; Shulman, 1986; Carter, 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 1996; Grossman, 1995). Shulman (1986), for example, proposed that there are three types of professional knowledge important to teachers: subject knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and curricular knowledge. But Shulman's (1986) framework was criticized for "ignoring almost everything that is specifically moral, emotional and contextual about teaching" (Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996, p. 9) and did not acknowledge "the political dimensions of knowledge" (St. Denis, 2010, p. 13). Research into teaching and teachers must also examine the "changing context within which this work is undertaken and careers constructed" (Ball & Goodson, 1995, p. 2). Of great impact on teachers and teaching are the social, political, and economic conditions throughout their careers. Goodson (1997) warns, "In fact, at precisely the time that teacher's voice is being pursued and promoted, the teacher's work is being technised and narrowed" (p. 11).

Professional knowledge has thus broadened to include fields such as subject knowledge (Grossman et al., 1989; Shulman, 1986), knowledge of learners (Lampert, 1986; 1988), teaching methodology (Lang et al., 1995), curriculum knowledge

(Mutch, 2009, 2010), pedagogical knowledge (Freire, 1996; Knowles 1970; Brown & McIntyre, 1993), knowledge of self (Quassim, 1994), and knowledge of contexts (Bruner, 1996). Kennedy (1990), in surveying the literature on teacher's subject matter knowledge, states that these fields of professional knowledge do not just co-exist but form a fully connected unit of knowledge. In addressing forms of teacher knowledge, Goodson (1993) suggests that studying what a teacher knows has often been compared to non-educational forms of work, reminiscent of behaviourist constructs, where employers focus solely on the development of technical skills in order to maximize efficiency.

While attempting to reveal the complexity of teaching "greater attention has been directed to teachers as human beings, as rounded social actors with their own problems and perspectives (Ball & Goodson, 1985, p. 8). Including important perspectives such as teacher voice and knowledge then becomes a "restatement of the central role that people play in the educational process and educational systems" (Goodson & Walker, 1991, p. 1). Thus, teachers' professional knowledge offers a way of approaching teachers and teaching in a broader context:

> [Teachers'] professional knowledge moves well beyond the personal, practical and pedagogical. To confine it here is to speak in a voice of empowerment, whilst ultimately disempowering. To define teachers' knowledge in terms of its location within the confines of the classroom is to set limits on its potential use. (Goodson & Cole, 1994, p. 86)

Thus, when considering the broader notions of teaching, the following ideas are critical. First of all, teaching moves beyond managing behaviour, subjects, and factual knowledge. Secondly, teaching involves various knowledge domains that often overlap or work in concert. Thirdly, teaching includes relationships, caring, pastoral care, emotions, and ethics.

Relationships: Students, Teachers, and Uncertainty

The marker for whether or not schools are successful is often in those measureable areas like standardized tests, graduation rates, or addressing statistical socio-political problems such as board efforts to reduce bullying rates or student truancy. But such numerical correlations seem to miss the point, and try to solve symptoms without fully addressing the problem.

Rogers (1969), in his development of a person centered view of teaching, suggests that relationships are essential to learning, and are influenced by three elements. Those who form relationships must be genuine or real. That is, they must understand their own feelings, not hide them from those that they are in relationship with. Empathy in a teacher is also important, to display an attitude of care within the relationship. Lastly, there is another attitude important to Rogers' (1969) understanding of relationships:

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I think of it as prizing the learner, prizing her feelings, her opinions, her person. It is a caring for the learner, but a non-possessive caring. It is an acceptance of this other individual as a separate person, having worth in her own right. It is a basic trust–a belief that this other person is somehow fundamentally trustworthy. (Crawford et al., 1998, p. 199)

As Rogers would see relationships as a central component of teaching, Erickson's (1987) research into anthropology and education suggests that relationships between teacher and student are affected by cultural perspectives, and such a relationship can breed cynicism of the entire educational process resulting in disengagement, distrust, and low achievement.

Poplin and Weeres' (1994) study *Voices from the Inside: A Report on Schooling from Inside the Classroom*, surveying an inclusive array of stakeholders including teachers, students, parents, superintendents, and other school personnel, found that the most significant problem in schools is the lack of relationships between students and teachers. In fact, "Participants feel the crisis inside schools is directly related to human relationships. Most often mentioned were relationships between students and teachers" (p. 12). Bingham and Sidorkin (2004) suggest that reforms that concentrate on accountability, achievement, and standardized testing tend to limit or destroy relationships, which inevitably produces lower standards and achievement levels. Therefore, a relational basis of teaching and schooling reaffirms the central notion that students, not grades or statistics, are the central focus of education. Teachers who develop positive, trusting, prizing (Rogers, 1969) relationships with students ultimately lead them to engage more in all aspects of school, even when confronted with more rigorous tasks or difficult assignments.

The work of Brtizman (e.g., 1998; 2010; 2013) in the area of psychoanalysis and learning suggests that in studying the object of education, the human subject, we enter into a state of uncertainty. Far from a behaviourist notion of attempting to predict behaviour, the role of uncertainty may be problematic for teachers as "uncertainty appears as a challenge to authority and learning conflicts are approached as only conscious mistakes and as having nothing to do with the learner's or teacher's unconscious desire" (Britzman, 2013, p. 97). Psychoanalytical relational notions, uncertainty of the self, uncertainty of others, calls into question some of the idealistic views of Rogerian theory, revealing that unconscious desires, frustrations, tensions, and memories may, both on the part of a teacher and student, play a part in relational formation and resistance (Britzman, 2010). However, resistance and uncertainty should not be held as necessarily problematic as they are elements of the human condition, and evident even in environments of relational wealth. Similarly, in her work on Queer pedagogy, knowledge, identity, and education Britzman (1998) suggests that in holding to an understanding of socio-historical notions of subordination, there is space to move away from binary distinctions of normalcy and difference: "my interest is in unsettling the sediments of what one imagines when one imagines normalcy, what one imagines when one imagines difference" (p. 227).

Normalcy, difference, uncertainty, resistance, and the unconscious are intrinsic to personal orientations when engaging ourselves and others, and therefore offer ways of approaching relationships as complex, layered, and even unknown, yet inevitably ineluctable.

Caring: The Heart of Teaching

Noddings (2005) suggests that the current state of western education is "driven by a 'standard' and evaluated on the basis of whether students meet it" (p. 9). She goes so far as to say that the "pervasive goal" (Noddings, 2005, p. 9) of the current system "is control: control of teachers, of students, of content" (Noddings, 2005, p. 9). Her notions of teaching can be thus seen in sharp contrast to the behaviourist remedies operant in standardization and accountability policies like America's *No Child Left Behind*. Noddings (2005) advocates that it is a mistake to "restrict the functions of institutions to one main task" (p. 10) and that the goal of schools "should be to promote the growth of students as healthy, competent, moral people" (Noddings, 2005, p. 10). She agrees with Charles Silberman (1971) who claims, "What tomorrow needs is not masses of intellectuals, but masses of educated men—men educated to feel and to act as well as to think" (Noddings, 2005, p. 11). The rise of the totalitarian states of the last century proves intellectuals could still produce acts of "moral perversity" (Noddings, 2005, p. 11).

For Noddings (1984), relationship is best understood through an assessment of the relational self. Her understanding of existence and being is that "I am not naturally alone. I am naturally in a relation from which I derive nourishment and guidance… My very individuality is defined in a set of relations. This is my basic reality" (Noddings 1984, p. 5). It is not enough, then, for teachers to consider themselves purveyors of content, but must locate themselves as relational beings.

In an understanding of relationship as the guiding ontological principal, Noddings (2005) suggests that teachers must develop an "ethic of care" (p. 21), which can be expressed through modeling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation (p. 22). In modeling, teachers are not trying to teach caring through mathematical reasoning, but by showing students how to care. A key principle here is that because "the capacity to care is dependent on adequate experience in being cared for" (Noddings, 2005, p. 22), a student may only care after realizing what it feels like to be cared for by an adult. Dialogue is also important to the caring relationship. Dialogue that is open-ended helps the learner to question "why, and it helps both parties to arrive at well-informed decisions" (Noddings, 2005, p. 23). Dialogue helps to reinforce the "criterion of engrossment" (Noddings, 2005, p. 23) that "builds up substantial knowledge of one another that serves to guide our responses" (Noddings, 2005, p. 23). The practice of caring is that which has a deep history in feminist literature and disciplines such as nursing (Noddings, 2005, p. 24). Noddings suggests that the practice of caring leads to a "caring occasion" (Noddings, 2005, p. 24) where "each must decide how to meet the other and what to do with the moment"

(Noddings, 2005, p. 22). Noddings (2005) suggests that caring is often revealed in what Buber (1965) states as an "act of affirming…the best in others" (p. 25). This is viewed without "formulas and slogans" (Noddings, 2005, p. 25) and sees the carer identifying "something admirable…in each person we encounter" (Noddings, 2005, p. 25). Noddings' (2003) perspective of human potential subsequently imitates that of Vygotsky's (1978) Zone of Proximal Development, that as a caring teacher stimulates motivation, "the challenge must be within the optimal range" (p. 153).

Of course, when advocating an ethic of care, the charge might be that of being distracted from the academic pursuits of students. Even Dewey's (1938) notion of constructivism, in which Noddings (2005) says care in education has a strong basis, "could never escape the charge of anti-intellectualism" (p. 11). Noddings (2005) claims that the position of teachers as carers is not anti-intellectual" (Noddings, 2005, p. 11). In fact, she notes that "relations of care and trust should improve achievement" (Noddings, 2007, p. 83).

Hargreaves (2003) would similarly suggest that "successful teaching and learning occur when teachers have caring relationships" (p. 60) with their students. Hargreaves goes on to say that "Policymakers, administrators, educational researchers... tend to neglect the emotions" or "leave them to take care of themselves" (2003, p. 60). Hargreaves even states that one of the most commonly cited reasons for students dropping out of high school is that "no adult really knows or cares for them" (2003, p. 61). Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) suggest that a classification of content "privileges knowledge and cognition above care as the foundation of school teaching—yet it is the absence of being cared for much more than the absence of being cognitively challenged that mainly leads young people to drop out" (p. 9).

Teacher Emotions: Passion and Purpose

Emotions have thus become an important topic for education scholars (e.g., Blackmore, 1996; Fried, 1995; Fullan, 1997; Hargreaves, 1997; Tickle, 1991; Winograd, 2003). In Hargreaves' (1998) often cited *The Emotional Practice of Teaching*, he examines "how emotions are located and represented in teachers' relationships with their students" (p. 838) through four interrelated points presented by Denzin (1984). First of all, "Teaching is an emotional practice" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 838). Teaching "activates" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 838) and "expresses teachers' own feelings" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 838), as well as those feelings and actions in others. A teacher's passion can stimulate excitement among students, or may render them indifferent. Considering the broader notions of teacher and teaching that exceed classroom practice, teachers may present themselves as being approachable to parents or colleagues, or aloof, distant, untrustworthy. Hargreaves (1998) claims that the passion, or lack thereof, is important for student success and a sense of equity (p. 839).

Secondly, emotional understanding is a subjective process that attempts to "reach inside our own feelings and past emotional experiences to make sense of and respond

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to someone else's" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 839). This is not a cognitive process that attempts a "step-by-step, unravelling" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 839), but is closer to Noddings' (2003) own notions of caring as responders recall "our own emotional memories" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 839).

Thirdly, teaching requires an emotional labour. That is, teachers must constantly find the energy it takes to motivate students, even when they do not feel like it. This may, from time to time, require a teacher to act the part, but there are also times when a teacher has to consciously work "oneself up into a state of actually experiencing the necessary feelings that are required to perform one's job well" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 840). Sometimes, teachers are required to create energy with their students even when conditions, such as political or bureaucratic challenges, force them to feel less than enthusiastic.

Lastly, emotions are shaped by the moral purposes of teaching. These purposes can sometimes come in conflict with a teacher's sense of responsibility and even produce feelings of shame and remorse. For instance, in a system of standardized testing, teachers may feel guilt, grief, loss, or shame as what is required to be taught prevents the teaching of what they believe to be taught.

Winograd (2003) discusses the notion that emotions have to be seen not just in the context of a phenomenon of the individual, but must be seen in a socio-political context. That is, emotions are not independent of the working environment. Winograd's (2003) findings state that there are practical expressions that help to alert teachers to problems in their environments and improve relationships. There are also dysfunctional uses related to issues of blame and self-flagellation. Ultimately, it is up to teachers and administrators to formally discuss the implications of teacher emotions, and bring awareness to feelings and expressions that take place in and around school environments.

Pastoral Care: Systemic Approaches to Caring

The emerging literature on pastoral care is rooted in the British notion of teaching as caring for the "whole child" (Galloway, 1990; Lodge, 2006; Best, 2007; Marland, 2001; Hui, 2002), a concern for students that goes beyond *in loco parentis* and "a strict interpretation of the curriculum" (Galloway, 1990, p. 1). Although pastoral care has deeply religious sentiments from the 19th century based around elements such as self-reflection, self-discipline, and ethical self-improvement (Hunter, 1994), its application to the public school system requires a "liberal neutrality" (Hearn et al., 2006, p. 4). In other words, the concepts and practices found in religious systems can still be used in the public school system without prescribing a religious doctrine or expecting a belief in God. And quite possibly, secular designations like mentoring may be more appropriate to a pluralistic society. As opposed to some religious traditions, a recent understanding suggests pastoral care "does not set explicit values of what is right, leaving the decision as to what constitutes good values up to the individual and school" (Hearn et al., 2006, p. 4).

However, both primary and secondary school pastoral care is criticized for being focused on discipline, organization, and routine (Best et al., 1980; David & Charlton, 1987; Lang, 1988). Pastoral care is often seen through the lens of working with "children whose educational failure or disturbing behaviour challenges their teachers" (Galloway, 1981, p. 10), or in the area of character training (Best et al., 1980). Clark (2008) suggests that although the term pastoral care is used extensively in Britain and Australia, what is often meant in Canada is guidance counsellor. Lang and Young (1985) suggest that in North America, pastoral care is primarily not the domain of the regular classroom teacher, but is seen in terms of a specialized counsellor. However, central to the argument of this thesis is the fact that care is not necessarily the domain of guidance counsellors dealing with at-risk students or student discipline. Such care is consistently the function of the classroom teachers who is engaged in a day-in day-out relationship with their students. And as seen through the mentoring literature, such a relationship does not necessarily have to target at-risk students.

In such a broadened view of teacher and teaching, Hearn et al. (2006) states that the literature on pastoral care focuses on four major factors. The first is that of health and well-being which includes elements such school conditions, relationships with peers, and teachers, avenues of self-fulfillment and physical/mental health status. Secondly, building resilience through protective and preventative strategies helps students to individually or collectively solve problems, develop perseverance, and overcome obstacles. Thirdly, academic care focuses on how teachers understand their own actions through their relationship with students, and that a learning environment needs to protect students while fostering curiosity and appropriate academic risk taking. The fourth focus found in the pastoral care literature is that of assessing human and social capital, the degree to which students "can request help from their neighbors, allow children to play outside safely, and participate in community activities" (Hearn et al., 2006, p. 19).

Ethics in Teaching and Mentoring

The challenge in discussing ethics in relationship to mentoring within a school setting is twofold. First of all, much of the mentoring literature with adolescents focuses on students outside of the school system. Therefore, the mentoring literature may have some application, but the opportunities and limitations of a program like Big Brothers Big Sisters may differ from ethical responsibilities assumed by teachers working in a school. For example, as Big Brothers might encourage spending time with a boy at his home, most teachers would be warned by administrators, unions, and colleagues not to participate in such risky behaviour. Secondly, practices inherent in education might be sometimes at odds with those in the mentoring field. For example, students who are late for a class might receive a detention, yet in a mentoring relationship, lateness on the part of a student might be treated as an endearing character trait, even a symptom of a fractured home life, but would rarely include punishment. Therefore, the difficulty with synthesizing teaching and

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mentoring is that the requirements of a teacher may at times be incongruous with that of mentor. When trying to study ethics in mentoring, there exists no formal statement of ethics that readily applies to all programs like Big Brothers Big Sisters, even though organizations may create their own. However, in many school districts or ministries of education, there exists formalized codes of ethics to guide the professional teacher.

One of the mandates of such ethical codes is to inspire confidence in public schooling by determining a clear set of professional ethical standards. Teachers who fail to abide by such standards are subject to investigation, and possibly loss of membership and certification. The specific purposes of such ethical standards are, for example in my region, as follows: "to inspire members to reflect and uphold the honour and dignity of the teaching profession; to identify the ethical responsibilities and commitments in the teaching profession; to guide ethical decisions and actions in the teaching profession; and to promote public trust and confidence in the teaching profession" (OCT, 2006a).

As all four of these mandates warrant consideration by practicing teachers, at least two of these purposes might provoke questions from the teacher who mentors. In terms of responsibilities and commitments to the teaching profession, are those responsibilities and commitments more extensive when the broader notions of teacher and teaching are considered? As well, as such purposes are to guide decisions and actions, are decisions and actions in mentoring different from those of teaching?

A logical place to look, especially for teachers who practice in my area, would be The Ethical Standards for the Teaching Profession (OCT, 2006b) set by the body who regulates professional accreditation. The first ethical standard is that of care. Listed under this standard is the teacher's commitment to a student's well-being through his or her daily practice. This includes such considerations as being a positive influence, while practicing with empathy and professional judgment. The second ethical standard is that of respect. While the first standard seems to consider the individual student, the second standard recognizes that individuals are part of a broader set of interactions. Therefore, the standard of respect stems from a position of honouring human dignity, which models an interest in acceptance of spiritual and cultural values, social justice, confidentiality, freedom, democracy, and the environment. The third ethical standard, trust, recognizes that a teacher's relationship is more than just with the individual student. This is a commitment to fairness and honesty that includes relationships with parents, colleagues, and the general public. The final ethical standard is rooted in the imperative of moral action and reflection on that action. Integrity in teaching must be exercised with honesty and reliability within professional commitments and responsibilities.

As such ethical standards are purposely broad to encompass the unlimited situations teachers face daily, my local regulatory body provides a series of Professional Advisories that offer particular advice on issues that require specificity. The goal of these advisories is to set clear parameters for what is acceptable professional practice. For example, Professional Advisory – Professional Misconduct Related to

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Sexual Abuse and Sexual Misconduct (OCT, 2002) explains the Student Protection Act (2002) defines sexual abuse, sexual harassment, sexual relationships, and professional misconduct. The professional advisory also offers a list of behaviours that teachers need to be mindful of, some of which are particularly pertinent to mentoring. For example, teachers are advised not to meet with students in isolated areas, not to exchange notes or emails with students, not to become involved with a student's affairs, and not to provide any personal information about them. However, mentoring students would often require meeting with students in moderate isolation, an empty classroom or hallway, and might involve emails or notes to receive student updates on psycho-social situations. Mentoring would definitely require a teacher to become involved in a student's affairs, and even prompt teachers to discuss personal information about themselves, including stories of how they overcame obstacles similar to the ones their students face.

Another document pertinent to secondary school teachers mentoring students in the region this research took place is Professional Advisory – Use of Electronic Communication and Social Media (OCT, 2011). This document addresses the need for teachers to understand that what happens in their private lives can affect their professional obligations. Trespasses, such as posting explicit photographs on a public site, may leave a teacher professionally vulnerable and may even have disciplinary or legal implications. Of specific guidance are a series of questions for educators to ask themselves when relating to students through electronic communication. These questions prompt teachers to continually ask if what is being communicated fosters student learning or a teacher's personal need. Teachers should also consider how such communication would be perceived if seen by a parent, an administrator, or even the media. The secondary teacher who mentors students would be well-advised as they deal with matters affecting students to make sure they do not even have the appearance of unethical behaviour.

Therefore, as suggested by a local regulatory body (2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2011), teachers must act in a way that applies ethical standards to a myriad of situations, and offers specific advice in areas of critical importance. Yet teachers also have legal responsibilities. Commonly understood as being in loco parentis, in the absence of an immediate legal guardian, teachers assume the responsibility to act on behalf of the guardian, which includes acting in ways that are caring and judicious. As well, teachers have a fiduciary duty requiring them to act in the best interest of students, who by the nature of being children, are vulnerable. Such a duty puts teachers in a legal position of trust, an obligation that could even prevent them from teaching based on behaviour that occurs in a teacher's private life.

Thus, elementary and secondary school teachers belong to a profession that is governed by ethical expectations. These expectations, as previously stated, include those that are of a formal, policy, and legal nature. That teachers go "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) with their students, assuming a role of a teacher who mentors, does not disqualify them from such ethical expectations. Nevertheless, the act of mentoring may add new complexities, contexts or situations to consider, and

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the teacher who mentors is well-served by understanding how the wealth of previous empirical portraits of teachers can inform their practice. For example, teachers who mentor students might challenge cultural assumptions such as gender roles. If a parent has guided a child to believe that women should not consider certain career options, would a mentor offering an alternative opinion be subject to involvement in a student's, or family's, affairs? It may be one thing to challenge an entire class about the nature of stereotypes, but when a student is specifically told by a mentor, one-on-one, that she need not be restricted in her choices, all of a sudden the advice might be seen by a parent as forcing one's beliefs on another. Similarly, in terms of electronic and social media, would that same teacher use such a medium knowing that the text is permanent, and could be used to justify dismissal? On the one hand, a teacher must consider whether to communicate honestly, both challenging a student's preconceived notions while writing as if an administrator is observing or the media could publish the text. But if that permanent text drastically conflicts with a parent's perspective, a record of such a discussion might cause a lot more problems for a teacher than a post-class discussion.

Jackson et al.'s (1993) The Moral Life of Schools reveals there are no how-to guides when dealing with countless interactions with young people in a school setting. Their work grapples with the practical dilemmas teachers face, and reveals that the process of discerning what is moral is sometimes not so simple. In fact, when considering morals, under the heading "Unfathomable Complexity," they state, "Our goal throughout has been to show how the moral complexity of classrooms becomes evident when we look carefully at what goes on there and then proceed to reflect upon what was seen and heard" (Jackson et al., 1993, p. 229). Even though understanding the morality of situations is sometimes difficult, it does not mean abandoning an understanding of the way that teachers, and by extension mentors, ought to act. In fact, Jackson et al. (1993) contend that,

> Teachers…live under an obligation to be as considerate and understanding as possible in dealing with their students, not because such treatment works pedagogically…but simply because students deserve to be treated that way. It is their right as human beings. That being the case, teachers also have a corresponding obligation, it seems to us, to learn as much as possible about their own potency as moral agents and about the moral potency of the schools and classrooms in which they work. (Jackson et al., 1993, p. 293)

Jackson et al. (1993) suggest that both researchers and educators can approach the moral agency of teachers and address such complexities by cultivating an "expressive awareness" (Jackson et al., 1993, p. 239). As teachers are led to discuss and reflect upon their own understanding of the moral dimensions of teaching, they develop first of all a sense that they must act morally, and also how such behaviour might apply in a variety of categories. To begin with, there can be formal moral instruction that would often relate to religious ethics taught at a Muslim or Christian school. Such ethics can be woven throughout the regular curriculum through the use of moral

topics or even historical figures like Jesus or Mohammed. Rituals and ceremonies like awards assemblies, commencement, and even holiday celebrations can be imbued with ethical values. Visual displays like posters and signs within a classroom telling, for example, students to recycle or to prevent bullying are very direct moral statements. Ethical notions can also be seen through spontaneous instructions as well as a teacher's facial expressions during the daily classroom routine that tries to correct student behaviour. Formal rules and regulations are awash with more obvious notions of ethical concerns, yet more subtle might be the curricular structure determining what is taught in what order, suggesting that the more important material is covered first, followed by less important topics in succession.

With such a wide array of ethical considerations, an "expressive awareness" (Jackson et al., 1993, p. 239) includes those mentoring circumstances where teachers go "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) in their interactions with students. As teachers create an environment to connect with students, elements such as curricular choice and classroom appearance are salient issues. For those who regularly mentor students, elements such as moral instructions and facial expressions become just as important. Yet such categories are restricted to, for the most part, classroom instruction. As stated, mentoring students is often outside of class and curricular obligations, and suggests an emerging set of complex realities and situations to explore. Nevertheless, teachers should discuss and reflect upon all interactions with students, constantly addressing behaviours that are in the best interest of students.

Similarly, Campbell (2003) argues that teachers need an awareness of how ethical principles are reflected in their own practice; she refers to this as "ethical knowledge" (p. 2). Campbell (2003) suggests that the basis for such knowledge is found in teachers who already express a sense of moral understanding. And such knowledge can be defined as "connecting…a broadly conceived professional ethics with the vision of teacher as a moral agent" (Campbell, 2003, p. 2). In other words, teachers need to see themselves as individual moral agents, with an awareness of the influence and outcomes of their actions. As well, teachers need to see themselves in light of their professional obligations. Such obligations include intentions of care, respect, trust, and integrity. Further obligations are both the implicit and explicit moral lessons that are taught to students, whether through curricular requirements or informal reminders of how students ought to treat each other. Therefore, approaching the complexities of teaching, and mentoring, through an ethical lens is a valuable endeavor. Such an awareness guides what transpires inside a classroom, but also the mentoring that may take place at lunch, after school, in a classroom, in a hallway, in the lunchroom. Campbell (2003) states that ethical complexity is a form of knowledge:

> If we are to make teacher's ethical knowledge more visible as exemplary of virtue-based professional practice, we must recognize and accept the moral layeredness of teaching, the complexities of classroom and school life, the occasional uncertainty of teachers striving to respond to conflicting demands in ways that are fair and caring to all, and the fact that people in teaching, as

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elsewhere, have varying and competing perspectives on what constitutes right
and wrong, good and bad. (Campbell, 2003, p. 18)

Therefore, when discussing teachers as mentors, their ethical orientations and awareness, as well as their intentions and obligations, are no less different than those throughout the teaching profession. However, mentoring does warrant heightened caution in measures described in professional advisories (OCT, 2002; OCT, 2011), such as meeting with students in relative isolation, updates through the use of emails, journals or notes, and becoming involved in a student's personal life by aiding their decision process when their homes appear toxic. Similarly, advisories might suggest that social media has become a cause for concern among professional teachers, in that what they do in their private lives could become public concern. Additionally, with social media, availability for students to contact teachers, or teachers to contact students, outside of school hours has been a subject of caution from both boards and unions. Mentoring, the "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) approach to teaching, suggests more extended conversations and contact with students, of which social media could become one of the vehicles. As seen in some professional advisories (OCT, 2002), darker issues such as teachers grooming students for relationships after they graduate, manipulation through the guise of mentoring, and sexual exploitation need to be addressed as teachers extend their caring of students beyond the classroom. Hansen (2001) suggests that methods in and of themselves are not value neutral. And one of the methods used by both teachers, and especially those teachers acting in a mentoring capacity, are those private conversations that teachers have with students (Fenstermacher, 2001; Hansen, 2001). The context of such conversations, according to Hansen (2001), is of fostering a better sense of community with the larger group. Mentoring would also employ such a strategy, encouraging students to deal with issues of disconnectedness from class. Yet mentoring would often employ the use of private conversations to explore other areas, such as post-secondary direction, conflicts with siblings, or even mental health. Such private conversations are excellent for aiding students and caring for them in ways that uphold high standards of care, but also may be a domain where teachers, and mentors, have to be that much more ethically aware.

Therefore, as the broader notions of teacher and teaching include those teachers who mentor their students, such broader notions must also consider ethical principles embedded in what teachers ultimately do: work in the best interests of all students. Teachers who mentor are moral agents, guided by professional standards, and need to be constantly aware of, and intentional about, their practices.

THE PRESENT CONTEXT

Even though both Noddings (2003) and Hargreaves (1998) feel that teaching is a broader concept than curricular, classroom instruction, and caring is critical to school success, current western educational policy undermines such efforts. Hargreaves (2003)

claims that teachers are often "the first casualties of a slimmed-down state" (p. 9). In fact, "a caring orientation" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 836) suggested by Noddings (2003) "can turn against teachers as they sacrifice themselves emotionally to the needs of those around them, in policy conditions which make caring more and more difficult" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 836). If caring, relationships, ethics, and emotions are essential to academic success, and mentoring is an extension and expression of these essentialities, and such success is needed to survive in the knowledge economy, policies of regulation and standardization seem to undermine this process. Hargreaves (2003) states, "Just as we are expecting the very most from teachers to prepare children for the knowledge society" (p. 10) that "escalating expectations for education are being met with standardized solutions at minimum cost" (p. 10). Hargreaves (2003), citing Noddings (2001), suggests that as the present quest for standardization fails "to deliver sustainable improvements…the entire public-school system will be declared a failure and put out to private tender" (2003, p. 79). And to add a specific local observation, Hargreaves (2003) notes that "educational-policy systems such as Ontario's have been cutting costs to create starved public institutions" (p. 105). In *Learning to Change*, Hargreaves et al. (2001) argue that in the end, undermining teachers' abilities to care for students ultimately hurts their abilities to achieve academically and take a place in the often unstable knowledge economy. He suggests that instead of standardizing learning to a few basic skill sets or a "technical competence" (Hargreaves et al., 2001, p. 195), we can be responsive to students by "drawing out deep learning that is needed to participate in such a society" (Hargreaves et al., 2001, p. 195). In other words, if elements like intellectual curiosity, collaboration, and creating new knowledge are part of what it takes to succeed in future work lives of students, perhaps concentrating on standardized test tasks to the exclusion of other pertinent learning processes could be undermining, rather than fostering, a student's ability to function in the professional world.

As systems continue to be "redirecting resources" (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 9) to "boost consumer spending and stimulate stock-market investment in a global casino" (p. 10), mentoring organizations have possibly been forced to pick up where schools feel they do not have the time to invest: forming deep, personal, caring relationships that address the needs of students. As most mentoring organizations are privately funded, perhaps this is a way to, in effect, privatize caring. As seen through recent struggles in North American systems, the drive to starve public systems promises an intensification and extensification. As governments are under more pressure to cut taxes and starve public systems, there will be more will to implement standardized solutions throughout schools, limiting the relational component so necessary to producing students prepared to engage the world.

MAJOR ASSUMPTIONS

In summarizing the literature review, this chapter offers some early assumptions. Mentoring is not necessarily a given when teachers and students interact through

regular classroom instruction. It is a behaviour that is "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) the classroom structure, where students see a sustained form of care around a specific vulnerability or area for development. This vulnerability should not be understood as a school or board determined response to at-risk students who might be designated special education, behaviourally oppositional, or are consistently failing courses.

Mentoring is an activity where mentors must reflect on the challenges resident in diversity, and address them in the context of what is best for each student, with an understanding that engaging other commonalities beyond ethnicity and gender offers a preferred vision.

Constructivism, rather than the limitations of seeing students through a series of predictable behaviours, offers a view of partnering with students, realizing what is within their abilities, and framing discussions and tasks to help them eventually deal with the challenges on their own.

Teachers' professional knowledge is broader than just the mastering of a subject, or a technical list of instructional strategies that will help students absorb facts. Individual teachers use elements such as relationships, emotions, caring, pastoral care, and ethics to guide their way to decisions about how best to help students.

Questions remain, then, as to the nature of teachers, students, and the mentoring that takes place in secondary schools. What ways can teachers mentor, yet still attend to their professional responsibilities? What limitations do teachers face, both personal, collegial, or as a result of a school's administration and climate? Are teachers being mentored in how to mentor, including issues involving ethics, responsibilities, and maintaining trust? In what ways does mentoring enhance classroom learning, and facilitate learning that prepares students for the knowledge economy, stimulating thinking beyond just the absorption of facts and the ability to perform well on standardized assessments? Such issues will be explored through a qualitative approach with five teachers and four former students who were mentored by their teachers. Their portraits, critiques, and descriptions of their mentoring experiences provide insight into how teachers understand and enact the mentoring of students.

CHAPTER 3

TELL US WHAT YOU NEED

A Methodology to Examine Teachers as Mentors

Telemachus upon seeing Athena grace his house: "Greetings, stranger! Here in our house you'll find a royal welcome. Have supper first, then tell us what you need."

(Homer, Book 1, p. 81)

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The research for this book was conducted using a qualitative approach. Qualitative research is "characterized by the search for meaning and understanding," which uses the "researcher as the primary instrument of data collection and analysis" (Merriam, 2002, p. 6). The researcher uses an "inductive investigative strategy" to complete "a richly descriptive end product" (Merriam, 2002, p. 6). As the broader notions of teaching and teacher are considered through understanding how teachers mentor students, a qualitative approach better serves to capture the nuances and complexities inherent in present day secondary schools. Such an approach offers both teachers and students a chance to interpret their stories in an environment of critical reflection, allowing the researcher to probe and ask clarifying questions, and ultimately provide analysis.

DATA COLLECTION

Within the realm of qualitative research, a modified grounded theory was employed. Grounded theory is a qualitative method developed by Glaser and Strauss (1965) in their study *Awareness of Dying*. As much of the research in social science begins with theory and then moves to data to support the theory or theories, grounded theory begins with data and generates theory based on the data (Glaser & Strauss, 2012). The data analysis often associated with grounded theory, the constant comparative method, will be further explained in the section on data analysis.

Grounded theory thus prevents *a priori* assumptions about the phenomenon under study. However, this exploration will be modified in that there are some theoretical assumptions. Based on how mentoring was defined, the first assumption is that mentoring is happening in the secondary schools. I have also argued that mentoring reveals broader notions of teacher and teaching (e.g., Goodson, 1991, 1992, 1993), has a base in Rogers' (1969) understanding of relationships, Noddings' (1984, 2007)

work on care, Hargreaves' (1998) work on emotion, as well as the research on pastoral care (Hearn et al., 2006), and consideration of ethics (Campbell, 2003; Jackson et al., 1993). But what is missing from these theoretical assumptions is how this mentoring is taking place in educational settings. Based on interviews with teachers and students, the data generated new insights on a topic underdeveloped in studies in education.

THE SETTING

The location for this study is a southern Ontario (Canada) city, a region originally designated as prime farm land (Bascaramurty, 2013b) that is among the twenty largest municipalities in Canada. From here on in, the city will be known as Morton. The total land area is two hundred and sixty-six square kilometres with a population density of almost two thousand people per square kilometre (Statistics Canada, 2012a) as compared to the provincial average of just over fourteen people per square kilometre. Perhaps a more prudent comparison would be that of a nearby major city whose population density is not even five hundred people per square kilometre (Statistics Canada, 2012a). This high density region is precipitated by housing several families within a single dwelling—a region that had come under scrutiny for having up to thirty thousand illegal basement dwellings (Grewal, 2012), where the average number of people in each dwelling is forty percent higher than in other major cities, and in some concentrations, even over fifty percent higher (Bascaramurty, 2013b). This has often produced overpopulation in the public school system as student estimates are usually far lower than actual enrolment (Grewal, 2012).

The population of Morton surged in the last decade, and was the fastest growing region in the country from 2006–2011, with an almost twenty-one percent increase within five years. Previously, Morton grew on average by twelve thousand a year, but between the years mentioned, grew by approximately ninety-thousand in six years. The immigrant population is now slightly over fifty percent of the total population for the region (Bishun, 2011). In terms of ethnic composition, South Asian represented the largest category (Bishun, 2011), and two thirds of the city's residents are visible minorities (Bascaramurty, 2013b). As one researcher noted, a survey of a local secondary school's graduating class in 1983 saw only four South Asian students and two black students out of one hundred and forty-two, whereas out of the three hundred and seven recent graduating students in 2012, eighty percent were either South Asian, East Asian or black (Bascaramurty, 2013b). This demographic shift is further revealed through Statistics Canada's (2011) report that over ninety-seven thousand people identify themselves with the Sikh religion (a one hundred and eighty-three percent increase since 2001), sixty-three thousand as Hindus (two hundred and fifty-nine percent increase since 2001), and almost thirty-seven thousand Muslims (two hundred and twenty-two percent increase since 2001). Some have reported that this rapid growth had led to, on the one hand, an exodus of former residents, and on the other, an isolation among ethnic

groups who are often "growing within" themselves and "breaking...links with other community people" (Bascaramurty, 2013b, p. 1). Hockey rinks are being replaced by soccer centres to facilitate the needs of "the changing demographics" (Arban, 2013, p. 1) and the "emerging South Asian community" (Arban, 2013, p. 1). Even the major hospital was closed down, only to see it relocated to the epicentre of new population growth. Many of the auto dealerships that previously lined one of Morton's main streets moved to this emerging region, in essence, forming a new centre of town, decorated by mosques and temples, and street names representing a South Asian heritage (Bascaramurty, 2013b). The region has grown so quickly that major funding shortfalls caused havoc in schools and community support systems (Grewal, 2013).

The average household income in the area is not low by any means at ninety-eight thousand dollars a year, ranking thirty-ninth in the country (Johnson, 2012). But upon closer analysis, often several families work multiple low paying jobs to contribute to a household income equal to other regions where the average is determined by single families (Bascaramurty, 2013a). The unemployment rate is on par with neighbouring regions, yet the poverty estimate suggests that those living below the poverty line could be as high as thirty percent ("Morton in Need," n.d.).

Often perceived as a land of warehouses and factories, the region's largest employment sector is manufacturing (Bishun, 2012). In terms of education, the city constitutes a higher than the Canadian average number of people aged twenty-five or older without a grade nine education, and a significantly lower than average percent of people with university degrees as compared to neighbouring regions ("Quick Facts," n.d.). The schools chosen for this research all regularly score under the average provincial and board standardized test levels, sometimes by as much as ten percent ("School, Board, and Provincial Reports," 2013). Each school has a significant ESL population and often offers language courses on weekends such as Hindi or Urdu for students wishing to better understand their ancestral languages.

With the rapid population growth came the necessity to build many new schools. As well, the ability to predict school enrolment is hampered by not being allowed to include basement dwellings as separate family units. Therefore, often enrolment greatly exceeds capacity, leading to dramatic overcrowding in some schools (Wong, 2012), while others are holding schools for future schools. The teachers in this research are from one of three neighbouring schools, of which the oldest just celebrated its tenth anniversary. With new schools comes benefits like new technology and increased staff enthusiasm. Yet, the limitations include a transient student population, lack of ownership, and decreased community as redrawn school boundaries force some students to attend several schools within a few years.

Morton, therefore, is a robust, rapidly changing community with tensions ranging from assimilation and structural alterations, to crime and low secondary school achievement. The research was thus set in a location where adolescent stress was exacerbated by factors such as language or cultural barriers, access to community resources, and increased domestic responsibilities.

The city of Morton is appropriate for a study on mentoring as it perhaps more vividly illustrates how mentoring can straddle what Kram (1985) would note as mentoring's two streams, academic improvement and psycho-social health. Within Morton, the abundant tensions in developing and producing skills for professional opportunity are prevalent in the poor reading and writing test scores, as many students struggle with a language not necessarily spoken in their homes. Even in subjects where skills might be considered transferable across cultural contexts (i.e., math in India should be the same as math in Canada) the language barrier still produces students who continue to work well below the provincial average. As well, psycho-social aspects of development, or the ability to live, sees continued challenges as the area deals with chronic issues like youth crime (Robson, 2008), settlement (Belgrave, 2012), and racial solitudes which are often publically noted (Contenta, 2008). Therefore, Morton offers an interesting student portrait. On the one hand, the students are not necessarily considered at-risk, and the former students chosen for this research were not designated as at-risk. However, significantly lower achievement levels coupled with language barriers could produce a type of at-risk student community. Considering Kram's (1985) two streams, students from Morton may be suffering academically, and such struggles may on some levels threaten psycho-social health. Such a consideration in a low-performing region may just call into question the idea of who exactly is designated as being at-risk.

METHODOLOGY

The primary method of collection was the use of in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Each subject participated in one extensive interview with sometimes clarifying questions in the weeks that followed. A semi-structured interview guide helped frame the interviews, but there was also able other probing or clarifying questions employed when needed. Semi-structured interview guides allow for interview structure, as opposed to unstructured conversational interviews, while allowing for flexibility within the interview to address unexpected issues, events, or stories (Rubin & Babbie, 2001), yet sustaining the requirement of the ethical protocol. Bowen (2005) suggests this method helps to ease "the researcher's task of organizing interview data" while allowing "readers of the research report to judge the quality of the interviewing methods" (p. 217).

The trustworthiness of the interviews was maintained. This was accomplished through a two-stage member-checking technique (Bowen, 2005). First, participants were contacted after the interview to clarify events, check facts, stories, or discuss observations relevant to authenticating the data. Secondly, each interview was summarized and delivered back to each key participant for corrections of statements that may have been misinterpreted by the interviewer.

Artefacts were discovered and offered throughout the interview stage and in the process of clarifying interview data. Artefacts included items such as emails, cards, letters, lesson plans, journals, and poems. These secondary data were helpful in

triangulating facts and events, and ultimately to elaborate on what was stated in the interviews.

PARTICIPANTS

This book examined five teachers and four former students in three different schools whose specific profiles will be discussed in subsequent chapters. It should be noted that two teachers in this research also mentored two students interviewed for this study. Five secondary school teachers (*primary participants*) were chosen as they represent a diverse group of educators. This diversity was first represented in age, as the youngest is in her early thirties, while the oldest is in her mid-fifties. As the vast majority of the mentoring discovered in the selection process was found to be initiated by female teachers, at least one male teacher was chosen to explore the dynamics of mentoring through gender diversity. Ethnic diversity was considered, and one teacher who is a visible minority was chosen knowing that she specifically struggled with issues of acceptance regarding her racial identity when she was in high school. Role diversity was well-represented. Out of the five teachers, one is a department head; one is a student-success teacher; one is a physical education teacher; two others are classroom teachers. As well, two teachers were chosen because they primarily teach lower academic stream students,[1] while the other teachers usually teach, or have taught, higher academic steam students.[2] Two teachers hold formal experience or training in student mentoring, while three held positions other than teaching but changed career tracks. In terms of their own decisions and experience with raising children, one teacher has three adult children, two have very young children, and one teacher is committed to voluntary childlessness.

The primary participants met the following criteria, which was discussed through pre-interview consultations. First of all, purposeful sampling was used as teachers identified themselves as those who believe mentoring is part of the role of a teacher. Though I realize there are some within the public school system who believe that teachers should not mentor, perhaps such teachers would be better suited for a future study. Since the objective of this book is to examine the nuances of what constitutes mentoring secondary school students from a teacher's perspective, rich comparative data may best be discussed by those who already have some conscious notions of mentoring. For the purpose of this research, teachers must also have had some intention of mentoring in at least one of the two broad categories: psycho-social or skill development. A second criterion was that teachers participating in this research must have been teaching for at least five years. The rationale for such a qualification is that teachers in their first few years of teaching are often burdened by class preparation, and may be focusing more heavily on lesson preparation. Though lesson preparation is important and may provide insight into how teachers prepare their mentoring, it was preferred in this research that teachers had significant time to develop their own skills as mature teachers.

The next to be interviewed were four students (*secondary participants*) who have graduated but discussed being mentored by their teachers. They were students who felt that their teachers went "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) and made a sustained special effort in their lives: one student whose initial apathy to learning transformed to interest; a student who received psycho-social mentoring outside of participation in a class; a student who engaged in a special project of academic self-development with a teacher; a student who maintains a mentor/mentee relationship even after graduation and seeks specific career and life goal support.

The main goal for selecting the secondary participants (former students) was to maintain a heterogeneous selection. This helped to address understandings of diversity and mentoring (e.g., cross-cultural mentoring, opposite-gender mentoring) as today's classroom reality. The main criterion for the participants was that each graduated student is an adult. Choosing adults to speak about their secondary school experiences not only prevented issues of ethical concerns and confidentiality with minors, and provided some reflection on how such mentoring did not only affect them in the moment, but also may still be providing a sense of direction in their post-secondary experiences.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data were analysed through an inductive approach that attempted to identify "patterns, themes and categories of analysis" (Bowen, 2005, p. 217) that emerged from the interviews. These responses were examined through the constant comparative method (Bowen, 2005, 2006) wherein words, sentences, lines, and paragraphs were examined to see which patterns of text addressed concepts suggested by the data. Originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1965), the constant comparative method uses words as the basis for understanding meaning. The relevance to a study based on interviews, as opposed to other forms of research such as observation, is that words are the main source of data. Within statements and stories, there appear patterns that can be explored for relevance. That is, statements made by one interview subject can be compared to other statements made by other subjects, and then compared to other themes and perspectives resident in the literature review. Such statements, when compared, can demonstrate a more nuanced understanding than through analysing just one subject's statement. There may even be disagreement or direct contradiction when the comparison is made, revealing the complexities in behaviour and points of view.

Therefore, verbatim statements from the interview subjects were used. As common with constant comparative method (Bowen, 2005, 2006), even single words had relevance when understood in context. Clarifying questions were further posed, whether during the original interview or when analysing the transcripts, in order to be objective, and let the data speak for itself. Throughout the process of examining the data, and comparing to the original literature review, themes, causes, approaches, and questions moved from "low level abstraction" (Bowen, 2006, p. 5)

to "become major over-arching themes rooted" (Bowen, 2006, p. 5) in the evidence generated by the data.

NOTES

[1]	Lower academic stream students refer to those in a secondary program where, after graduation, cannot be accepted into a formal degree program.

[2]	Higher academic stream students refer to those in a secondary program where, after graduation, can be accepted into a formal degree program.

THE VESSEL THAT BROUGHT YOU

Profiles of Teachers and Students

> Telamachus: "Tell me about yourself now, clearly, point by point? Who are you? Where are you from? Your city? Your parents? What sort of vessel brought you?"
>
> Her eyes glinting, goddess Athena answered, "My whole story, of course, I'll tell it point by point."
>
> (Homer, Book 1, p. 83)

Marshall (1996) suggests that there are at least three major strategies to choosing appropriate participants. The first is the convenience strategy whereby, for the sake of this book, teachers would be chosen simply because they were accessible. Such participant selection would provide "poor quality data" (Marshall, 1996, p. 523) and might present the research as lacking "intellectual credibility" (Marshall, 1996, p. 523). This strategy was therefore excluded.

The second strategy is that of the judgement or purposeful selection. This strategy requires the researcher to choose the participants that will best answer the research question. Although it is important to represent demographic differences normally associated with diversity, this approach goes beyond to look at subjects in their differing approaches and techniques.

This process was employed using the available professional networks to create a working list of possible participants. After briefly discussing opinions and experiences with each possible participant, a chart was created to measure how each participant could help in answering the research question. Down the left hand side of the chart, participants names were written. Across the top of chart, individual words from the research question were used. For example, one column was headed by the word "understand," while the second column was headed by the word "enact," while the third column was headed by "mainstream students," and so on. Each person was then rated (1 being lowest, 5 being highest) in terms of their ability to answer each component of the question. For example, an articulate participant would receive a 4 or 5 in the "understand" column, but if she was no longer practicing her mentoring, she would receive a 1–2 in the "enact" column. Additionally, a dynamic column was used to represent participant diversity. For instance, if a new participant had a similar background, family structure, employment position as a previous possible participant, then each participant would receive a lower score in the "diversity"

column. Sub-questions also had their own column, for example "challenges." On the chart was even a column "trustworthy," and at least one candidate was excluded due to a reputational issue.

The final strategy is the theoretical, which uses "theories from the emerging data" (Marshall, 1996, p. 523), which prompt the researcher to select "a new sample to examine and elaborate on this theory" (Marshall, 1996, p. 523). This is the most common selection strategy used in grounded theory. As teachers were the first to be interviewed, they often described students they mentored, and new theories emerged. For example, Rena was chosen as she provided rich discussion in debating the idea of the at-risk student. Similarly, Tanvir was chosen because his mentoring represented the theory that duration can significantly impact the quality and scale of mentoring. One student, who was asked after the interview with Rachael, by Rachael herself, declined to participate as he felt he did not have much to add to the discussion.

The research method chosen for this book is modified grounded theory. It is modified in that some theories were examined prior to the field-work data, yet the study was left open-ended to let the new data create new theories as the literature on secondary school teachers mentoring students is limited. Therefore, the participant selection strategy in this research is that of the judgement and theoretical.

This chapter is organized by first presenting the profiles of the primary participants: Haley, Anton, Maggie, Rachael and Annie. At the end of the teacher profiles, the summary suggests that these teachers were appropriate participants for such an endeavour. Namely, these teachers represented a diverse group of educators, whose individual profiles, personalities and experiences made for a rich examination of how teachers mentor their students. Secondly, this chapter presents the student profiles of Rena, Amandip, Tanvir, and Mohammed . The summary reveals that these former students were chosen as they also represented both diversity and commonalities that made for ripe analysis of how students were mentored by their teachers.

TEACHER PROFILES: PRIMARY PARTICIPANTS

Maggie

Maggie is a mid-thirties single mother of one who has been a Visual Arts and English teacher in a large southern Ontario board since 2002.

Maggie was born in a large city, but her family relocated to the suburbs when she was three. Her father owned a successful sprinkler business, while her mother was a "stay-at-home-mom." Her parents divorced when she was ten, and her mom then began working for a bank as an office manager of a large American bank.

Primarily raised by her mother who never remarried after the divorce, church became a big part of Maggie's life. Most of her free time, both weekends and after school, was spent with her church friends, as well as two weeks in the summer. She claimed that even though she was very social in high school, her church experience helped steer her away from experimental behaviour often associated with teenage

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life like drugs, alcohol, or sex. To this day, her friends call her Mary Poppins, as she had never so much as tried a cigarette.

Growing up in a family of high achievers, Maggie's older brother was bussed to an enriched school in grade four, and her younger sister is now a doctor. She, ironically, never attended the same school as any of her siblings.

Maggie credited the great experience she had with her own teachers as the initial inspiration for wanting to teach. She originally wanted a career in advertising as she was very artistic and had good communication skills, but did not get into business school because of her final calculus grades. She enrolled in a general arts degree program and discovered quickly in first year university that she wanted to teach. She volunteered in a secondary school art classroom as well as a university tutoring program for students struggling with reading. It was through these experiences that she said she was hooked on teaching.

Maggie's first teaching post was at a well-established school, but she was subsequently "excessed" after her first year, a term used when student enrolment is too low to warrant the number of teachers in a school, forcing them to choose a position in another school. Her second teaching assignment saw her open a new school in a growing area, and she had remained at this school ever since.

Maggie founded the student council program in her school. This program of student leadership usually attracted highly-motivated, high-achieving students to act as leaders in numerous roles around the school. The student council helped to organize many events like spirit days, and critical issue sessions like Mothers Against Drunk Driving and students against violence promotions. One of Maggie's new roles will be as an IB teacher, which will see her work with a globally established curriculum for higher-achieving students.

Maggie was chosen as a participant because as of 2009, she has been a curricular head. This position saw her as not just as a role model to other teachers, but someone who provides direction to the department in terms of policies, curricular activities, and resources. Maggie was also chosen because she often teaches senior academic stream students.

Haley

Haley, who studied criminology at university, is a mother of three in her early fifties and has been a Family Studies and English teacher since 2003 in a large southern Ontario board. Her previous position saw her working as the director of community housing with non-profit regional services. This role entailed securing affordable housing for disabled residents. However, during Haley's tenure, she became frustrated by what she saw was the move to concentrate more on the money than the people it was serving. As well, her many overtime hours began to disrupt the work/life balance she had with her husband and three children.

In her early forties, she took some time off to re-energize and consider her options. She decided to take a job with the student assistance/social work program that runs

in many secondary schools throughout the board where she presently works. This program works with adolescents who usually have behavioural issues that interrupt the regular classroom learning process, as well as those who need to complete missed assignments. It is usually supervised by a social worker and a classroom teacher. It was in this program that she discovered she enjoyed working with students, and could probably serve them even better as a classroom teacher. So, in her early forties, she was accepted into a faculty of education in a year where she said only seven hundred were chosen among ten thousand applications.

Upon graduating from the faculty of education in 2003, and accepting her first teaching post, she was diagnosed with a very aggressive form of breast cancer the summer before she started teaching. Taking the next year to undergo surgery and chemotherapy, she began teaching Family Studies and English the following year.

Haley has lived in Morton her entire life. Her ancestors were Irish immigrants to Nova Scotia where her father grew up before moving to southern Ontario. Her mother was a paediatric and obstetrics nurse, while her father worked for Bell Telephone International, installing major phone systems all over the world, including Saudi Arabia and Iraq. He would often tell her about the treatment of women in middle-eastern countries, and never took Haley or the family on such trips for fear that something would happen to them.

One of Haley's pivotal moments as a student was attending a secondary school that experienced one of the first mass shootings in Canadian history. Angry because of failing physics, a sixteen-year-old student began a shooting spree that targeted both students and teachers alike.

She often described her immediate family as a "sports" family, with her husband formerly playing semi-pro golf, and two of her children playing high-level sports, one with a full softball scholarship to an American college. Her son is now a police officer, and her two daughters have followed in her footsteps in attending faculties of education and hope to secure teaching positions soon.

Haley's major extra-curricular involvement is in Link Crew, which is a student-driven mentoring program to assist grade nine students in their acclimatization to secondary school. It was in this program that she often taught other students how to mentor after having worked with students herself for ten years.

Her voice was valuable to the discussion of teachers as mentors because she usually teaches junior students, and often those in the lower academic stream. She was also chosen to as a teacher who had a career before working in the classroom, and was the senior candidate in the research.

Anton

Anton is a father of two in his late early thirties and has been a physical education and special education teacher since 2007 in a large southern Ontario board. He previously worked at a school in the region for students with developmental

disabilities between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one. The school aimed to provide an individualized program for each student, with the goal of being able to help students live as independently as possible and integrate into the community.

Being a tall, competitive bodybuilder, he is often quite an imposing presence around students. He worked with students in the weight room after school, demonstrating proper lifting techniques and healthy training habits like proper eating and balanced exercise. He was also a nationally recognized volleyball player, making Team Canada and competing in many international competitions.

His father was a shop teacher in a vocational school and was also involved in coaching for most of his career. In Anton's own words, he had a large extended family—eight children on his father's side. This large but close family, including two older brothers, was instrumental in forming his views of mentoring as he was often taken care of by his extended family.

Anton attended a southern Ontario university for his undergraduate degree in physical education, and then attended an American university for his teacher education. His extra-curricular activities included weight training and coaching in a variety of sports, such as football, volleyball, and baseball.

Besides his role as a physical education teacher and certified coach, Anton's special education background has been a catalyst for a number of roles with at-risk students in his school. For example, Anton had spent time as the lead teacher in the social assistance program, which targets students with behavioural issues who often need intervention in high-stress situations. Anton was also instrumental in launching the program *Everest*, which targeted students with attendance and participation issues. This program incorporated a lot of outdoor education activities in an attempt to engage students and increase interest. Out of the eight students who were in this program who had severe attendance issues and barely any credits by grade eleven, Anton was able to help seven of them pass, each with at least four credits that semester, and even one student with five credits.

Anton was chosen because of his wealth of mentoring experience, from coaching to working with at-risk students, which revealed particular insight into the topic at hand. He also provided some gender diversity to the research, as most of the teachers who initially responded were women.

Rachael

Rachael is in her mid-thirties and is quite adamant that she will never have children. This voluntary childlessness is driven by both her own upbringing, struggles as a young adult, and her employment as a youth worker for ten years. She always wanted to be a teacher for as long as she could remember, but lost sight of that goal throughout her twenties.

After attending a community college social service worker program, she worked with a supportive housing agency, which provided shelter and support to adults with mental health issues. She then changed agencies and began working with youth in

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the juvenile detention system. She spent a number of years in juvenile detention facilities with young offenders between the ages of twelve and eighteen. She then became an outreach worker with the same agency working with youth in shelters and street youth. She also worked in a needle exchange program that helped addicts obtain clean needles and supplies.

As a registered youth worker, Rachael worked in prisons and group home environments and was faced with young offenders who had committed very serious crimes including physical abuse, rape, and murder. As a result, she often felt a sense of burnout. This burnout stemmed from investing a lot of time and energy into students, only to see them commit further acts and, in her words, let down the very people who were trying so hard to help them.

She completed her undergraduate work at a southern Ontario university and her teacher education in upstate New York. Rachael also completed part one and two of the special education additional qualifications, and has attended many workshops dealing with at-risk students both as a teacher and youth worker.

Although Rachael is qualified to teach English and History, in 2007, she was hired to lead a program called Section Twenty-Three, which involved students from foster homes, as well as those considered to be at higher risk, including many young offenders. As with her youth work experience, she quickly became burned out over the challenges and frustrations that these students presented.

Rachael then applied out of the program and subsequently taught regular stream students. She was then excessed from her position and is now in a school that focuses on issues of social justice.

Rachael grew up in southern Ontario. When she was four, her biological father committed suicide after battling depression for years. Her mother remarried when Rachael was six, and she considered her step-father her real father. She then grew up in a very close blended family with one biological sister and three step brothers. She used the notion of longevity to describe her family. Her great-grandmother, an English immigrant to Canada, lived to one hundred and three. Her grandmother died on her one hundredth birthday. Her step-father worked until the age of seventy-five.

Rachael was chosen for this book for several reasons. First of all, her vast experience in mentoring and mentoring programs provides her with an expertise not necessarily evident in the other participants. Secondly, since this research focuses on non-at-risk students, Rachael can draw from her experience to highlight the differences between regular stream and at-risk students. Thirdly, Rachael is usually assigned classes of senior college level students, mostly in English.

Annie

Annie is a student success teacher in her late thirties at a brand new southern Ontario school. Her role was to be the teacher to teachers, arranging professional development and networking with teachers to provide support for students. This

requires her to sometimes have classes of students who need extra help, where often a main component would be the formal instruction of study techniques and organizational skills.

Teaching since 2004, Annie has completed numerous additional qualifications, including Special Education, English as a second language and Guidance and Career Education, as well as her teaching subjects, History and English. In addition to her undergraduate and teacher education, she also holds a Master of Education degree from a southern Ontario university.

Annie also has extensive experience in mentoring programs. In university, she was part of a mentoring program that helped students both academically and socially. After establishing herself as a teacher, she mentored other teachers in the board's teacher mentoring program. At her previous school, she was a staff sponsor for the student-led mentoring program for grade nine students, as well as an academic mentoring program that helped struggling students after school twice a week. Annie has also mentored students in many other clubs and committees including yearbook and commencement.

Born in Guyana, Annie emigrated when she was two, and admits to sometimes feeling insecure around the issues of "shadism"—that is, it took her many years to feel comfortable with the very dark colour of her skin. This has led her to have many discussions with students over the years regarding issues of security and self-acceptance.

Her faith background is one of mixed religions, whereby her mother was Christian and her father was Hindu. She says that she grew up with both Christian and Hindu symbols and pictures hanging on her walls.

Annie had to move around a lot as a child because of her parents' various job opportunities, which was a process for her of leaving friends and always having to make new ones. As well, her mother was a bank teller, and there were issues of unemployment stemming from some traumatic incidents of being robbed twice at gun point while in the bank. This put excess strain on the family, and her father, at times, was the only parent maintaining an income.

As a gifted writer, Annie has also mentored several students in creative writing contests throughout her board and the province. She recently mentored a student who won a provincial prize of $1000.00.

Annie was specifically chosen because of her extensive background in mentoring non-at-risk students in a number of capacities. As well, as someone who is now head of student success for her school, part of her role is to create programs and strategies to help all students, not just at-risk students, become successful.

PRIMARY PARTICIPANT SUMMARY

The participants were a diverse group of educators that provided a rich complexity to the data. This diversity is represented in at least five ways. First of all, gender was considered important for participant selection. It was important to portray mentoring

as an inclusive behaviour. Therefore, Anton's contribution to this book shows that mentoring is practiced by both male and female teachers, and also helped to address significant questions of opposite-gender mentoring, and the difference, if any, between the approaches of a male mentor and a female mentor.

Secondly, ethnicity was considered in the selection. One of the current issues in the mentoring literature is that of same-race mentoring. Some suggest that it is important that the mentor and mentee share the same ethnic background, while others suggest that this perpetuates exclusion and ghettoization. Ironically, even though Annie is a visible minority, contributing to the ethnic diversity of the participants, she is actually often regarded by students as "just like them." In the city of Morton, the vast majority of students are South Asian. The remaining participants were teachers who are not visible minorities, making most of the mentoring discussed in this research as that between teachers and students who are of different ethnicities. The teachers thus demonstrate the nuances of mentoring students who do not share the same particular ethnic background as their mentors. The remaining teachers, therefore, had to first of all negotiate an understanding of the students' culture, all the while attempting to challenge them on beliefs that may be inherently cultural.

Thirdly, sometimes students may see younger teachers as friends, and see older teachers as parents or even grandparents in their understanding of mentoring. As well, teachers who are parents may respond differently to students based on their experiences with their own children. Therefore, age and stage of life was considered in the participant selection. For example, Annie is single and has no children, although she desires to be married and possibly have children. Rachael has a partner, but is voluntarily childless. Maggie is divorced and has a child. Anton is married with two children. And Haley, the oldest of the participants, is married with three grown children. This range was welcomed in hopes that it would yield differing responses based on stage of life experiences.

Another factor that made for a layered diversity was the specific teaching assignments of the participants. Haley is a classroom teacher who usually teaches grade nine and ten lower academic stream students. Rachael is a classroom teacher who usually works with grade eleven and twelve students. Maggie is a department head who usually sees senior academic students. Anton is a physical education teacher who teaches both junior and senior students, while Annie is a student success teacher who also works with junior and senior students. Inherent in the participants, therefore, were some traditional classroom roles that demonstrate diversity between junior and senior students, as well as lower academic stream and higher academic stream students. This was important to understand as teachers may say that academic students require more academic mentoring, while lower academic stream students require more psycho-social mentoring. The diversity was also represented in roles that are beyond the regular classroom setting. For example, Maggie's role as curricular head is administrative and visionary for her department, while Annie's

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role is administrative and visionary for her entire school. As well, Anton's role as a physical education teacher revealed challenges and opportunities not necessarily evident in a regular classroom setting.

An additional difference, which added to the diversity of the participants, is that two of the five participants were originally in other professions. Haley facilitated residential housing, while Rachael was a youth worker in a variety of settings. In Rachael's case, this experience provided her with insight possibly not resident in the other interview candidates as her job specifically was to mentor students, albeit very at-risk students. In Haley's case, she went from a very administrative position to that of a front-line worker in the classroom.

The teachers also have some commonalities. First of all, teachers were required to have been teaching for at least five years. Teachers in their first few years of teaching might be more apt to concentrate on the curriculum content and acclimatization to the vocation than to mentoring students. As well, I speculated that teachers who were past the five year mark might be better able to reflect on successes and challenges, seeing the end results of some of their mentoring. As opposed to teachers in their first few years, teachers who had worked more than five years in the profession might be better able to reflect, change practices, and explain through concrete examples what they find most valuable in mentoring their students.

Secondly, teachers who were part of this book worked in the same general vicinity within the city of Morton. It was helpful to see how teachers who face commonalities within an area might respond differently. Students in Morton usually perform below board standards and provincial standards. As well, Morton is often defined by teachers as religious, where teachers needed a particular sensitivity to religious views of , for example, sexuality. Therefore, the teachers in this region face similar challenges while working with students, both cultural and academic.

Thirdly, all teachers in the research worked within the same board. This was important to understand in order to analyze how policies or programs might affect schools differently. That teachers were at the same board also provided an insight into challenges faced by teachers who mentor their students. For instance, even though the schools were in the same board, challenges faced by a teacher in terms of school policy may not necessarily be echoed by teachers in other schools in the study.

Finally, it is important to note that even though Annie and Maggie had students who were mentored by them in the secondary participant interviews, as primary subjects, teachers did not just focus their interview responses on those students who were secondary participants. To be sure, the teachers discussed how they mentored the secondary participants, but also talked extensively about other students who were fortunate enough to be mentored by them. In several cases, even further documentation was offered to demonstrate the breadth and depth with other students through artefacts such as emails, cards, letters, pictures, journals, and lesson plan components. In the case of artefacts such as emails, permission

was obtained by the participant, and students' identities for the most part remained anonymous.

Nevertheless, even though teachers provided data regarding many different students they have mentored, it was important to hear from students to more fully answer the primary research question.

In qualitative research, secondary participants are used specifically to provide further information on the primary participants (Given, 2008). Such information may be to corroborate statements made by the primary participants, add complexity to the analysis, or even help to explain the portraits revealed and values held by the primary participants. Indeed, secondary participants may even disagree with those who are the focus of the research, offering counter arguments and examples which can provide for further discourse.

Initial proposals for this research included those who could comment on the nature of mentoring work in secondary school settings. Administrators were considered, as were parents and local community leaders who could provide some insight into how mentoring takes place, and the values and assumptions that support such perspectives. However, it was determined that secondary students themselves would perhaps provide the richest data, being able to comment specifically on how their teachers mentored them, and the lasting effects a few years after the fact – all secondary participants are adults who graduated within the last five years. The best place to answer the research question was to go to the front lines to understand what ways secondary school teachers mentor their students.

Thus, four students were selected for the purpose of exploring how teachers mentor students. Two of these students were mentored by primary participants in this book. Rena was a student of Maggie's, while Tanvir was a student of Annie's. Having two student-teacher dyads provided interesting insight in terms of seeing stories as layered, adding to the complexity of how teachers mentor students. In each case, the secondary participant was interviewed first, and their stories even helped to trigger forgotten memories of the primary participants, remembering details of the mentoring relationship that they may have forgotten. As well, initial discussions with the primary participants helped to prompt secondary participants with specifics regarding elements they also might have forgotten.

However, two other students were chosen specifically because they did not have primary participants under review. This was desired because knowledge that the primary participant would be participating in the research may produce a biased response. That is, any mistakes or misjudgements by the mentor might be withheld out of respect of their previous, or even current, relationship and how that relationship would be perceived and discussed in written form. For example, one participant expressed pain and anger when his mentor retired, a sentiment that may not have been expressed if he felt his mentor was being interviewed about the relationship. As it was, the two students who did not have their mentors as part of the research provided frank descriptions of how other teachers were not mentors, in contrast to the teachers who were mentors.

STUDENT PROFILES: SECONDARY PARTICIPANTS

Tanvir

Tanvir was raised in a nominally religious family in a large southern Ontario city. His parents have an arranged marriage, very little education, and are both general labourers who sometimes held multiple jobs to meet financial obligations. His mother struggled to find work during the recession, while his father worked at a farm and sold products at the Ontario Food Terminal. Tanvir admits that because of the hours his father worked at the farm and the market, he was not a physical presence in the house.

Raised in a basement apartment, Tanvir was often ashamed of his family's economic plight. There were drug dealers in his local environment, which he had to be warned to stay away from, even though at one point he was even driven to school by a local dealer who was possibly trying to recruit him because of his natural leadership abilities.

An avid sports fan and athlete, Tanvir was placed in lower academic stream classes early in high school. It was in these classes that he was often encouraged to change streams. His teacher, Annie, had told him that he was the X factor in her class—if Tanvir completed tasks and was focused, the rest of the class would follow suit. If Tanvir misbehaved, so would the class.

Tanvir received very good marks in his lower academic stream class, and Annie had discussed with him many times that he should change streams and not to accept mediocrity or a half effort. He finally heeded her advice and switched to the academic track.

Through his late secondary school career, Tanvir became interested in law enforcement and started to plan his education and volunteer activities in concert with his goals. One incident that really frustrated Tanvir was a cooperative placement in which he felt verbally harassed by an older employee. This adult employee consistently ridiculed Tanvir and suggested that he was not good enough to be a police officer, his chosen career path. When this employee finally pushed him too far, Tanvir used profanity to lash out at her. But what was said as a basic swear word was misconstrued as a homophobic slur, which Tanvir claimed he had never said. He was afraid that this incident would come back to haunt him during his process of becoming a police officer, even though the incident took place in secondary school.

Tanvir's passion for police work made him a recognized leader around his school. The vice principals would sometimes seek him out when investigating cases involving other students. Graduating with an A average, Tanvir was also chosen the valedictorian of his graduating class.

Tanvir was chosen for several reasons. First of all, he received a lot of mentoring on social and relational issues. In fact, out of the males in this work, he was the only one who regularly received mentoring regarding his romantic relationships. Secondly, Tanvir was chosen because of the career mentoring he received, and is

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still receiving from his teacher post-graduation. Thus, Tanvir represents the broadest range of mentoring among former students in this book.

Amandip

Amandip was raised a Sikh in a large southern Ontario city. His mother and father both emigrated from Punjab, his father in the late nineteen seventies, while his mother came in the mid-eighties, and they lived in the province's major city. His father worked as a mechanical engineer, while his mother mostly worked in factories, and then eventually became a nurse. In 2001, his father was involved in a severe workplace accident that has prevented him from working ever since. They moved from the major city to the suburbs in October of 1998.

Throughout most of his formative school years, he admitted that his efforts were lax, and he held very negative views towards school. For him, school was mainly a path to please his parents; it was never a vehicle for self-improvement. In fact, he was even caught cheating on his grade ten English exam by smuggling answers and notes.

School was very transactional for Amandip, which he often suggests is part of his cultural background. In other words, he was not there to learn. He was there just to put in time to get a grade. East Indian parents, he claimed, based on their notions of what poverty is like in India, are often frightened by the prospect that their own children could grow up without a job or a means of sustenance. He stated it is because of this fear that they push their children to be either a doctor, lawyer, accountant, or engineer. He claimed these are the most popular professions in India with the operative word "professions"—a means of taking care of and providing for oneself.

Therefore, to Amandip, education was not something that challenged students or aimed to help them grow personally. It was simply a means to a job that will provide a good, stable income. It was this philosophy that was a barrier to Amandip's learning. His interests were counter-cultural in that he did not want to be what Indian parents usually designated as acceptable career paths. The list of "allowable" career choices never interested him. Therefore, school seemed torturous, as he was only going to school so he could get a job, one in which he was not even interested.

During his grade twelve year, he was enrolled in a program that assisted students with math and writing skills after school twice a week. He was partnered with his English teacher, and started to have some breakthroughs academically. His teacher often talked to him about becoming interested in learning beyond the scope of marks. That is, do not concentrate on the marks and miss the learning. When you learn for learning's sake and pure interest, the marks will come. Just learn because it is interesting, and therefore, learn because it makes you an interesting person, not one who simply gets a good mark.

Something then shifted in Amandip. He began to drop by after school almost every day not just to talk about what he was learning, but about other ideas and

philosophies that were outside of the curricular expectations. He even started reading many books that were not necessarily assigned by his teacher, ones that his teacher recommended.

At the end of his grade twelve year, Amandip graduated with the top mark in five out of six subjects, and was just shy of winning the sixth by a few percentage points. Ironically, he did not win the award for the subject taught by his mentor.

Amandip went on to university to study politics. After a few semesters, he altered his major to history. He claimed that in secondary school, this would have really upset him to know that he made a mistake in choosing the wrong major and now was having to do more work. But now, he welcomed mistakes as he realizes it helps him to grow and learn.

Part of Amandip's trajectory was someone who, early in secondary school, was culturally-driven, to the point that one of his life-long goals was to move back to Punjab to help the plight of his people. He had a true disdain for Ghandi, as Sikhs often feel a sense of betrayal over his attitude towards them. Some Sikhs see Ghandi as someone who admonished them, suggesting they abandon the symbols of their faith and be re-absorbed into the Hindu majority. Some even see Ghandi as someone who betrayed Sikhs through not challenging significant powers that were oppressing them. Throughout his mentoring, he developed a passion for studying beyond the borders of his own culture and faith, and looked to others from other cultures from which to grow.

Amandip was chosen to explore how teachers mentor students because he is an example of someone who was mentored through an academic program, one that eventually involved mentoring that far exceeded the twice-a-week program. As well, Amandip was chosen because he had a particularly negative view towards learning and school. This negative view, through the mentoring process, was completely altered. As compared to other students in this book who often needed psycho-social help, Amandip's mentoring was primarily academic, albeit spurred by the challenging of his own cultural conceptions.

Mohammed

Mohammed was raised in a Muslim family where his father is an influential religious speaker and scholar. His father has reached the designation Shaykh, which required a special permission or ijazah, and they also have their own mosque making his father an Imam. His father is caliph to Shaykh Yaqoubi who is so influential that he was the Shaykh who inspired the recent Syrian revolution, and was the one responsible for keeping the revolution from "doing anything outside of the bounds of Islam." In other words, peaceful values inherent in the Muslim faith should not be contradicted by methods used in the revolution. Because of this association, his father travels and is recognized around the world.

Mohammed's family was originally from Guyana. After Guyana gained its independence, civil unrest increased over tensions between the descendents of

Africans and the descendents of East Indians. Government and police corruption was rampant, and lootings and robberies became the norm. Mohammed's father was even severely injured during a break in at his house. His father eventually won a scholarship and was able to leave to study in Saudi Arabia, graduating, and then settling in Ontario, and Mohammed was born soon after, the middle child of three siblings.

Mohammed has health issues that often plague him. He was born with very weak lungs and small bronchials, which left him susceptible to bronchitis or pneumonia every winter. In 2009, he caught the H1N1 virus and almost died, confined to the hospital for several weeks.

Throughout primary school, Mohammed often felt ostracized at times from his peers, yet admits that he often ostracized himself by being a "to-myself" kind of person. He claimed that he really did not like other people all that much. He was also much younger than his cousins as his mother and father had a lot of difficulty having children. Mohammed remembered being "roughed up" by his cousins quite a bit, which involved physical play fighting and tests of masculinity, and it was sometimes to the point of bullying. It was partly his experience with his cousins that made him purposely stay away from interacting with any male peers at his own school.

Mohammed often referred to himself as a "peculiar" child, eventually staying away from both boys and girls. This practice of just wanting to be by himself made him the target of bullies at school. The bullying became so intense that several of the perpetrators had to be suspended the year before he went to high school.

It was during these years that if something was bothering him, or other students were intimidating him, he found solace in writing rap songs and poetry. In fact, the teacher who would become his mentor had given the class the direction to be reading, and Mohammed ignored that direction and was writing instead. When his teacher questioned why he was not reading like the rest of the class, Mohammed said, "Why read when I can write."

Instead of "disciplining" Mohammed for not following class direction, his teacher ended up encouraging his writing. During a Greek Mythology unit, Mohammed had written a rap as his presentation. His teacher ended up partnering with the school's music teacher to get the rap recorded with music and perform it in front of the class.

Following this, his teacher worked with him to enter a contest based on a new rap that Mohammed had written. This song was also recorded with an even more professional background track including a back-up singer. When entered in the contest, this rap won the contest for the entire region, and was submitted to the provincial contest in which he came second. His identity became somewhat synonymous with his writing and rapping. In fact, his teacher originally called his work "hypnotic," and he took this as his moniker. He often posted songs on YouTube under this name, and was even called this around the school at times.

This love of writing further developed throughout his grade progression, where he became the president of the school's creative writing club as a grade ten student, and then became the executive editor of the school newspaper in grade eleven.

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However, when his teacher retired before his grade twelve year, Mohammed felt a sense of abandonment. He even purposely did not take the grade twelve creative writing course, which his teacher had previously taught, because he was feeling lost at the absence of his mentor. It was during this time that Mohammed caught the H1N1 virus and spent weeks in the hospital. When he came out, he was feeling disillusioned and alone. He felt surprised by some teachers who would not let him complete missed assignments when his previous mentor had gone to such lengths for him. He actually told his parents to be prepared for him not to graduate secondary school that year.

Mohammed was finally able to catch up, and actually used negative comments by other teachers as motivation to succeed. He ended up not only graduating, but being chosen valedictorian. He said that the honour would have meant nothing, though, if it had not have been for his teacher, who was now retired, attending the ceremony and watching him address his graduating class. His teacher gave him a gift before graduation—his teacher's very own 1959 copy of Strunk and White's *The Elements of Style* writing guide. Mohammed regularly carried this gift with him wherever he goes and said he saw it as his teacher in book form—a reminder of the encouragement and belief that his teacher had in him.

Mohammed was chosen for this book primarily because he represents someone who was mentored through extra-curricular projects. These projects saw his teacher going "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) class assignments to work with him many hours outside of the regular curricular expectations. Because of this mentoring, Mohammed developed a significant social capacity as a writer, something that probably would not have happened through the ordinary classroom processes. Mohammed went on to study a double major of botany and poetry in university. The love of botany is perhaps in his blood considering his mother's father was a famous botanist in Guyana, helping to create the nationally recognized "Garden of Eden." However, he can say for sure that if he had not had the extra-curricular mentoring from his teacher, he would not have chosen poetry as a major in university.

Rena

Rena is an athletic, former lower academic stream student from an East Indian background. She originally attended a Catholic school, even though her faith was Hindu, where she suffered from depression and would regularly "hurt herself" and talk about issues of self-harm. It was at this school that a teacher observed her journal entries that were concerning. The teacher subsequently brought the journal to the office, social services were involved for a time, and she had to see a social worker at school a few times a week. This social worker would provide initial mentoring and offer advice.

However, Rena felt that even though some of her counsellors were nice, they never really bonded with her. In fact, she quickly became tired of talking to counsellors about her story, and she did not want to keep reiterating it with someone new.

When she transferred to the public system, there was never the sense that Rena was particularly an at-risk student. She continued with her struggles at home, which included issues of witnessing violence, and would sometimes become depressed – a stress that led to attendance problems.

Upon attending Maggie's grade eleven class, she felt a sense of trust and openness with her teacher. She also looked to her teacher as a voice of continuity, someone who would not necessarily be replaced like a social worker, and someone who was there five days a week. When approaching Maggie for the first time during a "little breakdown," Rena was clear to ask that if she talked to her about a certain problem, that would require her teacher to immediately contact the office—this was in fear of the last time she made admissions in her journal. It was in that moment that she debated discussing her situation with her teacher, but decided she might as well. Her teacher determined that her admissions were not "office worthy," and they were able to talk through some of her problems.

Over the next few months, Rena often went to Maggie to talk through her problems, even though she had trouble verbalizing some incidents when seeing her teacher. That is when Maggie noticed that Rena liked to journal, and told her to record her thoughts and feelings. This strategy was two-fold. First, in the heat of the moment, when life became particularly tense at home, she was able to channel her feelings into something positive, instead of suppressing her emotions and contributing to her previously destructive behaviour. Secondly, Rena's thoughts could be "scattered," and so writing them down would help her to remember the incidents and bring it to her teacher for discussion in an organized, reflective pattern. It was then that Rena found she actually enjoyed writing, and would even pass notes and letters to her friends to drop off to Maggie if Rena was away from school for any reason.

As Maggie had many commitments as a curricular head, she ensured that if Rena was in immediate need of assistance, there were others in the school that could help. Even though Rena had graduated, she still came by frequently to talk to Maggie about future plans and goals.

Rena was a good choice to explore how teachers mentor students for several reasons. First of all, since she was mentored by a teacher participating in this research, this experience might provide insight into perceptions from both sides, the mentor and the mentee. As well, Rena represents the only graduated lower academic stream student in this research. As a lower academic stream student, it was interesting to consider whether her struggles with school were similar to the other students who were formally part of the academic stream. Lastly, Rena was chosen because even though she displayed at-risk behaviour earlier in her school career, when she arrived at Maggie's school, she was not particularly identified as an at-risk student. This notion of "flying under the radar" might demonstrate that many students may struggle with issues of mental health even though they are not part of a special designation. Rena was also a strong example of a student who was mentored even though she was no longer a student in Maggie's class. Often times

when the semester was over, students might seek other teachers for help. Rena and Maggie's bond was such that even though they did not have regularly scheduled classes together, Maggie would make regular time for her at lunch and after school.

<div align="center">SECONDARY PARTICIPANT SUMMARY</div>

As the primary participants were selected because of reasons of diversity and complexity, the same consideration was used in recruiting the secondary participants. First of all, a major goal in selecting a group of students who were mentored was that the mentoring practices were very different. For example, Rena's experience was in the psycho-social notions of working through sometimes violent family tensions that plagued her for years, problems that may have identified her as at-risk but were not particularly identified in late secondary school. Mohammed's experience was high-lighted by an extra-curricular involvement that affirmed a desire for writing that has continued into university, even to the point that he declared his second major as creative writing, even though this would not be a traditional accompaniment for his other major, Botany. Amandip's mentoring began through a formal tutoring program, but continued throughout his grade twelve year, seeing a genuine interest in learning turn into a spectacular increase in achievement. Lastly, perhaps Tanvir's experience was the broadest representation of mentoring, taking into account a shift of academic streams, an increase in academic achievement, and psycho-social considerations. Of course, what specifically differentiates Tanvir in this research from all other participants is the career mentoring that began in late secondary school, followed him through placement programs, and still continues post-secondary school.

This group was also diverse in that it represented the two major streams of student progression: lower academic and higher academic. Whereas Amandip and Mohammed were always in the higher academic stream, Rena was strictly lower academic stream, and Tanvir began as lower academic stream but changed later in secondary school to the higher academic stream.

Diversity was also considered in gender and cultural orientation. In terms of gender, Rena was selected partly to examine whether her mentoring was different than the males selected for the secondary interviews. As well, because the majority of students in the area are from an East Indian background, Mohammed represents someone who was outside of this norm as his family is from Guyana. In terms of religion, there were also some differences. Mohammed is from a Muslim family whose reputation is international. Amandip is a practicing Sikh, steeped in the words of the Gurus, who at one time felt a great need to return to his homeland to aid his people. Tanvir is a nominal Sikh whose life is not all that determined through faith, does not wear the symbols of the faith such as a turban, and is more apt to find inspiration in sports or academia. Rena's religious tradition is Hindu, although in her life, it is moderately expressed.

The differences were also represented in the ages of the students who were mentored. For instance, Mohammed's mentoring began while he was a grade nine student. Thus, he was provided opportunities usually only reserved for senior students. Tanvir's mentoring began in the early grades, but then was renewed when he was in senior grades. Rena's mentoring started in grade eleven and continued throughout the next year. And Amandip's mentoring was strictly in grade twelve.

Differences were also considered in terms of economic status. Specifically in the case of Tanvir, he found himself in a position where he was embarrassed about living in a basement apartment, and his family did not own a large house like a lot of his friends. This was actually an issue that he did not share with his mentor, for fear that she might not relate or might look down on him like his friends did. Amandip's father was also not able to work, and this was a situation that he did not share with his mentor while in secondary school.

The main similarity within this group is that each of them live in Morton. This area is predominately populated by immigrant families who often share similar struggles with settlement, employment, and adjusting to western systems of bureaucracies and influence. Throughout the area, teachers lament that communication between the parents and school is minimal, and parents advocating for their children is rare. Both parents are usually working, and it is common for parents to have multiple jobs and positions of responsibility.

Another similarity in this group is that all participants are now adults. Even though this was not a longitudinal study, one of the strengths of interviewing the secondary participants a few years after graduation was that they could speak to the lasting effects of such mentoring, not just what may have occurred in the moment. One of the areas lacking in the general mentoring literature is whether or not mentoring has a lasting impact. The interviewing of adults who were previously mentored as students could demonstrate the lasting effects of mentoring relationships. As well, with the benefit of reflection and more advanced communication skills, possibly post-secondary participants are better able to be objective about their experience.

Overall, both teachers and students were chosen because their stories and experiences provided a rich complexity to the discussion of teachers as mentors. There exists extensive literature that describes the mentoring process through community programs or with at-risk adolescents. However, the qualitative data that examines how secondary school teachers mentor their students is limited. The interviews between both primary and secondary participants helped to provide data, demonstrating that mentoring occurs in many different forms, inside and outside the classroom. The interviews conducted with teachers revealed they had very different approaches in meeting the needs of their students. The students' interviews often demonstrated why such mentoring is important, and the lasting impact it has had in their lives. Some teachers and students were honest enough to admit that mentoring may sometimes lead to negative consequences like abandonment or putting mentors in possible danger.

Students explained what they learned as a result of their experience. However, teachers also suggested that the mentoring process is a reflective experience that helped to alter their practice. Some expressed that in certain areas, they still need to learn more and are actively seeking opportunities to improve their mentoring. Thus, since this project's ultimate aim is to improve how teachers mentor their students, the following chapter will provide a detailed analysis of the interviews conducted with the five teachers.

CHAPTER 5

IT RESTS WITH YOU

Exploring How Teachers Mentor Students

Athena to Telemachus: "And you my friend—how tall and handsome I see you now—be brave, you too, so men to come will sing your praises down the years. But now I must go back to my swift trim ship and all my shipmates, chafing there, I'm sure, waiting for my return. It all rests with you. Take my words to heart."

<div align="right">(Homer, Book 1, p. 87)</div>

This chapter presents findings from interviews with teachers where *participants* were asked seven exploratory questions. This structure allowed for follow-up questions and inquiries that were specific to the individual teacher. The flexible format of the interview also allowed teachers to offer materials that were pertinent to their mentoring experiences including, in the case of Maggie, sharing resources that she had chosen to use in class with students in need of support. Annie offered emails and correspondence between herself and her students, particularly those who had graduated and were still looking for direction and life encouragement from her. Haley permitted observation of her classroom—a vast assembly of pictures and family memorabilia that helped to set the tone of her classroom as more than just a place to learn a subject. As teachers were chosen because of their diversity (age, gender, ethnicity), the uniqueness of each teacher's perspective is represented in the titles assigned to each section detailing their practice.

This chapter is thus organized around five different mentoring perspectives: Maggie: A View from the Top, which includes several appendices of classroom lessons and tasks; Anton: A View from the Playing Field; Rachael: A View from the Outside; Annie: A View from Student Success, which includes email discussions between Annie and her students; Haley: A View from Down the Road, which includes a poem written by one of her students, as well as a list of artifacts found during an after-school visit to her classroom. Finally, a chapter summary will discuss how each teacher's view was unique to his or her mentoring practice, and which experiences had commonalities with those of other teacher participants.

MAGGIE: A VIEW FROM THE TOP

As an English department head, Maggie was in a unique position in this research. Not only is she responsible for setting the direction for policy and practice in her

department, she is also a role model to other teachers. Conscious of her status as an example to other teachers, she reflected deeply on the impact of her conduct with students on other teachers, hoping that other teachers could learn from her as they attempted to negotiate their own professional practice.

When asked about the distinction between teaching and mentoring, Maggie replied that in the regular course of classroom teaching, mentoring is something that we do "inadvertently." That is, the job of teaching entails being "role models…being a good role model. Teaching students proper behaviour and skills, which I think is mentoring." She described part of that process as "having conversations" around the classroom curricular content, and then "monitoring" conversations to stay focused on classroom tasks. In this sense, guiding students to appropriately address content in a classroom setting is a form of mentoring in that it models appropriate behaviour in an academic setting.

However, Maggie also reported that when she thought of mentoring "it is more [of a] one-on-one thing, and it's something that happens outside the classroom for the most part." So, while teaching in a regular classroom experience is, in a way, modeling behaviour, being a mentor is a very different role. And in this role "teachers are doing a lot of mentoring...I would say that most teachers I have spoken to have done mentoring or are continuously doing mentoring."

Maggie noted that mentoring sometimes begins because a student feels "some openness or connection to you" and would often test this openness by lingering after class and asking safe questions like, "What are you doing" right now, and even buffer the approach with an offer to help with tasks around the classroom. It is in these more informal moments that more spontaneous conversations happen and a mentoring relationship begins.

Maggie suggested that students approach her, sensing an openness to deepening the relationship, because of "whatever I have done in the classroom…students have felt comfortable enough to come to me outside the classroom." This "whatever" that makes students comfortable enough to approach her in a less structured context could entail behaviour on her part that is conscious or unconscious. Sometimes this perception of openness is based on a teaching behaviour that is intentional, a consequence of Maggie's self-reflection as an educator or a conscious correction of previous classroom practice to create an "open" feeling between her and her students. Still, other elements contributing to students' perceptions of Maggie's openness was likely unconscious, a part of her personality, appearance, or way of teaching she is unaware of.

In terms of conscious behaviour, Maggie pointed to the fact that as a department head, she made specific curricular choices that would spark discussions leading to mentoring. She mentioned one work in particular that she selected in hopes that it would not only be discussed in class, but would stimulate opportunities for discussion outside of the classroom. The play *Bang Bang You're Dead* (Mastrosimone, 2009) is about a boy with a mental illness who embarks on a shooting spree at his secondary school. Maggie noted that when doing research on the subject with her students,

they were surprised to see the prevalence of societal mental illness and depression. Maggie used a PowerPoint presentation at the beginning of the unit to demonstrate to students that they, their friends or family may suffer from mental illness.

Such lessons likely demonstrated to students a willingness to talk during and after class about the nature of anxiety and how to care for oneself, for one's peers, and for one's family. Maggie suggested that "once a teacher has brought a conversation into the classroom, you've opened up doors for kids who need to talk about it."

The Stress Test was also used as a part of this teaching unit to help students understand that after a tally of their life incidents, they could be at risk if they did not take care of themselves. Maggie used this strategy in class to help students talk about healthy ways of dealing with stress, knowing it could also trigger students to seek her out after class or after school in search of ways to deal with their stress.

Another resource Maggie used for this unit was chosen to help students understand the stigma that might come as a result of, for example, public knowledge of someone in a family coping with mental health issues. In the "Stigma Mind Map," she helped students brainstorm who could be affected by knowing someone with a mental health issue, and how that acquaintance might feel that it was something to hide. An exercise like this might draw students into after-class conversations about what was going on at home, and might give them a much-needed outlet for discussion.

A second work she used in class was *Speak*, a novel about a young girl sexually assaulted at a party the summer before grade nine. The protagonist calls the police and is then ostracized by her friends. Maggie noted the importance of using a work like *Speak* in the classroom: "these are the things we can't pretend that kids aren't dealing with every day."

Maggie suggested that most students do not necessarily act out in the dramatic ways depicted in these texts, but that does not mean "they aren't suffering" just as much as those students in the texts. This idea of silent or invisible suffering informs Maggie's curricular choices and her efforts to help draw students into post-class conversations about the nature of their particular suffering.

Maggie noted that, unfortunately, mentoring is seen as a guidance counsellor's responsibility: "You look like you are upset, go see a guidance counsellor." But she said that guidance counsellors "have become educational planners with respect to, 'I have questions about summer school'." The role of guidance counsellor at present in an age of economic cutbacks seems to be limited largely to setting timetables rather than demonstrating care. She also observed that often guidance counsellors do not have that "personal connection" with a student the way a teacher does. Students are "not going to want to talk with" guidance counsellors the way they will want to talk to teachers after seeing them day in and day out, having built a rapport over a few months. Therefore, Maggie believes "it's your job" to make personal connections and mentor students because "you see them more than anybody else sees them."

In terms of the value Maggie places on mentoring as part of her professional position, she sees evidence of such value when "they're coming back," "they're writing letters," "they're thanking you." But she also noted that value can be found

in the fact that the students being mentored are those who "you're thinking about when you're not teaching. Those are the kids you're thinking about at home. Those are the kids you're investing your time in mentally, because you are worried about them."

This value, for Maggie, might stem from the fact that ultimately teachers are responsible for the safety of students both inside and outside of school. She noted that there are extreme cases "where it is your job to report" to Children's Aid and other organizations, so knowing students is a must. This "knowing" might stem from, among other practices, intentionally choosing resources that will help students find the courage to raise issues often concealed from peers and teachers in the regular classroom context.

Maggie suggested there is a sense that if teachers mentor their students, they address problems before they become bigger issues in their impending adulthood. People who do struggle with mental illness as adults, for "a lot of them, it really manifests itself in high school." She has made it one of her mentoring strategies to help students see that high school is an age where life is "the toughest," and to advise that when students graduate, they will find employment and have more independence, that "it only gets better for the most part." During our interview, she often said that in secondary school, students do not have a choice about the peers that surround them, but after graduation "they start being able to choose" the people to let into their lives. They begin to find "other people to share that stuff [life problems] with."

In terms of mentoring strategies, Maggie has specific forms and practices that she uses in her mentoring of students. Maggie has found that while mentoring, what is important is "equipping them with tools." One of the tools she uses is recommending literature outside of the regular curriculum. She told me about one student in particular to whom she recommended self-help books that she herself had read. The student would then read a specific self-help book and discuss the contents with her. With another student, Rena, Maggie noticed that writing was something she was interested in. So Maggie encouraged Rena to start writing letters to document her struggles, which was a strategy Maggie could use to help Rena organize her thoughts and approach a situation from a more objective viewpoint.

As mentioned earlier, Maggie uses works within and outside of the curriculum that discuss mental health in hopes of drawing to her students who would not necessarily be classified as at-risk students by the school administration. However, Maggie also does extensive research on community programs and support that could help a student struggling with a specific issue. She sees these programs as "tools" that help match a student with a specific help system.

Maggie even uses her classroom as a "tool" to help students. Her classroom, combined with "her number one practice" of blocking out time for students, is a place where she helps to mentor many students. For example, one of Maggie's students was born with one leg that was significantly shorter than the other. This condition is "something she struggled with" emotionally, leading to issues of insecurity, which

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inevitably led her to withdraw through her first few weeks of secondary school. Maggie decided to mentor her into learning how to develop friendships and feel comfortable with even coming to school in the first place. Maggie told me: "For the first half of the semester, she spent lunch with me every day." While in class, Maggie would even "have her sit with kids that were sweet and warm, the kind of kids who could connect with her." It was through class placement and daily lunch meetings that this student started feeling that secondary school was not all that intimidating, and that she was willing to take the risk and develop friendships. Maggie observed that "by the second half of the semester, she had made friends, and she was so excited she had made friends…but things were tough. Just having a safe space for her to come was huge, and something I was happy to give her."

As seen through Maggie's practices, even though mentoring often took place outside of the classroom, what happened inside class was important to cultivating that sense of care and openness, which may have led a student to approach her afterwards. For instance, part of her practice includes "giving out birthday cards to all my kids on their birthdays." She said that for lower academic stream students particularly "it's a big deal when it's their birthday and they want you to know because there's a good chance nobody else has told them."

Mentoring can also be a complex, layered process of attempting to discern a particular student's needs. For example, one student of Maggie's was a bi-sexual student who was not part of the school's dominant ethnic culture. This student actually had to change schools because of a previous social-media bullying incident over her sexual orientation. One might be inclined to conclude any mentoring that would take place would entail helping this student wrestle with her sexual identity, or deal with the aftermath of bullying. On the contrary, this student demonstrated that not only is she comfortable with her sexual identity, she was also well-versed in using mature language to describe the process of bullying to the extent that Maggie "didn't need to mentor her in that respect." However, she had two other issues. This grade nine girl was, in essence, parenting her mom and siblings, making sure they had food on the table, paying the bills, trying to prevent the family from getting evicted from their home. Often, this student needed money or came to school with no food. Maggie would sometimes buy her lunch and support her through having to accept adult-like responsibilities at such a young age. There were also cultural issues that Maggie helped her to negotiate, as this student did not know the cultural expectations of the school's dominant ethnic group. When another grade nine student passed away, the student being mentored by Maggie wanted to attend the funeral. Maggie found out that the cultural expectations of the deceased student's ethnic group were such that those who attend the funeral do not wear black, but wear white. This student did not own a white shirt. Maggie wanted her to feel accepted by her peer group even though she was not a part of the dominant ethnic culture, so she bought her a white sweater and gave it to her the next day.

When asked where she learned to mentor students, Maggie spoke about the stable environment she grew up in. Even though Maggie's parents divorced when she was

ten, she noted, "I know how lucky I am to have been told that I was loved every day," because many of the students she sees "are not told how they are loved."

Maggie also learned to mentor by reflecting on her own life. As a recently single mother, she is aware that "difficult things happen in my life…and there are some days I just couldn't do it [get up, go to work]…how can we expect fifteen year old to sixteen year olds to even have the coping mechanisms that an adult struggles to have sometimes." Therefore, even from her present life experiences, Maggie empathizes with students who are possibly facing similar challenges, yet do not have the life skills to deal with their situations effectively.

Maggie reported that professional development days conducted by her school have helped her to grow in her mentoring skills. For example, she recently attended a professional development session on mental illness, and she believes that, in general, "there hasn't been a lot of PD on mental illness."

Maggie observed that mentoring is different in different contexts. For instance, she led the student council for several years at her school, and these were students who were "over-achievers." In this capacity, the primary mentoring that took place was in the academic context, where mentoring was based around "goals" and discussion of future prospects such as university and choice of careers. Another form of mentoring for these high-achieving students was coaching students in the roles that they had to play and helping them to develop the skills they had to learn. For instance, if student council members have to give a speech to the school, Maggie would "practice with them," or oversee a student who had to face the pressures of organizing an event.

Furthermore, Maggie noted that she has often had to mentor students to help them cope with the pressures their parents were placing on them. For example, she has had many students who would have been happy to move from the higher academic stream to the lower academic stream. In her words, this type of mentoring happens "a lot." Students become depressed about "meeting their parents' expectations of going to university." Mentoring can occur if Maggie can help students to speak to their parents about the reasons for switching streams, and might be needed later to help students with self-esteem issues once they move to the less demanding stream.

Maggie also reported challenges when mentoring some students. For instance, she said that she does "not have the same comfort level in mentoring boys." In fact, Maggie had an incident with a young boy she was mentoring that demonstrated there are potential dangers when mentoring students. This particular young man began lingering after class to discuss social issues he was having with other males in the school. After feeling uneasy about the amount of time the student was wanting to spend with her, Maggie would intentionally leave her door open and ask a colleague to drop in after school "so I wasn't alone." After going on a trip, the student brought back a gift which Maggie did not find out of the ordinary. Then he bought her perfume on Mothers' Day. After discussing with the student that this was becoming inappropriate, Maggie phoned the father who said that he had approved of the purchase and had been there when his son bought it. A few weeks later, the student obtained a part-time job, and with his first pay cheque bought Maggie a

watch and wrote "a letter that was inappropriate." She finally had to bring the issue to the attention of the vice principal, and they both had discussions with the student trying to convey to him that there were ways to value teachers and other people, but boundaries must be maintained. From this experience, Maggie has concluded that "boys are very impressionable," and that when boys make a connection with a younger teacher, it can be hard for them to sort out their feelings. As well, Maggie demonstrates that sometimes teachers have to break a trust in order to protect students and teachers, and show students they have made behavioural errors.

Maggie has also faced cultural issues that she found challenging in context of her mentoring. For example, she has mentored students who were in arranged marriages, who were trying to negotiate between the requirements of their faith and the expectations of Western cultural norms. Maggie also noted that in her experience, abuse and violence against women and/or children are more commonly accepted in certain cultures. She found that, unfortunately, some students "grow up in a culture where it is acceptable [for parents] to hit their kids." Students from particular cultures "don't see anything wrong with it, and they laugh and kind of joke about it." And predominantly, it was girls that were the recipients of the abuse. In these situations, Maggie's challenge as a mentor was not only getting students to share what was going on at home, but helping them to break out of the cultural assumptions that kept them in an abusive situation.

When it comes to improving in the practice of mentoring, Maggie said part of it is experience—"the more you mentor, the better you get at it." She said that for better or worse, "the experiences that you learn [from] you take to the next experience." Commenting on the fact that she has improved her practice because of professional development days, Maggie said that she believes it is also the school board's responsibility, as well as each school's administration, to provide resources that can help teachers to improve their practice. For example, when a student approached her on the Friday of a long weekend to tell her that he was having suicidal thoughts, Maggie went to the guidance department and was able to learn from them what questions it was appropriate for her to ask. A guidance counsellor was able to teach Maggie how to test the validity of a suicidal claim by asking a very specific question. Once she asked that question, she knew he was not really serious and that she could mentor him around issues of depression and offer other resources to help his feelings of loneliness.

HALEY: A VIEW FROM DOWN THE ROAD

Haley believes that "mentoring happens in and out of the classroom," but that the primary difference between teaching and mentoring "is the time spent away from the classroom." This mentoring can be either academic or social, or a combination of the two. For example, Haley described a student in one of her lower academic stream classes who would produce good quality work, and did not need academic mentoring. However, he was very withdrawn socially, missing a lot of classes, and

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warnings from administrators and home were not helping his attendance. Therefore, Haley felt that "What he needed was a fix to get him to school and see the value of an education." One day, while Haley was walking around her class, she noticed that this boy was writing poetry and drawing pictures in a journal. She realized through discussions with him, and seeing through his non-curricular work, that he had a "love of poetry" and was a "beautiful artist." Sometimes, the work of students in lower academic streams might not receive the same kind of recognition as the work of students in higher academic streams, whose work may seem, to teachers, more sophisticated. Yet this student's sophistication was noticed by Haley through poems like the following:

Dark Waters
We have all seen and felt
The boy by the shore
He is quiet and calm
He invites you in to play
Seems harmless to everyone.
This boy has a dark side
He will pull you in until you can't get out
Push you down to the sands below
Bury ships at his feet
Until there is life no more

Haley noted that she did make a connection with this student; however, this connection was not necessarily mentoring. Once she had made the connection with the student, her task was knowing who would be best within the school "to help elevate that student to the next level." Fortunately, she was able to guide the student to a teacher who was a creative writer and who worked with students to help them enter contests and have their writing published. Once the student was able to see school as being more meaningful than just completing class assignments, he joined another school club and "then he never missed another day of classes." For Haley, mentoring is emphatically a collegial practice, whereby a teacher sees a need in a student, and does not necessarily have to mentor that student in particular, but can find others who can.

Asked how she would distinguish teaching from mentoring, Haley reported that she had a lot of opportunities to mentor students socially through her Family Studies courses. Haley views mentorship primarily as an after-class or after-school practice. Within her Family Studies courses "a lot of what they hear and what you are talking about within the classroom generates those opportunities for them to come and seek you out, to talk about issues that are probably very personal and private that they don't wish to share within the classroom."

However, mentoring can have a classroom nature to it as well. Haley talks about a student who wanted to switch from the lower academic stream to the higher. She knew the student and believed that this change would be a struggle for her. Added

to this academic challenge was the fact that Haley understood that this student was facing social challenges at home. She decided to collaborate with another colleague in the guidance department. "So, between myself and counselling, we sort of set up the inside/outside of class mentoring." Knowing that this student was facing academic pressure, albeit self-imposed, as well as pressure from her turbulent home life, Haley worked "taking the pressure off [so] that she could be successful." On weeks where this student's life was particularly stressful, Haley would meet for lunch with her, talk about her home life, and then discuss academic issues like deadlines and organization skills.

Thus, in Haley's experience of mentoring, teachers often make "connections" with their students in class, but the mentoring itself happens for the most part through after-class interactions. Teachers become mentors when they go "the extra mile," when they empathize with students and suggest, "I get what you're going through. What can I do to help?" Haley distinguishes teaching from mentoring by noting that though teaching has an end, mentoring "is a process. It's not something that starts and ends." Teaching a class may come to a conclusion, but mentoring continues long after the class has ended.

As for the value Haley sees in mentoring as part of her professional position, the "big thing" for students that she mentors is that they are "not settling down for a fifty" percent. She noted that with all the stresses and problems young people face, when it comes to school, many of them are just hoping to achieve a pass—if they can pass, as well as try and cope with their home life, then they feel they have done a good job. But Haley sees mentoring as helping them to cope with these stresses so that they can achieve more than they ever thought they could. She noted, "I think the value of mentoring…especially if they've come from or are in any kind of dysfunctional relationship…they see for a period of time throughout the day… they can put that aside and concentrate." Through the mentoring process, students see that once they have someone to help, "the light goes on. And they start achieving and wanting more." Mentoring has significant value to those teens struggling with issues at home who "have always settled for a level one [55%]," and when "they spend time along with you, then they see that it's a level three [75%] or level four [85%] or even a level two plus [67%]."

Haley reported that one of the forms and practices she employs, which may be different from all of the other teacher participants in this work, is that she mentors "a lot of young couples." This could partly stem from the fact that she is a family studies teacher and a mother of three grown children. Haley said that the ethnic background of the students in her school is such that they cannot share relationship problems with their parents; that, in many instances, the students are not even allowed to date. It is in the absence of this support from home that young couples often seek her out. These discussions routinely begin with classroom conversations that lead to after-school interactions.

Another part of Haley's conscious mentoring practice is her reinforcement of her public image as a caring mother. Displayed all around her classroom are pictures of

her family, her children, and even herself as a young woman. The room was "created in such a way that it's a comfortable, warm and welcoming room, so that on any given day the kids drop in." She said that "you can walk into my classroom at any time and there is stuff everywhere." An observation of Haley's classroom revealed the following:

- a collage entitled Ms. [X]'s hair history beginning with photos of her as a child, teenager, young adult, and with her grown children
- a picture of Haley and her young children at bedtime
- a two-part picture of her daughter as a softball scholarship recipient on a US college team
- her daughter's graduation photos
- student council photo including her as student council advisor
- her son's wedding photos
- a pink day collage (Haley is a breast cancer survivor)
- a plaque of a letter given to her by two students revealing the impact Haley made on their lives.

These pictures and artifacts are often the springboard for another of her mentoring practices—sharing personal stories about herself.

As a breast cancer survivor, and as someone who had lost other family members to cancer, Haley uses real life stories to generate a sense of openness and caring with her students, suggesting that she understands the pain that they may be going through. She reported of the students who approach her for mentoring, "The one thing that sort of resonates with me, that they continually say, is my willingness to share my experiences." During class discussions on difficult or personal topics, students who want to talk often stay silent during class, and then visit her separately after school. For example, recently, after Haley disclosed her own cancer story, bringing in the wig that she wore during the period of her chemotherapy treatment, a student returned to her classroom after school and confided, "My mom's got cancer." Over the next few months, Haley talked this student through her mother's treatment. Haley believes it is very important to show students that a teacher has had a "life full of experiences, some positive, some negative, and that I'm standing here and I've made it through them." One of those experiences, for Haley, as a student, was attending a school where one of the first mass shootings in her country's history occurred, a story that Haley often shares with students as a precursor to discussions of why lock-downs are essential to school safety.

One of the practices Haley employs during such discussions is to have students "take out a piece of paper and write down their experiences," and hand them in to her later. If a subject under discussion is one that students may feel uncomfortable sharing, she advises them, "Don't put your names on it." However, since she recognizes her own students' handwriting, she is usually able to read them and know who is struggling with what issue. She reports that this practice tends to generate empathy within her, but also that shy students sometimes remain in class after

such an assignment, and discuss with her what they wrote on the paper. When this occurs, she is able to support them for the remainder of the term. In fact, one student who approached Haley after school about her sick mother and her own illness was mentored by Haley for the next four years.

Another mentoring practice Haley shared was her collaboration with other colleagues within her school to support students. For example, the young man who was a creative writer was aligned with a teacher who had a particular passion in that area. Haley also connected the student who wanted to move to the academic stream to a guidance counsellor who could help monitor the student's home life.

Haley also discussed gender differences in the practice of mentoring, noting that girls will often seek her out to talk about a specific issue raised in class, or perhaps something stemming from an incident at home. However, boys "won't seek me out to have a one-on-one discussion." She has observed that boys tend to "hover" outside the classroom at the end of the day if they want to talk. They usually do not want to be the initiators of a discussion, but they make it known that they are loitering outside of her classroom. Understanding that boys tend to be more guarded and behave in this fashion when seeking guidance, she leaves her classroom door open at the end of the day. Boys tend to speak more "in a joking way" at first, which helps to break down some barriers and gets them in the door after school. Then she is able to "recognize when there is something underlying." Boys, for the most part, will discuss "little social problems," but "it's never that in-depth discussion like a female." Therefore, with boys, Haley finds it really important to be collaborative, to "make that connection to the next person and/or a team."

As a way of further explaining how she mentors boys, Haley described listening to informal conversations her students had in class and using these as a springboard for mentoring. Recently, a boy in her class was involved in a discussion about relationships, and how he had been struggling with his girlfriend. She took the bold step to say, "Do you think maybe it's time to move on?" At the time, Haley did not even necessarily think "what I said had any merit." This young man did not seem to respond to her comment, and did not even seem like he was particularly paying attention. However, he approached her after class, asking if she really thought "it was time to move on." Haley then asked him a series of questions that he could reflect upon later, including, "Where is it getting you? Are you happy?" She calls this process of asking questions as a form of mentoring "out of the corner of your ear or corner of your eye." She believes this is a good strategy for supporting that student who does not necessarily arrive wanting a "full blown...sit down discussion" on a particular problem. Often times, students will raise an issue with their friends, almost as if it is not really bothering them, but if teachers listen during their regular classroom rounds, they can hear or see what may be really frustrating a student.

Part of Haley's mentoring practice also revolves around students' perceptions of her as a mother figure, which allows her to offer "human affectionate...contact" with her students who are really struggling. She admitted that even though school boards and unions actively discourage teachers from this kind of behaviour, she will

often verbalize to a struggling student, "Do you need a hug?" Such a question asks permission from students, and helps her to determine if appropriate physical contact is desired.

Consistent with her practice of asking students if they need physical contact before initiating it, part of Haley's practice is to ask students exactly what they need before deciding that herself. She often asks her students, "What can I do for you right now, right at this very minute to help and make things a little bit better for you today?" Sometimes teachers see mentoring in a long-term sense, involving working with a student through an issue over weeks or months. However, Haley notes that teachers who mentor also have to deal with the immediate, which means asking "what can you do right now, by the end of this day for this student." She often finds herself asking what she can "offer that student…to make their day a little bit better, a little bit stress-free, whether it's academic, social or both."

Haley's in-class and after-class experiences represent some of the contexts in which mentoring takes place. But she has also mentored students in a program called Link Crew. This is a program recently adopted by many North American schools that pairs grade nine students with grade eleven and twelve students to help them acclimatize to their new schools. When choosing leaders for the program, Haley often approaches students she has previously mentored. As some programs like student council will choose high-achieving students, Haley consciously chooses students she has previously mentored with the understanding that these students know what it is like to struggle and to have someone to help them, and will therefore have the empathy for, and excitement about, becoming mentors to other students.

The context in which Haley feels mentoring works best for her, no matter where she finds herself in the school, is the mentoring that is "done just really informally." There may be training sessions with programs like Link Crew that tend to be formal and very structured, where even the discussion times are prescribed. But Haley has found that the best mentoring comes outside of formal times, and that the mentoring does not necessarily have a formal structure to it. It is in this context that she told me that mentoring has to be done where "there's not the big M." What she means by this statement is that "There's no label on it. It's just I'm coming in, sitting down, like we are having a discussion about something." When students are part of a formal mentoring program, they might feel pressured to share things. But where a situation is not formally called mentoring, often students will be more open to sharing.

Further to Haley's discussion on formal versus informal mentoring, she noted that her school has a formal academic mentoring program, which she is not involved in. Before this program, a lot of Haley's mentoring was academic. But now, because the academic mentoring program is so strong and there are places for students struggling academically to get support, she said that the majority of her mentoring "seems to be more of the social."

The challenges that Haley reported in mentoring students include the fact that "the student also needs to see the need" for mentoring. Mentoring is not a practice that can be forced on someone. A teacher has to wait "until a person sort of wants to

reach out and there is a willingness." As well, Haley finds that for younger students, "if their parents aren't on board," or if there was "a really big gap between what you may be sharing and what's happening at home" then "sometimes that really interferes." And in light of such "interference," the mentoring "stops for whatever reason."

Haley also suggested that because teachers "wear a different hat every day," the amount of time a teacher has to dedicate to mentoring is always an issue. For example, recently she was leaving school on a Friday to get to an appointment, and a student came to her door seeking help. She looked up at the clock and thought "oh dear, we're in for a while." She eventually told the student that he would have to see her the following school day. Incidents like these have prompted Haley to conclude that teachers cannot "let students become their whole lives," and that teachers have to preserve the energy to tend to their own families and interests in order to be able to be helpful to their students as well.

Haley posited that teachers can first learn to mentor if they have a pre-service teacher who practices mentoring. As with her own classroom, Haley visited other classes during her pre-service experiences to assess if "this is the kind of classroom I want." In some cases she concluded, "Not so much," because the classrooms were devoid of pictures and relational touches, instead being "all about the academics."

Haley learned to mentor not just from the family she grew up in, but in her present family with the children she raised with her long-time partner. For Haley, mentoring "comes from spending the days in and outside of these walls." It comes from "your own personal experiences like your family...what you have had outside the classroom." She said that her family has spent a lot of time in sports. Consequently, her own children were "raised in that atmosphere of collaboration, working as a team." These experiences with her own children, through sports and teamwork, taught them that when "somebody's down we pick them up together…we recognize when that person wants to talk and when it's time to back off and give some personal space." Such experiences with her own children provide her with insight into helping other people's children: "I think as a mom of three, you bring those experiences into the classroom." And students recognize her as a mother-figure when they make comments like, "You are like my second mom" or "You're like the mom I don't have." Haley believes that her identity as a mother is particularly important in terms of the students who approach her for support, as opposed to "a colleague of mine who is single." As is the case with her single, childless colleague, Haley admitted that the mother image might not work for all students. With a younger teacher, some students might feel "more on par" and may relate to the "single" notion more because that teacher "may have been in and out of some relationships as well" recently.

Haley said she has improved her mentoring skills by listening to her colleagues. She calls herself an observer, and reported listening to conversations between other teachers and students. She even listens for "a certain line" that other teachers employ while mentoring students, and will use it with a student when the time is right. She also believes that self-reflection is important for improving the mentoring process

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with students and that teacher/mentors have to "be willing to look at your own practices and be able to make the changes as you go."

<div align="center">ANTON: A VIEW FROM THE PLAYING FIELD</div>

Anton views mentoring as part of the job of teaching, and as really "the same thing." He believes that "teaching has a very large umbrella and mentoring is underneath it." Anton recognizes that in other professions, the "umbrella" may be different. For example, for those people who are full-time coaches, coaching would be the umbrella and "teaching is underneath it."

For Anton, teaching is "almost solely the curriculum," whereas "Mentoring is everything outside of the curriculum, and the great teachers can do it at the same time." He even suggests some teachers mentor "without even knowing." And it could be in this unconscious context that teachers can sometimes even mentor "in a negative way." For instance, a teacher's negative attitudes towards the school, a subject, or the administration can influence students to be similarly discouraged.

For Anton, mentoring in the coaching context means understanding what students can handle depending on their home circumstances and social pressures. It is in knowing students so well that a mentor can realize "now is not the right time to put them into this situation," while recognizing at other times that it may be "the best time to put them into that situation."

Anton tends to see that mentoring is sometimes "far more important than curriculum," and that with some students "you are almost not dealing really with the curriculum." He believes that mentoring has to come first, that students must be concentrating on "being healthy, mentally, physically, socially" before any curricular expectations can be met. Anton suggested that this is a little easier to promote in his subject, physical education, as being healthy is part of the curriculum. But he also noted that in other subjects or courses, teachers sometimes needed to "put curriculum aside for a day, an afternoon, a morning, an hour, sometimes three or four days."

Mentoring, therefore, is about recognizing that even if the curriculum is taught, perhaps it would be ineffective with some students on a particular day because their social problems or home life is getting in the way of learning. Such situations prompt Anton to use the metaphor of friend: "You just have to mentor them, figure out what's going on, knowing that you are there not just as their teacher, but as their friend." Therefore, Anton views mentoring as a precursor to learning the curriculum. In fact he said, "Once they get that trust with you then you can bring in the curriculum."

Once this process begins, Anton reported that mentoring usually improves the marks of students who are struggling academically. In this context, mentoring makes the academic environment "a little more relaxing, less intimidating." It is in this environment that students attend more to their work because "they are not going to let you down."

But Anton admitted that he sometimes questions the value of mentoring, unsure if his mentoring is actually what is producing change in a student. He reflected:

"I never know if it's because of me or because of the student." He suggested it could equally be because of a teacher in another class, or might just be "because of the student," indicating that the teen sorted out the problem alone.

Anton believes that his mentoring practices are evident in several different ways. He has found that the best way to mentor is "rather than being face to face and confronting them, take a step aside, let them be who they are and come beside them." He suggested students are "so used to confrontation" that there is a way to mentor that is "sneaky and clever." He believes that this friendship approach, rather than the authority figure approach, helps Anton "point them in the direction you want them to go, and they don't even realize they are going in that direction."

Anton also noted that sometimes in the mentoring process, a teacher needs to confront in a more obvious way. Anton alluded to a YouTube video where a coach is confronting a student on his performance, making that student really upset. In this video, when the student is feeling upset for being yelled at by his coach, the coach later responds to the student that "when you screw up and nobody pays attention—that's a bad place to be. When you screw up and there's somebody there to tell you that you screwed up and how to fix it—that's a good place to be." Anton provided an example of one student of his who was in a formal mentoring relationship with him, within a formal mentoring program, who kept making excuses for being late to class and missing assignments. Anton let it go for a while, and knew that when he confronted her, she might be upset. So, one day he told her "that's a dangerous place to be when your teacher is not telling you what you're doing wrong and how to fix it," trying to emphasize that through this confrontation he was taking an interest in her, not just being punitive as an authority figure.

However, Anton said his mentoring practice with girls is very different than his mentoring of boys. He admitted that not only is there a big difference, but that "I'm not there yet. I haven't figured it out yet." His practice has him usually referring female students to other female teachers. For example, Anton recalled working with a female student whose house had burned down. He asked her a series of questions to determine how she was feeling, what her experience was like, and whether she had any material needs that were not being met. In the end, Anton was not sure if his mentoring was what she needed. He was explicit with his mentee about his self-doubt during their conversations. Anton told me: "I gave a response and followed up the response with 'that's the kind of response you are going to get from Mr. [X]. If you want a better and more appropriate one, you need to go see Miss. [Y].'"

However, Anton also told me that he once overheard a male student who was talking with this female student about her house burning down and observed that he was asking questions "that were so inappropriate." This student was not being purposely destructive. He simply did not know how to respond to a peer experiencing grief. Anton then mentored the boy through the situation in terms of what are more suitable ways to approach someone who has just experienced tragedy, including determining appropriate physical contact, questions, and even how to listen in a time of need. In the end, Anton was unsure of whether or not he had really helped

the female student, to the point where he even suggested that she approach another female teacher at the school as a resource. However, he was confident that his mentoring had changed the male student's approach. Anton finished relating this story to me by reflecting, "Guys…I can usually deal with guys."

Anton often spoke about mentoring as the development of a skill set, and he reflected that it was possible that mentoring girls took a different skill set. "I always say if a female comes in, I'm not the best person for this." He will then find someone "who has that skill set." But for boys, "I rarely do that."

Anton also reflected upon the fact that there are days to mentor and days not to mentor, noting that sometimes students do not want to talk, but also noting that as a mentor, some days, "Maybe I don't want to talk." And this is the difference he finds between formal mentoring and informal mentoring. For Anton, in an informal mentoring program, there is less "pressure" on teacher and student. The mentoring might take place spontaneously in the lunch room or the hallway or any time when both parties are willing to talk.

It is within this informal understanding of mentoring that Anton felt informed by his own knowledge and study of biology. He reflected that with boys "you get a lot of testosterone," which makes them "do some pretty dumb things." Anton reported having experienced many situations where boys were in physical confrontations and a teacher had to mentor such students over the next few weeks into learning appropriate ways of expressing anger. He realized that the heat of the moment was "not the most appropriate time" to talk. Over the next few days or weeks, when the student had settled down, Anton would mentor a student through making better choices. He asked questions like, "Why did you do it? What was the emotion that was happening before you did it?" and offered, "Let's try to figure this out so that you don't make that mistake again."

As well, Anton often saw that in a physical confrontation between two students, there was a "victim" that had to be mentored too, because "guys don't like to lose fights." Mentoring the victim involves helping that student deal with embarrassment or fear. A young man can come to recognize "that it wasn't his fault" necessarily, that "the perpetrator was completely wrong." In these moments, Anton is not prescriptive and would not say, "You probably feel like this right now." Instead, he would ask students how they feel, and "they come forth with information, and you just take the information they give you and just kind of logically follow it around," rather than telling them you know how they feel before asking. Anton also views mentoring as involving repairing the relationship between the perpetrator and victim. He asks mentees who have been involved in a physical confrontation: "How are you dealing with the guy who hit you? Have you spoken to him? Has he spoken to you?" Then over the next few weeks, Anton views his role as monitoring if "his [mentee's] personality has changed, his demeanor has changed, and then address that as needed." Anton believes it is necessary to recognize when the mentoring "is not working," and whether or not the victim needs to see someone else to work through issues. When another person is needed, Anton noted, "I'm going to find that person."

Anton showed that his insight into males' use of "emotion" is where a lot of his most effective mentoring took place. He often tells the male students he mentors, "As soon as emotion comes into that equation, [it] screws everything up and as soon as emotion comes into the thought process you're done. You've lost." He believes that what is important in mentoring males is helping them to identify when "their emotion is starting to get out of control." He feels that his mentoring helps them to learn to reflect on situations, past or future, in terms of appropriate responses like walking away or leaving a classroom and going for a walk, rather than acting impulsively.

Anton reported feeling particularly doubtful about his ability to mentor girls effectively. He reported feeling an even greater barrier when approached for mentoring by a girl from another culture, specifically South Asian. Speaking as someone from a German and English cultural background, Anton noted that this particular ethnic background entails "a far different upbringing than the upbringing I had." When mentoring or teaching, Anton is aware that his starting point is his own culture and background. When discussing the roles of women and men, he finds that girls often become "uncomfortable," while the males seem much more comfortable talking to him. Even within a regular classroom setting, during health units, he often finds that boys and girls get angry with each other for not understanding one another's notions of gender across differing cultural groups. In these situations, Anton takes it upon himself to mentor students through such misunderstandings. He takes the initiative to seek out students who have had misunderstandings about gender and culture in class during their lunch period. He has often initiated discussions with students frustrated by each other's differences in perspective by walking them through several out-of-class discussions about how cultures can be different. He often encourages students to reflect on the "strangeness" of hearing about someone else's cultural experiences for the first time, "Like if Dad gets the say, Dad gets the say. That's how you were raised. If Mom gets the say, then Mom gets the say. That's how you were raised. So when you hear someone else has something different…that's strange." He uses this concept of "strangeness" as a point of empathizing with how students might feel when faced with perspectives different from their own. Then he models his comfort with strangeness by saying to students, "I am intrigued. Tell me more." Indeed, at his school, Anton took the initiative to suggest the need for a professional development group for himself and others where they work with groups of South Asian students to try to further understand different elements of their culture as a bridge to further mentoring and better teaching.

Anton identifies one of the areas of cultural challenge is navigating the context of family relationships. He noted that in the South Asian community, "relationships in general are not really a conversation that they [students] have with their parents." He has found that "usually they see their mom and dad kind of independent from each other, kind of shut off…and cold to each other." Anton reported finding this lack of communication between South Asian parents a challenge when trying to maintain a mentoring relationship with a student, while also trying to keep communication open with the student's parents. Reflecting on his own childhood experiences, Anton noted

that when a call would come home from school about him, one of his parents would communicate this to the other parent, and then, "I'd sit at the kitchen table with both of them and one of them would be the vocal person, the other person would just sit there and listen." By contrast, as a teacher, Anton often has experiences when calling a South Asian student's home where the parents are not communicating at all, and the added stress of the phone call from school causes a major eruption in the family. In such cases, he will later hear from a student: "My parents are fighting because you said this." For this reason, Anton finds cross-cultural mentoring difficult because "it's a huge shift in trying to navigate through a culture you're not used to...and you're creating problems at home."

Anton believes that mentors can learn by watching their own mentors. He feels that the first mentors he had were his parents. His father was a secondary school teacher who coached a lot of teams, "so he had that ability to work with kids, work with youth." Anton reported that even today, when reflecting on how to respond to an issue while mentoring a student, he will often think "this is how my parents dealt with it. So this is how I'm going to deal with it."

Anton also understands that mentors can learn by watching other teachers. He suggested that this does not have to occur in a particularly formal way: "Sometimes you're in a hurry, and you hear a conversation happening with the teacher and student. You're not in a hurry anymore. You sit down and just kind of listen, kind of eavesdrop and see how that teacher deals with that student."

In terms of improving mentoring, Anton believes that the most important element is feedback: "if you don't get any feedback, how do you know you are doing it right or wrong?" Recently, a student he was mentoring failed his class, and their conversation was overheard by his department head. After the student left, Anton asked her "is that how I was supposed to handle it?" Some other teachers who were also listening provided feedback for Anton in terms of his ability to remain calm during a difficult situation.

Anton also likes to ask the students he is mentoring to provide him with feedback to "ask him how the conversation went. Are you happy with what I said? Are you happy with what you said?" Similarly, Anton believes that reflection on incidents and conversations with mentees are vital to the mentoring process: "Then four hours later you drive home and you're thinking: How did that conversation go today? What could I have done better? What shouldn't I have said?" Knowing that reflection is important, Anton also recognizes that "kids will be kids," admitting that students will not always make good choices, even with strong mentoring. Similarly, Anton is aware that he himself does not always make the best choices in mentoring students, and that as a mentor, a teacher always needs to be "critiquing yourself."

RACHAEL: A VIEW FROM THE OUTSIDE

Rachael believes that teaching involves focusing on a subject, but mentoring requires focusing on a person. She has found that when teaching, teachers often try to "reach

them [students] on a more intimate level." This begins by trying to find out their interests, or a little more of what life is like for that student. Then when "you get to know them on a more intimate level…then you can start doing some mentoring." Rachael stated it is important for students to see her as more than just "their teacher," because, if not, then she will not be able to "engage them as much as I can."

As an example, Rachael talked about one boy in her class who worked nightshift full-time in a factory, and then came to school to put in a full day. He told her that he had to put in these hours because he was "contributing to the family income." Rachel described his day as "half the time he's an adult. Then he walks into the classroom and he's treated like a kid." After discussions with the student about his responsibilities to his family, "He knew that I respected him as the adult that he was forced into" being. She reported that because of his circumstances, as his teacher, she "went above and beyond what I would for a lot of other students." Throughout this mentoring relationship, she was able to provide him with mentoring regarding his career choice. As his present position was a factory worker, she advised him that if he really wanted to work in that type of career, then he should do that. However, she also told him, "I want you to remember how smart you are," and advised him that if he decided to choose another career, no matter how much his father and stepmother tried to control him, "that you can do what you want to do." In this context, Rachael said "mentoring is a lot of responsibility." She noted that had this student not been mentored through her, and her knowledge of the fact that he had "more responsibility than half the adults I know," he might have dropped out of school or even turned to destructive behaviour.

Rachael believes that mentoring adds great value to the lives of students, and she sees evidence of this when students return to her to offer their thanks. For example, one girl wrote a card to Rachael saying, "Thank you for being an awesome and guiding light for me." Similarly, another student wrote, "Thanks Mrs. [X] for guiding me to the right path of life." These sentiments suggest that her impact on these two students is greater than it could be just through regular curricular teaching and classroom interaction. With these two students, she had gone "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18), and each recognized her as someone who had provided them regular advice to navigate through the trials of adolescence.

When asked about her particular forms and practices of mentoring, Rachael confessed, "I don't know…that I am actually consciously aware of the things that I do." Rachel cited the case of one male student who was struggling with his sexual orientation, who sought her out even though she had never taught him. After graduation, she asked this student why he had come to her—was it because he also thought she was gay (which she is not). He said it was not that, but he "just sensed… a connection of some sort. I guess I'm always out in the hallways maybe."

Rachael's practice of frequenting the hallways and talking to students who are not even in her class may in fact be her most conscious form of practice. "I don't just want to know the students in my class. I want to know all of them." Rachael admitted she is very much a presence at her school, which she suggested, "I...put myself out

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there." She said she makes a "huge point of being out there," wandering the halls, talking to students. She will even sit in the student cafeteria during her lunch break and play cards with other students.

Rachael also believes that students come to her because they know of her background in social work, which makes students "feel comfortable about just coming to see me in general." She contrasts her own practice with what students are too often exposed to in a secondary school context: "I just don't approach them as the towering intrusive know-it-all adult, because I think that's what they are used to in the school system, somebody telling them what to do." She tends to "go in on the same level," and say to a student, "Here's what I see. Here's what I feel. This may be helpful." She calls this taking "the opposite approach," in that her approach is usually the opposite of what students expect.

Another practice Rachael has found to be helpful in building relationships with students is her habit of telling a lot of stories about her partner and home life, often in a humorous way. She reported that she will often "tell them funny stories" about her partner or her dog, or even use self-deprecating humour. She believes that when she uses humorous stories, students "see you as human" and then are better able to relate to her. In terms of humour, Rachael said, "I have to use that. That's my… shtick." In this respect, Rachael views humour as her way in: "I think that's how I make them feel comfortable. I'm sarcastic but not in a cruel way, and I poke fun at myself, which makes me seem more human." Sometimes she uses personal humour in discussion with students she is mentoring one-on-one, and sometimes she uses it to lay the groundwork for future approachability.

Another practice Rachael believes to be important in mentoring, and in working with students, is being aware of the "inflection in your voice." Noting that as someone who uses humour, she manages to set a tone where students "never see it as me picking on them simply because of the inflection of my voice." She confided that other teachers who deal with students often do not have the right inflection, and therefore can come "across as mean and nasty and cruel. And I don't think that people, teachers especially, understand how much the tone of their voice impacts what the students think." She coupled her attention to tone of voice with other elements that can indicate approachability, like "body language" or "facial expressions" and said "these things are key."

Finally, one of the practices that Rachael reported using, based on her previous experiences as a youth worker, is to tell students up front: "Don't take advantage of me." Rachael explained that one of the reasons she left youth work and a secondary school program targeting very at-risk students was that she felt the students let her down and took advantage of her. She felt that she put so much energy into the at-risk students only for them to not care, break her trust, or take advantage of her. This is one of her triggers, to the point where she told me a story of how a few students recently took advantage of her by walking out of the classroom. She went and found the students and "overreacted," which later turned into an apology on her part.

Rachael suggested that her mentoring is often shaped by certain contexts and working conditions, using her present school as evidence of her frustration. She has found that in a really strict school, teachers are not necessarily "apt to put yourself out there" and open up with students. Inversely, in a school that is "really open" where the rules are not enforced, teachers are liable to experience the "worst of the worst," which sometimes "shuts you down."

In the school Rachael is currently in, "the administration is so lackadaisical that I find I am less eager to be out in the halls, which upsets me because that is a big part of what I do." Here, she found that when "the kids are running the show," it "pushes her back" into her work spaces like classroom or prep office. And since one of her mentoring practices is walking through the halls during her prep and lunch periods, unfortunately the administrators' practice severely limits her mentoring.

Rachael believes that it is the administrators' responsibility to set the tone for mentoring to occur between teachers and students and that "They should be creating the environment for us to be able to mentor in. An environment that is safe yet respectful." She suggested that there needs to be "a decent mix of discipline and compassion and empathy" in order for mentoring to take place. She does not believe that it is the administration's "role to mentor necessarily," but that its role is to "pave the way for us to be able to do it."

For Rachael, when the administrators' are not fulfilling their duty to create an environment where students respect the staff, "it's impossible to mentor them." In schools where students can get away with behaviour that is not "consequenced," teachers then become frustrated and angry, and "compassion and empathy start to dissipate." Her own challenging school environment has prompted Rachael to change her focus from mentoring students outside the classroom, to mentoring them primarily inside the classroom. She believes that when the school has lost its ability to maintain order, then the "classroom become[s] even more important to you because that is your little realm. That's the area you have control over." Rachael observed it is ironic that if there is not a sense of order in a school, an order that lays the foundation for mentoring, then "you want it even more in the class." In a sense, she uses mentoring as a bargaining chip. She tells her students, "I can't do the mentoring and the little things and the intimate knowledge and conversations and the fun stuff if we don't have that environment" in the classroom. This might explain the fact that when students first see her, perhaps partly in hearing of her youth work experience, they perceive her as having a "tougher exterior," yet, as the year goes along, they begin to perceive her as "mellow" and "kind of soft."

Initially Rachael said she believed that mentors do not really learn to mentor, that "I think it's part of you...it's just something in you and I am not sure any of us do it consciously...that's just part of your own makeup. I don't think you can learn it." However, on second thought, Rachael added that she felt mentoring is based "on your own experience, in terms of education and courses," and that she learned a lot more about mentoring in social work than she did in the Faculty of Education

program or teaching. After further reflection, she added, "I think that's a mistake. I think a lot of that needs to be embedded into teacher education."

Through Rachael's previous social work practice, she completed workshops on self-harm, suicidal tendencies, triggers, body language, and voice inflection. In the Faculty of Education, she reported, she did not learn any of these formal elements that she learned in youth work. In the Faculty of Education, she "learned curriculum, learned how to mark." She suggested it should be up to teachers to "step out of the box" and take courses at a community college on such topics. She found the community college full-day workshops that she took on her own initiative to be personally important. These workshops included "working with native students" and dealing with students who have "mental health issues," issues that were not covered in the Faculty of Education or as professional development courses at her school board. When commenting on the discrepancy between the type of education aspiring teachers need and the type of education aspiring teachers received within a Faculty of Education, Rachael said, "I think that's what people need to do...I don't think you're going to learn that at teachers college."

Rachael believes that the best way to improve one's mentoring practice is through experience; first of all, that reflecting on your own life issues and struggles "gives you empathy." But then it is also the experience that comes with every year a teacher works with students. Sometimes, teachers have to "stop" and admit when a mentoring situation has not gone particularly well, and that after such an experience, a teacher should "try something else next time." In some cases, when mentoring has failed, she believes that a teacher might just "blame the kids" in terms of their intelligence, that the "kid just doesn't get it," or in terms of the student's moral fiber, "just doesn't care." In her experience, "Adults are not as open to change themselves and [tend not to] admit their wrongs." Rachael tries to be self-reflective and noted that based on self-reflection, she has "apologized to kids a million times."

ANNIE: A VIEW FROM STUDENT SUCCESS

Annie's interview was supplemented with emails that she received from students over the years. This provided some rich context and evidence for specifically how she mentors students.

Annie believes that one of the big differences between teaching and mentoring is that "mentoring is a process that continues long after teaching ends." She observed that while students were in a teacher's class, the teacher is helping them "through curriculum connected materials. But mentoring may or may not involve classroom work at all." Mentoring may involve issues that students are dealing with in their "academic career," as well as personal issues like family, friends, and "teenage life in general." This mentoring often begins with "teenage life," but then becomes a mode of continuity that extends far beyond secondary school graduation. She calls this a "continued momentum" that exists "long after they graduate."

One example of mentoring students beyond secondary school that Annie shared with me is the story of a particular student who wanted her assistance in acceptance to medical school. This student emailed Annie to request a strong reference letter from her. Annie wrote back saying, "I can speak to what you did in high school as well as your character," but then went on to discuss with the former student exactly what type of information would be best to impress the recruiters. She indicated that this student needed to provide "information about committees/courses/interests" to her if she was going to create the strongest letter possible. Annie helped this student to understand just what information was important, and then the student was able, through email correspondence, to make the connection between "all that I have done, the person I am, and why I'd be a great MD candidate or doctor." Eventually, this student was accepted into a medical school program in the Caribbean, and through the move, the transition to studying in another country, and the demands of first year medical school, Annie has maintained this mentoring relationship via regular email contact.

Annie finds value in mentoring, conceding, "It can be emotionally exhausting," but nevertheless "it is very important." She does not believe that mentoring in any way diminishes the role that teachers play "in the classroom, teaching our classes, hoping that kids will learn." But in thinking beyond the classroom, she added, "I don't think we can ignore or devalue how we support them in other ways." In essence, all of a teacher's activities with students are important, and she is "not saying that the mentoring aspect is more important than the curriculum." However, she suggested that "at the end of the day, if a Shakespeare lesson has failed, maybe I have actually helped the student with a personal matter in their life, which to me becomes more meaningful."

Annie has discovered that with students, mentoring "changes their behaviour. It changes their attitude." She believes that it is through this understanding and empathy that students who "don't mind being in the classroom. They feel encouraged." Therefore, in terms of value, mentoring helps students, but it also stimulates further engagement and participation in the classroom.

Annie believes that her mentoring has had great value for grade twelve students who were feeling burnt-out and under enormous stress. Annie described one grade twelve student from a school where she previously taught who sought her out for help regarding her grade twelve novel choices. Annie knew this student so well that she was able to take into consideration her schedule, personal stress, ability to handle stress, and provided her with the following answer to her query:

For your personal reading style, I highly recommend in this order – 1. The Chrysalids 2. Ella Minnow Pea or 3. Feed. These are 3 great top picks for you. They are interesting to read, and a good length, considering the course load you are sure to get this semester. Your timetable sounds like you've got some challenging courses this year. You've got great work habits and spares, so you will surely be successful.

As Annie demonstrated, she continued an ongoing relationship with this student well past the time she was in Annie's class. Annie knew this student so well, including her stress level, home life, and even her spares, that she was able to provide ongoing support beyond the scope of her own class.

Another grade twelve student emailed Annie to say, "Ms. [X], I feel so stressed out …seems like all the teachers are rooting for our failure." Annie responded by saying, "I'm sorry to hear that you're feeling stressed out. That's not a good start. I hope you're feeling better, as the week is winding down. I'm sure no one wants you to fail, perhaps grade 12 courses just feel very overwhelming right now. It will get better, I promise."

Some students have come back to Annie years later to thank her when they thought they would not be able to graduate. She also saw that there are those senior students who might not get a university acceptance, but at least move from a fifty to a sixty and are appreciating their own "progress and growth."

There are several practices that Annie reported using with her students. For one, Annie likes to talk to other teachers about particular students, almost as a form of background research, in order to compare each student's behaviour in particular settings. She said that through these conversations, she has often discovered that a student's behaviour can "shift dramatically" in different classes or contexts, while, in other cases, sometimes behaviour is consistent and sustained across multiple contexts. She suggested this is particularly important "if this is my first experience with them and I don't know what their home life is like." She talked about one student who was not performing particularly well in an academic course, but was "so creative in yearbook." Thus, mentoring practices change depending on the context that the students and teachers are in: "the mentoring changes: the student is no longer one-dimensional to you." Collaboration is very important to Annie as it helps her to see students in a multidimensional way, and perhaps to understand that a student's need might be multidimensional as well.

In understanding students, a mentor must determine which students respond best to an organized structure, and which respond better to a more informal mentoring practice. For instance, one student Annie described needed to establish a formal date and time for when the next mentoring session would occur, while other students prefer to simply drop by. Within a more formalized structure, Annie will "track their progress" and enable them to "track their [own] progress." She reported having one student in particular "write down his goals and what it was he wanted to accomplish in life." Then Annie would set a time with him to "reassess and re-evaluate what you have accomplished." This began in high school, yet continued long after graduation. Annie noted that there are some students who are "goal-oriented" in what they want from a mentor, and Annie can facilitate such a process.

Annie provided another example of a goal-oriented student as one she had mentored throughout secondary school, and then throughout university. Annie was able to help this student with advice and goal-setting, and was able to provide a continued listening ear when it came to considering options, as the following email reveals:

I made it to Teacher's College! Although I am excited to know that I now have the opportunity, I am in a bit of a dilemma. I wanted to have a discussion with you to see what your suggestions/recommendations would be. I just found out this morning and you were the first person I thought of. Do you think we can arrange another coffee date sometime?

Several students Annie was mentoring with respect to social problems also had a flair for creative writing. Annie encouraged them, even past graduation, to share their writing. This not only gave her an opportunity to offer suggestions on writing style and content, but provided students with the opportunity to find productive outlets through which to channel their energy. Through creative writing, academic and social needs can be fused into a specific mentoring practice that benefits both areas. In this connection, Annie told me of one former student who had a particularly toxic home life, to the point where she was hospitalized after graduation. Annie maintained contact with her and eventually was able to guide her not only through the constant crisis that was her home, but also to help her celebrate her academic goal of being admitted to university: "Hey, Ms…I finally got my offer from [university], it came on Friday! :D"

Another practice inherent to her mentoring work is something Annie calls "verbal sparring." This is based on Annie's insight that not all mentoring takes place in the context of social problems or life goals. Sometimes students have a real need outside the classroom to "just debate things with you." Annie has found for some students "that is a need." She elaborated:

> What is oftentimes overlooked is the fact there are students that want to connect with teachers on an intellectual or equal level, where they just want to have conversations, discussions, debates. They want to feel that they are already in university and they want to test some of their ideas and theories.

Such students may feel that "they can be more themselves with the one-on-one conversation," and in this context "want to be the teacher and want to have you look at things from other angles." In some cases, this may stem from a desire to prove that the teacher does not know everything, and to impress the teacher by saying "look what I came up with."

Annie saw this "verbal sparring" need in students who "stop by and see you every single day" yet do not "actually need emotional support." They did not need what mentoring often purports to offer, which is support for "neediness, in terms of emotional growth." Annie noted that a lot of students want to "consider that teacher like one of their friends," a friendship that might not exist in the more formal boundaries of the classroom. It is in this relationship that students want to see teachers in a setting removed from tests and assignments, and "know they're genuinely interested in conversing with and spending time with" them. She said that teachers sometimes do not realize this need "because we are so inundated with other things that we tend to gravitate towards the kids who need the emotional support."

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In terms of identifying students for potential mentoring, for the most part, Annie suggested, "I let the kids come to me" rather than approaching a student and saying, "You look like you need a big brother or big sister." Sometimes she even directs them to other areas where she thinks they could be successful. "And sometimes, mentoring might be as simple as saying, 'You know what, I think you should join the yearbook committee because I think that would support you.'"

Annie reported experiencing several challenges in mentoring students. The first involved the use of social media to maintain contact with students. She said that once students graduate, she is not averse to confirming some of them on her Facebook account. For a while, many of the students she had previously mentored began to find this was a quick and easy way to ask Annie for advice on a range of topics. While none of the posts made Annie feel uneasy, the volume of questions coming to her through Facebook, as well as their sometimes trivial nature, made her feel that social media was not an appropriate tool for her when it came to mentoring former students. Consequently, she made it a personal policy that her mentoring of students would, except in very limited situations, take place in person. She said, "It's interesting how a face-to-face conversation verses a Facebook chat changes that dynamic." She feels strongly that "my mentoring is not online mentoring" and tells students, "If you are going to make the effort to come in and see me, I will make the effort to support you. This does not mean that I do not want to help. It just means there are parameters to how I want to structure this." This way, mentoring for her "can be more immediate and not misinterpreted."

Another challenge for Annie has been finding the necessary time and energy to mentor. She described that often a student, past or present, will drop by and want help, but in the regular course of the day, she has class commitments that prevent her from being able to offer an immediate response. Sometimes there are students she cannot help because she is either teaching a class or on her way to a class. Often, in these cases, she will have them sit outside her class, or sit in the class that she is teaching "just to have a place and a space." She reported that one student in particular used to drop by and sit in her class even when he was not enrolled in her class. She knew, "He was a good kid," but could also be "volatile," and by allowing him to sit in her class for seventy-five minutes, she knew this would prevent him from having a particularly bad night at home, and may even prevent him from ending up "at the police station that night."

Annie noted that some students who need social support can sometimes be mentored by her not through social media, but through email correspondence. This form of communication provides her with the time she needs to show that she cares, without the demands of having to schedule a formal visit. For example, one student sent her the following email: "i [sic]woke up to cops in my house 3 days after school ended 'cause my mom thought it was time for me to move AGAIN, so now I'm safe and im [sic]at my dads [sic]." Among other comments, Annie was able to say, "I'm really glad that you are now safe."

A further challenge in terms of time and energy for Annie is caused by students who need extra help in writing essays while in university. They contact her, asking for academic assistance. She has to say to such students that this "crosses a line, it crosses a line in the sense it is time-consuming for me to edit twenty essays from twenty kids." Therefore, her resolution for those wanting academic help post-secondary school is that "once I tell the student what I am able to do and not do, they're very understanding."

Annie has also seen challenges to her mentoring practices in terms of the conflicts she has had with other colleagues. The fact that she allows students to sit outside her classroom or in her classroom has garnered her reputation that "Miss [X] is so soft." However, Annie said that with those students, "I try to make my best professional decision that I can."

Annie described that another challenge occurs when she is drawn into a situation that a student would be best to resolve him or herself. She told me of three students in particular who were friends, but would have disagreements and attempted to "pull [her] into the drama," particularly when these students were capable of working through problems. "[T]hose conflicts need to be resolved with them." There are times when Annie believes it is appropriate to mediate. However, sometimes, mentoring occurs when Annie is able to step away and let the students try to figure it out on their own.

Annie confided another challenge to her mentoring occurred in the past through an incident in which a student crossed her professional boundaries. A male student would drop by Annie's classroom the semester after he was no longer in her class when he was still a student at the school. On these occasions, he would sometimes give her gifts, which seemed innocent enough because it was at times like Christmas when other students would occasionally give gifts too. However, one time, during summer vacation, the student came to her home. He misunderstood Annie's support for him and believed "that supporting him could allow us to transition into a relationship."

A negative incident, such as the one Annie described above, could unfortunately make a teacher want to withdraw from any future mentoring practice. She said, "To be honest with you, when I had this situation happen with the male student, I kind of shut down. I didn't want to allow any students in my classroom over lunch hour." She figured that since this male student was emotionally unstable and making poor judgments about her, "What if I put myself in another situation that could have a student think the wrong thing." As well, this scenario demonstrates that a teacher may break a trust with a student if need be by contacting the administration or even the police if necessary.

This incident made Annie fearful of mentoring any students for a while, but then she realized that she could still mentor students—she just needed certain practices in place. "I realized first and foremost every single situation needs to be documented." She reflected that "no matter how good a teacher you are, you've just got to be very, very careful." Consequently, she now documents her mentoring interactions in two

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ways, formal and informal. When a student comes to visit her, she often writes down when the meeting took place and what was discussed in the meeting, especially with a student who is under the age of eighteen. This is her formal documentation. Informal documentation will often occur when Annie meets with students who have graduated, and involves Annie telling a close friend or family member where she is: "I always tell someone where I am, who I am with." She noted that not only does this protect her from a safety point of view, but also that secondary school teachers are "subject to a different panel of judges" and always have to be "very mindful of what others may think."

Documentation during the mentoring process with her students has become an important safety mechanism for Annie. For example, in the case of one student who was visiting her frequently, Annie "had concerns as to why he was visiting me." Consequently, she began to document the number of times he had come in to see her, as well at the time of day this young man was visiting. Ultimately, this student was arrested for stealing from the school. The administration actually approached Annie about how often he had seen her after school, the dates that he had visited her. The suspicion was that he was not actually being mentored by her, but that he was using mentoring as a reason to stay after school so that he could perform criminal acts and avoid suspicion. In light of such potential dangers, Annie had to reconsider her own conditions for mentoring students. In essence, it became about "creating those lines and in many cases re-creating them."

An established line for Annie when mentoring graduated students is "we're not going to be hanging out on the weekend." She might meet a student seeking advice from time to time in a coffee shop, but if the relationship has no mentoring component to it, then she would not continue to meet with that student. Students will often invite her to personal events like birthday parties or gatherings, and Annie tells them "I can't." Annie suggested that this professional distance is something of which students sometimes "need to be reminded."

Annie recognized that while students may develop friendships with their university professors, and in very rare cases, years later, may become friends with former secondary school teachers, for her, definite lines are required. As people whose positions require them to care for minors, teachers need to preserve the integrity of all interactions with students, both present and former.

Annie also related that after her experience of the male student who came to her house, she decided that referrals would also be a large part of her practice. Recognizing that some students are emotionally unstable has allowed her to think carefully about whom she can help: "instead of trying to save someone that we are not able to deal with, you should just move them on to the appropriate resources and let them know that is someone who is more equipped." Annie confided that she believes most teachers are "not good at that." As professionals who want to be proactive in solving problems and help young people, "We are not good at pawning our work off on someone else."

Annie said that there are several ways teachers learn how to mentor students. As one of the younger members of her own family of origin, she always had "informal

mentors." These would be older brothers, older cousins, both male and female, and other family connections that "helped me get through life." As an adult, she reflected that since she always had "someone taking care of me," it was "important for me to give back in the same kind of capacity...caring, nurturing, mothering."

Annie also noted having participated in some formal mentoring programs. One such program was in a university where she was working with other students "giving advice and offering support." Within her board, she had often mentored younger teachers as part of a formal mentoring program that pairs experienced teachers with those in their first few years. Through such formal training she had attended "a lot of workshops" where they discussed "different methods of mentoring." This process, especially as a teacher mentoring another teacher, can "help you to re-evaluate your teaching processes through conversations and interactions" with mentees, so that the benefits of mentoring also aid the mentor.

Annie believes that teachers could improve their practice by reflecting on different contexts and discussing such situations with colleagues. For example, she said that teachers had to be aware of the differences between mentoring a "junior student verses a senior student," because the approach "may vary because the situations may not always be the same."

LEARNING FROM TEACHERS WHO MENTOR

Teachers defined mentoring primarily as a practice that was different from, but connected to, teaching. For most participants, teaching was what happened within the formal class structure, while mentoring was that which took place outside of the regularly scheduled class. Some teachers mentioned that some mentoring activity could happen inside the regularly scheduled class inadvertently, such a role modeling, or having students learn from their teachers how to act in a social setting. As Haley stated, teachers can make connections with students within the regularly scheduled class, yet most teachers consider mentoring as an "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) effort that happens after the class has finished. Anton mentioned that great teachers can often mentor and teach at the same time.

Nevertheless, although teachers differentiated mentoring as an activity that happened outside the regularly scheduled class, the importance of what occurs in the regularly scheduled class is vital to mentoring. For Maggie, curricular choice is often important in nudging students to seek help. For Haley, the appearance of a classroom, including the presence of pictures, is an important way to set a tone of care, empathy and response. Rachael noted that using humour and tone of voice can create an atmosphere where students feel more comfortable approaching teachers. For Anton, mentoring sometimes entails discussing events that have occurred within the regularly scheduled class. In other words, teaching can lead to mentoring, and, as a result, each can be a vehicle for improving quality of the other.

Teachers also discussed the duration of mentoring as a way to distinguish it from teaching. For example, some teachers continued to mentor a student for the

remainder of the school year, even when that student was not in the teacher's class any more. Some teachers mentor students for the duration of their secondary years, sometimes from grade nine until grade twelve. Annie even demonstrated that she has mentored students well beyond their secondary years.

Thus, the context for most teachers who mentor students is usually one-on-one meetings, after class or school. The mentoring is rarely initiated by the teacher, but often occurs as a consequence of the classroom environment making a student feel comfortable dropping by after school. However, Haley mentioned that because the cultural background of many of her students restricts them from discussing romantic relationships at home, she often finds couples seeking her after school for mentoring.

Mentoring does not always have to take place within the confines of a classroom. Both Rachael and Anton said they often mentor in hallways or lunchrooms, while Annie noted that some of her mentoring can occur in coffee shops with graduated, adult students.

Clubs and teams sometimes provide a forum where teachers mentor students. This might mean, as in the case of Maggie, developing certain skills required to lead a student council. For others, it is in the context of team-building that students ask for advice about social issues possibly unrelated to the activity, as in the case of Haley.

The benefits of mentoring students are many. Students often have higher marks and engagement in school, and reduced truancy. This increased participation is also evident in areas outside the classroom like clubs and sports. Teachers also reported that students' stress levels tend to be reduced through ongoing mentoring with their teachers. Such stress is sometimes a consequence of family or friend issues, or sometimes a result of academic pressure. This de-stressing affects the overall climate of the school positively, as students are less apt to take out their problems on their friends when a teacher is willing to listen.

Teachers noted that students who are mentored by them often show increased confidence. This confidence is sometimes expressed in academic pursuits or subject area achievements. Such confidence even takes place during after school discussions where, as Annie noted, students may practice "verbal sparring" to demonstrate how much they have learned.

However, this confidence can also be expressed in their improved abilities to handle social issues, like problems at home. Confidence is implicit in Annie's description of a "continued momentum"—a benefit beyond the realm of high school that helps students be successful in their post-secondary school lives.

Anton suggested that when it comes to the benefits of mentoring, a change in a student cannot necessarily be directly attributed to his mentoring. The change may come from interaction with some other teacher, with someone outside of the school system like a parent or brother, or perhaps students changed without consideration of any specific adult prompts. Similarly, not all time spent mentoring students is valuable. In fact, Annie noted how one of her students used the mentoring relationship as an alibi for committing various criminal acts after school.

The benefits of mentoring seem to also suggest a co-learning or co-mentoring between teachers and students. For example, as Anton talked about being intrigued by the differences among students and families, his students were, in essence, co-mentoring him in how to approach them. As well, his insistence on forming a group to explore cultural differences shows that he is as open to being mentored by them as he is in mentoring them.

The mentoring methods employed by teachers are varied. Writing is a practice employed in mentoring by some teachers. For Maggie, this was used through encouraging Rena's written reflections on her home life, while for Annie, it was used with students who already had a penchant for creative writing. Haley uses writing in class as a pretext for encouraging students to look inward to discover issues to be discussed later. Along with writing, literature can also be used in the mentoring process. This literature can be specifically chosen class texts, or it can be in the form of self-help books.

Mentoring can be social or academic or a combination of the two. For some teachers, mentoring can be a precursor to learning, suggesting that regular classroom activities would be impossible for specific students if a mentoring relationship did not precede them. Such academic or social mentoring is usually informal. However, Anton has led a formal mentoring program in his school, while Annie often lets her students choose whether the mentoring will be highly structured or will occur on a drop-in basis.

Sometimes the classroom is a tool to help students who need to be in a place of belonging. Maggie used her space for a student feeling insecure about sitting in the lunchroom. Annie uses her space even when teaching other classes, sometimes to the chagrin of her colleagues.

Many teachers said that their mentoring practice has often prompted them to leave their classroom. In Rachael's case, she walks the halls and often sits in the lunchroom looking for opportunities to help students. Anton also suggested that a safe place to discuss issues that happen between students in a class is the lunchroom or hallways.

Most teachers practice a form of situation recall where students describe a challenging life incident, and the teacher will discuss the situation component by component. This might be a situation that happened in class, like the physical conflict that Anton described. It could also be a situation that happened outside of school, as in the case of Maggie and Rena. It could even be a family crisis written down and discussed at length as in the case of Maggie and Rena.

Sharing experiences is a technique often used in mentoring students. For example, Annie connects with students by relating experiences of her own academic stress, or stories about her own frustration with other people, to demonstrate how to navigate life in a way that is healthy. Along with serious stories, Rachael often uses humorous anecdotes with students to prove a point or to help her seem more approachable. Such stories demonstrate that emotion is important in the mentoring process. Such emotion is conveyed by the tone of

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voice, the facial expressions and body language used by teachers, as well by their as energy, empathy, and caring.

Some teachers talked about being mindful of direct confrontation while mentoring. Anton metaphorically suggested approaching students from the side instead of straight on. Haley discussed mentoring "out of the corner of the eye or ear," waiting for the right time to approach a student. However, most teachers stated that there are times to confront students. Anton revealed that a student who was part of a formal mentoring program had to be told directly that her behaviour was preventing her from success. Rachael also lamented that students may take advantage of teachers who are mentors, and therefore they sometimes need to be confronted.

For most teachers, collaborating with colleagues is very important. Sometimes this means that teachers have to refer students to more qualified others if the challenge is beyond their scope of ability. However, as in Maggie's case, sometimes mentoring means trying to learn from other colleagues and implementing their suggestions. Conversely, sometimes colleagues can actually be a barrier to mentoring. Annie mentioned that she sometimes experienced friction with colleagues over her practices with particular students. Similarly, Rachael noted that mentoring can be impossible if the school environment is not monitored by the administration.

Some teachers reported that the metaphor used to describe them is important to the mentoring process. For example, students sometimes viewed Haley as a mother or substitute parent. Anton suggested that sometimes a student needs to see their teacher as a friend in order to discuss issues that need resolution.

Teachers learn to mentor through a variety of avenues. Some, like Maggie, Anton and Annie, reflected on the mentoring that they had specifically received from family members during their own formative years. Haley spoke of how her challenges with her own children has helped to prepare her for what to say and when to say it. Self-reflection plays a significant role for teachers who mentor. For instance, Anton will often think about his mentoring of a student on the way home, and question whether or not he could have done something different. Both Annie and Anton reported that reflecting with other colleagues is an important learning tool.

In terms of other colleagues, teachers often mentioned that they watch or listen to their colleagues while they were mentoring other students. In doing so, they are able to discover phrases or ways of approaching students that might work in their own mentoring practice.

Some teachers believe that professional development days could be helpful in improving their mentoring. Maggie suggested that there is not enough professional development on issues that often affect students in need of mentoring, like mental health. Rachael mentioned that teachers can learn to mentor through taking extra courses beyond additional qualifications. She proposed that community college courses on a range of issues can help teachers better understand their students. Similarly, Rachael found that knowledge from former career paths can be helpful to those now working in a school.

Two teachers specifically stated that perhaps part of mentoring is not necessarily learned. Rachael said that she is often unaware of what she does that draws students to her. Maggie also reported that her regular course of teaching draws students to her for reasons that she cannot necessarily explain. Thus, it is possible that some aspects of mentoring may be unconscious. Anton even suggested that some teachers mentor negatively, unaware that their actions might produce negative behaviour in students.

Most teachers recognized that a teacher's gender matters when it comes to mentoring students. In some instances, where a female was mentoring a male, lines were crossed by the student and the mentoring relationship was terminated. Haley recognized that each gender tends to ask for mentoring in different ways. Anton admitted that he really struggles with opposite gender mentoring and therefore usually refers female students to female colleagues.

Teachers posited that ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds need to be considered when mentoring students. Maggie stressed the importance of understanding how students who are outside the dominant cultural group feel, and how to respond to them in practical ways. Anton noted that culture can sometimes be a barrier to mentoring.

Another challenge teachers identified was the result of the judgment of other colleagues. Some of Annie's colleagues disapproved of her practices, while for Rachael, the school's administrators had become the barrier to mentoring students. Parents can sometimes be a barrier to mentoring as well. In Anton's experience, sometimes mentoring a student can cause a conflict within the home and create even more issues for a struggling student.

For Annie, social media can be a tool for keeping in touch with students. However, it can also present a challenge to mentoring. Social media outlets like Facebook can be overwhelming with the potential for inappropriate use. Having sufficient time and sustaining the necessary amount of energy were also identified as posing challenges to mentoring. Several teachers noted that students often need help when teachers have other commitments. In Annie's case, social media drained her energy with the sheer volume of well-meaning students who did not necessarily need mentoring.

Teacher interactions with students consistently showed that they were dedicated to the development of their students' intellectual and social development through daily classroom lessons and activities. Therefore, instruction, lesson planning, class discussions, and engaging students of all ability levels and challenges should never be discounted—the regular classroom role is an endless series of tasks and responsibilities that should be acknowledged as rigorous and valuable. Nevertheless, as seen through the stories of these five teachers, effective teaching in the twenty-first century often entails going well "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) classroom instruction for individual students who have particular needs, be they social, academic or a combination of the two. The importance of this effort was acknowledged by the teachers in this chapter in that they defined mentoring as different from teaching, and see enormous value in the practice. Such teachers suggested there were many forms and practices they considered while mentoring,

demonstrating that such a practice was, for the most part, conscious and purposeful. Mentoring was usually a learned behaviour, one that was shaped by various factors, including challenges that can sometimes interrupt the mentoring process. It was a practice that, upon reflection, teachers could constantly improve.

Through the contributions of these five teachers to this book, perhaps other teachers will be able to benefit in hearing from the responses of their colleagues as they share both similar and varying practices. As well, hearing from former students who have been mentored by their teachers could prove just as valuable.

CHAPTER 6

STRANGERS, FATHERS, AND FRIENDS

Exploring How Students Were Mentored by Their Teachers

Telemachus to Athena: "Oh Stranger," heedful Telamachus replied, "indeed I will. You've counseled me with so much kindness now, like a father to a son. I won't forget a word. But come, stay longer, keen as you are to sail, so you can bathe and rest and lift your spirits, then go back to your ship, delighted with a gift, a prize of honour, something rare and fine as a keepsake from myself. The kind of gift a host will give a stranger, friend to friend."

(Homer, Book 1, p. 87)

While the previous chapter discussed how teachers understand and enact mentoring, this chapter seeks to understand how students view the mentoring process. While it is true that teachers might reflect on their mentoring practice to consider what they have found to be helpful or problematic in mentoring students, students may, at times, have their own opinions of what is and is not effective in mentoring based on their own experiences as mentees. Therefore, this chapter will explore the stories, assumptions, and beliefs of mentored students several years after graduation.

One-on-one interviews with were conducted with former secondary school students who felt that they were mentored by a teacher while in secondary school. Students were chosen, first of all, because their portraits often suggested very different methods, approaches and mentoring processes. It is important to note that two of the students selected for this analysis were mentored by two of the teachers presented in the previous chapter. Tanvir was mentored by Annie, and Rena was mentored by Maggie.

These students were also chosen because they represented complexity within a seemingly homogeneous community. The pejorative term used to describe the community in which this school is situated is "Singhtown." This term mistakenly assumes that since the majority of students are of East Indian ancestry, they have the same cultural traditions, faith, viewpoints, and opinions. The participants selected for this book provided for rich diversity in that it included both male and female subjects, both lower and higher academic level students, with differing religious beliefs, from a range of socio-economic backgrounds, whose mentoring began earlier in secondary school for some and much later for others.

Students were asked five questions, each in a semi-structured format that allowed for follow-up questions to be asked based upon each individual response. In some cases, additional material was supplied by the student. For example, Mohammed had

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specific work that was entered into a contest that his teacher had worked on with him that he shared with me. Annie, a teacher from the previous chapter, supplied emails that demonstrated the type of relationship she continues with Tanvir several years after graduation.

Thus, this chapter is organized around four student experiences – Tanvir: Mentoring as Continued Momentum, including email correspondence he had with Annie; Amandip: Mentoring as Academic Awakening; Mohammed: Mentoring as Extracurricular Project, including a poem written in secondary school, email correspondence with me, and a recent poem with analysis; Rena: Mentoring as Conversation. Finally, a section entitled Learning from Students Who Were Mentored will highlight how, despite the fact that some mentoring experiences and insights were common among the participants, their mentoring process progressed through unique experiences, often shaped by the needs and personalities of the students, as well as the talents and resources of their teachers.

TANVIR: MENTORING AS CONTINUED MOMENTUM

Tanvir is a student who comes from an economically disadvantaged background, and grew up in an area exposed to moderate drug trafficking. He is the product of an arranged marriage, and his parents are general laborers, often working several jobs for low wages in order to support the family. As an avid sports fan, Tanvir has always seen his friends and their athletic involvement, both in and out of school, as a source of inspiration.

Tanvir told me that the difference between teaching and mentoring is that a teacher is responsible "more or less [to] teach a prescribed curriculum," while a mentor "gets involved in a student's life and provide[s] support." For Tanvir, a teacher is someone a student might see for extra help academically, while a mentor is someone a student might approach to say: "I'm having trouble with this aspect of my life. I'm really stressed out because of career aspirations or I don't think I'm doing as good as I should be in my grades or my courses."

The difference, academically, between the teacher and mentor, is that a student may go to a teacher for extra help in being successful in a particular aspect of the curriculum, like showing a student "the skills to write a better essay." However, a mentor is someone who takes a broader view of a student's struggles, "providing their own personal experiences on how to deal with things like time management or stress management." A teacher helps a student with academic skills, while a mentor helps students to develop "life skills."

Tanvir provided an example of the difference between teaching and mentoring through a Big Brother's program he was recently involved in. He spent the entire year with a student who could not read. His "teaching aspect" with this student was "teaching him how to read." However, his "mentoring aspect of the program was to help him develop life skills, to deal with situations like what to do if another student were to make fun of him, or what to do when he was feeling stressed out by an

assignment, or mad at his teacher, mad at his parents." His mentoring was to help the student "deal with" problems, understand "who to talk to" about his problems, and "how to effectively go on day-to-day."

Tanvir's introduction to Annie was in her grade nine lower academic stream class. It was in this class that Annie recognized that Tanvir's writing was beyond that of a lower academic stream class. She called Tanvir outside her class and told him he should be in the academic stream, but when he showed disinterest, she joked, "The only reason you are in [the lower academic level] is because you are too lazy to walk downstairs and get it changed." In some senses, her relationship with him in the beginning was that of a teacher/student, verses a teacher/mentor. He did not even really consider her a mentor for the next year. Indeed, he was having challenges in his life and friendship circle, being "ostracized from the group," but did not feel close enough with Annie to approach her yet. She did mentor him academically, helping him with issues of "time management" and "stress management," and because of her help and his increasing commitment to his studies, he finished grade nine with an eighty percent grade point average. This experience helped him to understand that if a student sets out with a particular "intention of failure" then "that's what's going to happen. You're not going to advance past that." Tanvir said that "from there, I took that advice."

However, there was a moment in grade nine when Annie challenged Tanvir on the friends that she thought were holding him back. After a law teacher presented in her class, Tanvir stayed behind to talk to her about where his life was headed. She asked, "Why are you hanging around them? You can't settle for mediocrity." The words that he remembered were "you got to pick a game." What she meant by this was that he was caught between two identities, one where he chose not to perform well and had a friendship circle that was also disengaged from school. His other identity was that he really did want to perform well, and showed enough potential to be in the higher academic stream.

With consistent help from Annie, Tanvir changed his identity from what it had been in the earlier grades. He explained to me that in his early high school years, part of his, and his friends', social identity was the "gangster facade." After his year with Annie, he changed "this preconceived notion of me" by starting to participate in his classes, which were now in the higher academic stream. Discussing his new motivation with me, he provided examples such as, "I have a chance to prove myself in my Civics class where our teacher would always ask us questions about the government and how things work and nobody would know the answer. But I would know." He therefore set out to prove that others may have "underestimated this guy" and from there, he worked hard at "proving everybody wrong the entire year."

Another issue he was having with a girlfriend, as well as his feeling increasingly alone, prompted Tanvir to feel like "life's never going to get beyond high school...I'm going to be stuck here for the next four years which are going to be awful." Not knowing where to turn, he remembered Annie and approached her saying, "I'm not doing so well. How would you deal with a situation like this?" It was at that moment that "the actual mentoring started."

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This mentoring eventually involved many discussions around Tanvir's choice of careers, which he had figured out by grade eleven: police officer. Tanvir confided one incident that Annie was particularly helpful with occurred during one of his co-op placements. During this placement, Tanvir had experienced "prolonged harassment," which he admitted, in the end, he did not "handle it the best way." After many days of his boss making comments about personal attributes such as his weight, Tanvir responded to his boss in a profane way, and had to leave the position because of it. Subsequently, he worried that as someone who wanted to be a future police officer, this incident would be held against him in the future. Tanvir spent "countless nights" worrying about this situation and whether or not it would affect his future chances at being a police officer. To him "being a police officer" was "the most important thing on this planet."

The co-op experience is one example of how Tanvir believed Annie helped him the most. He reported that from Annie, he learned: "Don't overreact to things." When they met, she would often provide a larger context for him to think within and advised him to not "lash out" at people in "the heat of the moment." Reflecting years after an incident, such as his co-op conflict, Tanvir observed: "They're little things that when you look back on them you'll say that was nothing." He said, "I took her advice…what may seem that it's the biggest crime ever to be committed in the world when it happens…you need to look at it from a future standpoint." As she knew that Tanvir wanted to become a police officer, she advised him that he had a "future" to "protect." Annie used herself as an example, and confessed, "I've been mad at students too, and I wanted to lash out." She advised Tanvir that in these moments of anger, when she could have responded negatively, instead she resolved, "Leave it be…instead of embarrassing the student in front of the entire class, maybe I'll talk to them after class, or maybe I'll give a phone call to their parents." As she compared her situation in a position of responsibility to his future position of responsibility, she helped him see that there is more at stake than just the "heat of the moment" conflict. Tanvir said [hearing about] "her personal experiences helped me develop further as a person much more than just teaching a curriculum." Reflecting further on this helped him to see that his own future career choice would entail more than just understanding "what qualifies as a crime and what doesn't." He began to understand that all of that "is useless if you don't have the actual human skills to deal with people on a day-to-day basis."

Therefore, through grade eleven, even though Tanvir was not in Annie's class, he would often visit Annie. He would discuss this co-op incident often with her, asking how to put it behind him. She helped him to realize that the recruiters were not necessarily going to look at a co-op placement from high school as a determinant of his suitability for a job position, and that he did not even need to put it on his resume. These conversations helped him to solidify the confidence he needed to once again apply for a program as a youth volunteer with local police officers to gain experience and insight into what his chosen career might entail.

Through his grade eleven year, Annie and Tanvir "would talk…if not every day, every week we would talk about how am I going to improve my goals." She provided him with a reference for the youth program, and he was "hired into that program."

The next year, Tanvir was once again in her class. Annie helped him navigate a variety of issues, including a stressful personal relationship, managing his time properly, and even, "How do I enjoy my own time to myself." These discussions often happened at the beginning of lunch for five or ten minutes. During these discussions, Annie would sometimes use personal stories to illustrate her point. Tanvir remembered that at one point, when he was not managing his time well, Annie "told me about a university experience where she felt overwhelmed, but had to make time for herself."

Even beyond secondary school, Annie continued to mentor Tanvir, advising him on his life choices and career options. When applying for a position with the local police department, Tanvir had once again felt anxious about his co-op experience. He was also feeling the stress of the "unknowns…who else is applying? Who's looking at the application? Are they pleased with the application? Are they pleased with the life experiences I've had?" He worried that some of the negative experiences from his past like his co-op placement might be discovered during the course of the extensive background checks that the police department is known for. Annie helped him talk through the unknowns and provided him a fresh perspective on his co-op experience. She advised him that he did not "have to look at it as a negative experience," that, in many ways, he could understand that experience as a turning point for him in learning how to handle conflict. He could reflect on it as, "I didn't know how to handle it at the time." Analyzing this unsuccessfully resolved conflict could provide him with perspective on future conflicts and how best to resolve them.

Annie also mentored Tanvir by prompting him to think metacognitively—that is, she made him try to understand how his behaviour could have a significant impact on the class's direction. She told him that he "was the X factor in class." She noted that if he misbehaved in class, the entire class would follow his lead. But she suggested that if he "was going to be a model student in the class, more or less, the entire class would follow suit."

Tanvir suggested that Annie's mentoring was important to him for several reasons, both personally and academically. First of all, even though, "I haven't been qualified as an at-risk individual," if Annie had not been there to mentor him, life might "have turned out the exact opposite for me, and this conversation might not have been taking place." Annie's mentoring often provided Tanvir with "a different perspective on life." This new perspective helped him to "manage stress properly" and not act "in the heat of the moment." Academically, he claims that if it were not for Annie, "I probably would have stayed in the [lower academic] classes and gone through the [community] college system as opposed to going to university [degree granting institution]." This new academic focus helped him in "not settling for mediocrity" and to not "put my success in somebody else's hands." A recent email

correspondence between Tanvir and Annie revealed the academic change Annie has made in his life:

> I was looking back on the impact you have had on my life, and I was thinking to myself that without you pushing me to go into a [higher] academic level English or providing support for me during grade 12. There are a lot of things that I would not be able to accomplish. So in short I don't know how I can make it up to you or repay you for all of your support, but I can start by saying thank you.

This mentoring even helped him to discover "how to work in groups" and "delegate the tasks." In group work, he would motivate those around him to achieve greater overall group marks by inspiring them to "find better words…Find the examples. Find the pictures. Whatever the case may be." And of course, beyond the academics, Annie continued to mentor him as he applied to the regional police department.

In terms of furthering the mentoring, Tanvir noted that his parents are "old school Punjabi traditional parents" who "were in an arranged marriage." It was in this light that Tanvir felt his parents could not really offer him advice on "relationship issues." When it came to other issues such as school, he also suggested that they had limited input because they were "general labourers" and had very little formal education.

During further discussion around Tanvir's family, he noted that his parents' poor financial position was never an issue raised with Annie. He would talk about other personal issues like conflicts or relationship problems. But he never talked about his family's financial state with her because "it was something I was ashamed of." He said that other students looked down on him because of the fact that he lived in a basement apartment, and he did not "want to be looked down upon…by the teacher as well." However, after their relationship extended beyond secondary school, he felt, "I would have no problem talking with her about anything like that."

Tanvir shared that he learned a few important values from Annie's mentoring of him. First of all, he is now able to make "calculated decisions," because he recognizes that what happens during a conflict "could have an impact ten years down the road." Decisions and behaviours need to be well-considered because they can "jeopardize what you have to do in the future." In fact, in an email correspondence with Annie, Tanvir mentioned that he steers clear of events at university and in adult life that may put him in compromising situations:

> Our Frosh week thing starts on the fourth, but I won't go to that, because that's an area where I don't have a reasonable amount of control with regards to what is going on around me, so I'd rather not go at all.

His newfound ability to reflect on what he wanted for his future was even evident in an email correspondence that Tanvir had with Annie regarding his not necessarily wanting to "carry anyone in university," an acknowledgement that sometimes his giftedness with others and his strong academic ability were used by others to the extent that it distracted him from his goals. Annie responded by emailing:

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I'm happy to hear that you have found a good, comfortable place for yourself this summer – metaphorically speaking. You always have good intentions and you can continue to help others of course, but just not at the expense of yourself and your goals…You have come along [sic] way and I'm very proud of you.

Another important value he learned from Annie is to not settle for mediocrity. Tanvir said why "aim for a seventy on a test when you can get a hundred." In one email to Annie he was excited to tell her that "I also achieved the Dean's List Honour Roll Award at university for my efforts in year 1."

Tanvir noted that what he learned from Annie, "I paid forward." He had thought about how fortunate he was, and how there are others who may not have had "the same opportunities that I have had." Through formal programs, and even sports teams, Tanvir noted that what he has learned from Annie has enabled him to tell others that "things may seem dark for a week, maybe two, maybe a few months. But believe me, if you keep barreling straight through all this you will get out of it." Tanvir stated in an email to Annie at least one of the ways he continues to serve others:

I organized a volunteer event for the end of June, and we raised 700 dollars and 700 pounds of food for the local women's shelter. We were featured in the [local newspaper], and the [local newspaper] used a piece I wrote and put it in the paper for the promotion of the event.

Tanvir believes that teachers can improve their mentoring by first of all "building a rapport" with their students. He observed that unfortunately "many [teachers] don't have that skill." Tanvir's rapport with Annie is reflected in an email correspondence with her in which he jokingly called her "friend," as he negotiated his newfound adulthood. She responded by saying "Lol. That's great. I guess this is symbolic of you being a graduate now and being able to use the term 'friend' with me."

Tanvir suggested that teachers are often hired "on the basis of what they have learned in school." He feels that what should be added to the curriculum or required for securing the position of a teacher is the ability to "use their life skills to aid students." Tanvir believes that in today's schools, teachers should develop relationships with students that "extend[s] the teacher/student boundaries." Tanvir reported that Annie "broke down the teacher/student barrier" when she first spoke with him about his influence in the class. It is through this type of continued conversation that teachers have the "ability to shape other people," their "attitudes and behaviours." Tanvir noted that a teacher can initiate this kind of rapport by identifying a skill in a student that is not necessarily academic, and then begin a conversation about these personal "skills and how they can effectively use it." In the process of developing life skills, a teacher can then share his or her own "personal experience" to help "shape a student's behaviour."

Tanvir also stated that gender does make a difference in mentoring, especially in the earlier grades. He observed that in middle and elementary schools, there

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tends to be a better "rapport" when, for example, male mentors are paired up with male mentees. He believes that this is often the case with younger students: "there's certainly a perceived notion that a girl can't really help a boy, or a boy can't help a girl." He suggested this was particularly true when mentors shared their experiences. For example, he noted that when his grade eight teacher discussed "smoking" or "drinking," "we all got the message hammered home." However, he felt that with girls, a male teacher sharing experiences might have offered "a bit of a disconnect."

It is Tanvir's belief that as students get older, they are better able to be mentored successfully by those who are not the same gender. He said that this gender barrier is eventually broken down because "as you get older, the mentoring doesn't really focus so much or so long on gender as it does the actual relationship." In fact, part of Tanvir's insight from the mentoring experience was that "she must have seen something in me that reminded her of herself," and "there are aspects of her that I see that I'm like too."

He admitted that for students from tougher neighborhoods plagued by problems, that it is often important, regardless of the age of the student, to choose mentors who have had similar experiences. He said "a student who is living with his mother, on his own in social housing, is not going to be able to relate to a teacher who is making eighty thousand dollars a year living in Vaughan or Richmond Hill [upper middle class area]."

AMANDIP: MENTORING AS ACADEMIC AWAKENING

Amandip explains the difference between teaching and mentoring as follows: that a student will remember a teacher who was a mentor if that person has "invested in you." This investment is not usually found through the normal course of a class, "sit down, say everything from the front. Ask questions. Maybe you go up to them after class and ask questions." This investment stems from the fact that mentors are "putting in their time" beyond the class structure.

Amandip provided examples of how, for the majority of his secondary experience, he was "a terrible student." In grade ten, he was even caught cheating on a final exam. His work ethic was such that he would "do everything last minute. I never really cared about the marks. You know, kind of like Wikipedia or something—just to put it in, and then I'd forget about it." This disengagement from school produced truancy issues as well. He said, "I skipped a lot too. I remember I used to have a lot of absences that first couple of years. I was late all the time." He did not see school as a vehicle for growth or personal development, but "something that was there to make my parents happy." He realized that for most of his secondary career, he was "going through the motions."

Amandip's mentor helped to change that. In grade twelve, he joined a formal mentoring program in the school led by one of his male teachers. At first, his attendance in the program was primarily about "the marks," as his teacher would help him edit papers he was submitting for class. But then he started to "hang out"

with this teacher and a group of peers almost every day after school. He found this after school time to be particularly important because "you start seeing the teacher as like a friend." Amandip saw that his teacher was now "in my world," which made him feel more "comfortable." He suggested that with a lot of students, "When they get bad grades they blame the teacher. But when you start feeling comfortable with someone, that kind of anxiety and anger goes away. You start listening to them."

It was in that comfortable setting that Amandip would often approach his teacher and discuss course texts. He felt that with his newfound interest in school, he "couldn't go to my friends and be like, 'Let's stop talking about hockey and start talking about [Orwell's] Nineteen Eight-Four.' I couldn't do that." Therefore, these discussions with his teacher about course texts and other topics, such as philosophy, made him excited about "this entirely new world." In these discussions, he felt someone was really listening to him for the first time in his academic career. It was through these discussions that he began to question, "Maybe I am smarter than I thought I was." The mix of the formal mentoring program and the informal after-school discussions produced the "courage to try something" new, whether a perspective or approach in his own academic work. He claimed that often, "In grade twelve, people get so afraid of bad marks; they find something that works and stick with it."

Thus, Amandip said mentoring is important because it "give[s] you the confidence to try anyway." From there, he started seeing his teacher as a "friend who occasionally marks." It was through this relationship that "I wanted to read, wanted to learn… it wasn't just I'm doing this, let's finish…it was I am going to get this philosophy book. Let me read it." He found that mentoring "makes learning not just about dusty books. It makes it alive in every aspect."

This new focus on learning, instead of the marks-only approach, actually helped Amandip to become one of the top students in his school. His grades "skyrocketed" to the point where, "I got the award for five out of six" courses that year, and he came close to winning the sixth. He remembered walking around at commencement with his five awards and having other students approach him saying, "I was in class with you in…grade nine. What did you do?"

This mentoring was also important to Amandip because it helped him to see beyond the confines of his own culture. He believed his own culture lived within a "bubble" where they often "have similar opinions" and in order to grow, he needed to get beyond "where you are comfortable."

Amandip provided an example, that within his ethnic community, gays and lesbians are "not really talked about." In fact, he suggested that in secondary school, he "thought they were weird. Something is wrong. Keep them away from me." And then he "started growing beyond that." The perspective, influenced by his mentor, helped him to "look at my religion differently." He said that it seemed hypocritical when, "My religion says to love everyone. So how could I be from this [religious] group and not love everyone?" This mentoring helped Amandip to break "out of this Indian cluster," which helped him to look at his culture from the outside to find elements within his "culture to inspire me."

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Amandip noted this mentoring was important in breaking out of the cultural bubble not just because of social issues like his perspectives on homosexuality, but also because of the pressure placed on Indian students by their parents to choose specific careers. His parents had wanted him to go to medical school. Because Amandip's parents grew up in India and were exposed to extreme poverty, they "are afraid something's going to happen" to their own children if they do not become doctors or lawyers. He said, they do not realize that in "Canada, by just living here, you're [by] default better off than everyone in India…They think if you're not making a lot of money here, it's going to be like India for you." Therefore, his parent's pressure made school "just about the marks." But the more he thought about it, the more he said, "Why does it matter if I am a doctor? I literally don't like it." His teacher's concentration on learning for learning's sake, not necessarily under the pressure of a job, helped him and others "find what they like," and he was then very surprised about his learning when he said "wait, I'm enjoying this."

Amandip claimed it was important for him to recognize the dialectic between parental authority versus teacher authority. There were "parents telling you to do something," but teachers were also "in this position of authority, and when they start telling you to do it for the learning, if you actually believe in it, you don't do it for marks anymore. You just want to learn. You just want to read and then you find out what you like." Amandip suggested that a teacher could provide the "confidence" to explore other options, other perspectives. He noted that a "teacher has the ability to counter parents, and that's not small. That's huge." When teachers mentor students, they have the ability to "counter parents to say, 'You know what? I think you would be happy with this.'" He believes that this was especially important in grade twelve where a mentor has the ability to turn "someone's life around."

Amandip's new focus on learning had him "thinking about…more important things. How you grew up to live. What kind of person you became…I started developing the whole philosophy for me." He was able to realize "you don't have to follow a set path in life like in the Indian culture. Grade eight. Then you are in high school. You're in university. Graduate school. Married. Kids. I don't have to follow that."

Amandip believes that teachers can improve their mentoring by understanding that students in secondary school "are going through a weird time." It is a time where they begin to get some autonomy from their parents in terms of being able to choose their own courses, and parents often provide more freedom. Students then feel a little more freedom, but are still somewhat living "in a tiny bubble," so that if teachers "can pop that bubble…you can change their life and you give them the gift of experiencing another world." He elaborated as follows: "parents grow up in one culture. They see things differently. Teachers, they grow up in a different one and see thing differently. And if a teacher mentors the student, it gives them a glimpse outside of an Indian family or an immigrant family." He suggested it is important for teachers to provide other perspectives besides the one a student is raised in.

Amandip realized that requires extra effort on the teacher's part. He noted that most "students do not like going up to teachers and talking. But if teachers approach them, you'll see they are completely different." Therefore, Amandip's strongest advice to teachers is not to wait for a student to come to you. Students, in their emerging maturity, feel uncomfortable trying to negotiate a good relationship with a teacher while maintaining status in their peer group. The us-versus-them mentality is a hard bridge to cross, and may involve the teacher taking the first step.

<center>MOHAMMED: MENTORING AS EXTRA-CURRICULAR PROJECT</center>

Mohammed explained that the difference between teaching and mentoring is that mentoring is "not something you can be paid for," unlike a teaching position. He elaborated that a teacher is paid to "push a student in a certain direction," while mentoring is knowing a student well enough to "pull" a student where "they want to go, to their direction." For Mohammed, teaching "is almost like an art, and when you capture that art, that is when you feel you have attained a status as mentor." In other words, he recognized that good teachers are by their very nature mentors, and that this mentoring develops through practice.

Mentoring is an activity that "goes beyond tests, beyond the curriculum, beyond what you are supposed to teach." In fact, Mohammed likens mentoring to "parenting," which he suggests can not necessarily be taught—"it's almost like a calling." Mohammed confessed that at one point, he even considered his mentor "in the same status as my grandfather" because he had "that elderly wisdom about himself." Mohammed believes the family metaphor is a good comparison to use since "you go to school five days a week, eight until three," which means that "You see your friends and teachers more than you see your blood family."

Mohammed also used the metaphor of a neighbor, which he borrowed from a familiar television show. This archetype, exemplified by a character in the show, defined mentoring for Mohammed in that he said the practice is like a "walk with that student wherever they want to go, and I think the reason why a lot of teachers don't want to go to that level is because there is no reward." Even though teachers receive a paycheque for their work, in mentoring there is no tangible, visible "self-reward." He also believes that any reward may be seen in "generations to come," or might only present itself "after you have gone from this world."

Mohammed was mentored by his male grade nine teacher. Throughout his junior high school career, Mohammed confessed, "I was an odd person...I was always like a to-myself kind of person. I didn't really like other people, or hanging out with other people." It was perhaps his apprehension with peers that resulted in bullying that became so intense that the students were ultimately suspended for their actions against Mohammed. Not being able to express himself to other people very well, Mohammed found that he was better able to express himself when writing poetry or rap music.

When he came to secondary school, he was quite anxious because "you always hear these horrible things about high school if you are bullied in the younger school." But after meeting the teacher who would become his mentor, he felt "somewhat connected to him." He found that the way his teacher communicated to his class, "really drew me in."

Mohammed's teacher then noticed that while the rest of the class would follow the silent reading instructions, Mohammed would often be writing. When his teacher asked him why he was not reading like the rest of students, Mohammed responded, "Why would you read when you can write." Rather than chastise Mohammed for not following class instructions, his teacher talked to him after class about being part of the school's "Writer's Guild." As a student who was not very sociable, Mohammed noted, "I'd never been part of any club...this was my first official club, and I really found myself in this club."

Knowing how much Mohammed liked to write and be creative, his teacher also mentored him with specific projects. For example, when he was supposed to present a Greek myth in front of the class, Mohammed performed it as a rap. After he presented it, his teacher "liked it so much that he wanted the music teacher to record it for me...over music." Mohammed noted that this discussion between his teacher and the music teacher was "never done in front of me, but I know he really tried his best to make the music teacher agree to it." Mohammed then presented his rap to the class.

He reflected that, looking back on it, the "rap makes me cringe. It's so horrible... but at the same time...he [the teacher] acted as if it was the most important thing, and considering his skill level." Mohammed suggested that "for him to be able to do that, to connect with a student...at the time, it was the most important thing and it was that moment that I guess broke me out of the shell." His teacher called his rapping ability "hypnotic," and from there, Mohammed used Hypnotic as his pen name whenever he would create raps. This pseudonym he often wrote under became "my character, my personality," even to the extent that the students who bullied him in elementary school, by the end of secondary school, "would come across the hall and say hi to me."

After working on class projects and clubs with Mohammed, his teacher presented him with an opportunity to submit a song to a contest. Again, Mohammed wrote a poem, about the necessity of knowledge, and his teacher said, "This has to be recorded. Why submit this as a written poem when you can submit this as a recorded rap?" Mohammed said that just like the in-class assignment, his teacher "advocated for me again, and I was able to record it over a longer beat, over a more professional beat." The music teacher then became excited over what Mohammed was creating, and "asked one of his students to record the chorus for me...so I had a professional chorus. I had a professional beat."

Mohammed then submitted his song to the contest, and ended up winning for the district and finished second in the entire province. His teacher then spoke to the

principal, and she played his song over the PA system for the entire school. He said that he "instantly became a popular person…a well-known person." But more than that, Mohammed felt that "Before then, I didn't really speak at all." But now, he had a voice and "started to embrace that voice."

The following was the poem/song that Mohammed created through his teacher's mentoring, entitled "The Necessity."

The Necessity

(Intro) Ayo, this one is for you to think about. Open your minds – it's a necessity. The more knowledge you have, the less you become trapped in your limited intellect.

(Verse 1) Yo check it, to be knowledgeable is something that's necessary,
and if you think it's scary to live out in the prairie
then you're wrong, you're on the contrary.
It's more scary if you have no knowledge 'cause it's like no blood in your veins,
you see, knowledge is that blood, pumping through our
brains.
You know Lil Wayne… but do you remember
De Champlain?
No doubt you feel good when you can answer any
questions, and if you're far from that, attend more class sessions –
go to college and get a profession; a knowledge digestion,
learn about the Great Depression so you'll have the
confession that your expression is happy 'cause knowledge you're
possessing.

They say experience is everything, and it is…
But before you can get there comes being able to pass a
quiz,
I have no high demands, and I ain't a gangster speaking
with my hands,
I never rap for fame, I rap so you understand… it's my
necessity.

(Chorus) What unfits a child to be a slave? (The Necessity)
Something necessary from cradle to the grave? (The Necessity)
Makes you feel different; changing the way you behave?
(The Necessity)
You have it and people will praise or rave? (Knowledge… the Necessity).

(Verse 2) There's this man, name is Frederick Douglass;
survived the black slavery with success,

---

and I guess, he was blessed 'cause when the stress
was over he said this to the press: Yes, yes, yes, yes,
knowledge unfits a child to be a slave.
That man made a mark on history 'cause what he said
was brave.
And so today, we take note to his words:
If you have a lot of knowledge, you ain't a nerd!
In fact it's necessary to have more knowledge in our
community, it gets you places so you can take advantage of this land
of opportunity.

The whole community will be a part of this unity,
and we'll have an active immunity towards stupidity.
But if we are not united in knowledge, then our children
will be part of the slavery. Knowledge in Canada is so free
given, open a textbook n guess what? Its already written.

(Chorus)

(Verse 3) But see in places like India or Africa,
Vattos in Mexico, or in Morocco,
my heart cries out for the homeless children,
children forced into labour, a crime that cannot be

forgiven. But see, the children don't know any better; they ain't
blessed with opportunities to knowledge,
they don't know about rights; the most they know are
rumours about college.

Knowledge doesn't only unfit, it unlocks too,
picture a slave child shackled, and it's true
his subdue knowledge has its own limits,
he's chained on his ankles and both his wrists.
There's a lock on the shackles, and it can opened,
all he needs is the key that can mend;

the key that won't pretend but
extend its intellect and befriend.
The key that will help him transcend the world beyond the
cell – no longer will the problems dwell in the rusted metal on
his wrists, because a new life somewhere out there exists.
All he needs is the key that will fit perfectly in the lock.
Guess what the key is? The Necessity; why ain't I shocked?

Mohammed's newfound desire to re-engage in school pursuits can be illustrated by the fact that Mohammed was chosen as his school's valedictorian. But Mohammed said that the "accomplishment really meant nothing if Mr. [X] wasn't there. And I asked special permission for him to be there. It was standing up in front of the school where, graduating with him, were the bullies who had once antagonized him that Mohammed said "at that point in my life, I knew who I was, who my voice was. I knew what I sounded like, and I knew university was going to be another experience for me, and I wanted to keep growing."

It was in university that he continued this love of song and poetry that was encouraged by his mentor. Previously, he had only thought about taking science, as that would lead him to a stable career. However, his mentoring experience directed him towards declaring poetry as his second major. One of Mohammed's emails was a pleasant reminder not only of his continued talent for writing, but also of his mentor's impact:

> Also, have I mentioned I applied for [his university's] Creative Writing course? Only 10 people are accepted. We had to submit portfolios of our work as an 'audition.' I was pitted against English Specialists and Majors. However, over the summer I was selected into the course! I'm very grateful for that opportunity to increase my creative skills. The required text for this course is The Elements of Style; I'm the only one with a 1959 copy, and even though we all have the same text, I feel I hold the most powerful book in the room because it has its own story to tell.

As students asked him about the unusual combination of a double major comprised of botany and poetry, he often smiled. The smiles were in fondness for the mentor in his life who inspired him, but also the knowledge that when he looks at the world of botany and science, he often sees it in poetic terms. Poetry, with its sense of structure can also be scientific. Mohammed's new sonnet, which took him two years to write, is evidence of this integration:

Sublimation of the Sublime

I wish to see wind below butterflies –
who flap that ardent air between the stars –
fill my lungs that when I breathe through my eyes,
I do not inhale a world that has scars.

Wined love sees zaffre fear, noir death sees pearl birth,
my lungs should inflate with each bright sunrise.
But we are in a frigid hell on earth;
we become our shadows as our sun dies.

> *We are at the zenith of sightlessness,*
> *blinded beings out of mind, out of sight.*
> *I saw a colourless rainbow Iris,*
> *seeing to an image of stagnant light.*
>
> *This world is still, yet butterflies still climb*
> *through the sublimation of the sublime.*

Mohammed provided a detailed analysis as to the meaning of the poem to me through Facebook, which demonstrated his enduring fascination with science and poetry:

> "Sublimation of the Sublime" is a poem about poetry and science. On the most basic level, science represents the "realistic" and poetry represents the "imagined." The suggestion is that there is a danger for us if our perspective of the world is only through the lens of one of these two representations. For example, if our perspective is only "realistically" based then it is as if our iris (rainbow -> the wide variety of colour of our eyes ->a distinguishing physical trait -> our personal identity) is colourless, and we are blind (the iris is receiving "stagnant light" -> i.e., they aren't receiving anything at all -> a paradox of being). If, on the other hand our perspective is driven only through the "imagined," then Iris (a Greek goddess, personified by the rainbow, who acts as a messenger between the gods) is almost robotically following her routine (she "sees to an image" -> sees to another message -> sees to her job -> also note "image" echoes imagined, imagination etc). The result is that she becomes colourless in doing so (a colourless rainbow -> a colourless 'herself' -> again, a paradox of being).
>
> This dichotomy between the imagined and the realistic is seen throughout – especially in quatrain 2 when you are presented with so many eloquent (or "ardent") colours at the beginning (wined = red, zaffre = blue, noir = black, pearl = white), and the quatrain ends with a grim image of all those colours just becoming a shadow (the colour of which the reader should understand isn't as eloquent as "noir," it is just a dull blackness. This is echoed with the word "frigid," which 'scientifically' means cold but symbolically, or 'poetically,' means dull or unimaginative). So how does this tie back to the metaphor of the butterfly flapping its wings? These two realms of science and poetry (and our understanding of the world through each) ARE the wings of the butterfly. a distinguishing physical trait -> our personal identity) is colourless, and we are blind (the iris is receiving "stagnant light" -> i.e., they aren't receiving anything at all -> a paradox of being). Sublimation is a scientific process (most common substance is dry ice -> which is carbon dioxide -> which is what we exhale ->

hint: what did the persona wish to see at the beginning?). The sublime in poetry represents something that has exalted beauty (but also is used in science jargon for a substance that could undergo sublimation -> i.e., dry ice is sublime). I will leave you to work out the whole dry ice image (sublimation) and how that corresponds to breathing in and out the wind from butterflies (sublime). [Hint: think back to being stuck "in a frigid hell" -> stuck in hell -> "in hell" -> echoes "inhale." Another hint: think back to image of a "pearl birth" -> pearls are white, so is dry ice -> pearls are born hidden, encapsulated in a clam -> recall image of breathing in and out -> the lungs 'encapsulate' dry ice and breathing in and out is a process of sublimation].

So, this is a very brief analysis of the poem.

In terms of how teachers can improve their mentoring, Mohammed noted that even though this book discusses non-at-risk students, first of all "any student who does not get mentored is at risk." He elaborated by asking me "how would you differentiate between [an] at-risk student and a student who might become at-risk?"

Mohammed explained that for teachers who want to learn to mentor, "It's really about empathy." He suggested it is not enough to just have sympathy, but mentors learn from a place of understanding the experience more intimately. Thus, because some teachers do not have children, "They don't know how they are giving a student a really rough time at school" and what it is like when "that student goes home." Teachers need to realize that "you have your students in the classroom, but those students exist out of the classroom." He also said that teachers need to reflect on their experiences. He shared a particularly painful account of when he came back from the hospital in grade twelve, how indifferent one of his teachers was. His teacher informed him that there was no way he could write the tests he had missed, and then questioned whether he even had the ability to perform well in the subject. Mohammed explained: "There's a hundred different ways you could have said that to me," which would have been more like his relationship with his mentor.

Mohammed suggested that in the end, no "amount of workshops...or teacher PD days...could teach you how to be a mentor." He then compared the notion of workshops to his mentor who had thirty-three years experience. It was this experience, and the empathy that comes from experience, that really informs a teacher how to mentor.

Mohammed believes that even though mentoring is part of a person's disposition, "it comes naturally." He said that teachers could "learn from other mentors." In some ways "you have to be mentored how to be a mentor."

RENA: MENTORING AS CONVERSATION

Rena, who was mentored by Maggie, differentiates teaching from mentoring by noting that a teacher performs a job in "just that classroom," whereas a mentor is

someone to see "after school if I need any advice." A teacher is someone who Rena can approach to say, "I need help with this work." But a mentor, "I can tell her my life problems. My everyday issues."

Rena was first mentored by Maggie when she "was having a little breakdown in school and I just needed to get out and just talk to somebody." She approached Maggie and said, "I have a problem...I don't know what to do...I'm confused and I am lost and I need help."

For Rena at the time, her home life was often tumultuous. She really felt that even though teenage conflicts with friends would usually get sorted out, her family issues "kind of dragged on, and kind of put mental stress on me." It was during these very stressful times at home that she often found the stress was compounded by the workload of "my tests, my quizzes." In fact, Rena said, "I actually feel that if I didn't go to her at the time I did—I was really stressed—I don't know what I would have done." In previous years, Rena did document some of her at-risk behaviour in a journal entry she had made in elementary school. She even "hurt herself" back then. In future years, Rena relocated from the Catholic school system to the public school system, and this at-risk behaviour was not necessarily identified within her new board. She believes that if Maggie had not been there as a mentor in high school, she probably would have returned to forms of self-harm.

When Rena first approached Maggie for mentoring, she asked Maggie if she would have to report her to the office like in her previous school. Maggie assured her that if Rena's safety was at all threatened, she would have to report it. As it was, after listening for a little while, Maggie assured Rena she would not have to report their conversation to guidance or the administration. Rena may have felt her trust had been broken in the past, and was at least hesitant when it came to discussing her life with Maggie.

Rena liked the fact that with Maggie, she "didn't need an invitation to go to her." She would just show up at Maggie's classroom and say "we just need to talk." When asked if she had ever been part of any formalized programs, as opposed to the openness of being able to drop in without an appointment, Rena admitted that she had been earlier in her life after a teacher in her previous school read her journal. However, she felt that with a counsellor, she did not "want to keep going through the same thing, the same conversation with someone new." Maggie, therefore, was an adult who provided stability and continuity where, with counsellor, there had often been turnover. As well, when she would get "called down" to speak to a counsellor, "I wouldn't want to go there...I would not really actually tell her my problems." The pressure of a forced conversation and perhaps the lack of a naturally formed relationship prevented her from possibly acquiring the type of advice she needed.

One of the ways that Rena was mentored by Maggie was that her teacher understood that Rena often "used to write in a diary." Maggie encouraged Rena when situations became tense at home to "write it down." It was through this strategy that Rena felt that even though Maggie was sometimes not there in person to help her, "She would always be there in a way." She claimed that whenever she

was "depressed or wanting to do something, this would be a better option." Then Rena would drop off her notes the next day or in the middle of class, and they would talk through her experiences at lunch or after school.

As Maggie is a department head, her extra responsibilities, meetings and obligations often require her to be less available than other teachers, so Rena said that Maggie always "made sure" there were other teachers who could be "backup plans for me just in case she wasn't free."

She found that Maggie's style of classroom interaction was very different than other teachers she had experienced. She claimed that "She isn't teaching." Rather, "she's having a conversation." With this conversational tone, she found that Maggie was not only there to talk about her problems. She said, "I'd talk about my friends. I'd talk about shopping with her. I'd talk about what kind of computer I want...I tell her everything." She claimed that she would talk about "random" events in her life like she was "telling a friend." And after talking about more superficial elements in her life, such as "how I'm going to do my room," "then I'll talk about my problems with her." She found that these seemingly smaller life details and her problems would "interconnect in a way" with larger problems in her life.

These conversations that would happen outside of class, and continued to happen the next year when Rena was not Maggie's student anymore, did not just focus around her problems at home. Eventually, Rena was comfortable in coming to Maggie for career advice. She would ask her advice about what college to go to and what programs should she apply for. They talked about what Rena should do about her "future education," and they discussed going to specific colleges because they were known for training programs. Maggie also may have hinted that going to a college "close by" would be a great option for her in that, as someone who has struggled to handle pressures at times, it would be "less stress." Rena noted that one of the major life lessons she learned from Maggie was to "realize that I will always have problems in life." She knew that even in those times where she might "feel like I have nobody," there were still people around who can and will support her if she was willing to look for them. Rena's expectations for what she could achieve in school also dramatically improved. Rena explained: "Normally my expectations for myself, for any classes is probably like fifty-five to sixty range." Maggie's mentoring helped Rena's "confidence just build up" to the point where she was achieving well into the seventies.

The confidence that Rena found through her after-school discussions with Maggie, as well as her improvement on assignments, helped her to develop other skills as well. For instance, she was always "nervous to read" in front of the class. But by the end of her semester with Maggie, she was "eager to read in front of the class...I can read this book!" She even noticed that if someone provided her a topic to discuss in front of class, she could "actually have a conversation," and when she felt she had a valid point, "I wouldn't mind speaking up" and saying to another student in a debate "you're wrong."

As advice to teachers who want to improve their mentoring, Rena suggested that teachers should "try to have a conversation with your students." She noted that these "conversations" that Maggie had with her were inevitably what made her "actually learn." It was these conversations, both inside and outside of class, that Rena really feels not only helped her with her problems, but also gave her the confidence to believe that she would be successful, and eventually made her surprised to say, "I graduated…never thought I'd actually say that."

LEARNING FROM STUDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN MENTORED

Most students define teaching as activity that happens around the usual classroom routine and includes concepts derived from the curriculum. In contrast, mentoring occurs when a teacher enters the life of a particular student usually within a one-on-one context. Mentoring is often seen as a support either to deal with personal problems, or to help a student achieve sometimes beyond the curriculum. However, no students dismiss what happens in class as unimportant to the mentoring process. In Tanvir's case, it might have been those early conversations with Annie about transferring streams that led him to approach her about personal issues. Similarly, it was Rena's regular classroom conversational experience that led to the feeling that Maggie was someone to be trusted, and then prompted Rena to approach Maggie after school. Both Amandip and Rena observed that there seems to be a certain structure and routine to a class with which students were familiar, but which might prevent closer interaction with a student. Amandip said that the after-class experience led to the feeling that his teacher was investing in him, and not just "going through the motions." With Mohammed, he saw mentoring as something beyond what a teacher was paid for, as an effort outside of the normal classroom teaching assignments.

Students stated that this mentoring was particularly important for them, but in very different ways. For Rena, she was able to solve problems that sometimes even interfered with her attendance at school. For Tanvir, it not only helped him with occasional social issues, but helped him learn the skills to make "calculated decisions," which he saw as vital to the success of his chosen career path. He claimed that he very well could have ended up as an at-risk student if not for Annie. And Rena possibly was a border-line at-risk student who was, through her relationship with Maggie, directed towards appropriate ways of dealing with her problems. Amandip suggested that the mentoring he received helped him to reframe education as a process to enjoy rather than regimen to endure. Mohammed's mentoring tapped into a part of him that he had minimally recognized in himself, and helped him to create a new identity, one that continued well after he graduated from secondary school.

Some students claimed that in certain areas, their parents were not able to help, nor would they approach their parents for such help. This lack of parental involvement was especially true in the area of personal relationships, where students felt their teacher would better understand how to address relational issues with peers. Amandip

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mentioned that cultural perceptions supported by his parents actually contributed to his lack of motivation, and that once he could see beyond the boundaries of what his parents were demanding, he began to see education as infinitely more valuable than he had previously thought. Mohammed even discussed cultural stereotypes that prevented students from thinking outside of a career paradigm. These paradigms might produce students who live without, in Mohammed's word, "flavour" in their lives.

Several students noted that the mentoring was important as they changed their identities. Tanvir exited a friendship circle he believed was preventing him from achieving success and then became very much engaged in class participation. Mohammed's change as a writer and leader even earned him a new moniker—one that students often addressed him by. These two students had such a reputation for academics and leadership that they became the valedictorians for their schools. Amandip's identity changed from being one who did not care to someone who cared deeply about reading far beyond the curriculum. As well, he earned the reputation for being one of the top students in his school.

The mentoring that each student received was varied. As Rena's mentoring was focused mostly around family and social issues, she was able to write down critical incidents which could be explored with her teacher to ascertain whether the situation needed a more appropriate resolution. Amandip's mentoring began through an after-school academic mentoring program. However, it was the informal elements of discussion that led to an academic awakening and gave him the confidence to explore new ideas and to take academic risks. This mentoring often happened three or four days a week after school.

Mohammed's mentoring was based around a series of music projects and led to him being the leader of an extracurricular club. Thus, the original written project included activities and events over the course of that semester. However, he was also involved as a leader of his school's newspaper, along with his mentor, several times a week.

Tanvir's mentoring began through learning how to appropriately address social issues, and then eventually included time management advice, goal-setting and even regular discussions on career aspirations that continued well past secondary school. Tanvir stated that if not every day, then at least every week, several times a week, he visited his teacher for advice.

Some students noted that their teachers sometimes worked collaboratively with their mentoring. For example, Rena knew which other teachers she could go to in the school if she had a particularly urgent issue and Maggie was unavailable. Mohammed knew that his project's success hinged on his mentor convincing the music teacher to participate in the project to be submitted to the contest.

Students reported that they first of all learned, especially in the case of Tanvir and Rena, specific skills in how to cope with problems with their friends or families. In these times of conflict, they could reflect on their own behaviour, the behaviour of others, and make adjustments to their own conflict resolution skills. Students in all

cases began to achieve better at school, had increased attendance and participation, and in two cases became class valedictorians upon graduation. Most students claimed that they gained a greater sense of confidence from their mentor, who was willing not only to handle social issues, but also to help them develop the ability to cope with the academic stress, from which senior secondary students often struggle. Students also credited their mentors for being instrumental in helping them to choose a path after secondary school, whether it was university, college, or career aspirations.

The students interviewed also suggested that teachers can improve their mentoring by understanding the use of rapport. That is, there is a certain formality to teaching a class that teachers must get beyond if they are to reach students one-on-one. Tanvir felt this was breaking down the teacher/student boundary that normally exists. For Amandip, it is being able to see their teachers as friends who sometimes have to assign grades. Teachers need to be the ones to approach students and develop that rapport, rather than waiting for students to come to them. Rena suggested that this rapport is evident in the willingness to discuss more superficial issues with students before actually addressing more critical situations. For Mohammed, using vibrant words such as "hypnotic" to discuss student work produced dramatically increased motivation.

Within the scope of this rapport, students stated that teachers could be better mentors by describing their own personal experiences. Tanvir suggested that it is hearing about a mentor's personal experience that helps to shape a student's behaviour. Amandip said that it was his teacher's Canadian (non-Punjabi) experience that helped him to more extensively evaluate life options and career choices.

Students demonstrated that they differentiate between teaching, which is largely an in-class activity, and mentoring, which takes place through an "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) one-on-one effort. They suggested that mentoring has had an enormous impact in their lives, and this impact was different for each student. They also stated that not all teachers are mentors, but that it is a practice that most teachers can become better at. The teachers' responses, coupled with the students' perspectives, both confirm concepts found in the literature, yet also add new and significant insight into how secondary school teachers understand and enact mentoring with their students. Thus, the confirmation of previous work and the emergence of new literature in the mentoring field will be the focus of the following chapters.

OF BUILD AND VOICE

A Critical Understanding of Mentors, Teachers, and the Literature
That Describes Them

> Athena came to his prayer from close at hand, for all the world with Mentor's build and voice, and she urged him with winging words: "Telemachus, you'll lack neither courage nor sense from this day on, not if your father's spirit courses through your veins."
>
> (Homer, Book 2, p. 102)

As this book explored how secondary teachers understand and enact the mentoring of students, there were four components to be investigated: the literature on mentoring revealed prominent themes discussed in more traditional forms of mentoring, that of community programs and at-risk students; the literature on the broader notions of teaching, which include relationships, care, emotion, pastoral care, and ethics, suggested that there was an opportunity to locate the teacher as mentor within the literature relevant to schools, teachers, and teaching; five secondary school teachers who regularly mentor students were interviewed to discuss how they perceived mentoring in secondary schools and what practices they employed; four former secondary school students were interviewed to investigate how they were mentored and their perspectives on the practice of secondary teachers mentoring students. The understanding of theory combined with the exemplars of professional practice generated insight into the following themes: classical notions of mentor; mentoring for diversity; competence and duration; the necessity of mentoring; caring through mentoring; mentoring and academic achievement; possible mentoring outcomes; at-risk students; cautions teachers should be aware of in the mentoring process. The first five themes will be addressed in this chapter as they reveal perspectives and attitudes that enrich an environment for mentoring. The remaining three themes will be discussed in the following chapter as they deal with the results of mentoring and concerns involved with mentoring secondary school students.

CLASSICAL NOTIONS OF A MENTOR: THE ABSENT PARENT

Considering that the classical depictions of mentoring derived from the practice of an adult "raising a youth at the request of an absent parent" (Keller, 2010, p. 25), both teachers and students in this research recognized degrees of parent involvement. Even though Mohammed's parents were active in his life, he claimed that "You see

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your friends and teachers more than you see your blood family." In this perspective, then, he was able to use family metaphors to demonstrate that teachers, like aunts or uncles or grandparents, could be of great support to someone else's family and offer the kind of support usually reserved for blood relatives. Both Amandip and Tanvir revealed that their parents were involved in some aspects of their lives, but in other areas were sometimes emotionally "absent," such as when Tanvir needed dating and personal relationship advice. Haley said that some of her mentoring takes place between young couples whose parents who do not necessarily guide them through the trials of a dating relationship. Rena demonstrated that though she lived with her mother and father, her problems at home had become so combative that she could no longer rely on the adults in her home to provide direction—in essence, they were physically present but emotionally absent. Both Maggie and Rachael described students who accepted adult responsibilities at home, and in Maggie's case, was even "paying the bills" and "trying to prevent her family from getting evicted," revealing that in some domestic situations, parents really are absent in the sense of being able to contribute to a stable home life. Haley demonstrated that this absence is not always necessarily a choice of the parents, but as in the case of one boy she had in her class, his disinterest in school was highlighted by the fact that calls to his parents were not working—he effectively had chosen to be "absent" from them as he shut himself off from the positive input they could have made. Haley also reported that sometimes parents are physically absent. Whether because of her cancer, or the fact that students saw her as a mother figure, she had discussions with students whose parents had passed away and were in need of an adult to help guide the way. Therefore, the classical notion of a mentor in place of an absent parent seems to apply to teachers in relation to the degree of parental absence, ranging from momentary absence, an experiential or emotional lack of understanding such as parent in an arranged marriage not being able to provide dating advice, to a very real and utter lack of presence in the life of a student.

This classical notion of a mentor is seen as one who develops "all facets of life—intellectual, spiritual, social, and professional" (Mullen, 2005, p. 30), areas that might usually fall under the mandate of parents. This "all facets of life" (Mullen, 2005, p. 30) approach, for teachers, was found in the broader notions of teachers and teaching that was revealed through the work of the teachers in this research. Obviously, teachers develop the intellectual capacity of students in the classroom. But others noted that this was also the case outside of the classroom. Annie described that students have a need for "verbal sparring" that exceeds the confines of the daily class structure. Amandip suggested that he was not really interested in the pursuit of academic rigour until his after-class, informal discussions awakened his intellectual curiosity. In terms of developing the spiritual and social skills of students, Anton revealed that teachers often have to teach students how to care in light of tragedies that happen in the lives of others students. Maggie also showed how mentoring a disabled student involved providing a space for her to adjust to secondary school, as well as thinking about adjusting the seating plan to help her to

adapt to her new environment. Annie demonstrated great effort in helping students with their professional goals, choosing programs, and supporting them in realizing their dreams even long after they had graduated from secondary school.

MENTORING FOR DIVERSITY: EMBRACING COMPLEXITY

When it comes to mentoring in a diverse community, it is important to remember Vygotsky's (1978) position that "*human learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process by which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them*" (p. 88). Children use their immediate family culture, including ethnic or religious orientations, attitudes, and perspectives, in an attempt to understand and navigate new experiences. By extension, this immediate family culture is often reinforced by larger cultural influences, like churches or mosques, or community programs and rituals. A student can then be "rewarded" by continuing the paradigms that are first constructed in the home, and then supported by an extended family and social community. The reward for sustaining practice becomes "greater social cohesion and advancement of the social group" (Glassman, 2001, p. 10).

Vygotsky (1978) uses the concept of the zone of proximal development as a tool to understand learning, the distance between what students can accomplish by themselves and what can be accomplished through the aid of a caring adult. If mentoring happens to challenge students' cultural orientations, what students consider right and normal, then students will need a "social interlocutor" (Glassman, 2001, p. 10) to help understand and navigate the forces of culture, which may prevent learning. This mentoring partnership becomes important to understanding and questioning previously learned attitudes and worldviews.

Some mentoring scholars suggest that same-gender mentoring and same-race mentoring are crucial to the success of the relationship (Ensher & Murphy, 1997; Liang et al., 2006). They understand that mentors and mentees carry "group memberships" (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002, p. 24) into a mentoring relationship, which may make for an efficient bond between mentor and mentee as the family or cultural paradigm is maintained. Such membership may even provide rewards if the mentee begins to act in a way that is desirable within the social group. This membership may also elicit greater sympathy from the mentor as someone who has experienced similar obstacles. For instance, a black mentor who grew up in a predominantly white school might exude understanding of a black mentee attending a predominantly white school (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002). However, the arguments for diversity in mentoring are such that a cross-cultural, or even an opposite-gender, mentoring relationship may help the mentee to understand a broader perspective (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002). Sometimes attitudes acquired in a family or cultural context need to be challenged.

Strategies for approaching difference in a mentoring relationship range from the "blind to difference strategy" (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002, p. 39) to seeing the relationship as a "learning lab" (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002, p. 39). The danger

in the "blind to difference strategy" (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002, p. 39) is that in ignoring differences, mentors and mentees may ignore sources of potential conflict. The danger in the "learning lab" (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002, p. 39) approach is that differences in race or gender "can become the overriding theme so that it overshadows the relationship and personal identity then becomes pre-empted" (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002, p. 39).

This strategy of mentor-student matching is evident if not in formal mission statements, then through the structure and actions of a mentoring organization. For instance, Big Brothers Big Sisters of Canada only pairs men with boys and women with girls. However, through this study, it was evident that matching along ethnic and gender lines was not necessarily important, and mentoring through diversity helped students explore possibilities that they had previously not been introduced to. As well, mentors and mentees hold complex social identities and should not simply be defined through gender or race. The teachers revealed how important it was, through their mentoring, to challenge assumptions students had as a result of their family and cultural orientations.

As a Caucasian woman, Maggie effectively mentored Rena who is East Indian. Maggie's adolescent experiences were very different than Rena's. For instance, Maggie said that she was raised in a very protective atmosphere, family, and church, where she was often told she was loved. Rena's family life, however, experienced sustained conflict and disunity. Through their relationship, Rena illustrated that a mentor and mentee could discover other commonalities beside ethnicity or family experience. Rena would often talk to Maggie about more neutral topics like shopping, computers, decorating her room, and activities with friends before discussing more serious matters like her traumatic home life. It was during these conversations that Rena felt Maggie was listening as a friend, rather than because she was a paid professional.

Maggie said it is important to challenge some of the attitudes resident in family or cultural contexts where violence is an acceptable form of parenting. In this protective posture, she demonstrated how a differing perspective is vital to sometimes even the safety of students. Conversely, Maggie was able to help another student who was not East Indian be sensitive to her peer group by helping her understand East Indian bereavement customs. Maggie was thus a "social interlocutor" (Glassman, 2001, p. 10), someone who helped a student navigate the cultural norms in order to show respect to her peers.

The fact that Haley was not of the culture that dominated her school was part of the motivation for students to approach her. In a school where students' parents are sometimes in arranged marriages, she suggested that students often felt that, as someone who chose her own partner, she would be an appropriate person with whom to discuss relationship issues.

Annie is from Guyana and struggled with her own skin color as a teen, trying to fit into a mostly Caucasian environment. This may, at times, help her to empathize with students struggling with shadism and racial identity. However, she does not

see ethnicity as a barrier when mentoring students, as in the case of Tanvir who is East Indian.

Anton noted he sometimes has challenges when it came to cross-cultural mentoring. He claimed that "it's a huge shift in trying to navigate through a culture you're not used to…and you're creating problems at home." The navigation proved difficult in that one of his guiding practices is to reflect on how he was raised and how his parents solved conflicts. When students are raised in a different context, he sometimes has difficulty understanding that newfound context. He also finds that in a cross-cultural environment, sometimes mentoring is helping students to understand the ways that different traditions view societal norms like marriage. Furthermore, Anton is sometimes fearful of creating more stress on students by not understanding the dynamics of their home life. Particularly, he does not want a student saying to him, "My parents are fighting because you said this."

Students also provided insight into the effectiveness of cross-cultural or opposite-gender mentoring. Tanvir often sought relationship advice from Annie because he claimed that his parents were from an arranged marriage and were limited in what they could offer him. Tanvir suggested, though, that in certain at-risk neighborhoods, same-race mentoring is needed as students might reject mentors of another race or cultural orientation, fearing they would not understand the obstacles faced by particular groups.

Amandip was particularly adamant that cross-cultural mentoring is effective for the reason that students need to see beyond the confines of their own culture. In fact, he said that teachers as mentors need to be bold enough to burst the "bubble" that restricts students from analyzing their culture from the outside and challenge preconceived notions. It was the *a priori* cultural assumptions that actually prevented his motivation to learn, believing that there was only a limited amount of career options to choose from. Mentoring, for Amandip, thus needs that "social interlocutor" (Glassman, 2001, p. 10) to counter what parents teach their children, a practice that would be difficult for some administrators to encourage in their staff. Similarly, Mohammed's mentoring was possibly effective because it was outside the confines of what his culture was teaching him, namely that one needed to be good at science in order to obtain a decent career. However, when his dormant talent was awakened, he was able to flourish in a pursuit of poetry that may not have been rewarded by those within his cultural group.

Therefore, in the context of teachers mentoring students, it is not only desirable to help students see beyond the confines of their family or religious culture, but in some cases critical. The result of such mentoring could be initial misperceptions in a mentoring relationship between the mentor and mentee, as each struggles to understand the other's paradigms. The misperceptions could also extend to the parents of a student, causing trouble at home, or for the teacher, including institutional stresses through parent and administration criticism.

Opposite-gender mentoring tends to present more opportunity for conflict than cross-cultural mentoring. For one, there were situations where the mentees assumed

that because their mentors were helping them after school, that this was a prelude to a social or even romantic relationship. For instance, Maggie stated that a student who wanted to thank her provided inappropriate gifts and cards. Annie discussed one student who decided it was appropriate to visit her house unannounced. For Maggie, she discussed the student's actions with an administrator, and the student had to face disciplinary measures. For Annie, the situation actually prevented her from mentoring any students for about six months.

Haley seemed to notice that although she did not have difficulty mentoring boys, they tend to be more guarded than girls, and perhaps do not share as deeply. Girls often sought out Haley after school to talk about an issue raised through class discussion. However, boys "hovered" outside, making their presence known, awaiting an invitation to enter. In this sense, from Haley's perspective, boys do not want to be the initiators when it comes to mentoring. Furthermore, Haley claimed that boys tend to discuss smaller social problems, while girls reveal much deeper issues.

Haley's ease in mentoring both boys and girls may have stemmed from the fact that she herself raised two girls and a boy. Students already view her as a mother figure, and possibly the fact that she tells stories about her children, and displays pictures of her children around the classroom, makes students feel that she is more approachable and would understand their anxieties regardless of their gender.

Anton admitted that when it came to mentoring girls, he has not "figured it out yet." He suggested that this difficulty is exacerbated when attempting to understand girls in a cross-cultural setting. He even found that when he discussed the concept of gender roles with girls, they seem very uncomfortable.

Anton described that working with girls almost demanded a separate skill set. As a physical education teacher with a background in body building, he tends to mentor boys through helping them understand how "testosterone" influences behaviour, and how reacting through emotions (i.e., without thinking of consequences) produces unsatisfactory results when dealing with conflicts with peers or parents. For Anton, then, referring girls to other staff members is more pragmatic since he feels discomfort, and the girls themselves may also feel discomfort when it comes to certain issues. However, Anton has not completely abdicated his role as a mentor to girls—he often asks other staff members about appropriate ways to approach conversations, and he even asks the students themselves if his self-admitted limits have been helpful to them.

Rachael reported an ability to mentor both boys and girls. Similarly, she spoke about her great effectiveness in mentoring one student who was gay. Though there exist particular mentoring programs for gay and lesbian students that are often overseen by gay or lesbian adults, Rachael suggested that heterosexual teachers could still mentor gay or lesbian students successfully.

In terms of student perspectives on same-gender matching as a requirement for mentoring, Tanvir noted that gender is important for younger students, especially those in elementary school. During those years, friendship groups are rigidly

gender-based, and it is not until students are in secondary school that they can accept opposite gender friendships. Using one of his former middle school teachers as an example, he said that boys would listen to that male teacher because he had similar experiences. For girls, he suggested that his teacher's experiences might have provided a "bit of a disconnect." Tanvir believes that the rapport a teacher had with students is critical, and that same gender pairing at an earlier age help to foster a closer connection based on similar experiences. However, Tanvir noted as students enter secondary school, they are more likely to listen to an opposite gender teacher. He said that at an older age, students perhaps have the ability to build a relationship where they can share other commonalities regardless of gender. For instance, he believes that what made his relationship with Annie so effective was perhaps they saw something of each other in their own selves, which demonstrates that mentors and mentees can discover commonalities beyond race and gender.

Mohammed never stated that same-gender mentoring is essential, but explained that mentors have a role to play in correcting "horrible stereo-types…drilled into the mind[s] of students." Specifically, he talked about the cultural expectation that men study natural sciences, whereas girls study social sciences. It was specifically his male mentor who showed him that literature and poetry are not limited by gender, which helped him to pursue his passion. Amandip also found that homophobia is common within his cultural group, and that mentoring could help students to challenge their own cultural teachings to arrive at different conclusions which would produce actions of acceptance. However, it should be stated that a mentor need not necessarily be from a different cultural group to challenge a student's cultural teachings.

Rena demonstrated that though she experienced excellent mentoring from her same-gendered teacher, she had other "counsellor" who were the same gender with whom she did not feel particularly comfortable. In fact, with one counsellor, Rena said she would not "actually tell her my problems."

Therefore, opposite-gender mentor-mentee relationships can prove very effective, even though most mentoring organizations practice same-gender pairings. As notions of gender are sometimes deeply imbedded in cultural and religious perceptions, it seems important to counter perceptions through opposite-gender mentoring relationships, though such contrary notions can also be expressed through same-gender pairings as well.

Some teachers and students in opposite-gender pairings may feel an increased discomfort that is not necessarily resident in cross-cultural mentoring. Conversely, teachers and students may see increased discomfort when cross-cultural mentoring is combined with opposite-gender mentoring. But to view mentoring as gender specific would be to limit the capacity of both teachers and students. Indeed, "mentors and mentees then need to find other common ground" (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002, p. 32) beyond the limits of gender or race. Within a school context, this may prove easier as the very school environment that both the mentor and mentee inhabit is already a common ground. However, as Anton suggested, continual learning about

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family constructs will not only help teachers better understand how to mentor in an opposite gender or cross-cultural dynamics, but also model to students a continued motivation to grapple with the complexities of diversity rather than be fearful of it. In essence, the "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86) that some teachers employ when teaching a specific academic skill, could also be seen through a mentoring relationship, where teachers help students arrive at new understandings of diversity and critical reflection of their own orientations.

COMPETENCE AND DURATION: A FOUNDATION FOR MENTORING

As noted, the duration of the relationship (Rhodes, 2002a) and the perception of competence (Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002) are far more crucial to the success of a mentoring dyad than race or gender. In terms of duration, Maggie demonstrated in her relationship with Rena that mentoring did not end when the semester did. There was the sense that Rena was frustrated with counsellors she originally saw because she did not always want to explain the story to someone new. As well, the perception of competence was sustained through Maggie's method of having Rena write down incidents that could be addressed later. Maggie's ability to help Rena solve her problems reinforced Rena understands of Maggie as a competent problem solver—that is, Maggie helped Rena to find strategies and approaches that would help reduce the conflict between her and her parents.

Although Haley stated she had mentored students over a long period of time, her room also reflects such duration and competence. With her family, she revealed her long term commitment to her own children, as well as showing students that through her parenting, her own children are pictured in positions of success, like graduation or scholarship situations. As well, through a plaque that was given to her by two students, she demonstrates to students that she is both available and able to guide students through the turmoil of youth.

Anton noted that in terms of duration, teachers can understand students well enough to know when to allow a student to face situational pressure, or to refrain from doing so. In other words, teachers do not let students side-step difficult choices and experiences; they know students well enough to judge whether an experience will move them closer towards self-sufficiency, or drive them to avoid such experiences in the future. Duration then becomes a component of trust, so that the more time students spend with a mentor, the more they could understand the value of the relationship. Similarly, in a programmatic mentoring situation, usually the times or days are prescribed. Anton explained that because teachers and students spend a lot of time in the same environment, both can choose the times that work best. For example, he said there are some days that are not productive for teachers to mentor. But because of the time spent within the same building, alternate days can be arranged. This takes the pressure off having to fit mentoring into a specific time structure, and lets mentoring happen spontaneously or organically outside the confines of a regular classroom. Competence is an issue that Anton addressed

specifically. As a nationally recognized athlete and a successful body-builder, Anton stated that students have to see teachers as competent before a mentoring relationship ensues. He revealed one student who specifically wrote that no other teacher should be teaching physical education than him. Though an admittedly exaggerated statement, Anton's physical abilities had a significant influence on this student. But that does not mean Anton wants students to accept his authority, or anyone's for that matter, unquestioningly. In fact, though Anton is very confident in his abilities with athletics and mentoring boys, he still requests feedback from students at the conclusion of a mentoring session, and realizes that sometimes a mentor has to recognize when the mentoring is "not working."

In terms of competence, Rachael admitted that students are drawn to her because of her background in social work. Though she believes it is important not to come across as the "know-it-all-adult," she nevertheless suggested that students are drawn to her because of the skills she had developed in her previous career as a youth worker. Perhaps this competence is exuded in practices such as voice inflection and body language. She admitted that other teachers could make a similar joke when working with students, but come across as abrasive, whereas Rachel's competence in her skills from dealing with very difficult students perhaps illustrated her great skills in relational competence.

Annie demonstrated the importance of duration, as often her mentoring continued long after graduation. This "continued momentum" made students realize that even if she changed schools or positions within a school, she would still be available to help them as they navigate the road beyond secondary school. As well, Annie demonstrated that competence in a mentoring relationship is desired not just in the psycho-social realm, but in subject specific discussions. For instance, she revealed how students want to engage in "verbal sparring" outside of the classroom, and are often looking for competent mentors to help sharpen these skills that they sometimes refrain from using in the regularly scheduled class.

COMPETENCE AND DURATION: VALUED BY STUDENTS

Students also revealed that competence and duration were a significant part of why they valued the mentoring relationship. Tanvir said that his mentoring began early in secondary school and continued well into adulthood, but he also spoke of the breadth of competence that Annie had. He saw her as competent in not just subject specific advice, but also in the areas of goal setting, time management, anger/conflict management, career advice, and relational issues. In fact, it was often her account of her own personal experiences that helped him reflect on his own behaviour—she was successful in her academic life and career aspirations, and he could be too. Tanvir also noted that Annie was able to develop a certain rapport with him, even though she is not of his ethnic background or gender. He deemed rapport the most important element of a mentoring relationship which, similar to Rachael's use of tone and body language, demonstrated a level of competence that was beyond advice.

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Amandip saw the competence of his mentor through his own level of confidence. He claimed that grade twelve students are usually insecure about attempting new skills or approaches, or adopting new perspectives. They "find something that works and stick with it." The competence of his mentor's skills provided him "the confidence to try." And when he saw that his marks improved dramatically, this reinforced for him his belief in the teacher's competence. He also reported that his teacher's competence enabled him to "counter" beliefs held by his family. He believes that his parents' "fear" of him being poor if he chose a career other than law or medicine, was contradicted by his teacher's demonstration that competence in one's own career path was acceptable.

Mohammed demonstrated that duration was specifically important to him in that his relationship with his mentor endured over a few years, and after accomplishing certain projects, his mentor kept advocating for him and opening up new opportunities to exercise his talents. Mentoring in Mohammed's context showed that previous mentoring experiences could translate into continued development; however, Mohammed revealed that when a mentoring relationship ends, students can feel a lack of support, grief and even depression. Therefore, duration needs to be seen with an understanding that this relationship may end, or that it might translate into something less direct. In other words, mentoring should include its own end as part of the process.

Mohammed also revealed that it is partly his mentor's competence that made the relationship work. In fact, when Mohammed realized his own lack of skills in secondary school compared with the skills he had today, he "cringes." But it was the skill level that his teacher had in understanding poetry that made him listen when his teacher "acted as if it was the most important thing." This understanding was further confirmed by Mohammed trusting his teacher's input enough to enter the contest. Mohammed also noted that it was his teacher's interpersonal skills that made the relationship work. He admitted being captivated by his teacher, and that his teacher's skills in collaborating with other teachers, like the music teacher, who had to be convinced that the project was worthwhile, demonstrated his mentor's interpersonal skills.

Therefore, when it comes to duration and competence, the mentors and students revealed that both are critical to the relationship. Students want to be mentored by someone who they see as possessing greater skills, and who would take the necessary time to see them through the process.

THE NECESSITY OF MENTORING

Though researchers admit that the studying of classroom teachers as mentors is rare (e.g., Trepanier-Street, 2004; Eby, Rhodes & Allen 2010; Rhodes 2002b), teachers are often not even considered part of the core infrastructure of school based at-risk mentoring programs. Such programs have, at times, suffered from a lack of resources needed to provide a robust infrastructure (e.g., Herrera et al., 2000;

Kolar & McBride, 2011; Converse & Lignugaris/Kraft, 2009). Yet the notion of the potential for a strong mentoring infrastructure just may very well be the crux of this book. Schools have possibly the greatest potential of any organization to mentor adolescents. As seen through Maggie's portrait, teachers have access to a wide variety of resources to address students in areas of need. Evident in Haley's story, teachers draw from a wealth of experience from raising their own children. Anton demonstrated that teachers often have a strong knowledge of developmental issues affecting adolescents and how to appropriately respond to these in light of some very difficult, and even violent, circumstances. Rachael revealed that some teachers have prolific experience with students in very serious situations, as well as knowledge gleaned through other careers, extended course work and investigations. Annie showed a willingness to bridge the gap between secondary school and post-secondary education, helping students transition without fear that those who invested in them during their adolescence were abandoning them in early adulthood. All these teachers regularly partnered with others in their school, whether it was through guiding students into clubs that would benefit them, introducing them to other teachers who had similar interests, referring students to guidance counsellors, social workers, and outside agencies when the needs were beyond their expertise. Thus, the infrastructure in schools has great potential, and these teachers all demonstrated great time and attention to students. Yet, why do students feel that being mentored by a teacher is so rare?

Tanvir stated that when it comes to "building a rapport" with students, unfortunately "many [teachers] don't have that skill." Amandip suggested that his experience with teachers was often "sit down, say everything from the front...Maybe you go up to them after class and ask questions." Rena reported that what was different about Maggie's classroom was that she talked to her—that most classes she was simply given an assignment, told what to do, and then moved to her next class. Mohammed provided possibly the strongest voice of concern that mentoring tended not to be the norm. He recalled an experience where, upon returning from the hospital after being in critical condition, he was not treated well by some of his teachers. His reflection demonstrated that for Mohammed, mentoring tended to be the exception rather than the norm.

Considering Dewey's (1938) work, mentoring experiences are critical to a student's future educational experiences. Dewey's (1938) notion of continuity reveals the "quality of the experience" has an immediate "influence on later experiences" (p. 27). That is, Mohammed's choice of university majors was a direct result of his mentor's influence. Amandip claimed that his interest and decision to go to university were because of his mentor's influence. Annie demonstrated that not only did she help students like Tanvir understand that their present actions could prevent future opportunities, but that she will be a presence in their future if they needed someone to guide them. Haley stated that a student's attitude regarding future achievement is one of the areas of mentoring focus, that students need not settle with what they understand to be their achievement level. Rena's experience with Maggie

helped her to understand that whenever she is feeling trapped by conflicts in her life, there are always people to turn to, something that Dewey might say is an experience to "carry a person over dead places in the future" (1938, p. 38).

Dewey's (1938) notion of continuity suggests that teachers have to take into consideration a student's past and present as well—a notion well represented by teachers who mentored. For instance, Maggie showed how she takes an interest in events that have already occurred in the lives of her students when she surveys their current stress level. Rachael demonstrated through course work that studying about a specific culture's past is important to teaching them in the present. Annie and Anton suggested that sometimes present conditions in a student's life prompt them to view the curriculum as secondary to their needs, and reported that students could not actively engage in the curricular requirements until mentoring had helped them through immediate issues. Rachael claimed that knowing a student's present stresses, like working the night shift and helping to support the family, is vital to developing an attitude of trust with the students. Annie noted that what is done in the present, like allowing a student to sit in her classroom while she taught a class, might prevent a negative incident that night. Maggie stated that she believes most teachers are mentoring, and the teacher-participants all spoke of mentoring many non-at-risk students in a variety of ways. Therefore, why does it seem that the experiences that students had produced the feeling that mentoring is rare? Was the reason because the need is ever increasing as students feel under more and more stress, and there are not enough teachers, or enough mentoring, to help stem the tide? Was the reason because the important contact time it takes to develop deep relationships with students is prevented through systemic limitations (Trepanier-Street, 2004; Hargreaves, 2003; Rhodes, 2002b)?

Another principle important in the work of Dewey (1938), and applicable to mentoring, is interaction. This concept of interaction states that a teacher studies both objective and internal conditions. That is, a teacher must take into consideration both the theories, studies and opinions of researchers and practitioners, yet also allow for personal judgment based on experience (Noddings, 1995). In terms of teachers mentoring students, teachers often demonstrated, and yearned for, more objective instruction through the form of professional development. For instance, Maggie stated that she had recently attended a workshop on mental illness, and believes that "there hasn't been a lot of PD on mental illness." Anton reflected on the fact that his study of biology and developmental conditions among boys has led him to teach them to not let emotions lead them into unwanted reactions. Rather, he wants them to acknowledge what they are feeling, yet respond in ways that are not destructive. Anton also said that he wants to continue to study girls within certain cultural groups to inform his practice and help him to relate to them. Rachael stated that the college courses she had taken on her own time helped her to objectively understand the groups of people with whom she interacts. She claimed that the elements she had learned through course work needs to be "embedded into teacher education." Annie suggested that she too had attended

formal training in how to mentor, workshops where the focus was on "different methods of mentoring."

However, all teachers revealed that there is a subjective and experiential element to mentoring, a practice that is improved by actually mentoring others. Maggie discussed a student early in her career who, because of her own inexperience and need to be in control, created a power struggle that inevitably threatened the relationship between her and the student. Both Haley and Anton talked about how it is important for teachers to stop and listen to their colleagues as they have interactions with their students, to learn new techniques, approaches or phrases that would be helpful in their own practice. Annie demonstrated that through her own practice, she felt the need to document her mentoring to keep herself safe, and maintain an environment of integrity. Rachael suggested that personal experience "gives you empathy" that perhaps a textbook understanding of students can not necessarily provide. Each experience mentoring a student helps to construct, what Noddings (1995) talks about in the realm of caring, "intelligence that is exercised in personal judgement" (p. 42) where "successive experiences are integrated with one another" (p. 44).

Dewey (1938) posits that through the principle of interaction, teachers "should know how to utilize the surroundings, physical and social...to contribute to building up experiences that are worthwhile" (p. 44). While mentoring, Maggie also uses her classroom as a physical space to help mentor students. For instance, one student of hers, who had a condition where one leg was shorter than the other, felt insecure as she entered secondary school. Maggie then used her classroom as a protective space until this student had made friends and felt secure enough to venture into the lunchroom on her own. Maggie also utilized the social space in locating this student beside other students who she knew would accept her and act compassionately towards her. Anton knows how to utilize physical and social space when he reported that he often mentors in the lunchroom, where students feel they are more at liberty to discuss issues they might never voice in a classroom. Haley utilized the wall space of her classroom so that students could perceive her as someone with a lot of experience, and one that cares deeply about others. Annie demonstrated that using even the space outside of her classroom can be employed in the mentoring process, as students need to have a place away from other students and teachers to collect their thoughts and deal with their emotions. Annie and Haley made the effort to also "direct the experience" (Dewey, 1938, p. 40) by referring them to other people. In the case of Haley, she found those adults who had similar interests, like the creative student who was partnered with the creative writing teacher. For Annie, it was often about finding which clubs or teams could help support her students' interests and maybe help them to thrive in a new social setting.

The students also revealed that teachers knew how to utilize their surroundings to improve mentoring. For example, Mohammed's mentor used other teachers, like the music teacher, and other students through the use of writing clubs to enhance the experience of a student who by his own declaration often had trouble with other people. Amandip's mentor used the media room to play video games with him and his

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friends, providing an alternate surrounding that led to a trusting relationship. Maggie utilized Rena's love of journaling with her so that she could personally reflect on her surroundings, both at home and at school, and study her own behaviour in light of stressful situations. Annie's work with Tanvir showed that she felt he needed to remove himself from the space he was choosing, a lower level academic class where his friends were holding him back, and move to a new physical and social space to be able to succeed.

Therefore, teachers who mentored students, and students mentored by their teachers, revealed Dewey's (1938) claims that constructing an environment, which in Dewey's case means a teaching environment, required "more multiplied and more intimate contacts between the mature and immature than ever existed in the traditional school" (p. 21). Through the stories of both teachers and students, teachers went "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) their regular teaching duties to understand their students, their home life, their interests, their fears and social concerns, and they met personally with them on many occasions.

The necessity of mentoring in secondary schools is this: non-at-risk students demonstrate the need to be mentored, and schools have the ability to mentor better than any organization, to exact life change more than any other societal construct, to spend the time to deal with a student's past, present and future, and to utilize vast resources; schools should be organized with this potential in mind. A student's present experience in secondary school will often be used as a springboard to engage, or be disengaged from, most future educational endeavors including career potential and civic involvement. Through mentoring students, teachers have the potential to care for students, which could lead to dramatically improved learning and academic achievement.

CARING THROUGH MENTORING

When considering the political and social dimensions of teaching, Noddings (2005) suggests that the role of the teacher is much larger than "one main task" (p. 10). In light of the standardization movement that seeks to "control" (p. 9) content, teachers and students, she concludes that the role of the school, and inevitably teachers, is to "promote the growth of students as healthy, competent, moral people" (2005, p. 10). In this broadened notion of teacher and teaching, she claims that teachers should develop an ethic of care, one based on modeling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation (Noddings, 2005).

The modeling dimension of teaching is driven by Noddings' (1984, 2005) notion that students will learn to care by being cared for. Students can be told to care for others, or even be taught how to care by a teacher, but it is not until they personally experience being cared for that they can learn to care for others. Teachers often cited that one of the major reasons they were able to mentor students was because they had received mentoring or care from their own family. Maggie stated that she was from a loving family, and was told she was loved every day. Anton explained that

his father and mother demonstrated how to care in variety of ways, even when a call came home from school. Both Anton and Annie said that they had an extended family that was always present to care for them. Through these caring environments, they learned what being cared for felt and looked like, and could then pass that along to their students.

Annie's care for Tanvir over a number of years demonstrated to him how to care for others, both academically and socially. For instance, Tanvir, through the Big Brothers program, spent a year with a student who was unable to read, and who had difficulties at home. Tanvir taught this boy how to read, and also helped him with the social aspects of his life, like conflicts at home, with his friends, or with teachers. Yet even with Annie having to draw and redraw boundaries as she cared for students, Tanvir, in his desire to help others, had to reconsider his boundaries. In an email exchange between Tanvir and Annie, she told him that he "can continue to help others of course, but just not at the expense of yourself and your goals." Perhaps this conversation reflects the depth of Annie's mentoring, in that it is not just helping students understand what caring feels like, but helping them when they apply their own forms of caring and mentoring.

Noddings (2005) suggests that dialogue is important in caring for students in that it reinforces the "criterion of engrossment" (p. 24). For some, the term engrossment might have unhealthy connotations such as fixation, but Noddings (2005) uses the term to suggest a relationship where teachers are able to learn enough about a student's background "to guide our [a teacher's] response" (p. 23). Teachers let their knowledge of students guide their responses. For example, Maggie's understanding of a bi-sexual student helped her to understand the bullying this student endured. However, it was in future conversations that she realized her mentoring of this student would have nothing to do with sexual orientation.

Haley's substantial knowledge sometimes begins with an in-class encounter. For instance, the boy who was disengaged in school was often drawing. She used this knowledge as a bridge to further understand him as he was then able to show her poetry he had written. She then used this knowledge to guide her response—she is not a particularly artistic person in terms of creative writing, so she helped guide the student to another teacher who shared the same interest.

Anton's substantial knowledge of students is often based on specific incidents that happened in and around school. For example, after a fight between two boys, he would ask the perpetrator, "Why did you do it? What was the emotion that was happening before you did it? Let's try to figure this out." He also demonstrated engrossment as he deals with the victim. Anton revealed that engrossment is not working from a prescriptive bias, but allowing the victim to "come forth with information, and you just take the information they give you and just kind of logically follow it around." Anton also displayed engrossment by modeling curiosity with his students. For example, when students have different opinions on gender roles or how children ought to be raised, he will say to students, "I am intrigued. Tell me more."

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Rachael said that knowing students "on a more intimate level" is a precursor to mentoring. She claimed that, as in the case of a student who had to accept adult responsibilities, knowing a student's circumstance is the key to knowing how to go "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18). It was in knowing the pressures that this student was receiving from his parents, who often talked in a derogatory manner about his intelligence, that Rachael knew what the student needed to hear was, "I want you to remember how smart you are." In the context of building up substantial knowledge of how to specifically help students, Rachael said, "I don't just want to know the students in my class. I want to know all of them."

Annie's level of engrossment with Tanvir revealed that she knew many different parts of his life. Her knowledge of Tanvir ranged from his academic performance to difficulties with his girlfriend. However, Annie demonstrated that knowledge of one area of student's life can help that student in other areas. For instance, Annie knew both that Tanvir had difficulties in expressing his displeasure in an appropriate manner, and that his desire, from about his second year of high school, was to become a police officer. Therefore, in helping him to resolve conflicts appropriately, she also reminded him that what he did in the present could limit his options in the future. It should be noted, though, that as close as Annie and Tanvir were, there might be substantial knowledge that students are not comfortable sharing. Tanvir stated that he would not be afraid to share with her now his family's financial difficulties, but in secondary school, he would not have shared such information.

As students, Tanvir, Mohammed and Amandip revealed that knowledge of a student also included what Vygotsky (1978) defines as culture. In the case of Tanvir, his parents' arranged marriage was important information to understand how they modeled, or did not model, a caring relationship. In the case of Mohammed and Amandip, their culture prescribed a certain academic direction that prevented a fuller expression of their desires and interests. In understanding not just the student, but perhaps the way their culture was affecting them, "both parties [teachers and students] arrive at well-informed decisions" (Noddings, 2005, p. 23).

Similarly, students demonstrated a knowledge that is not necessarily noted in Noddings' (2005) work. For lack of a better term, the knowledge that was important to students was sometimes that of a trivial knowledge. Rena suggested that even though other counsellors had a knowledge of her past, it was Maggie's willingness to "talk about shopping with her…what kind of computer…how I'm going to do my room" that inevitably made the difference. It was in her wanting to talk about "random" trivial events that she felt like she was talking to "a friend."

Amandip also stated that it was vital for his teacher to enter his world, as opposed to expecting him to enter the world of the teacher. It was important to Amandip that his teacher was able to "hang out" and not necessarily have the talk focused on curricular pursuits like in the regularly scheduled class. His teacher, in fact, played video games with him and his peers which made Amandip "start seeing the teacher as like a friend." In having fun around an activity that the students were interested in, Amandip saw his teacher "in my world," making him more comfortable. Therefore,

in the course of caring for a student, sometimes the trivial knowledge can be just as important as knowledge deemed more important like social pressures or life at home. The path to such knowledge also demonstrated a form of modeling through caring that suggests a caring relationship involves actually participating in activities, or at least discussing activities, not necessarily pertinent to solving a problem.

Modeling caring for students, and practicing engrossment, helps both parties to develop substantial knowledge. Noddings (2005) suggests that leads to a "caring occasion" (p. 24), which is where caring can be seen in relation to mentoring. While caring can happen with individual students and even happen outside the regularly scheduled class, teachers who mentored, and students who were mentored, often discussed the practice of mentoring as an extended relationship connected by many moments of caring. Though Noddings' (2005) concept of caring would suggest an orientation of continual caring and relationship, and not necessarily just one incident, there seems to be an undefined space, where numerous instances of caring, sustained over an extended period of time, produces a feeling within a student that a teacher is more than someone who cares—that teacher is my mentor.

Haley suggested that teachers display moments of caring and connection in the classroom, but that "connection was not necessarily mentoring." Maggie stated that this mentoring seems progressive on the part of students, where students often ask innocuous questions to test initial responses to openness, and then offer to help with tasks in order to extend beyond an occasion. It is in this context of multiple occasions that reflection is required to help address the next situation. For Maggie, these occasions could begin with an initial in-class discussion around topics like mental health, stress, or sexual pressures, which may turn into numerous occasions outside of class. Maggie suggested that new caring occasions may be a function of the fact that teachers see students "more than anybody else sees them," and perhaps care for students in numerous ways before leading up to an incident where a student visits a teacher after school. Maggie used the term "investing" in students she was mentoring, referring to many incidents throughout the year or years. This investment sees teachers "equipping them [students] with tools"—again, a practice that would be a product of responding to students many times and in many ways.

Anton suggested that mentoring after a "heat of the moment" experience requires the mentor to understand that issues of rage are situations that often necessitate extended caring. In fact, based on his study of biology, he realized that there are appropriate times to address students, and inappropriate times, or perhaps mentoring needs to take place over days or weeks as students are in a better frame of mind to analyze their responses and attitudes towards conflicts. Anton stated that monitoring a student's "personality" over an extended period of time is important, to see if that "personality has changed, his demeanor has changed, and then address that as needed." This monitoring perhaps provides teachers with an advantage over traditional community mentoring programs. Students might be able to pretend problems do not exist in a meeting with a mentor for two hours a week. However, when a teacher can monitor a student in and out of the classroom, many times

throughout a week, their mentoring becomes a series of caring incidents. As well, Anton stated that mentors must realize when mentoring "is not working." This implies many occasions where a teacher attempts to solve an issue with a student, but the student remains unresponsive to the help.

Rachael demonstrated that mentoring requires extended occasions as she walks the hallways connecting with students. For example, even though she said she is often not "consciously aware" of how she mentors students, they often sense a repeated connection as she progresses through the year. When talking to a gay student who approached her to discuss his sexual orientation, this student was not even in her class. The regular contact or caring occasions that she experienced with him, knowing that she was "always out in the hallways," prompted him to "sense" that she was someone who would mentor him.

Annie's mentoring of Tanvir demonstrated that one caring occasion led to many other caring occasions where he needed advice in differing areas of his life. For example, Annie's original discussion with Tanvir regarding course selection revealed that, although he did not consider her a mentor yet, such a discussion was pivotal to further discussions and mentoring. Therefore, mentoring was many occasions built on a foundation of trust. A teacher can act in a caring way with a student, but that does not necessarily guarantee that the student will trust the teacher for further advice. In fact, working in a caring way might, at times, break the trust a student has been developing with a teacher, especially if caring is followed by reporting an event to the administration or police. Similarly, a teacher can respond in a caring way towards a student without really knowing that student or having a previous relationship with that student. Admittedly, such caring would form the basis of a relationship, that once caring is present, a relationship is present. But Tanvir represented that, over time, he could come to trust Annie's mentoring on a range of issues, from relationship struggles to career advice. Mentoring, therefore, is comprised of the type of relationship that, as Tanvir stated, "Extends the teacher/ student boundaries" and is built on many occasions. And many occasions would provide better insight into each new occasion, suggesting an emerging mentoring knowledge.

Tanvir's notion of a continuing conversation between student and teacher is for him a matter of "rapport." This "rapport" is essential to breaking down the "teacher/ student barrier" and has the "ability to shape other people" over an extended period of time. Noddings (2005) would suggest that a caring occasion shapes the student by showing that student how to care. Likewise, mentoring in the context of this research demonstrated the ability to alter attitudes or behaviours. Rena described that she had previously seen counsellors who displayed moments of caring. Possibly her teacher who originally read her journal and reported it to the administration demonstrated a caring moment. However, Rena never considered any of them mentors. To her, a mentor is someone who students visit whenever they "need to talk." Therefore, a mentor displays caring through continued openness, and continued invitation to seek resolution to daily problems. Rena also demonstrated that a series of caring

occasions on one topic could lead to a series of caring occasions on other topics. For example, once issues in her home life seemed not as concerning, she felt free to discuss "future education" with Maggie, including what programs and schools would be best for her to attend.

Mohammed's experience of many caring occasions might be found in his use of a family metaphor. He said the time spent with teachers often exceeds that spent in other areas of a student's life, and so the opportunities for multiple occasions of caring are plentiful. A teacher who is a mentor, as opposed to a caring teacher, might be revealed through Mohammed's understanding of his mentor's caring verses the music teacher who also helped him. He was grateful for the music teacher's input, and that this teacher was also willing to listen to his needs in terms of creating a professional recording. However, he did not consider the music teacher a mentor. He was a teacher who helped him on one occasion, but never demonstrated the sustained input that his mentor displayed through multiple projects, clubs, and efforts.

For Mohammed, mentoring included many occasions, and could be seen in his change of attitude once these occasions ended. In Noddings' (2005) work, care does not leave a student vulnerable, whereas a sustained series of occasions may leave a student expecting the same level of care that might not be present once a mentor leaves. Of particular contrast, when Mohammed returned from his illness in his grade twelve year, he did not seek out the music teacher who had helped him with his contest submission. The music teacher provided assistance, and may have even demonstrated several caring occasions, and may have even gone "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) at the request of a colleague, but he did not see this teacher as someone to approach in times of trouble.

Amandip also demonstrated that many occasions are necessary when he talked about mentoring as an "investment." He suggested that this investment required teachers who are willing to "put in their time" through many occasions of caring before students consider them mentors. For Amandip, mentoring is a series of occasions of entering a student's "world," which makes the student more "comfortable" around the teacher. It was through multiple discussions around topics like video games and sports that enabled him to entertain discussions about an "entirely new world," a world of ideas, philosophies and insights. And what was particularly important in the many occasions was that mentoring fostered in Amandip the "courage to try something new." A singular occasion of caring might involve discussing a new approach. However, to sustain academic risks over the course of a semester required a caring observer who could help him re-attempt a task in which he was not necessarily successful. For instance, Amandip was quite agitated in front of his mentor one day as he confused some basic ideas regarding political theory. This provoked anger in him to possibly not trust what another teacher had taught him, and risk further embarrassment in front of his friends. However, after already experiencing multiple occasions of caring with his mentor, he was able to discuss his misunderstanding as a precursor to more learning, not an end to the new path he was exploring.

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Amandip's notion of how good teachers, or mentors, helped to break the "cultural bubble" also suggested an extended period of caring. Amandip said that a mentor's ability to "counter parents" is important, and possibly required a trust that was built through many moments of caring.

Noddings' (2005) understanding of confirmation is also relevant to the study of mentoring. In the act of caring, teachers should "recognize something admirable" (Noddings, 2005, p. 25) in the student which is "struggling to emerge" (p. 25) An example of Maggie's confirmation was with a student who was new to her school and wanted to attend the funeral of the girl in her class who had passed away. Maggie was able to affirm the fact that the student was willing to respect the norms of another cultural group and support her friends, even though she did not know the customs or have the appropriate attire. Indeed, Maggie even bought her new clothes that were appropriate for the situation.

Haley also demonstrated the act of confirming what was best in a student who did not participate in class, but had talents in other areas. In fact, after viewing his writing and art, she told him that his "love of poetry" was admirable, and that he was a "beautiful artist." She could see that the creativity he was exhibiting in class may have been used as a point of discipline for not following class instruction. She instead recognized his abilities as valuable, and that it was worthy of her time to speak to other teachers who would encourage his gift.

Anton demonstrated that part of his mentoring entailed asking the students for confirmation. For example, he asks his students at the end of a conversation, "Are you happy with what you said?" It is in this asking that Anton first makes the student feel admired for at least discussing a particular situation. Anton then confirms in that student that the direction agreed upon is "at least acceptable" (Noddings, 1984, p. 192).

Rachael similarly stated that often in a mentoring relationship she would affirm the best in others. For instance, a student who was forced to work the nightshift to contribute to the family income was often belittled by his parents. Rachael was able to recognize that this student was carrying a lot of responsibility. This responsibility was often that of an adult, but she nevertheless recognized his ability to be "responsible" far exceeded his peers, and that his work ethic would enable him to follow any career choice he was interested in.

Annie also saw this act of confirming "something admirable" (Noddings, 2005, p. 25) in a student not just through a moment of caring, but in locating another activity in which that student excelled. She regularly calls other teachers in other subjects, or talks to other teachers who are leading clubs and teams, to find a certain admirable quality in a student. For example, she spoke of one student who was not performing particularly well in her class, but was "so creative in yearbook" club. She takes those moments to find admirable qualities in a student, even if those qualities are not readily present during a few after school discussions.

The students also confirmed that their teachers searched for admirable qualities in them. Mohammed's teacher affirmed his enjoyment of writing with an offer to use

that talent more extensively. Annie affirmed in Tanvir that he was the X factor in her class, which meant that he had the leadership skills to direct the class towards success or distraction. Amandip was affirmed for his commitment to attend the formal after-school program, which helped develop writing skills. Rena was constantly affirmed by Maggie for taking healthy steps towards solving her problems, as opposed to previous ways which included self-harm. These original moments of affirmation continued the cycle of many more caring occasions, and an ever deepening sense of affirmation from their teachers that the good in them was indeed emerging. And possibly, as Anton said, some teachers mentor negatively by focusing on that which seems to disappoint them, rather than on an admirable quality. Indeed, when Mohammed ignored teacher direction, when Tanvir's leadership led the class to distraction, when Amandip's teacher found out he cheated on his exam—these situations could have been met with disappointment and disciplinary measures that may have prevented the relationship from developing, thus quashing the student's potential. The locating of that which is admirable in these students acted as catalysts for a life-changing relationship.

As argued throughout this chapter, there are themes both evident in the literature and in the research with teachers and students that are important to the understanding of mentoring in a secondary school context. Such insight was gleaned through examining the classical notions of mentoring, mentoring for diversity, competence and duration, the necessity of mentoring, and how caring is foundational to mentoring. The following chapter examines the remaining themes as they relate to possible results of mentoring, and the concerns involved in teachers mentoring secondary school students.

REACHING THE GOAL

Achievement, Outcomes, and Risk

Athena, in Mentor's Build and Voice, to Telemachus: "But you, brave and adept from this day on...there's every hope that you will reach your goal."
(Homer, Book 2, p. 102)

The previously considered themes revealed important perspectives when approaching the discussion of secondary school teachers as mentors to students. Such perspectives indicate that, in varying degrees, teachers often perform in ways similar to classical notions of a mentor. They, at times, assume a role in place of the absent parent. Mentors need to actively engage the diversity of their students, addressing complexity rather than avoiding it, realizing that much more important to the success of the relationship is the competence of the mentor and the duration of the relationship. The necessity of mentoring suggests that it is not a practice only reserved for at-risk students. Regular-stream students demonstrate the need to be mentored by their teachers, and today's school may be better able to respond to their needs more than any other societal institution or program. In light of such realities, students do not just need teachers who are academically sound. They need teachers who care in ways that respond to the complex needs of today's students. This chapter discusses the results of such mentoring including mentoring and academic achievement, mentoring outcomes, the questioning of the at-risk student designation, teachers who mentor who may be placing themselves at-risk, and finally, the current landscape in which such mentoring takes place.

MENTORING AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

One of the issues confronting the ethic of care, and by extension, mentoring, is an accusation that such behaviour distracts both teachers and students from focusing on the goal of academic success. Dewey's (1938) notion of a more student centered, constructivist approach "could never escape the charge of anti-intellectualism" (Noddings, 2005, p. 11). However, as Noddings (2007) suggests "relations of care and trust should improve achievement" (p. 83). The teachers used descriptions that called for temporarily delaying curricular goals because of a student's need. For example, Anton suggested that for some students "you are almost not dealing with the curriculum," and the more important issue is seeing that a student is healthy before any curricular requirements are addressed. He stated that with certain courses,

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teachers need to "put curriculum aside for a day, an afternoon, a morning, an hour, sometimes for three of four days." If students are not in the space to engage any new tasks or information, maybe forcing new tasks on them will simply lead to rage. Yet Anton reported that when he mentors, students often improve their marks. He said that such a relationship creates an academic environment that is "a little more relaxing, less intimidating." He even found that the students often try harder for a mentor because then "they are not going to let you down."

Annie also suggested that "if a Shakespeare lesson has failed" because of helping a student with a personal matter, then the personal at that point might be more "meaningful" than the academic. However, Annie was quick to add that she is "not saying that the mentoring aspect is more important than the curriculum." If mentoring has shown anything in this research, as Annie explains, it "changes their behaviour. It changes their attitude." Students who are previously disengaged, through mentoring, might not "mind being in the classroom. They feel encouraged." Mentoring, though at times being a deviation from curricular pursuits, actually stimulates further engagement in classroom activities. In fact, one student emailed Annie to suggest that she was under such pressure and that teachers did not seem to be responding well to her stress. It was through constant encouragement of a mentoring relationship that this student was able to re-engage and possibly see her teachers in a positive light. Annie suggested that "progress and growth" through academic pursuits are evidence that mentoring works with her students.

Maggie's mentoring practice often begins with curricular choices, and demonstrates that students who are being mentored through difficult circumstances might actually have more skill in interpreting texts like *Bang Bang You're Dead* (Mastrosimone, 1998) or *Speak* (Anderson, 2011). As students came face-to-face with their own personal issues, perhaps their academic levels increased as they had first-hand experience, verses living vicariously through a fictional character.

In mentoring students who faced pressure from parents, Maggie also demonstrated that she helped students change streams and succeed academically, whether from a lower academic level to a higher level, or a higher academic level to a lower level. The mentoring might have begun with a caring occasion of a student discussing parental pressures and the obligation to attend university. However, the end result is often that when a student changed streams, the student's attitude improved and became more successful academically.

Haley stated that through her mentoring, the "big thing" that she concentrated on is inevitably academic, that students are "not settling down for a fifty." She claimed that with the stresses of today's adolescent, some students are just hoping to pass. It is in mentoring students, helping them to sort through stress and difficulties, that she, in essence, made a clearer path for students to concentrate on their studies. She claimed that "I think the value of mentoring…especially if they've come from or are in any kind of dysfunctional relationship…they see for a period of time throughout the day…they can put that aside and concentrate." This process makes students

interested in being in class, being with their teacher, "And they start achieving and wanting more."

The students in this research were examples of those who improved academically. Tanvir's email to Annie claimed that it was her "pushing me to go into [a higher] academic level" and "support for me during grade 12" that enabled him to accomplish "a lot of things," including being chosen for valedictorian. In fact, Annie's impact on Tanvir was always to make sure he was "not settling for mediocrity," but continually striving for academic excellence.

Amandip did not just demonstrate that he could achieve at a very high academic level by winning the award for five out of six subjects in grade twelve. He demonstrated a new motivation based on the revelation that "Maybe I am smarter than I thought I was." This led to an attitude that "makes learning not just about dusty books. It makes it alive in every aspect." In essence, he developed a personal philosophy for learning, a "whole philosophy for me." This attitude underscores the real value of mentoring, in that it does not prevent learning, but invigorates students and creates life-long learners.

Mohammed also revealed that mentoring produces great academic learning. His relationship with his mentor produced outstanding curricular examples of learning within the classroom. For example, his Greek myth that was set to music helped him explore curricular expectations in an extended way. As other students might have just submitted an assignment based on their particular myth, Mohammed engaged in a form of re-editing and re-working the material, spending much more time on a curricular expectation than any student in his class. As well, his post-secondary curricular pursuits are evident in his poem *Sublimation of the Sublime* and the academic analysis he employs. Indeed, the poem took him two years to write, and his erudite analysis is powerful evidence of how mentoring increases academic persistence and focus.

Rena's attitude changed once she was being mentored, and her expectations for herself improved. She claimed that "Normally my expectations for myself, for any classes, is probably like fifty-five to sixty range." Rena's marks definitely improved, well into the seventies, to the point that she was able to say, "I graduated...never thought I'd actually say that." But Rena's improvement for her was in the skills she was able to develop. By the end of her time with Maggie, she was able to read in front of a class, present to other students and not feel nervous, and debate with other students with the confidence that she would have valid points to offer.

However, it should be noted that even though all teachers and students claimed that mentoring improves student engagement and achievement, Anton suggested that he sometimes questioned the value of mentoring, not knowing if the change in a student's behaviour or attitude can be directly attributed to himself. He said, "I never know if it's because of me or because of the student." As well, Mohammed's experience when his mentor retired can act as a caution—if mentoring can produce academic achievement, perhaps the loss of a mentor can produce, even minimally, academic atrophy.

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As both teachers and students suggested that mentoring produces greater academic results, Hargreaves (2003) would also concur that "successful teaching and learning occur when teachers have caring relationships with students" (p. 60). In the rush to pursue standardization and leave no child untested, what seems missing from the "Policymakers, administrators, educational researchers" is that they tend to "neglect the emotions" that play a role in teaching and learning, or "leave them to take care of themselves" (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 60).

As governments and boards consistently attempt to improve achievement levels or compete with other countries through standardized tests scores, and teachers consistently attempt to create new strategies to help students be successful, perhaps the time to mentor students, meet with them through informal events, talk to them about their cultures and home lives, and really care for students during consistent and extended caring occasions will help students stay in school and achieve greater levels of academic excellence.

It is in the process of mentoring that teachers must recognize their own passion for teaching, and foster stronger emotional connections to their work and students as they go "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) in their practice. Emotional engagement can produce a stronger interest in students' own academic success as adolescents realize teachers are acting not because they are paid to, but because they want to. As Hargreaves (1998) notes, teaching activates feelings and actions in others, as well as in the teachers themselves. Their work can excite students, but also lead them to boredom. Maggie reflected that "whatever I have done in the classroom...students feel comfortable enough to come to me outside the classroom." This "whatever" she noted was addressed by Rena who suggested that her style of teaching demonstrated a passion, in that "She isn't teaching...she's having a conversation." Maggie suggested that her curricular choices are also meant not just to help students achieve good grades, but to stimulate or activate feelings in students that will want to make them seek her outside of the classroom. She suggested that "once a teacher has brought a conversation into the classroom, you've opened up doors for kids that need to talk about it."

Haley's mentoring of a young poet helped to activate feelings within him in that he was proud to show his work to other teachers. As well, the arrangement of Haley's room demonstrated emotion as she displayed pictures of herself, for example, with her own children at bedtime. This image of family and caring stirs feelings in students and sets a tone in her classroom that this is a place where emotions are important, and that she is not just dedicated to academics, but the people involved in the academics. She described her room not in academic terms, but in the words of emotion: comfortable, warm, and welcoming…so that on any given day the kids drop in." It was that feeling generated by Haley, which arouses emotions in her students, that is confirmed by their after-class visits to her and improved academic success.

Haley, Annie and Rachael also believe that telling personal stories is a way to activate the emotions of students. Haley uses stories of her own children, or her

struggle with cancer, and suggests that the reason they see her after school is her "willingness to share my experiences." Rachael often uses humorous stories about her partner or her dog, which helps students to see "her as human," a more rounded professional who feels as well as thinks. In exercising humour, she uses the same term as Haley: comfortable. Annie also uses personal incidents to show students they have to be aware of their emotions. As told by Tanvir, Annie's stories of facing issues of stress or conflict with students identified with the emotions that he was feeling over managing his course load and dealing with his co-op situation. It is in these stories that Annie dealt with the emotions that may have led to poor decisions.

Anton suggested that emotions are important in activating feelings even when students are being confronted in a mentoring relationship. He alluded to a YouTube video where a coach, with a firm response to his student, stirred negative feelings in a student. He often used this story with students to tell them that even though they might be harbouring some negative feelings based on a discussion with him, that "when you screw up and nobody pays attention—that's a bad place to be. When you screw up and there's somebody there to tell you that you screwed up and how to fix—that's a good place to be."

Hargreaves (1998) suggests that emotional interpretation is different from cognitive interpretation. Whereas a cognitive interpretation is analyzing someone else's actions "step-by-step," emotional interpretation is where we "reach inside our own feelings and past emotional experiences to make sense of and respond to someone else's" (839). This process requires "our own emotional memories" (839).

Emotional memories can be seen in the discussion with teachers about where and how they learned to mentor, and also highlight Noddings' (2005) point that those who care do so because they know what caring feels like. Maggie stated that she knows "how lucky I am to have been told I was loved every day," and she reflected on those students who "are not told how they are loved." She also claimed that mentors use very present emotional memories. As a recently single mother, she claimed that "difficult things happen in my life…and there are some days I just couldn't do it-get up and go to work." She then reflected on how sometimes students are facing difficulties that even adults struggle to work through. Annie similarly stated that one of her driving forces in mentoring students is that she always had "informal mentors" who "helped me get through life." It is in recalling these experiences that she feels it is "important for me to give back in the same kind of capacity…caring/nurturing/mothering."

Haley's emotional memories are often physically displayed around her classroom. For example, her collage entitled "Ms. [X's] hair history" demonstrates that she knows what it is to change and grow through different looks and experiences. Her "pink day collage" documented her emotional experience of going through cancer, to the point that one student recently came to her because her mother had cancer.

Anton includes gender-based emotional memory in his discussions with boys. For instance, he claimed that "testosterone" makes boys "do some pretty dumb things," or that "guys don't like to lose fights" and can be embarrassed with the feelings of

losing a fight. However, his use of emotional memory may be sometimes a barrier to working with female students. He noted that with girls, he has not "figured it out yet," but admits, "Guys…I can usually deal with guys."

From the student's perspective, Tanvir recalled how Annie often used emotional memories, what it felt like in a situation of stress or conflict, to empathize with him. It is interesting to note that perhaps students like Tanvir, whose parents are in arranged marriages, do not see their own parents as possessing the necessary, relevant emotional memories to help them. He talked about his parents being "old school Punjabi traditional parents," who might not know what it is like to be in a relationship where choice is an option. With Annie, he related to her because she had similar experiences, an emotional memory of what it was like to date and break up with a partner. Conversely, Amandip stated that perhaps having a different emotional memory can contradict what his culture was teaching him. For example, his teacher knew what it felt like to make his own choices, which never came from a place of being forced into a particular career. It was a memory that possibly inspired Amandip to carve his own path in life rather than having to choose the career path his parents had set out for him.

Mohammed stated that one of the reasons why teachers are not empathetic is their lack of understanding, particularly if they do not have children of their own. He differentiated between teachers who have raised their own children and those who do not have children, in that the former have a more intimate understanding, empathy, based on experience, whereas those who do not have children might only be able to relate out of sympathy. He said that effective mentors know what it is like when "that student goes home" after having a "really rough time at school." Given Mohammed's experience with his own parents who understand his trials, perhaps this viewpoint is limited. Those who do not have children can still remember what it was like to experience childhood. Indeed, Rachael's work with students in prison and on the street has provided her with knowledge of student distress even though she has chosen voluntary childlessness.

Hargreaves (1998) states that teaching requires emotional labour. This concept compels teachers who do not always feel they have the emotional energy to spend on students, who maintain a consistent interaction with students nevertheless. It is in this state that teachers have to work "oneself up into a state of actually experiencing the necessary feelings it takes to do the job well" (840). Anton found that sometimes in working with students, the emotional energy to empathize and motivate is just not there to mentor effectively. This is one of the strengths of informal mentoring verses formal mentoring. In formal mentoring situations, mentors have a limited number of hours, usually only once a week, and therefore are expected to be "on." Similarly, teachers had to be "on" in a classroom setting as that is their job—they cannot say they do not want to deal with students that day. However, Anton suggested informal mentoring provided the flexibility to admit sometimes that, just as students do not want to talk, maybe mentors "don't want to talk" either. Students may be more accepting of a mentor who sometimes cannot go

"above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18), whereas teachers always have to teach their particular subject.

Annie also concurred that mentoring "can be emotionally exhausting," but nevertheless, "it is very important." Annie found at a certain point that one of the challenges of social media was the volume of students who wanted to talk, as well as the volume of requests from students often of a trivial nature. Though she could maintain an emotional energy under usual circumstances, she found that social media could be draining and siphon the energy it took to mentor the students who really needed it.

Rachael not only revealed the emotional labour it took to do the job of mentoring, but also that emotions are shaped by the moral purposes of teaching. That is, a teacher's personal morals may be compromised by an administration, boards of education, or even ministries of education. For example, teachers who must enact a standardized test yet feel morally averse to children participating in the activity, will experience an emotional conflict. Rachael demonstrated that when problems in a school are unaddressed, it creates a climate where teachers are not "apt to put yourself out there." She spoke of times in her school, when rules were not enforced to the point that it "shuts you down" emotionally and prevents those connections with students. However, in light of the lack of rules at her school, she still finds the energy to mentor students within her particular classroom, which then becomes "even more important to you because that is your little realm." Therefore, Rachael revealed that teachers may have to find the energy to mentor, even though their energy might be drained from being in conflict with the school.

Therefore, academic achievement is not necessarily sustained through demanding increasingly higher levels of proficiency. Academic performance is often a product of caring teachers who foster deep, emotional connections with students that stimulate student interest, motivation and engagement.

MENTORING OUTCOMES: FOUR POSSIBILITIES

In thinking of mentoring as a practice performed by individual teachers who choose to go "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) their job descriptions, for the most part, mentoring is an individual choice on the part of a teacher. However, pastoral care reveals that there are attempts in some countries to provide the type of caring that mentoring offers into an organized, board mandated, intentional process. This form of mentoring has been criticized as it often attempts to address students with "disturbing behaviour" (Galloway, 1981, p. 10) or those students who are particularly at-risk. Yet one of the features of pastoral care in regards to teachers as mentors is that it places the responsibility for the caring of students in the hands of those who deal with them the most: teachers. Albeit, in places like England (Best, 1990), a teacher "designate" is used to fulfill the responsibility, whereas in places where pastoral care is not formalized, the teacher as mentor does not necessarily have to be "chosen" or rewarded with a title or monetary incentives. Thus, Hearn et al.'s (2006)

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survey of the literature on pastoral care, provided to Australian schools who wish to pursue mentoring as a pastoral care model, offers four outcomes for those who mentor students. These outcomes, I would argue, are also confirmed by the teachers and students in this research.

First of all, pastoral care attempts to produce a better state of health and well-being (Hearn et al., 2006). Teachers who practice pastoral care attend to elements such as school conditions, relationships with peers and teachers, avenues of self-fulfillment and mental health status. When it comes to the teachers in this research, all of these areas have been addressed. Maggie noted that as mental illness is becoming a more wide-spread issue or a condition of life in schools, she not only mentors students through issues of mental illness (mental health status) and devotes class time to it, but also encourages her board and school administration to address such pervasive conditions. Annie as well reported that grade twelve students seem to have increasing levels of stress leading to burnout and exhaustion. Part of her remedy to this pervasive issue had been not only to mentor students personally, but also to participate in mentoring other teachers in her board to help sustain healthy school conditions. Annie has also demonstrated a concerted effort to help students such as Tanvir to build healthy relationships with his peers. She also attempted to change the mindset of an anxious student who concluded that senior level teachers did not have the students' best interests in mind.

The second area Hearn et al. (2006) describe as one of the goals of pastoral care is building resilience. Pastoral care helps students solve problems, a practice that develops perseverance, enabling those to eventually overcome obstacles and solve future problems themselves. Vygotsky's (1978) work demonstrates that a teacher's role is to guide students to success in an area they would not necessarily be able to accomplish alone. However, pastoral care, and mentoring by that nature, attempts to help students in areas they would not necessarily be successful in with the hopes of enabling them to overcome obstacles in the future. Rena claimed that one of the most important life lessons she learned from Maggie was to "realize I will always have problems in life," and now has the capacity to face these problems with the expectation that solving problems in life is the norm. Tanvir demonstrated that he now makes good decisions about his future without having to contact a mentor and talk through the situation. Annie stated that this process of mentoring creates a "continued momentum" that helps students build capacity far beyond the reaches of secondary school. Annie also noted that students often needed her mentoring when they first left secondary school, but eventually the visits became fewer and fewer, which she said was the gradual realization of their own abilities to solve problems, possibly a realization of their own academic prowess, or perhaps they have just found other people to help them. Whatever the case, students had grown beyond the needs of their mentor, and were able to face the realities of adulthood by themselves.

Pastoral care (Hearn et al., 2006) also includes the notion of academic care, helping students to acquire increased levels of academic achievement. This element is similar to that which was expressed before, in relation to the work of

Noddings (2007) and Dewey (1938), that caring for students academically is part of the role of teaching. As noted, all students interviewed spoke about their own academic growth and achievement, and believed that caring can and should not become secondary to learning, but should be an integral part of the process.

Lastly, pastoral care (Hearn et al., 2006) involves an increase in human and social capital. This idea rests on the understanding that caring should involve enabling students to feel safe in their environment and to participate in activities beyond the scope of the classroom. Anton described how it is necessary to mentor students in the aftermath of physical conflicts if they are going to be able to participate in the school environment. Haley revealed that attention to one of her students was a catalyst for this boy engaging various clubs like drumline.

WHO IS AT RISK?

Rhodes (2002a) suggests that research in mentoring is shifting attention away from at-risk students to "a general focus on positive aspects of youth development" (p. 10). Mohammed, however, questioned how teachers can even know the difference between a student who is at-risk, and a student who will become at-risk if not exposed to some sort of mentoring. To him "any student who does not get mentored is at-risk." Similarly, Tanvir claimed that even though he was not "qualified as an at-risk individual," he could have become one if not for Annie's mentoring. Rena, though not classified as at-risk, might have been at one time, and admitted that Maggie's mentoring prevented her from self-harming behaviour or escalating conflict.

In terms of seeing students as not "at-risk," Maggie's choice of curriculum involved showing students that mental health is a pervasive issue, and might not only relate to those students seen as being at-risk. As well, she sees that suicide is an issue that a number of students consider, and that teachers should understand that it is not necessarily the targeted, at-risk students who are vulnerable, but also the ones who visit late on a Friday afternoon. Within the stories she taught in class, the students in these books are at-risk students. However, she claimed that often non-at-risk students suffer just as much as students in these texts, and face experiences that, to varying degrees, are similar.

Haley argued that students who are not classified as being at-risk could still have turbulent home lives. Similarly, pressures at home can be multiplied by increased pressures from school. Therefore, even in students who are not seen as being at-risk, it is important for mentors to develop strategies that will help relieve students and "take the pressure off" them.

Anton revealed that even students who are not at-risk find themselves in high-risk situations. One of the incidents he referred to is in the area of physical conflict. Boys who have been humiliated in a fight can become more at-risk by developing destructive coping mechanisms or engaging in retaliation attempts. It is important that students are mentored through the aftermath of conflicts so that they will not engage in behaviour usually associated with at-risk students.

Annie does not necessarily see the general population of students as being at-risk, but said that grade twelve students are under enormous stress. In attempting to achieve grades, choose university or college programs, and deciding whether or not to leave home, they are often burned out. Some students returned to her to say that they might have been at least at-risk of graduating if it were not for her support during their grade twelve year. Though completing secondary school has always been a source of stress for students, recent studies (e.g., Yau, 2013) demonstrate that in era of increased competition for programs and decreased job opportunities, depression is becoming an issue that students increasingly have to face.

Interestingly enough, the only teacher in this book very familiar with at-risk students, Rachael, actually left a career in social work because of burnout, and then transferred out of her first teaching post in a specialized program where she was dealing with students too volatile to be in a regular classroom. Therefore, it seems there are degrees to at-risk behaviour in that there are those who regularly display such behaviour, but there are also those students who are not deemed as at-risk, but have at least the potential to be at-risk. Rhodes' (2002a) point is clear, that mentoring does not only have to concentrate on students with major social conflicts or those at-risk of failing or dropping out. Mohammed never discussed relational issues or even the bullying that he experienced in earlier grades with his mentor; instead, he tried to develop certain skills that transcended curricular expectations. Amandip, other than cheating on his grade ten exam, did not particularly have any social issues that needed to be "solved." In fact, the issue of his father's condition was never discussed with his mentor. He was a student with enormous academic potential, and his teacher helped him to develop his abilities far beyond what Amandip expected of himself. As well, Annie was confident that mentoring does not have to address "neediness, in terms of emotional growth." That is, mentoring should not necessarily only encompass students who are struggling with psycho-social issues. Annie stated that students want teachers who are "genuinely interested in spending time with" them, to debate beyond the confines of the regular curriculum. She further suggested that these students often get disregarded because teachers "tend to gravitate towards the kids who need the emotional support."

TEACHERS AT RISK: OBJECTIONS TO MENTORING

Rachael's experience with at-risk students that led to burnout seems to support the proposition that teachers should not mentor students (Trepanier-Street, 2004). Some of the criticisms argue that teachers who mentor do not have the time to attend to both curricular expectations and mentoring. Hargreaves (2003) states that systemic requirements often limit the time teachers can actually spend with students. These limitations are possibly why Rhodes (2002b) laments that close teacher-student relationships tend to be the exception rather than the norm.

Several other objections to teachers mentoring students have been noted, which include teacher burnout (Shreffler, 1998) and the fact that mentoring may affect

a teacher's judgement when it comes to fairly assessing student work (Trepanier-Street, 2004). Annie suggested that social media could be a catalyst for burnout. As graduated students found the ease of connecting with her through social media, their requests were frequent, and the level of discourse suggested that often the discussions were not really mentoring after all. Consequently, she noted that she would only mentor students if they made the effort to see her, which usually would take place at her school, a neutral ground that did not add an extra burden on her in terms of travel time. She found that "once I tell the student what I am able to do and not do, they're very understanding."

Haley suggested that teachers always need to save energy to deal with their own families. Although she claimed that students sometimes desired extended discussions when she needed to attend to her own personal commitments, she was never at the point of burning out. Rachael said that although at-risk students caused her to leave two positions due to issues of burnout, the only impediment to her desire to mentor was that the administration does not attend to at-risk students, making it difficult for teachers who want to mentor regular-stream students. Neither Anton nor Maggie stated, after many years of mentoring students, that burnout was ever an issue. And even though Maggie was a department head which required increased tasks and responsibilities, she found that she still had the energy to see students like Rena and maintain a balanced life. Therefore, even though burnout is a concern for some teachers who mentor students, it does not necessarily happen to all.

In terms of teacher integrity during the process of academic evaluations, Amandip stated that a good mentor is a "friend who occasionally marks." Haley was often viewed by students as a mother-figure. In DeJong's (2004) work on metaphors and mentoring, sometimes it is difficult for students to see beyond the metaphor, and subsequently create expectations that could prove disappointing. The fact that a teacher could be tempted to inflate a mark based on a close relationship, or the perception on the part of the students that the teacher is playing favorites, does not mean that favoritism will necessarily happen. Teachers constantly have to reflect whether or not they are being fair to all students, not only through assessment, but in other areas such as behaviour management and discipline. It should be noted that academic achievement for all of these students dramatically improved. However, the marks did not just improve in the class or subject where the teacher provided mentoring, but in most cases, dramatically improved in other classes and subject areas. For example, Tanvir described how his increased effort overlapped other curricular areas such as history. Both Tanvir and Mohammed were chosen as valedictorians, an honour where nomination requires a high academic average. In the case of Amandip, he graduated with the highest average in five out of his six courses. Ironically, the only subject in which he did not achieve the highest mark was his mentor's subject. Rena's average did rise in Maggie's course, but it was maintained and improved upon the very next year, even though she was no longer in Maggie's class. To Rena's surprise, because of Maggie's mentoring, she found skills that she could apply to other courses, suggesting that she was confident to offer her

opinion regardless of what class or school she may be in. Consequently, these stories of students suggest that though academic performance dramatically improved for all of these students, their improvement cannot be attributed to grade inflation by a biased teacher.

Teachers also provided valuable examples of how ethical practice needs consideration, or reconsideration, in light of mentoring practice. For instance, considering some of the formalized standards of behaviour (OCT, 2006b), teachers have an obligation to fairness regarding students. Considering the previously discussed risk of grade inflation because of a close relationship, mentoring may be seen as unfair by other students—they might wonder, "Why does that student get to be in closer relationship while I do not?" However, teacher behaviour demonstrated that teachers do not necessarily choose the students they mentor, but often wait for the students to approach them. Haley commented that she literally leaves the door open after school, or might take an interest in a student during class and wait for that student to approach her at a later date. Anton suggested that he mentored more male than female students, although he always made a practice of referring female students to other teachers when he found it did not seem to be working. Haley similarly stated that she referred students to other teachers, mainly because she felt that they might have a greater shared interest. Therefore, teachers illustrated that they did not play favorites when it came to mentoring, and if some students were personally mentored by them, it was because of what teachers saw in themselves, their own abilities, their own strengths and limitations, as opposed to playing favorites among their students.

As time-honoured ethical principles like fairness or integrity might lack specificity in the complex world of school interactions, some advisories offer more direct advice to teachers. However, in issuing more practical, specific guidance to teachers, teaching, and by extension mentoring, can still seem just as complicated. For example, a professional advisory in the region this research took place (OCT, 2002) advises teachers not to exchange emails with students. Yet the board's latest technological initiative is a program that encourages teachers and students to communicate electronically, even when not at school. And if students regularly see teachers as part of their psycho-social support systems, it stands to reason that encouraging email contact would also see this medium used for more than just homework submissions.

Another example of a seemingly contradictory policy is found in the same advisory where it warns teachers not to become involved in student affairs. How one defines affairs would vary based on the teacher or the situation. But surely, teaching through a caring approach seems to suggest the need for the teacher as mentor to become involved in the life of a student and those in relationship to that student. Rachael helped a gay student who was not even in her class. Was helping this student struggling with his sexual identity involvement in his affairs? Would Maggie's mentoring of Rena's difficult home life seem ill-advised because it concerned her personal life? Would Annie's mentoring of Tanvir's conflicts during his work placement be seen as behaviour not condoned by this advisory? In fact, if teachers,

and by extension, teachers as mentors, are supposed to act in the best interests of their students, surely not helping students in these situations would constitute a dimension of moral failure. Considering that teachers are expected to act *in loco parentis*, that is, act in ways that are caring and judicious—an adult in the place of a parent—then such behaviour would seem to uphold such ethical standards, not be in violation of them.

Similarly, professional advisories (OCT, 2002) also warn against teachers providing any type of personal information. Yet Rachael demonstrated that part of her mentoring is telling stories about herself and her partner, a method that helps to build community with students and presents her as approachable. Haley's pictures in her room demonstrated that she actually displays personal information, including pictures of her children. She also discusses with students her own personal situations, one of which was being in a school that experienced one of the first mass shootings in Canadian history. Tanvir stated that one of the ways that Annie helped him to work through his stress was personal stories that demonstrated how to make good choices.

Such advisories, then, demonstrate a well-intentioned concern for teachers as they navigate the complexities of their interactions with students in and around schools. However, considering the broader notions of teacher and teaching, such advice seems to limit teachers to classroom instructors only, and suggests that they should be somewhat distant not just from the students they are teaching, but especially those students who require more care. Such limitations are exemplified in the advice from yet another advisory in the area this research took place (OCT, 2011), which suggests that teachers ask whether a social networking conversation fosters student learning or addresses a teacher's personal need. Understanding the designation of student for the professional advisory would be those still in secondary school, but would the advisory be the same considering students who need advice even after graduation, as Tanvir did? Does learning, according to the professional advisory, pertain to subject learning, and only while that student is in a particular teacher's class? Such questions seem to highlight Campbell's (2003) suggestion that in the realm of schools and ethics, there are "varying and competing perspectives of what constitutes right and wrong, good and bad" (p. 18). As teachers enact broader notions of teaching, which may include a myriad of mentoring situations, what is needed more than ever is not just an attempt to care for students, but indeed an awareness of how ethical principles are reflected in their own practice, which Campbell (2003) refers to as "ethical knowledge" (p. 2). Perhaps Annie revealed this "ethical knowledge" (Campbell, 2003, p. 2) when she stated that secondary teachers who mentor students have to be careful. Since teachers are subject to a "different panel of judges," it is not enough to simply refrain from inappropriate relationships with students, but also the appearance of impropriety. She therefore uses the method of documenting conversations with students, as a way to protect not only herself, but her students as well. As Mohammed's mentor revealed, an awareness of oneself as a moral agent (Campbell, 2003; Jackson et al., 2001) means that a teacher has the ability to even go against his own class policy, silent reading, when contributing to

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the greater esteem of a withdrawn student possessing an aptitude for writing. Such an "expressive awareness" (Jackson et al., 2001) is required, then, not just of classroom teachers, but of the teacher who mentors students. This orientation is important in understanding time-honoured ethical principles such as fairness, honesty, care, respect and integrity. But mentoring practices are expressed in ways that are sometimes not fully defined, and can even seem contradictory. Nevertheless, teachers stated that they improve their mentoring by examining situations, discussing implications with colleagues, asking for feedback, and reflecting on the most appropriate ways of caring for students while maintaining professional integrity. Ethical awareness in this environment, as suggested by teachers who negotiated mentoring within an understanding of ethical implications, provided an ethical scaffold for the emerging teacher as mentor.

RESPONDING TO THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE: AN ERA OF VULNERABILITY

The role of teacher, as examined in this book, demonstrates a broader role within schools, the education system and indeed the community. As Ball and Goodson (1985) note, research into teachers and teaching has to take into consideration "the changing context within which this work is undertaken" (p. 2), which includes the social, political and economic conditions that change throughout a teacher's career.

As seen in one school board's study (Yau, 2013) and others regarding student stress, there is no longer a need to address just at-risk students in our schools, but also those classified as non-at-risk who are becoming more vulnerable to the pressures of home, school and social situations. Tanvir revealed an increasingly common stress of students in his neighborhood, which was that of living in a middle class area yet actually being economically disadvantaged. As well, his parents revealed another common circumstance of immigrants, which is the need for both parents to work in multiple jobs, and thus not being able to deal with the issues confronting their children. Tanvir also spoke about a changing reality in that Canadian students, as seen in the neighborhood in which this research took place, may be the product of an arranged marriage, an issue that regional teachers may not have faced a generation ago. Mohammed and Amandip revealed that, in light of difficult economic conditions and lack of employment among young adults, students may be pressured more than previous generations to follow employment paths that may not be of interest to them. Rena said that there could be many students in a school who are now at-risk but are not necessarily defined as so.

Maggie suggested that one of the major social changes is the prevalence of mental illness, whether in students themselves or in the parents of her students. Of course, without statistics from previous generations of students, it is difficult to determine whether mental health issues are more prevalent now than in previous generations. However, the change is in the recognition, alarming as it is, that one in five students will experience a mental health issue. For teachers with an increasingly broadened

notion of teacher and teaching, they have to confront the fact that it is not necessarily institutions separate from schools that house students with mental illnesses—they could be the very students that attend their classes every day.

As well, the teachers profiled in this book belong to a district that engaged a work-to-rule response for much of the previous school year, which severely limited the "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) approach these teachers usually employed. Teachers were expected to leave immediately after school, arrive with only a few minutes before the beginning of class, and not use their lunch to mentor students. Sanctions against the government prevented any mentoring outside of the classroom experience. Yet, even in some cases, mentoring did continue. Annie was still in contact with graduated students needing advice, while Anton still helped students involved in incidents like fighting or absences.

Therefore, the social, political and economic realities change over the course of a teacher's life, and these changes affect the teacher who mentors students. Sometimes, secondary school learning environments may change because of economic recessions, such as the recent global recession, in which resources can be limited within a school, causing tensions like increasing class sizes. Political dynamics can often place immense stress on teachers as they negotiate between student needs and collegial responsibility. On the one hand, they feel guilty if not providing attention to students. On the other hand, they may feel like they are betraying colleagues and disobeying a work-to-rule campaign voted in by colleagues. Social parameters might also prove an anomaly, where offering relationship advice to certain students in one school could be expected, whereas such advice in other schools might be unwelcome. Broadening the role of teaching and teacher is a "restatement of the central role that people play in the educational process and educational systems" (Goodson & Walker, 1991, p. 1). Broader notions of teachers and teaching takes into account that teachers are "rounded social actors with their own problems and perspectives" (Ball & Goodson, 1985, p. 8). These problems may be within a school, or might even include elements in the life of a teacher outside of their place of employment. For example, Haley's breast cancer diagnosis and treatment in her first year of teaching, or Maggie's commitment to her students despite recently becoming a single mother, are contexts that suggest teachers face struggles can, at times, impede their roles, yet also produce empathy for students and a resource for those students are who are facing similar challenges. As Goodson and Cole (1994) suggest, "To define teachers' knowledge in terms of its location within the confines of the classroom is to set limits on its potential use" (p. 86).

MENTORING: WORTH THE RISK

Some teachers in secondary schools are mentoring students. Notwithstanding the multitude of ways teachers work with students inside their classrooms on a regular basis, some teachers are regularly going "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) expectations when it comes to students. This approach may begin through classroom

interaction, teacher-student rapport, within an environment of care, but may also involve teachers with students they have never taught. Teachers are mentoring students through a host of psycho-social situations. Such situations may include trouble with their families, fitting into the school environment, sexual orientation, or feelings of stress and burnout. Teachers are also going "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) by finding ways to motivate students academically, whether it is through focused projects, goal setting, or even "verbal sparring."

Teachers are aware that their mentoring may at times be limited by culture, gender or ethnicity. Understanding another's paradigm might be difficult for a student, and might be an issue for the teacher as well. However, diversity in the mentoring dyad may prove to be more beneficial to the student in the end. Teachers and students are finding other commonalities besides ethnicity and gender. Teachers who find they are not making progress with a student often partner with other teachers who may have more experience, or interests that are similar to a student, or are of the same gender as the student.

Important to the success of mentoring students are the duration of the relationship and the competence of the mentor. Students want a mentor on whom they can rely consistently, over many months or years, and do not need an appointment to discuss their problems. Also, students will often choose mentors who are accomplished with considerable skill, and can help students reach their potential, whether or not the skill is innately curricular.

Therefore, not only are teachers mentoring students in today's schools, but also they are proving that mentoring is necessary. Mentoring is a precursor to academic growth and healthy behaviours, and motivates students in all streams to improve their engagement, enjoyment, and achievement levels. Schools have the potential to exact change in the lives of students more than any other societal institution or program. Teachers have the experience and resources, and demonstrate the desire for on-going learning. They often partner with other colleagues to maximize the effect that mentoring can have on a student. Teachers also prove that this mentoring is beyond the scope of secondary school as they mentor students in a desire to see them as fully functioning, successful adults.

The objections to mentoring should be noted, but should not prevent the work that is beyond the regular classroom experience. Teachers should discuss their approaches, methods, and should be careful when they mentor students as they are subject to, as Annie stated, "a different panel of judges" than those in other professions or programs. Teachers should also be aware of the potential negative effects mentoring, or how the end of a mentoring relationship can have a detrimental effect on the motivation of a student.

The question that was asked of by other scholars when the research for this book began was this: is the word mentoring even necessary, or should we suggest that it is a part of what it means to be a teacher?

I believe that the word mentoring is helpful and should be used for the following reasons. First of all, teachers are using this word. They understand that though there

is a type of mentoring that exists in the classroom, which includes modeling and connecting with students, there is behaviour that they frequently employ, which stands not within the context of their job description nor a school's requirement. It is a choice that a teacher makes, a choice that takes many forms, yet nevertheless requires teachers to give of themselves and their time in a way that exceeds expectations. The term mentoring defines an activity that teachers find valuable, and one that was not necessarily learned during pre-service education.

Secondly, students understand and use the term. Students will sometimes even add other terms of endearment for the teacher who mentors, such as friend or mother. But whether it is through academic motivation or psycho-social discussions, students realize that mentoring is a term that describes what a teacher could be, or as Mohammed insisted, what a teacher should be.

Thirdly, the term mentoring helps define a practice that can be studied and improved. The purpose of studying curriculum, teaching and learning is to improve what teachers do. The purpose of studying the literature on mentoring helps those in the field reflect upon and improve their mentoring practices. So too, the emerging literature on secondary school teachers as mentors helps to define and discuss this mentoring behaviour, sometimes challenging the behaviour, but nevertheless helping teachers to improve a practice that they say happens frequently, or that which students say happens rarely—but when it does, changes a student's capacity for life-long learning and provides a "continued momentum."

Lastly, as Canadian teachers operate in a present climate of cutbacks, restraint, suspicion, and political tension, studying the teacher as mentor reveals the scope of just how much teachers do for their students. A healthy wage and summer holidays may elicit negative responses from a public that wonders if they are getting the service they deserve for the tax dollars they are spending. The literature on secondary school teachers as mentors exposes the fact that teachers regularly give time in areas that might not previously be considered. As boards and ministries of education restructure and attempt to determine their values and goals, and whether accountability in education means relationships or numbers on a grid, the literature on secondary school teachers as mentors will help to inform their decisions, and create systems where true academic change is sustained, and students will be drawn to think about their lives and the world in ways that will serve them far beyond their adolescent years.

SOME POWER WILL INSPIRE YOU

Continued Momentum—Teachers as Mentors, Teaching as Mentoring

> The prince replied, wise in his own way too, "How can I greet him, Mentor, even approach the king? I'm hardly adept at subtle conversation. Someone my age *might* feel shy, what's more, interrogating an older man."
>
> "Telemachus," the bright eyed goddess Athena reassured him, "some of the words you'll find within yourself, the rest some power will inspire you to say."
>
> <div align="right">(Homer, Book 2, p. 108)</div>

This chapter provides a culmination to this examination of teachers as mentors, organized around five major sections. As in the cross-case analysis, these sections integrate both the data from the participants and relevant literature, yet suggest conclusions that are at a broader conceptual level. First of all, Inescapability of Mentoring reveals the importance of mentoring in today's schools. Secondly, Broader Notions of Teacher and Teaching suggests that not only does teaching include mentoring, but that students flourish in an environment of care. In understanding that teachers are mentoring and that it is a necessary in today's schools, the third and fourth sections emphasize the need to consider how mentoring can be employed in teacher education, as well as reflected in the design of educational policy. Lastly, I suggest as the understanding of teaching as mentoring emerges, the discipline can benefit from further research, including larger scale studies and comparative international exploration.

INESCAPABILITY OF MENTORING

The purpose of this book was to explore the thoughts and behaviour of teachers who care for students in ways that are much more robust than previously thought. Mentoring is not just a behaviour that occurs in community organizations, but is a passionate effort by teachers that is often well "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) the required duties, and of just being a nice or caring teacher—that is, they are working with students through intensive, complex relationships, dedicating themselves to adolescents in ways that exceed technical variants of teaching and curricular obligations. For the teachers mentioned in this book, the notion of going "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) may even be a misnomer as their normative practice is to do so. In some senses, the term mentoring might even devalue the broad ways that teachers interact with students by suggesting mentoring

is an elite form of contact, and teachers are simply conveyors of information. Teaching might be seen by some as a position or job requirement, one that is within the boundaries of a classroom or school day. However, these teachers never saw teaching as fulfilling such a limited requirement. Rather, their practice incorporated elements found in mentoring literature (e.g., Rix & Gold, 2000; Mullen, 1999, 2005; Fletcher & Mullen, 2012; Rhodes, 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Rhodes et al., 2002; Rhodes et al., 2006; Rhodes & Chan, 2010; Eby, Rhodes, & Allen, 2010), but in many ways went much further than even most mentoring programs do. In fact, it is in their capacity, resources, knowledge, and networks, that teachers can provide for, and meet the needs of, students better than any other societal program or group. Nevertheless, students often used the term mentor to describe such dedication. In this way, students felt valued, competent, enthusiastic, and ready to take risks, question cultural assumptions, address personal problems of a plagued home life, negotiate stress, and face post-secondary challenges. As boards struggle to create boutique schools to appeal to niche interests (Pearce, 2011; Davidson, 2012), and high-skill major programs in an attempt to stem the attrition from public schools, students are saying that what is most important is the centrality of relationship, and teachers who care to this extent are what they are looking for. New programs are window dressing if relationship is not cemented as the raison d'être of public education. But this relationship is more than just classroom oriented. Teachers revealed that the investment in the entire school process is much larger than that which was introduced to them through teacher education programs. Indeed, helping students heal after being assaulted and humiliated, guiding students to care for others after the death of a peer, motivating exhausted adolescents who shoulder the weight of raising their siblings, proved that teachers act in ways often overlooked by a public who may believe that a longer school year or a back-to-basics approach will promote a more efficient and productive system. To be sure, more hours and official tasks may steal the very energy and lifeblood that such intensive relationships require, and, as shown in this book, students were not engaged and productive until teachers mentored them through passionate examples of extended caring.

Ultimately, the question of what is so definitive about what students and teachers call mentoring is this: such behaviour promotes a *relational responsivity producing a continued momentum.* Research on teacher-student relationship and education (e.g., Rogers, 1969; Poplin & Weeres, 1994; Erickson, 1987) demonstrates that learning among secondary school students has a relational foundation; yet mentoring is a relationship that produces in a student a *relational responsivity*, the willingness to engage or re-engage with other students, teachers, friends, parents, thoughts, ideas, controversies, problems, and social issues by addressing barriers to such movement. Mentoring is active participation that endeavors to offer student attention through a myriad of discussions, debates, projects, and interests, yet is not seen as formulaic—it is relational, but, as noted, relationships are not necessarily predictable or certain (Britzman, 1998, 2007, 2010, 2013). It does not necessarily address a neediness when addressing a need, and exists in many forms demonstrated throughout this

research, yet in even more scintillating and various forms waiting to be discovered. And thus, mentoring produces a *continued momentum* far after the relationship is initiated, a momentum that may last for months or years, where a mentee's knowledge and competence may one day exceed the mentor's, and where students who face new barriers search for others to provide support, care, and motivation. Mentoring rests on the very desire within students to say: there is someone here for me, personally. This person understands me, spends free time with me, and does not see me as someone who ends when the course ends, or upon receiving a diploma at graduation. This person attempts to construct and reconstruct my interests and experiences (Dewey 1938; Vygotsky, 1978; Glassman, 2001). Characterized by elements of caring (Noddings, 1984, 2005, 2007; Hargreaves, 2003; Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996), emotional engagement (Blackmore, 1996; Hargreaves, 1998) pastoral care (Galloway, 1990; Best, 2007; Hearn et al., 2006), and ethics (Campbell, 2003; Jackson et al., 1993), my teacher is someone who navigates the masses to locate me as valuable and worthy and infinitely interesting. Equally they say: This person is *my* teacher. This person is *my* mentor.

Mentoring for All

Teachers understand that as in the case of traditional mentors, at times they are actually caring for students in ways normally reserved for family members. Therefore, they act in ways parents would, by buying clothes for students, walking them through perils of dating relationships, and advising students who are forced to pay the family bills. These are some of the ways teachers demonstrate that the concepts of teacher and teaching are far broader than classroom instruction or the facilitation of an occasional afterschool team or club (e.g., Sockett, 1987; Goodson, 1994, 1997; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Niyozov, 2001). Such issues weigh heavily on teachers as they act as "social interlocutors" (Glassman, 2001, p. 10) providing not only lessons that may challenge preconceived notions, but also those that affirm the importance of diversity in human interaction (Morrow & Styles, 1995; Rhodes et al., 2002a; Clutterbuck & Raggins, 2002; Fletcher & Mullen, 2012). In mentoring, teachers should not view students merely in terms of their subject competence, but desire to develop "all facets of life—intellectual, spiritual, social, and professional" (Mullen, 2005, p. 30). And to the question of whether all teachers act like mentors, the students in this text would say no. While teachers might be considered nice, or even good teachers, these students' histories suggest that they did not come alive until a secondary school teacher acted in a way that demonstrated extensive caring and critical emotional involvement despite the fact that they were not identified as being at-risk students. The difference for these students was teacher time, intentionality, availability, energy, creativity, moral support, and individual attention (Hargreaves, 2003; Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996; Noddings, 1984, 2005, 2007). This teacher investment in students was sometimes at the request of a student, yet sometimes teacher initiated, demonstrating that it does not necessarily matter

who begins the process as it does the health, sustainability, and productivity of the relationship. So the question from the public, the ministries, the boards as to how to create better teachers may just rest in the recognition that when teachers are freed up to provide more students extensive caring, to build relationships beyond course materials, to partner with other teachers to invigorate student interest, better teachers are not only created, they are also provided the opportunity to deal with the realities faced by the complex needs of all their students, not just the at-risk students.

The value of mentoring may be found in the ethical notions that students should not be mentored and cared for because it meets a pedagogical end. In other words, teachers should not mentor just because students will perform better academically. They should be valued because it is their right as human beings (Jackson et al., 1993). As vulnerable citizens, students do not necessarily have the voice to advocate for themselves, or really understand the extent of their own needs. And as studies suggest, students are becoming more vulnerable, experiencing more stress, are more susceptible to mental health issues and fostering orientations of hopelessness (Mundy, 2005; U.S. Department of Education, 2005; Kaiser Family Foundation, 2005; Stuart, 2006; Ramirez, 2009; CBC, 2013; Bailey, 2012; AP, 2010; Salmela-Aro & Tynkkynen, 2012). Therefore, the value of mentoring reaffirms the commitment to the person as the defining purpose of education. Through close contact with students, teachers can guide them to goals that may be far more important than a Shakespeare lesson, yet does not ignore that skill development is part of the outpouring of such a caring relationship (Dewey, 1938; Noddings, 1984, 2005, 2007; Hargreaves, 2003). Teachers are demonstrating that they value such care by harmonizing topics with curricular objectives and offering students a personal commitment, availability and support. Close, abiding relationships help students to make sense of the totality of their experiences, not just those that are curricular (Dewey, 1938). And the quality of such relationships provides a momentum that can sustain students through all life experiences, even when their situations pose challenges (Dewey, 1938). This understanding values the past, present and future experiences of a student, beyond the demands of curricular directives (Dewey, 1938). The importance of mentoring is that students see someone to whom they can turn when they feel they cannot turn to guidance counsellors, family members or friends. Though not necessarily experienced counsellors, teachers can refer students to social services and help systems. However, as seen through this research, as well as the literature regarding teacher knowledge (e.g., Beattie, 1995; Calandinin & Connelly, 1995; Witherell & Noddings, 1991; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; He, 1998), teachers possess a wide body of knowledge. Such knowledge is not just pedagogical or curricular, but stems from their own childhood and adolescence, their experiences with their own children, their previous work lives, continual discussions with colleagues, political and economic environments, and career stages (Goodson & Cole, 1994; Ball & Goodson, 1985).

With such broad knowledge, this research showed teachers who not only directed students away from destructive behaviours like drug abuse, cutting, and even suicidal

attempts. Teachers generated a *continued momentum* in students who were not particularly at-risk. This value is seen as students were mentored by teachers even when they had passed on to other grades. This value is seen when teachers mentor students even though teachers had secured positions in other schools. This value is seen when students see their school work as not just a means to get a mark, but an innate representation of who they are, an expression of who they are in the world, valuable, cared for and engaged in the lives around them, intellectually, relationally, socially, academically. Therefore, if deep, intentional relationships between teachers and students provided the response of the four students in this book, why are such experiences not then offered to every student? If teachers and students describe the mentoring process of teachers providing regular individual attention that seeks to build on the interests of the student in a multiplicity of ways, then teachers need to be mentors. If this process has demonstrated a need in students that was not initially glimpsed through classroom interactions because they were not designated as at-risk students, then this type of relationship should be extended to all. In some senses, the voices of the students who were mentored signaled the proverbial canary in a coal mine, the notion that the problem plaguing public schools is not academic, but relational (Poplin & Weeres, 1994; Bingham & Sidorkin, 2004). And the inference in other forms of mentoring, like business, faculty mentoring, and even collegial teacher mentoring that mentoring itself is occasional, and that by association our mentoring with young people should be occasional and at-risk dependent, ignores the need for a greater state of relational permanency between teachers and students.

Mentoring Skills and Knowledge

The forms and practices teachers adhere to are often common to those in the mentoring literature (Rix & Gold, 2000; Rhodes, 2002a, 2002b; Rhodes et al., 2002; Mullen, 1999, 2005; Eby, Rhodes, & Allen, 2010; Fletcher & Mullen, 2012). Students were often provided personal time with teachers to discuss issues regarding home life, peer relationships, and post-secondary challenges. Students were also provided personal time with teachers even when the issue was not as pertinent. They discussed preferences and activities, latest shopping adventures and other seemingly trivial topics which might be thought of as irrelevant to the learning experience. Yet these discussions were vitally important to students, often a test of a teacher's true interest, and a determinant of whether a teacher is really willing to enter their world. But teachers demonstrated a greater range of ways to care for students than most mentoring organizations. As mentorship may imply interval days or sessions, teachers were often able to be available when a student had been humiliated in front of peers, feared going into the lunchroom, or at a loss of how to express grief to a friend. Teachers often spend more time with students than even family members, and in their flexible schedules can interact in informal ways that do not require an appointment. And they exist in the environment that is often the greatest source of stress for young people. Teachers can help students who are struggling

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with academic work to find identities, rather than merely completing assignments, through connecting them with other clubs or other teachers who share their interests. Teachers can help students navigate cultural sensitivities of the dominant group and relocate students in attempts to spark friendships and acceptance. Teachers can help students engage extra projects which require resources, audiences, a forum, a venue, a talent to synergistically enhance the quality of their expression (Mullen, 1999). Therefore, teachers not only meet some of the traditional definitions of mentors, but have the abilities to far surpass these expectations, demonstrating that teachers and teaching are much broader than mentoring alone could ever denote. But the relevant point to be made in forms and practices is to not necessarily see extended care with students as a matter of technical proficiency. What teachers demonstrated was a practice bustling with emotional engagement (Blackmore, 1996; Fried, 1994; Fullan, 1997; Hargreaves, 1997, 1998; Tickle, 1991; Winograd, 2003). Such engagement activated feelings in both the teacher and mentor (Hargreaves, 1998). Teachers were able to access their own feelings and situations to better respond to students (Hargreaves, 1998). This process, at times, took great emotional labour in that they responded to students even when their own reservoirs were low (Hargreaves, 1998). Teachers responded to students in caring ways even when in conflict with political, moral, or organization structures (Hargreaves, 1998). Teachers attended to such instances of health and well-being, building resilience, academic care and that of assessing human and social capital (Hearn et al., 2006). Thus, the practices of teachers demonstrated that they activated students' *continued momentum* through a multiplicity of ways and results.

Teachers demonstrated that there were many avenues to learning how to care so extensively for students. There are no essentialist lists of addressing how teachers should act in ways that students identify as mentoring, a behaviourist notion that limits teacher knowledge and practice (Sawyer, 2006; Friesen & Jardine, 2009). Teachers as mentors regularly construct and reconstruct their experiences, stories, personal and professional relationships, which identify with students as they navigate their realities (Neill, 2005; Dewey, 1938; Noddings, 1995; Noddings, 2005; Vygotsky, 1978; Glassman, 2001; Haines, 2003; Wertch, 1985; Clifford & Green, 1996; Rhodes et al., 2006; Keller, 2010; Eby, Rhodes, & Allen, 2010). Teachers drew on past experiences with parents, siblings and other relatives. Teachers took courses and workshops, whether specific to the task of mentoring or on salient topics like mental health, cultural awareness, or technical aspects of communication, de-escalation, tone or expression.[1] Teachers sometimes stopped and listened to colleagues, or asked for their feedback, and even asked the students they were mentoring for feedback. They accessed community experts or those familiar with topics like suicide and depression. Teachers called other teachers to assess behaviour and determine if students would benefit from alternate involvement. Teachers thought about caring conversations while driving home, and worried about students far beyond leaving a teaching position. And once again, such data suggested that teachers are students too, not just students of adolescent culture, but students of the very students they

care for, students of themselves as teachers. Such caring exceeds the understanding of mentors in many capacities.

Teachers demonstrated that the mentoring contexts were often very broad, reflecting broader notions of teacher and teaching (Sockett, 1987; Goodson, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Niyozov, 2001). Mentoring began often through class connections, and a type of mentoring took place in classes through elements like modeling and instructions on group behaviour. However, as most students suggested, and most teachers recognized, mentoring in its most effective context is the one-on-one, set-aside-from-the-group activity that benefits that student, even if the purpose is to enable that student to better engage the group at large. But teachers have at their disposal a breadth of mentoring contexts that community mentoring organizations do not have. Teachers definitely have access to parents and family members, and can advocate on behalf of students, even though a cross-cultural environment presents its own challenges. Teachers saw students in formal capacities such as leaders of student councils or in student mentoring programs, yet also sat in the lunchroom, with their students' friends, playing cards. These educators were also able to discern when students were misplaced in schools, a cause of much student stress, and work with parents, administrators and counsellors to move them to a more successful stream, a practice that would see teachers in a unique position to offer care. And teachers often saw students in contexts as young adults, providing guidance and goal setting well beyond the secondary school years. As the contexts that such caring takes place are broad, what is important is a sense of moral agency (Campbell, 2003; Jackson et al., 1993) and adherence to professional standards (Campbell, 2003). Understanding the broader notions of teacher and teaching reveal an ever-expanding forum for mentoring to exist, beyond the contexts of community mentoring.

Teachers faced challenges when demonstrating extended caring for students (Shreffler, 1998, Trepanier-Street, 2004; Hargreaves, 2003; Rhodes, 2002). The first assumption might be that time would be a major challenge to engaging in close, mentoring relationships. The literature around teachers and mentoring even suggested that their hectic schedules would prevent such close contact (Shreffler, 1998; Rhodes, 2002b; Trepanier-Street, 2004). Yet teachers demonstrated that they made the time, stayed healthy, and guarded their own responsibilities both professionally and in their private lives. However, the crux of this challenge may be in the fact that all students desired to be mentored, to have that close, personal relationship with a teacher, to be benevolently set aside from the group to talk, explore, have their needs addressed, whether they related to concerns at home or needed to be developed in a capacity not necessarily offered by the school's curricular choices. In fact, it was Mohammed who questioned the very notion of the at-risk student, and suggested that students who are not mentored may become at-risk students. Therefore, if schools are to realize the power of one-on-one, extensive caring as a means of valuing students, and there are many students who desire such a deep connection, then the time to extend such relationships to all students becomes the challenge. Indeed, as

secondary teachers may have up to one hundred and eighty students a year, many would find it difficult to provide mentoring to each and every student.

Teachers who provide extended caring opportunities to students can improve their mentoring practice. Students offered the strongest advice to teachers by saying that they need to practice and understand the nuances of rapport. Building an initial rapport, possibly in a classroom connection, is often the beginning of extensive care and relationship. This rapport should be developed with a sense of emotion, care, and the will to connect students not just to material, but to themselves. Teachers can use humour, stories, and emotion, and demonstrate a willingness to listen to students, before wanting those students to ever complete an assignment. Students also suggested that teachers need to take steps to enter their world and engage their interests. This can be a task that may be difficult for some teachers who feel uncomfortable discussing, or indeed participating in, activities that are not part of their own orientations. Peer influences and cultural preoccupations may prevent students from initially desiring that connection with a teacher, and thus a step towards a student might prove significant in forming initial relationship. Teachers also suggested that learning how to provide extended relationships of care can be gleaned through collegial associations, drawing on their own personal experiences, understanding that students do not want to be told what to do, fostering a relationship with principals and vice principals that allows for support, and exploring research which will further their own efficacy in mentoring students.

Broader Notions of Mentoring

As stated throughout this book, teacher knowledge is far beyond technical and curricular understandings (Sockett, 1987; Goodson, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Niyozov, 2001). The broader notions of teacher and teaching reveals that teacher knowledge and teaching are very complex, layered, personal, and professional, and they involve complicated changing socio-political realities. As seen by mentoring scholars like Rhodes (2002a), community mentoring programs suffer from high turn-over rates. Perhaps part of the reason for this turn-over is the lack of preparation of mentors. As mentors might volunteer for mentoring organizations, and such organizations might provide some mentor training, perhaps development of mentors may well be served by discussions of caring, emotions, relationships, pastoral care, and ethics. High attrition rates may be reduced through analyzing teachers who continue to mentor for many years. To be sure, the teachers never fully walked away from their desire to mentor students. There were times where they dealt with difficulties like students misreading their intentions, or administrators that seemed to foster a climate that prevented the desire to mentor. However, it is in learning how teachers overcome such frustrations that could be so valuable to mentoring organizations retaining their mentors. Mentors in mentoring organizations would be well-served to hear from teachers about how to mentor, and why to keep going even when frustrated. And mentoring organizations would be

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wise to partner with teachers when developing their own staff. With a wealth of experience, not using teachers who mentor in staff development seems like a wasted opportunity.

Therefore, this notion of mentoring students seems just as important as mentoring oneself. Anecdotally, I found in my mentoring programs that if the adult volunteers were not mentored, they would often fade away and leave students bewildered, upset and demoralized. As mentors, whether in schools or in community programs, it is vital to recognize their own development, to create cultures of mentoring (Mullen, 1999) where discussions involving layered, complex questions can be asked and pursued, and where relationships re-invigorate a passion for development.

Challenges to Mentoring and the Darker Side

Teachers found there were other challenges to mentoring students. Sometimes students misread teachers' professional ethical (Jackson et al., 1993; Campbell, 2003) intentions. Students interpreted extended caring as invitations to a romantic relationship, or one where a teacher's safety might be compromised. Well-intentioned after-school availability was even used as an alibi for criminal behaviour. Students could also misuse social media, draining a teacher of that vital energy needed to form healthy relationships. Therefore, teachers were wise in establishing personal protocols, advising students of what they were able to do, and what they were not able to do. Some teachers found that what they were able to do changed depending on the day, considering the daily mood or challenges facing both themselves or their students. Yet teachers were perhaps in a better position to meet challenges than other mentoring schemes are, such as community volunteer mentoring. They were immersed in the ethical standards offered by regional professional advisories on topics like sexual misconduct (OCT, 2002), and electronic and social media (OCT, 2011). As well, they were guided by collegial and administrative leaders, union and board leaders. These teachers also took into consideration social dynamics, home life, course loads, and student interactions with other adults. Teachers are therefore in a position that differentiates them from community mentors in that they have access to more people and resources to support their mentoring.

A further challenge is that of providing closure for students who consider their teachers mentors. As teachers went "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) classroom efforts to care for students, often continuing a relationship long after securing positions at other schools, or even mentoring some students well into early adulthood, there were times where the relationship reached a sense of closure, or perhaps simply a form of caring that was less direct. It is in those times of conclusions that teachers have to recognize that the danger of such a close relationship is that there might not be another of similar depth. Returning in some ways to the understanding that the base-line for teachers should be an environment of care and personal attention, the fact that a student may withdraw in light of a relationship's culmination is a challenge for teachers to address.

Some teachers experienced difficulties in mentoring opposite-gender students or those from other cultures (Rhode et al., 2002; Clutterbuck & Raggins, 2002; Morrow & Styles, 1995). But teachers often recognized that they and students could build other commonalities besides ethnic, religious, or gender similarities. In fact, in some cases, it proved to be an advantage in offering perspectives outside of a student's usual context.

Therefore, even though teachers differentiated teaching from mentoring, most noted that acting in valuable, comprehensive, ethically sustainable close relationships with students was teaching, was being a teacher. The value produced a *continued momentum* in the lives of students that did not just necessarily translate into improved marks—though it did in every occasion. This momentum overflowed into feelings of acceptance, efficacy, intellectual prowess and carried students to further expressions of human engagement, debate, and the yearning to care for others.

BROADER NOTIONS OF TEACHER AND TEACHING

As stated in the literature on caring (Noddings, 1984, 2005, 2007), emotions (Blackmore, 1996; Fried, 1994; Fullan, 1997; Hargreaves, 1997, 1998; Tickle, 1991; Boler, 1999; Winograd, 2003), and pastoral care (Best et al., 1980; Lang & Young, 1985; Galloway, 1990; Marland, 2001; Lodge, 2006; Best, 2007; Hui, 2002; Hearn et al., 2006), students who are cared for care more about the world and have an increased desire to learn about the world. As seen through each of the students in this research, their opinions of most teachers were very classroom-oriented and functionally understood—come in, sit down, listen to instructions, complete assignment. Though classroom management is a topic worthy of discussion, the students saw school in a very limited, even technical way. Therefore, if the broader notions of teacher and teaching can teach us anything, it is that when teachers engage broader forms of knowledge and experiment with a greater host of relational interactions, students actually see themselves and school in larger terms. They see themselves as supported risk-takers, thoughtful leaders, able to often do for themselves what was previously another's domain, and achieve well beyond their expectations.

The Importance of Academics

The literature on teaching and schools suggests a direct correlation between being cared for and student engagement and achievement (Dewey 1938; Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996; Hargreaves, 2003; Hearn et al., 2006; Noddings, 2005, 2007). In fact, the literature demonstrates that the lack of caring or personal relationships between teachers and students actually results in lower academic achievement (Poplin & Weeres, 1994; Bingham & Sidorkin, 2004).

Within this research, the academic improvements were clear. Every student produced better quality work, achieved higher grades, and found themselves in

roles previously unconsidered, from entering contests to becoming valedictorians. But such hard evidence has to be considered along with being able to speak up for oneself, developing strong, thoughtful opinions, wanting to experiment with ideas and concepts, and performing tasks that had academic components, but were not necessarily mark-driven. Students surprised themselves with their new abilities. In essence, teachers who went "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) produced students who went "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18).

Teachers even talked extensively about the fact that mentoring usually produced students who were more academically engaged. Haley discussed that the focus of her mentoring is to make sure that students do not settle for a pass, that they are excited about a sense of their own growing achievement. Her mentoring saw her collaborating with other colleagues who would aid students in psycho-social struggles while she focused on goal setting and academic improvement.

For teachers in this book, academics were never secondary or minimized. Mentoring was seen as a way to improve a student socially, relationally, spiritually, yet always determined that academic success was important to developing the whole child.

Teaching as a Relational Endeavour

The concept of teaching as fundamentally relational is not necessarily new thinking (Rogers, 1967; Erickson, 1987; Poplin & Weeres, 1994; Bingham & Sidorkin, 2004). Relational notions of teaching that display empathy, negotiate trust, prize students, are genuine, and engage diversity suggests a greater possibility to build new commonalities and trust networks between teachers and students. And as seen in the work of Britzman (1998, 2007, 2010), people can be difficult and complex. Yet, such relational realities as uncertainty or resistance need not necessarily be signs of relational maladies, and need to be explored as a healthy discomfort, a way to reinterpret our own values and ways of seeing the world. Teachers suggested that they were not sure why students approached them; they must have seen something in them, an openness, a commonality, a sense of competence that they as teachers could not necessarily define. There was a complexity to these relationships that while others were not necessarily drawn to them in such ways, other students yearned to be mentored by them.

The teachers in this book demonstrated that relationships must be seen in the broader context of who teachers are. In developing respectful, helpful, engaging relationships with students, they also revealed that in mentoring students, they needed to maintain relational networks with colleagues, including guidance counsellors, administrators, and parents. Mentoring became even more than just maintaining a relationship between teacher and student. Teachers also had to maintain relationships with those in their personal lives, including their own parents, spouses, and children.

However, there were times when maintaining a helping relationship with a teen caused complications in relationships with colleagues. Similarly, a strong relationship with a student could actually enrage a parent, or cause a strained relationship with

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a school's administrators. Such relationships might also come in conflict with a school's formal policy or sense of professional ethics. Thus, relationships should never be seen as solely independent from all other relationships in the life of a teacher. As well, relationships sometimes need to come to a conclusion, or at least become a different form than what they previously were. A sudden end in the relationship can cause pain, anger and frustration for a student who feels abandoned and alone. Therefore, relationships belong to a complex, changing web that is much broader than a teacher-student discussion after class or after school.

What also needs to be addressed among teachers is what happens when a student takes advantage of the relationship with a teacher. Two teachers felt that students misread mentoring intentions, and as a result, at least one closed herself off from any type of mentoring relationship for a significant duration. One student even used the relationship as a pretext to commit criminal acts. Evidence of such difficulties in mentoring relationships suggests that administrators need to be there to support teachers, helping them make good choices, yet also protecting them when students act is harmful ways.

Ethics, Teaching, and Mentoring

Teachers work in a complex social system that warrants consideration of professional ethics (Campbell, 2003). As well, ethical dilemmas and decisions can be addressed through topical, critical issues involving emerging technology (OCT, 2011) or situations of sexual misconduct (OCT, 2002) Teachers who mentor students should hold to time-honoured values of care, respect, trust, and fairness, as well as understand their legal and fiduciary responsibilities.

However, as teachers consider the broader notions of teaching, which includes mentoring, they may be introduced to situations previously not considered. Jackson et al. (1993) suggest that teachers should cultivate an "expressive awareness" (p. 239) which applies to all areas of teacher work, from organizing a classroom to completing extra-curricular projects, to discussions of relational sensitivity. Teacher awareness should develop an "ethical knowledge" (Campbell, 2003, p. 2), which encompasses a teacher's deeper recognition of moral agency while adhering to a sense of professional ethics. Similarly, even methods used in mentoring such as "private conversations" (Hansen, 2001, p. 730) need to be guided by personal and professional ethics with an understanding of legal issues of trust and care.

Teachers demonstrated a high standard of professional ethics, sometimes in very difficult situations. Their stories revealed integrity and a sustained commitment to student care. However, of particular note was when teachers received conflicting messages about what was moral, sometimes highlighted through socio-political tensions. For example, teachers were interviewed for this book in a year of teacher sanctions against a government who acknowledged using educators as political pawns, a process which lasted almost the entire school year. One of the teachers, who was a member of the union executive, declared that he would not be staying a

minute past the bell, while another was a department head attempting to maintain her relationship with both teachers and the administration. Another teacher felt that the union was wrong and was unfairly targeting students by forcing teachers to work minimal hours and not meet with students outside of classroom duties. In essence, the scope of teaching is at times purposely narrowed in light of issues of workplace concerns. The ethical decision to mentor is sometimes superseded by the need to support colleagues and stand up to destructive government policies. The "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) practice can become the least and the minimal, as ethics can contrast with workplace conditions.

Therefore, teachers who mentor need to see themselves as "moral agents" in a sometimes shifting landscape. Such a terrain can seem uneven when confronted with new situations and a desire to mentor and care for students. Such difficulties can even be caused by socio-political complexities inherent in school systems. However, teachers who mentor need to be aware of themselves as moral agents, and always consider their practice in light of professional ethics.

Care, Pastoral Care, and Emotions

Noddings' (1984, 2005, 2007) understanding of care is in sharp contrast to the increasing attempts to control systems, limit teacher work and knowledge, while providing the perception of accountability through policies that compel standardization. The practice of care that she advocates invokes a broader sense of the role of education and educator, as one who "should promote the growth of students as healthy, competent, moral people" (Noddings, 2005, p. 10), which is similarly described in the pastoral care literature as health and well-being (Hearn et al., 2006).

Noddings' (2005) "ethic of care" (p. 21) is expressed through modeling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation (2005, p. 22), which not only demonstrates a teacher's willingness to care for students, but in effect develops a student's capacity for caring—teachers can teach students to care through assignments, readings, and reasoning, yet their intrinsic understanding of what it means to care for others and the world around them is dependent on the experience of being cared for.

The practice of caring leads to a "caring occasion" (Nodding, 2005, p. 24), and dialogue reinforces the "criterion of engrossment" (Noddings, 2005, p. 23), which helps the carer to build a knowledge of the student, which aids the carer in attempting to care in the most appropriate ways.

Caring for students also provides outcomes that are broader than those revealed in the accountability movement. As suggested through the research on pastoral care, students who are cared for build resilience, foster academic success, and are more likely to engage in other human and community systems around them (Hearn et al., 2006).

The teachers in this book, in many ways, employed such caring. When dealing with students in light of socio-family strife, teachers modeled what caring looks

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like, participated in meaningful caring dialogue, discussed possible solutions with students and ways of approaching situations, and saw evidence of students being able to care for others. However, teachers demonstrated that caring occasions can turn into many occasions with the same students. This behaviour represented an ongoing relationship of care, or mentoring, that addressed student needs in ways previously not considered. For example, although caring might be thought of as a person-to-person discussion involving teacher and student about a salient life issue, teachers and students demonstrated that such caring could take other shapes and forms. It could be seen through an after-school video game club where students felt that their interests were represented. It could be seen through projects, which called students to awaken dormant skills and passions. It could be seen in such trivial discussions about how a student is going to decorate her room. In fact, Noddings' (2005) concepts of modeling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation proves to be in some cases highly non-linear. Indeed, the student who does not want to talk (dialogue) following an assault in a gym class may still be cared for by a teacher in an attempt to provide protection, understanding, and space. Furthermore, this caring can be synergistic (Mullen, 1999) as students are provided a culture of mentors who might share differing or unique roles in response to a caring occasion, as in the case of teacher who monitors a student's goal-setting and academic achievement while another might provide insight into solving problems at home. Additional ideas of caring might be even understood through the understanding of difficult knowledge (Brtizman, 1998, 2007, 2010). Relationships are very complex, and uncertainty is sometimes to be expected. Indeed, dialogue may produce a misunderstanding of what is needed to care, and confirmation might not be readily offered by a student who does not want to hear what a mentor says. Similarly, as mentoring suggests multiple occasions of caring, the practice might change, and teachers and students might understand that previous ways of caring were more or less beneficial. As stated by one teacher, emotions (Blackmore, 1996; Fried, 1994; Fullan, 1997; Hargreaves, 1997, 1998; Tickle, 1991; Winograd, 2003) sometimes dictate the level of engrossment (Noddings, 2005) and the ability to model or engage in dialogue on a particular day. If teaching activates emotions (Hargreaves, 1998), might also a class, school, or environment sometimes activate negative feelings in a teacher, resulting in negative feelings in students? This is akin to Anton's view that teachers can sometimes mentor in negative ways, through multiple occasions of activating negative feelings within students. When understanding caring, it is important for teachers to practice emotional understanding (Hargreaves, 1998) that suggests teachers understand their own emotions and feelings before attempting to relate to others. Caring requires emotional labour (Hargreaves, 1998) that obligates teachers to find the energy it takes to deal with students. Such energy can be affected by personal circumstances, relationships with colleagues, feelings towards their employers, duration of career, and a school environment that might be left wanting. Teachers' ability to care might be stunted by previous events, such as a student's misreading

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of intentions, or systemic requirements, which may oppose a teacher's belief about what is ethical.

Teachers stated that mentoring, that is extended occasions of caring, can take place in one year, not take place for long period of time (one to two years), and then redevelop into a mentoring relationships again. This type of mentoring, where significant time is taken between a series of caring occasions, might be almost unheard of in other forms of mentoring like community mentoring. Indeed, once a relationship has been terminated in a program like Big Brothers, it would be a very rare occurrence that a mentor would ever be paired with a mentee again. However, one of the advantages of secondary teachers mentoring students is that the process is often not linear. It takes a shape defined by the uniqueness of the relationship.

Therefore, multiple occasions of caring suggest a complex, non-liner process, which is subject to a variety of factors. Emotions, feelings, perceptions, conflicts, school cultures, and obligations influence the quality of care, and the extent to whether we produce students who are healthy, academically sound, and morally driven. Pastoral care reveals that systemic responses to care can produce an intentional, focused attention, yet begs the question of what a systemic approach to care is? Without such systemic attempts or interest, does this then suggest a care deficit in particular school districts?

Mentoring for Diversity

Discussions of diversity evident in the mentoring literature (Rhodes et al., 2002; Morrow & Styles, 1995; Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002) are pertinent to the notion of secondary school teachers as mentors. Whereas classroom teaching presents a diversity that is part of the job—a class of regular stream students presents a host of ethnic cultures, traditions, sexual orientations, values, and perspectives—mentoring is a choice teachers make, although often initiated by students. Some teachers may choose not to mentor opposite-gender students in situations that make either the teacher or student uncomfortable, and others might assume that cultural barriers are too complex to negotiate in light of building substantial, deep relationships with students.

Teachers in this book spoke of times where they felt the need to refer a student who, for example, wanted care from a same-sex teacher. Yet more often than not, teachers demonstrated a commitment to mentor students despite differing backgrounds or genders. They approached students from particular backgrounds as not homogenous. Considering Vygotsky's (1978) understanding of culture, teachers' practices recognized culture as a complex realm of associations including home life, community involvement, friends, gender, ideologies, socio-economic realities, and unconscious motivations, which should never be reduced to stereotypical assumptions. Of further note, this research revealed the importance of challenging students' preconceived notions often derived from their particular cultures. For example, complacent attitudes towards abuse, or limiting notions of gender, were

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confronted and addressed in different ways. Students were even sometimes brought together in attempt to better understand disconcerting notions of other peers' cultural beliefs. Teachers at times provided perspectives or discussed situations forbidden by parents or guardians. Therefore, teachers were not just sensitive to diversity. Part of their mentoring was to encourage diversity, helping students to see beyond the confines of their cultures, to practice and pursue opportunities that their cultures previously suffocated, including thoughts about education, post-secondary education, careers, and relational directions. In some senses, teachers challenged the idea that students must be "cultural" or from a specific "culture," as beliefs, experiences, capacities are specific to an individual and continually in flux.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

Preparing Myself as a Teacher Who Mentors

As a former youth worker who networked with schools and teachers, I did not realize the extent to which teachers were involved in the lives of students. To be sure, I considered that teachers did more than mark tests and teach lessons. I knew that teachers built relationships with students, cared about them, and tried to motivate them to achieve more. However, this concept of going "above and beyond" (Mullen, 2009, p. 18) was framed for me within my first few in-service years as: I knew teachers did *this*. But I did not know that teachers did *that*. Part of the original vision of this book was to interview members of the public, parents, principals, and superintendents to discover if they were actually aware of the practices that went beyond what are assumed. Although this study's structure was altered to specifically address teachers and students, it is fair to say that most people would probably not know the extent to which teachers mentor students. Most people would not know that teachers may buy clothes for students in an attempt to be culturally sensitive to the grief of their peers. Most principals would not assume that teachers are giving up their prep time to walk the halls, looking for students who have had a particularly bad weekend. Would most policy makers or union representatives be sensitive to the fact that teachers are meeting with former students, sometimes years past graduation, regarding goal setting, careers, and further development? Do students tell parents years later that in their dating life, teachers were instrumental in providing guidance and support to develop healthy relationships? Do students even know that sometimes the peer support they received was actually under the direction of teacher? When pre-service teachers are in faculties of education, do they picture taking courses that would help them to ascertain on a Friday, after school, if a student will commit suicide that weekend? Indeed, even as a teacher myself, I was constantly surprised during the interviews about what I did not know about teacher work. And possibly, at the heart of the matter, is not the fact that such efforts do not happen regularly, but that the awareness of such actions is limited. Without an awareness, teachers cannot learn from each other, principals cannot provide guidance, parents are prone to be

suspicious, and policy makers will continue to limit teacher work instead of making concessions to support teacher work.

Additionally, the term mentoring does not encompass all that teachers do. In some contexts, mentoring might be seen as superior to the notion of teaching. However, although mentoring was often described as an activity that happened outside the normal course structure, it was a consistent practice of educators in this research to build relationships of extended caring with students. In some ways, the term mentor failed to describe the extent to which teachers were availing themselves to students. A detachment of mentoring from teaching demonstrates an undermining of that which should lay the foundation for education, not those in addition to education. In saying that mentoring, in relationship to teaching, should be considered beyond normal practice is to force policy makers to define teachers as purveyors of information. The fact that teachers define mentoring as an extra-practice is no fault of their own, as they use it to describe a way of making time to meet with students to address their deep needs. In fact, many teachers stated it was central to the practice of teaching, that it was just as important or, indeed, more important than other duties on a particular day. Therefore, the finding of this book suggests that mentoring is not a space within a subsection of teaching, but represents the very heart of what education should promote: deep, healthy, caring relationships between teachers and students.

Preparing Teachers as Mentors

As a result of multiple bachelor degrees and a host of graduate studies, certificates, and personal and collegial learning opportunities pursued by teachers as students, their subject knowledge is often extensive even before applying to pre-service programs. Admittedly, issues of translating that knowledge through active discussions of teaching strategies, classroom management, assessment of and for learning, as well as courses discussing psycho-socio and political-economic constructs such as schools, communities, cultures and environments are part of what prepares a teacher to fulfill the role of engaging students in meaningful, deep learning. However, the broader notions of teacher and teaching represent a scope of understanding and practice that is beyond that which was taught in the faculties of education.

The concept of secondary school teachers as mentors highlights a need to understand a growing body of knowledge, skills, and approaches for supporting their students. Teachers need to develop an awareness of practice that includes relationships (Rogers, 1969; Poplin & Weeres, 1994; Erickson, 1987), caring (Noddings, 1984, 2005, 2007; Hargreaves, 2003; Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996), pastoral care (Galloway, 1990; Marland, 2001; Lodge, 2006; Best, 2007; Hui, 2002; Hearn et al., 2006) emotions (Hargreaves, 1998; Winograd, 2003), ethics (Campbell, 2003; Jackson et al., 1993), and diversity sensitivity (Rhodes et al., 2002; Morrow & Styles, 1995; Clutterbuck & Ragins, 2002). Teachers who wish to mentor should first be conscious of mentoring behaviour, and how it is different from, but related to, regular classroom instruction. Teachers recognized that even though a certain

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form of mentoring takes place in the regularly scheduled class through connecting with students and modeling, and also through other afterschool clubs, sports, and activities, they were very intentional about realizing the impact of employing methods in an attempt to foster a *relational responsivity* in students. This intentionality led to specific forms of mentoring like project-based efforts or career tracking, and often specific mentoring techniques like journaling or tone of voice, creating a momentum that continued for many months and years, even past graduation.

Once awareness is cultivated among student teachers, they need to be introduced to the wealth of suggestions and approaches offered by experienced teachers who have found powerful ways to engage students beyond the confines of the classroom, as well as an awareness of skills, attitudes and approaches needed to become better mentors to students. For instance, one of the suggestions consistent in the interviews with students who were mentored was that teachers need to learn how to build a rapport with students. This rapport often begins in the classroom during regularly scheduled lessons, but sets the tone for students to welcome an approach of *relational responsivity* that leads to a *continued momentum*. Such a rapport may even be sparked by, as in Haley's case, classroom pictures and artifacts that demonstrate a teacher is caring and willing to listen. This rapport need not begin with discussions about matters of great importance, but instead may need to start with superficial conversations or activities before a sense of trust is developed—a sense that the teacher is willing to spend time on a student even if their conversations did not have a specific curricular or psycho-social end.

Yet teachers also need to understand just who, in fact, is in need of mentoring. As mentoring often purports to save at-risk students (Rhodes, 2002, p. 10), it is usually because they have demonstrated anti-social, destructive or attention-grabbing behaviour (Galloway, 1981, p. 10). However, the students who are not designated as being at-risk are also suffering and troubled, even though they might not readily present themselves as such. And, as suggested through the mentoring literature as well as recent studies identifying student stress, more extensive caring of all students will confirm their value, their worth, and inevitably produce students who achieve beyond the curriculum and engage the world through efforts surprising to even themselves.

Teachers need to be prepared to enter schools where working with students is a complex reality that encompasses, or at least points to, the broader notions of teacher and teaching (Sockett, 1987; Goodson, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Niyozov, 2001). Technical notions of lesson planning, teaching strategies, and subject knowledge are important and not to be left unaddressed. But if teachers are trained to concentrate on academics and intellect at the expense of caring, empathy, engagement, and emotions, then teachers will be instructed to teach students about the world without modeling that students are an infinitely valuable part of that world. Teaching presents an inherent connection revealed by Noddings (1984, 2005, 2007), that students will create healthy and caring relationships if they

have first understood what it means to be cared for. If schools desire to produce students who care about and for the world, then we must demonstrate to them that they are worthy of such extensive care. Without a context for exhaustive, motivating relationships with students, all we are teaching our future teachers to do is provide students with binders of information and a host of technical skills.

Teacher candidates need to talk about the dangers of mentoring students. They need to explore possible scenarios where integrity might be compromised, where students may misinterpret the extra opportunities available to them, where situations of jealousy between students might arise, and where conflicts with colleagues might threaten a collaborative atmosphere. Mentoring represents the best intentions that teachers have to offer, and when abused, or less than thoughtful behaviour is employed, teaching and teacher behaviour become limited and subject to great suspicion and increased measures of accountability. As Annie stated, teachers are "subject to a different panel of judges," and mentoring produces a behaviour that has to be well-considered before implementation.

Mentoring Teacher Candidates

Teacher candidates in schools are often introduced to a wealth of tasks, including lesson plans, assignments, marking, interpreting local school protocol, all in an environment that might last only a few weeks. Added to this load would be their own assignments, reflections and academic responsibilities. However, the introduction to teacher work is often solely classroom based. In fact, if teacher candidates are allowed a break from their classroom, it is usually to visit other classrooms. Such an orientation might present teaching as limited, technical, and curricular. Rarely do teacher candidates get the chance to reflect on the broader role teachers can play, how personal relationships outside of the classroom can actually lead to better academic success inside the classroom. Are teacher candidates readily offered discussions of how to garner a *relational responsivity* in students who see school as a function of classroom order: sit down, listen to the assignment, perform the task. And teacher candidates are well-served by addressing difficult knowledge (Britzman, 1998, 2007, 2010), and that resistance or difference are not necessarily indicators of a student's lack of desire for relationship.

Secondly, as Noddings (2005) suggests, maybe the best way to promote caring in others is by caring for them. If deep, abiding, extended relationships are foundational to learning and education, then are we providing a disservice to teacher candidates when they are placed in a school for only a few weeks at a time? Similarly, within a framework of two of three weeks, candidates are assessed by their associate teachers on only technical skills like organizing a lesson. If the broader notions of teacher and teaching include elements like understanding personal relationships with students, emotions, caring, and ethics, then teacher candidates should be exposed to concepts other than just classroom management skills and subject competency.

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Mentoring as a Form of Professional Development

Teachers suggested that administrators have a role to play in the professional development of secondary teachers who wish to mentor students. Of specific note were workshops around current areas of need like student stress. Professional learning needs to take into account the diversity of such topics, as in the difference between the stress of junior students verses that of senior students. As well, teachers need an awareness of themselves as moral agents, and how this moral agency can be applied in areas of mentoring, including those that constitute professional and legal obligations.

Yet skill development in the area of mentoring that helps teachers negotiate the broader notions of teacher and teaching may be fruitless if teachers do not exist in an environment of mentoring. As administrative staffs advocate for resonating relationships that improve learning and help to foster a sense of community, healing, and purpose within student life, they would be better prepared to offer such relationships to their teachers. Teachers are quick to realize when expectations of their practice are not paralleled by those who can offer their best to both new and experienced teachers alike. However, mentoring need not be seen as dependent on a top-down structure. Inevitably, a culture of that promotes synergy (Mullen, 1999), where teachers are mentoring and being mentored by each other, creates an environment of co-learning that makes for a collegial atmosphere of trust, interdependence, and social vitality.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Creating Supportive Conditions

Policy makers are in a unique position to assess the needs of those under their care. In determining need, some boards (e.g., Yau et al., 2013) have commissioned studies to assess what areas have been overlooked, and where looming crises could be. The need to address student stress (Bailey, 2012; AP, 2010; Mundy, 2005; Ramirez, 2009; U.S. Department of Education, 2005; Salmela-Aro & Tynkkynen, 2012; Kaiser Family Foundation, 2005; Stuart, 2006) is pertinent. In some ways, the crisis is silent as students drift through their secondary experience, disengaged, troubled and bored, seeing school as a meaningless obligation rather than a place where people care. The crisis is sometimes loud, as bullying rates, intimidation, helplessness and hopelessness put pressure on policy makers and politicians to solve issues that are layered and complex. The response is often the provision of a minimal program, funds for an anti-bullying-day speaker, or the direction of resources to places that will prove ineffectual and might even promote cynicism among school staff and students.

Policy makers who structure boards are mandated to allocate resources where they are most needed. Superintendents and directors of education oversee a never-

ending supply of demands from special education to ELL to a host of special programs. However, what is often lost in the process is the student who might not show up on any high-risk radar. Within such structures, there may be room to see the regular stream student as one needing particular attention. As seen through this research, focused mentoring relationships between teachers and students outside of the classroom can make for dramatically increased motivation and high achievement inside the classroom. Similarly, setting aside time outside of the classroom structure for talking with students and building relationships fosters a sense in students that teachers are genuinely interested in them and are rooting for their success in all areas of their lives, not just through the next test or assignment. Thus, as resource balancing is an ongoing commitment for boards, the value of investing in mentoring outside the classroom may prove to be money well spent. Similarly, the literature on pastoral care (Best et al., 1980; Lang & Young, 1985; Galloway, 1990; Marland, 2001; Lodge, 2006; Best, 2007; Hui, 2002; Hearn et al., 2006) reveals that schools and boards in certain regions are intentional about care, and see it as an integral part of their system structure. Boards are seeing that stress and the emotional well-being of students are growing concerns, and are identifying guiding principles and standards which will promote healthier schools through organized care systems. Resources are being used to support caring environments, and boards need to look to their own educational environments, as well as learn from other developed systems of care, to understand how to meet the core challenges in their particular settings. Policy leaders could even provide remuneration for teachers who dedicate time outside of the classroom structure. Such remuneration could be in the form of increased pay, but also needs to take into account the emotional energy needed to engage in resonating relationships with students. For some teachers, time to refresh and recover their own sense of personal energy will provide lasting benefits to both colleagues and students alike. Similarly, funds could be made available for teachers who wish to pursue more specialized courses at the college level that would expand their understanding of how to engage challenging elements such as diversity.

Acknowledging Teachers as Mentors

Policy makers are influential in altering or sustaining powerful political structures. When it comes to key political decisions that shape policy and negotiate teacher workload, as well as create and sustain initiatives to ensure schools are functioning well, policy leaders can promote that which furthers deep caring and learning. Policy makers need to keep studying the ramifications of student stress, surveying all educational stakeholders to present a clearer picture of how teachers engage students. Such responses reveal that teachers are acting in ways far more significant than the usual methods of accountability, like test scores and graduation rates.

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Educational leaders are also brokers of public opinion. Boards where this research took place have dramatically increased their advertising, from billboards in bus stops and hockey arenas to commercials at movie theatres, and teachers have often been drawn into the discussion as to how to better market public schools within their local community. Boards even create specialist majors (e.g., law, business) for secondary students to make the public school system more attractive. However, in light of a public who wants their tax dollars spent appropriately, perhaps there is no better testimony than students with stories to tell about teachers who fostered a *relational responsivity*, who really understood them, created a motivation where there was previous malaise, and provided a *continued momentum* that will invigorate life-long learning.

Additionally, as noted, policy makers have to realize that their actions in the media to discredit teachers take an emotional toll on teachers. As stated in the literature on teacher emotions (Hargreaves, 1998), public shaming and combative attitudes drain teacher ability to perform the job. Teaching is more than a technical practice of creating a lesson that addresses relevant material—it is a process that requires a deep emotional well to draw from when negotiating the lives of a diverse range of students with imminent needs.

Mentoring as Career Growth

As broader notions of teaching illustrate that teacher perspective, energy, knowledge, and practice can change over a teacher's lifespan, mentoring as career growth can have an impact throughout a teacher's career. As teachers gain more experience in mentoring students, confronting a complex array of student issues, backgrounds, challenges and solutions, their ability to offer guidance to other teachers becomes important. This guidance might be helpful if directed, for example, towards newer teachers struggling with lesson planning, marking schemas, and a general orientation to public schools. However, it should be noted that lack of years of service does not necessarily translate into inabilities to help other teachers explore their mentoring capacities. Also, experience in other professions, or even simply personal experiences, can lead to a better understanding of how to help other teachers grow in their abilities as mentors.

Additionally, promotion through the public education system is often granted through years of service or courses taken (e.g., specialist designations, masters degrees, special education as requirement for headship or administration). Teachers work in a helping profession, so perhaps the defining characteristic of career advancement should be their ability to help other people. Thus, if we are to create climates of caring for our students, organizational skills, qualifications, and years of service are of some importance. However, the ability to mentor, care and develop organized systems of care, and the ability to form deep relationships with both staff and students alike, should be the marker of advancement.

Selecting Teachers as Mentors

John Novak (personal communication, August 26, 2014) notes in the selection of teachers, it might be helpful to choose teachers "with mentoring in mind" (p. 2). He recalls Wasicsko's (e.g., Wasicsko et al., 2009) research, which suggests that assessing a potential candidate's aptitude for caring may just lie in a "person's basic dispositions about themselves, students, educational purposes, and long term orientation" (personal communication, August 26, 2014, p. 2). Novak reveals that Wasicsko's research concludes that an interview may not be the best avenue for assessing a potential caring orientation, and that perhaps writing about a "critical incident" (personal communication, August 26, 2014, p. 2) may provide a better understanding of how that teacher cares for students.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Mentoring in Cross-Cultural Community Contexts

As the setting for this research demonstrated, immigrant and cross-cultural experiences and viewpoints were vital to an understanding of the complexities teachers faced in their practice. Of note was sometimes a need to challenge assumptions derived from cultural presuppositions. Therefore, diversity of student needs and experiences suggest a possibility for more examination of what mentoring means in different settings and different communities. Practices and perspectives resident in aboriginal, black or faith-based communities, for example, could provide both reflection on the practice of mentoring and practical examples of how teachers could improve in their relationships with adolescents.

A further area of study in terms of cross-cultural understandings of mentoring is that of ethnocentric or gender-centric schools, and even boutique schools formed around niche interests. In attempts to better care for and mentor students who feel ostracized, displaced, or even bullied, schools that have been created to address care deficits have been promoted as successful educational alternatives. However, some important questions of such educational structures have to be asked, especially with an understanding of student care. Are students who are mentored only by teachers who share their cultural or gender orientations not at-risk of fearing diversity and inevitably limiting empathy? Can mentoring have a negative effect on students, refusing to challenge attitudes specific to their own orientations? Do such structures intended to prevent bullying and promote acceptance neglect to understand student hierarchies within specific orientations, leading to similar forms of domination and control? Do such schools essentially privatize caring and inherently undermine public confidence by suggesting that public schools lack the ability to properly care for all students? Are such schools forming because policy decisions and accountability measures are limiting teacher work and suspending time needed to develop deep relationships with students in mainstream secondary schools? These questions seem

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pertinent to the emerging literature on secondary school teachers as mentors and exploration of their professional practice.

Larger Scale Research

The concentration of this book was to analyze the experiences of five teachers who mentored students, and four former students who were mentored by teachers. Teacher and student perspective, as well as the sometimes dramatic stories of mentoring and student care, were compared and contrasted to examine the nuances of mentoring, what it means to teachers, what it means to students, and how the practice can be supported and improved. However, larger scale research into the topic of secondary school mentoring is needed. Perhaps quantitative studies, a combination of qualitative-quantitative studies, or even larger qualitative participant groups might aid further understanding of how secondary school teachers mentor students.

Another area of research to be explored is that of teachers mentoring students in the middle or elementary school panels. In this research, Tanvir noted that mentoring seems to be different for elementary or middle school students than it is for secondary students. For example, opposite-gender mentoring may provide a different set of considerations when it comes to younger students. Similarly, the types of stresses experienced by younger age groups, and the methods used to mentor such students, may be different than those at the secondary level. In any case, larger scale research that could represent a better totality of public school experiences is an area ripe for discourse.

Comparative International Research

Finally, as noted in the discussion of pastoral care found in Denmark, Singapore and England (Best, 1990) or Australia (Hearn et al., 2006; "Pastoral Care," 2014), international perspectives and comparisons can provide a further understanding of secondary school teachers as mentors. Comparative socio-economic levels, socio-political orientations, ethnic and religious perspectives, and urban-suburban-rural settings would produce rich and engaging literature and purposeful applications to the practice of teachers mentoring students. As the concept of teacher as mentor is contested and debated, understanding a context broader than Canadian specifics would warrant significant study and stimulate interesting discussion.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The spark for this book was resident in me throughout my public school years, and helped to shape me as someone who not only exited secondary school with a healthy respect for teachers, but also as someone who supported teacher efforts even when not employed by a school board. The experiences that really changed who I was, and taught me valuable moral lessons, as well as fostered a motivation

to develop new skills and deep learning, often occurred outside of the classroom. Coincidently, when I began teaching, my associate teacher said that sometimes the most meaningful of my experiences with my own students will take place outside the regularly scheduled class.

As a former youth worker who entered employment in the public school system, I wondered if mentoring occurred in the sense that I had once experienced it. It did. It does. Today's secondary school teachers are mentoring because there is a need for students to develop beyond the curriculum. As regular curricular courses may detail specific course requirements, mentoring surpasses these expectations and sees students creating targets of their own design. Teachers mentor because they find it is right and good. They also mentor because it works. Students achieve more, extend their critical thinking skills, all in an environment of care, value and empathy. Teachers in this book demonstrated that they want to mentor, and students, inevitably, yearn to be mentored by them.

NOTE

[1] Jack Miller (e.g. *Whole Child Education*, 2010) suggests that mentoring and holistic education requires more than just disposition. It requires skill development such as listening.

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