

# **Assumptions of Western schooling and the Basic Principles of Buddhism**

**Jeffrey W. Bloom**

Center for Excellence in Education  
Northern Arizona University  
Flagstaff, AZ 86011  
jeff.bloom@nau.edu

Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association,  
New Orleans, April, 2002.

In pondering the notion of how Buddhism or Buddhist and Shambhala principles can be incorporated into Western education, I believe it is important to discriminate between Buddhism and Shambhala as practice and Buddhism and Shambhala as view or aspiration. On the one hand, the insight and realization or manifestation of such principles can only be attained through the practice of Buddhism through some sort of meditative practice. On the other hand, many of these principles can be applied at some level to our views and aspirations as human beings and educators. Although this latter approach may not fully develop the Buddhist and Shambhala views, they may be able to transform our views and practices of schooling.

In considering the view of Buddhism and Shambhala as a transformative approach to schooling, we need to examine the sets of assumptions that underlie Western practices of schooling and how they conflict with Buddhist and Shambhala views. This examination of assumptions will be the focus of the first part of this paper. The second part of this paper will try to develop a view of how Buddhism and Shambhala can be incorporated into schooling practices in the West.

## **The Human Condition**

The human condition as it exists in our world from the Buddhist perspective is one marked by confusion and suffering. We are thrown about by waves of emotion. From the heights of joy to the depths of depression and everything in between, we suffer. This condition is known as samsara.

The root cause of this condition is ego, which in the Buddhist sense is different from how it is used in the west. Ego, from the Buddhist perspective, does not really exist (the next subsection will discuss egolessness in more detail). However, we create a sense of ego or a sense of solidity in our identity, as well as a sense of solidity of "other." This process of ego formation is known as the skandhas or the five heaps or clusters of processes (Guenther, 1974; Stcherbatsky, 1974/1970/1923; Trungpa, 1987). The first is form, which is an initial sense of being. The second is feeling or the beginnings of a sense or feeling of separateness. The third is perception, where we begin to discriminate between "I" and "other." The fourth is concept, where we begin to categorize our world into likes, dislikes, etc. The fifth is consciousness. Here the previous four skandhas are coordinated into a seemingly solid view of the world. Although these five processes are in operation all of the time, those of us who have had children can watch these processes develop somewhat sequentially as our newborns develop into the "terrible twos," where they really get "the hang" of putting all five processes together.

In addition to these fundamental clusters of continual ego formation, there are three basic emotional tendencies, which characterize our interactions with others and our world, in general. These emotional tendencies are referred to as the three poisons: (a) passion, (b) aggression, and (c) ignorance (Trungpa, 1987). Passion is a sense of desire or a sense of trying to attract and possess others (people or material goods). Aggression is a sense of trying to push away or get rid of someone or something. The final poison, ignorance, is not a sense of stupidity, but rather a sense of intelligent avoidance or ignoring. In fact, all three of these emotional tendencies involve a great deal of intelligence from the perspective of ego. Each of these tendencies is utilized to maintain a sense of solidity and comfort. We can notice these tendencies by simply walking down the street or through any crowded area. If we watch our mind as we walk through such areas, we will see how we are attracted to some people, repulsed by others, or even try to avoid some. The whole process occurs quite rapidly.

Whatever we do, these patterns of responding occur. The more they occur, the more they become entrenched; and the more they become habitual patterns of interacting in our world. These habitual patterns are a sense of karma. This notion of karma is one where we proceed through the same cyclical pattern of actions. They arise out of a different sense of ignorance, which is more primordial, rather than the poison of ignorance as an active emotional action. The pattern continues through a sense of initial perception to craving through to a sense of aging and death (of the specific focus of the cycle at any particular time). The entire cycle of thoughts

arising, developing, and dying repeats over and over again in our daily lives (Guenther, 1974; Stcherbatsky, 1974/1970/1923).

Depending on how our habitual patterns are entrenched, the Tibetans have described six basic realms of existence. We may reside in one particular realm most of the time, but we can reside in many throughout our lives. The lower realms are the animal, hungry ghost, and hell. In the animal realm, we tend to keep our noses to the ground and proceed through our daily routines without noticing anything about ourselves or our environments. It tends to be a realm characterized by intensive ignoring. We get up, bathe, get dressed, go to work, return home, eat, watch TV, and go to sleep. In the hungry ghost realm, which is characterized by a being with a huge stomach and very tiny mouth, we are constantly craving more than we can ever have. All of our actions and thoughts are caught in this realm of desire, from which we never get satisfaction. The hell realm is a sense of total claustrophobia and aggression. The experience is one in which there appears to be no escape (Guenther, 1974; Stcherbatsky, 1974/1970/1923; Trungpa, 1987).

The higher realms are the gods, jealous gods, and humans. The gods have reached the pinnacle of possessing material goods and power. They do not have to worry about meeting their basic needs and do not have to pay any attention to anyone else, especially those who are suffering. However, as this realm of existence is threatened by a potential loss of goods or power, or by others vying for their power and material goods, they can fall into the realm of jealous gods. In this realm, the residents are engulfed in spending all of their energy in defending what they have and not letting others have the same benefits. In the human realm, we have some sense of balance and an awareness of others, of our suffering and the suffering of others and ourselves. Our basic needs are met, but we are not engulfed in the extremes of particular emotional states. It is from this realm that people can practice meditation or work towards living a saner life.

The fundamental notion described above is that ego, although illusory and insubstantial, creates a continual cycle of cause and effect and of suffering or dissatisfaction. We create dualistic barriers between ourselves and the world around us. We live in thoughts of the past and future without ever simply being present in the moment. Although we can experience joy, the experience never lasts. The more we search for and try to hold onto joy, the further away the experience becomes.

In the process of schooling in the west, the approach is one of dualism, where students and teachers are pitted against one another. Although many teachers and students may have basically good relationships with one another, the institution of schooling is established on principles of dualism. Teachers are seen as managers of classrooms, as disseminators of knowledge, as enforcers of conformity, as evaluators, and as the primary authorities. Children are seen as less than complete human beings. They are asked to conform to the institution's notion of adults in the image of corporate America (Block, 1997; Wood, 1990). When children veer from the standards of behavior, they are dealt with in terms of the absoluteness of rules. Rather than working with the individual, the letter of the law presides. As a result, many students become disenfranchised with a few moving to the extremes of taking violent action against teachers and fellow students. The habitual patterns of schooling have become entrenched in ways that aggravate interpersonal relationships and fail to address the needs of each individual. If an institution can be placed into the realms of existence, schooling seems to vacillate between the animal realm in which everyone has achieved the ultimate in "going through the motions," the hungry ghost realm in which we can never get high enough test scores or whatever, the hell realm in which students and teachers alike feel trapped and claustrophobic, and, of course, the human realm where the best of schooling occurs.

### **Basics of Buddhist and Shambhala Views**

The fundamental characteristic of life from the Buddhist perspective is referred to as the three marks of existence, which are suffering, impermanence, and egolessness. In other words, our existence cannot escape from suffering, which can range from the dissatisfaction of not

getting what one wants, stubbing toes, etc. to extremes of physical pain, loss, intense illness, and death. In addition, everything is impermanent, including our own lives, the lives of our children, and even the earth as a whole. At the same time, the ultimate characteristic of our existence is egolessness. This notion is somewhat difficult, but basically refers to the absence of solidity in one's self and all other things. What we consider to be our identity is totally fabricated and empty of any lasting or solid substance. This applies to everything else in our world. This notion is not nihilistic, but rather one of seeing the ultimate reality of our world. In the Mahayana tradition (of which Zen is a part), the notion of shunyata or emptiness captures this notion. Everything is empty of nature, but at the same time everything is full. It is a notion that goes beyond concept to the direct experience of the present moment without interpretation or judgment. Most of us have had glimpses of such experiences in the initial moments of car accidents, when everything appears to be in slow motion, when we react without thought or panic, and when the whole experience is vividly clear and direct.

With the three marks of existence as the backdrop, the Buddhist view can be described as one of becoming truly human or completely sane. Buddhist practitioners are not immediately enlightened in terms of achieving ultimate egolessness. Instead, they commit themselves to working themselves and others by inquiring into how mind works and by trying to cut through the habitual patterns of ego. In working in this way, they also work with others to alleviate suffering through compassionate action, which, as will be discussed further, is not necessarily a pleasant experience for the giver or receiver of such action.

Where Buddhism works from the ground up by working with mind, the Shambhala view is one of manifesting enlightened action. In Shambhala, all beings are viewed as basically good. Although the meditation practice is the same as that of Buddhism, Shambhala goes further to celebrate cultural (can be any culture) practices that manifest courage, decency, confidence, joy, and up-liftedness. The image of the Shambhala practitioner is that of the spiritual warrior, who has the courage and openness to face anything (i.e., all emotions, all interactions, etc.). In both Buddhism and Shambhala, the notion of open and tender heart is held in common. It is this notion of tender heart that is the opening to Buddha nature and to relating directly to oneself and others. Open and tender heart is the key to recognizing the basic humanity of oneself and of all sentient beings.

Open heart also is the key to the practice of compassion. Compassion is not hierarchical in the sense of feeling pity or of feeling sorry for someone else. Rather, compassion is the direct sharing of humanity. Certain practices in both Buddhism and Shambhala actually work at taking on others' suffering. Such practices not only hold the potential for helping others, but also cut through one's own attachments to ego. As mentioned previously, compassionate action may not necessarily be pleasant. Since attachment to ego is the ultimate cause of suffering, compassionate action may be unpleasant as a result of its not supporting one's desires for confirmation. From my own experiences with Buddhist teachers, the experience of being with them may feel like they have just cut out your heart and thrown it on the ground. In one instance where I was very angry toward another individual, I asked Trungpa what to do about the situation. Without a word, he leaned over and hit me with some force in the stomach. After stumbling back from that event, he leaned over again without a word and gave me hug. The claustrophobia of the anger had vanished, and I was left just feeling raw. It was this feeling of just the pain without thought that was a glimpse of egolessness. The purity of pain was both energizing and liberating.

### **The Situation of Western Schooling**

Although many individual schools and classrooms are relatively sane in their treatment of teachers and children, the institution as a whole can be described quite differently. In addition, we cannot examine the institution of schooling apart from society. The ills and dysfunctional aspects of society are reflected in our schools. The fundamental problem lies in the hierarchical structure of society and the institution of schooling. Hierarchies are characterized as layers, which exert control and power in a top-down fashion and which allow information or materials to flow upward (Volk, 1995). It is from this situation that a basic and unhealthy separation is

perpetuated. This separation becomes a duality of us against them, of superintendents against the state department (or ministry) of education, of principals against superintendents, of teachers against principals, of children against teachers, and even of children against children (in the social hierarchy of classrooms and schools).

Western societies and their institutions are organized as hierarchies (Bloom, 2002, April). Since power and control are the dominant features of the upper layers of hierarchies, the tendency is that people seeking to occupy such layers are vying for power. Bertrand Russell (1938/1969) goes even further in suggesting that all people seek power as a primary goal. Even though we many consciously submit to those in power (e.g., defer to government to take control in a particular situation), we will seek to control in other aspects of our lives.

Such a situation, where we have those in dominant, controlling positions and others in submissive positions, is characteristic of what Gregory Bateson (1979; personal communication, July, 1975) describes as complementary relationship. These types of relationships are destined to failure, because of their tendencies to separate. In other words, relationships consisting of a binary of dominant and submissive will lead to a divergence psychologically and/or physically.

Hierarchies also can breed another type of relationship, which is competitive or, in Bateson's (1979) terms, symmetrical. Again, such relationships, where two or more parties vie for power (i.e., for an upper layer of the hierarchy), are dysfunctional and lead to an ultimate divergence.

This notion of separation is critical to formulating a view of the context of society and schooling in the west. Not only do the relationships among people in the hierarchy diverge, but also we all become subject to a fundamental separation from our own and others' humanity. Such situations result in promoting the three poisons (as mentioned earlier) of passion, aggression, and ignorance, as well as other related emotions (e.g., jealousy, resentment, hate, etc.). The patterns become more deeply entrenched over time. The entire situation solidifies with little vision of alternatives. We distrust one another and care not about how others feel. In our present political situation, the hierarchy of power has even promulgated what seems to be a national state of ignorance. The submissiveness of those at the bottom layer of the political hierarchy (i.e., the general population) has resulted in a blind acceptance of those at the pinnacle layer – the White House. Out of initial fear and anger over the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001, the population has slipped into a general state of ignorance. Such reactions are not that unusual when one experiences egolessness. When the seeming solidity of ego comes crashing down, the experience is groundless and terrifying. In some cases, as in the self-induced groundlessness of psychedelic drugs, such experiences can lead to psychosis. At the very least, such occurrences have a high probability of stimulating even greater attempts at solidifying our illusions of ego with heightened passion or clinging to whatever makes us comfortable, with heightened aggression towards those to whom we label threats, and with heightened ignorance to whatever challenges our passion and aggression.

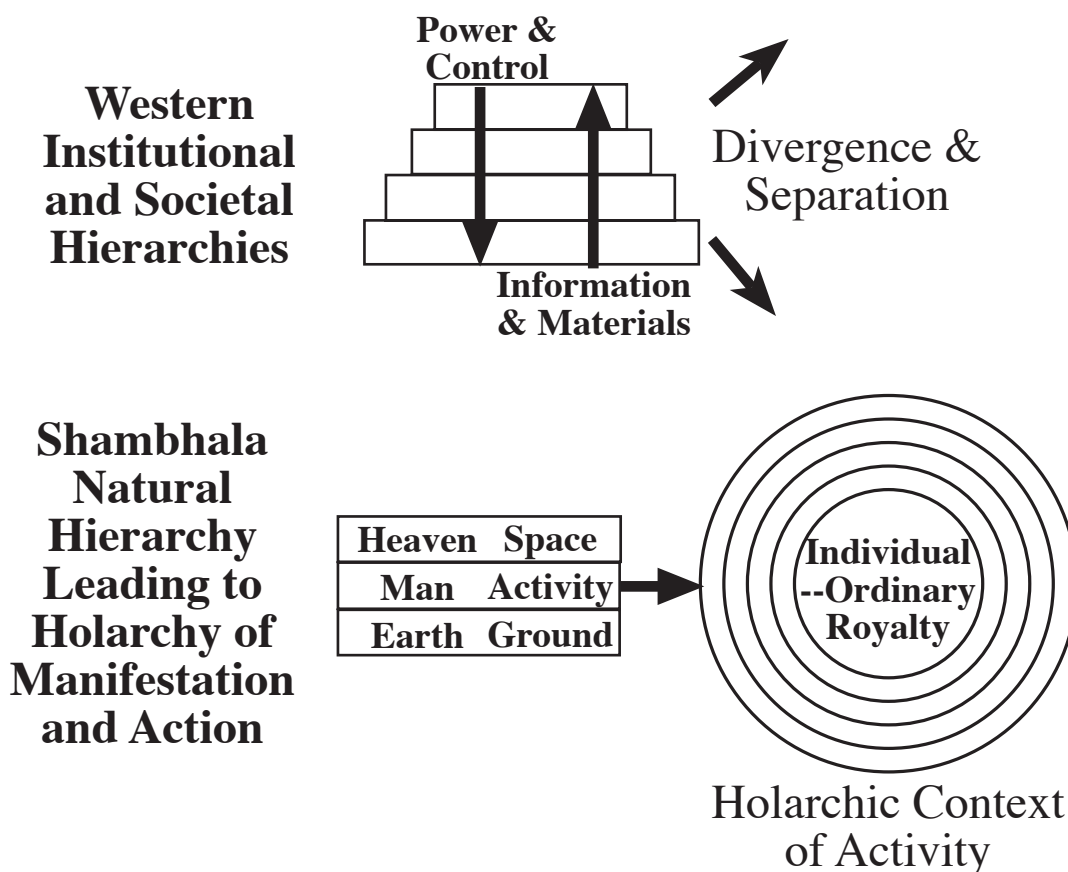
What does this have to do with schooling? When the hierarchy of schools result in separation, the whole process continues as one large karmic cycle. The separation of students and teachers and of students and students leads to a sense of disenfranchisement. No one truly cares about others. Eventually, the social relationships break down and, in the worse cases, result in violence, where students bring guns into schools and kill others. At best, students and teachers go through the motions of pretending to teach and learn, while continuing to deepen the entrenchment of separation. The result is always one of solidifying the hierarchy and solidifying passion, aggression, and ignorance.

### **A Buddhist and Shambhala View of Schooling**

Although this section is titled a Buddhist and Shambhala view of schooling, the view is not exclusive of some western efforts. There are people involved in the research and theorizing of and the implementation of practices in western schooling that take a very sane approach. Some

of these practices will be included in the following discussion. However, we will begin with a view of some of the organizing principles as put forth by Chögyam Trungpa.

To begin, we can continue to explore the notion of hierarchy from the last section. As we have seen from the previous discussion, hierarchies appear to be dysfunctional structures in human institutions and societies. However, Trungpa (1985; 1996) has suggested the notion of a natural hierarchy of heaven, earth, and man. This hierarchical triad refers to the notions of openness, spaciousness, and regality of heaven, of groundedness, stability, and full potentiality of earth, and man or human beings as daring, strength, and individual existence. Although Trungpa refers to this triad as a natural hierarchy, it does not describe a situation of control or power. Rather, this natural hierarchy describes a context, in which each individual can manifest as a king by unifying the view of heaven, earth, and man. The sense of king is not one of being a despot, but rather one of being regal in the sense of manifesting a natural elegance, openness, strength, and confidence. So, from this perspective, the hierarchy generates a sense of holarchy (Volk, 1995). Instead of a series of stratified layers where control moves downward and information upward through the layers, holarchies are embedded layers. Movement of control and information through these layers is multidirectional. In this particular situation of the natural hierarchy creating a holarchy, the individual as “king” or as royalty occupies the center surrounded by layers of interactions and activity (see figure 1). Here, the notion of king, queen, or royalty is in the ordinary sense, rather than as someone with special powers over others. Ordinary royalty is a sense of being regal in terms of having a natural dignity and elegance. The Navajo sense of “life in beauty” is quite similar. Potentially, everyone could occupy the center of a holarchy. The heaven principle in the natural hierarchy can accommodate a population of kings and queens occupying the centers of holarchies. From this perspective, there is no vying for control and power in the hierarchy. Rather, each person can manifest strength and openness.



**Figure 1.** Western hierarchies that lead to separation vs. Shambhala natural hierarchy leading to unifying holarchies of action and view.

Creating holarchies as institutional and societal structures appears in Wenger's (1998) notion of communities of practice. In such situations, the center of the hierarchy is occupied by full participants in the community. As people enter the community from the periphery, they work their way toward the center while developing a sense of meaning, identity as a community member, practice, and community. In the same way, by establishing a sense of connection between openness (heaven), grounding (earth), and appropriate activity (man), a community characterized by a sense of mutual appreciation for everyone's humanity and dignity can be created.

In schools, such communities can be created. Karen Gallas (1995) has created similar communities in her classrooms. All of the children respect and care about one another and occupy the center of the holarchy as they take on leadership roles. Over time, they develop confidence and display an openness to one another and the ideas generated by the group. The teacher (Gallas in this case) occupies the center as a model of a full practitioner. As such, she manifests caring and a shared humanity with the children.

Such situations can be very powerful in creating school communities where children are not disenfranchised and are appreciated for whom they are. The holarchy of the classroom community creates a unification within the group, which is characterized by what Bateson (1979) referred to as reciprocal relationships. In such relationships, individuals negotiate with one another on equal ground. They are neither submissive nor dominant and are not competing for control.

The initial pre-supposition necessary to create saner communities involves acknowledging each person's basic goodness or Buddha nature. Although fully exposing such basic goodness requires a meditation practice, many of the activities undertaken in schools and classrooms can begin to work at such a process. We can infiltrate such communities with approaches to developing compassion, where children and teachers begin to share their humanity and care for one another. Children and teachers can examine how others must feel and compare that to how each individual in the community has had similar feelings. Simply recognizing one's shared humanity with others can begin the process of caring about others and of not acting in ways that are hurtful. Through such a process, participants can begin to feel appreciated for who they are. This groundwork of caring provides the context in which participants can begin to open to one another, take risks, and develop a sense of courage and confidence.

The shared notion of basic goodness and of shared humanity (i.e., shared emotions and feelings) create a grounding for mutual understanding and caring. Although each person differs in many ways, such as from the influence of cultural and ethnic backgrounds, family and community, religion, and the conglomeration of personal experiences, the common strand of shared humanity provides the key to mutuality. Such a view appears to underlie Mary Catherine Bateson's (1994) notion of peripheral vision. Peripheral vision is the idea of helical strands of meaning that flow through our lives. When these helices touch, we share a commonality of understanding. Such moments may not be obvious. The external manifestations of a particular meaning or emotion may be quite different from one individual to another. It is the notion of "peripheral vision" that points to the opportunity to glimpse the shared meaning. However, a certain openness is required in order to experience such peripheral visions. If we are caught up in passion, aggression, or ignorance (i.e., the three poisons), we miss such opportunities.

On the morning of September 11, 2001, after my mother-in-law called and woke us up, while watching the seemingly endless repeats of the jets colliding into the twin towers of the World Trade Center, my thoughts began wandering to all of my friends in New York, then to the poor people at ground zero, their families, their friends, and finally to the people on the planes. The terror they must have felt permeated my whole being. I then took my coffee onto the patio. Sitting in the yard in a cloudless and plane-less sky, which was normally criss-crossed with jet trails of Los Angeles to all-points-east-flights, I felt a sense of overwhelming pain. Out of a sense of choicelessness, I began doing tonglen practice (i.e., a meditation practice of compassion,

in which you take on the pain of others and give them back feelings of goodness, etc.). As I began doing this practice, focusing on the victims and their families and friends, I was drawn into doing it for the people reported to be celebrating on the streets in the Middle East, and then to the hijackers themselves. They too were suffering greatly. It is this notion of shared humanity without boundaries and without bias that is preventing us from moving forward to a saner society.

When we label and solidify notions of children as trouble-makers or good kids or of people as evil or righteous, we create boundaries that prevent understanding. The possibility of peripheral visions disappears. Out of such dualistic thinking, we resort to reacting out of passion, aggression, and ignorance. When such thinking is taken to the extreme, as in considering the use of nuclear weapons against the “axis of evil,” we construct what can ultimately become rudra or the completely solidified sense of ego. In such a case, there is no openness and no possibility of recognizing shared humanity. When we initiate “zero tolerance” policies in schools and solidify policies and approaches to “dealing with” children, we move toward losing our connections to the humanity of children.

Although some Buddhists and Buddhist groups take on political action, the primary way of effecting change from a Buddhist perspective is to work with individuals. It is from this perspective that the Shambhala tradition attempts to create an enlightened society, where all religions can be accommodated. The primary way of accomplishing such a goal involves the practice of compassion or the practice of recognizing shared humanity. At the same time, there is a sense of intelligence that discriminates between what reinforces ego and what is ultimately sane and humane. We do not buy into the whims of discursive thought or into the illusory nature of the three poisons and other processes of ego building. As in Heart Sutra, “there is no form, no feeling, no perception, no concept, no consciousness” (i.e., the five skandhas or clusters of processes that develop a sense of ego) and “no suffering, no end of suffering.” The essence of this sutra is the idea of emptiness or shunyata. In other words, all of thoughts, judgments, concepts are ultimately devoid of nature and substance. Ordinarily, we take our thoughts seriously. We solidify our worlds. But, from the point of view of the Heart Sutra, such thoughts have no substance. This notion is quite difficult to truly understand. I cannot say that I have fully grasped the notion of shunyata, but it seems to point to the experience of complete openness and to an experience that is energetic and vivid and marked by clarity of perception. The Shambhala sense of being a spiritual warrior, where one is courageous enough to be open to all experiences and emotions and, at the same time, is uplifted and joyful, arises out of the experience of shunyata. However, in the Shambhala approach, rather than beginning in the trenches of our own particular situations (of working with understanding our minds), one begins by manifesting an enlightened attitude, then working with our minds. It begins with the notion of spaciousness and energy.

Such a view can be the point from which we can begin to transform schooling. We can create an environment and context that is uplifted. Teachers’ and children’s individuality and differences can be celebrated. Such a sense of celebration is not superficial. In tough situations, where children are struggling with immense problems in their families and communities, an artificial celebration will be seen for what it is. However, we can begin to listen to children and their concerns. At the same time, we can celebrate in the sense of really listening to and appreciating their situations, as well as their intelligence in being able to describe and analyze their situations. This appreciative approach is the beginning of a shared humanity.

The practice of celebrating shared humanity can look at what it feels like to be afraid, to be love, to be loved, to be happy, to be sad, and so forth. Such practices can be expressed in art, dance, music, and poetry. In a story just related to me by a graduate student, she described a situation in an inner city program, where the high school children were learning how to garden and grow plants. After some time, they began to see how they could start transforming their neighborhoods by creating more uplifted environments. Although the children could have taken their newly acquired skills and moved out of their neighborhoods, they wanted to stay. In a similar fashion, a former doctoral student of mine tried to transform one person at a time in south Philadelphia. Upon returning from Vietnam, he returned to university. After acquiring a credit



card, he began buying houses in his neighborhood, while beginning to pursue a form of life tutoring for people he met. If these people met his requirement of truly desiring to better their situations, he would help them learn math, computers, and whatever else they needed. In the beginning, one young single mother was struggling for survival. He gave her a house. Before long he had given away all of his houses and a few cars. He viewed the purpose of his life as one to help others at whatever cost.

Such actions affect the heart. Expressions of the heart are the entryway into developing saner contexts of schools, communities, and society. In this society, we tend to perpetuate a dualism of those who have and those who have not. Advertisements portray success and wealth as the possession of material goods. Those who do not have such material goods are set up to feel like failures. By emphasizing the wealth of the heart, the wealth of one's cultural and ethnic heritages, we can begin to transform our social contexts. The wealth of humanity is not found in materialism, but in our shared wisdom. Acts of celebration, compassion, and generosity can begin to short circuit the entrenched patterns of the cycle of karmic cause and effect and of relying on the three poisons as ways of interacting.

## References

- Wood, G. H. (1990). Teachers as curriculum workers. In J. T. Sears and J. D. Marshall (Eds.), *Teaching and thinking about curriculum: Critical inquiries* (pp. 97-109). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Bateson, G. (1979). *Mind and nature: A necessary unity*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Bateson, M. C. (1994). *Peripheral visions: Learning along the way*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Block, A. A. (1997). *I'm only bleeding: Education as the practice of social violence against children*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bloom, J. W. (2002, April). *Conflicts and concerns in an elementary teachers' science group: A metapatterns analysis of emergence, complexity, and issues of schooling*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans.
- Gallas, K. (1995). *Talking their way into science: Hearing children's questions and theories, responding with curricula*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Guenther, H. V. (1974). *Philosophy and psychology in the abhidharma*. Berkeley, CA: Shambhala Publications.
- Russell, B. (1938/1969). *Power: The role of man's will to power in the world's economic and political affairs*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Stcherbatsky, T. (1974/1970/1923). *The central conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word "dharma."* Delhi, India: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Trungpa, C. (1985). *Shambhala: The sacred path of the warrior*. Boston: Shambhala Publications.
- Trungpa, C. (1987). *Cutting through spiritual materialism*. Boston: Shambhala Publications.
- Trungpa, C. (1996). *Dharma art*. Boston: Shambhala Publications.
- Volk, T. (1995). *Metapatterns: Across space, time, and mind*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.