

Chapter 1

An Overview of Student Learning Portfolios

THE CONCEPT OF THE STUDENT PORTFOLIO has been widely known and implemented for some time in academic fields such as English, journalism, and communications. Similarly, portfolios have been a staple form of documentation of performance skills in the fine arts, providing students and teachers with a method for displaying and judging evidence of best practice and samples of the full range of students' talents. Another popular application has been to provide a device for demonstrating the value of experiential learning or for assessing credit for prior learning in a program of adult education. Some portfolios are shared by students and faculty advisers for the purpose of academic advising and career counseling, a use strongly advocated by the National Academic Advising Association, which provides on its Web site (www.nacada.ksu.edu/AAT/NW26_1.htm) a rationale and a number of sample guidelines for advising portfolios as well as models derived from institutions such as Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis, the Pennsylvania State University, and the University of Denver (www.nacada.ksu.edu/Clearinghouse/AdvisingIssues/portfolioexamples.htm). Also, in business and teacher education, portfolios have been used as effective tools for career preparation. The contribution in this volume of Drexel University's LeBow College of Business portfolio project is a good example of the practical benefits of a thoughtful portfolio system. In teacher education, for accreditation purposes, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education advocates the portfolio model as an effective tool for showcasing a representative breadth of acquired skills for professional success and career preparation, using specified licensure competencies and professional standards as benchmarks against which to measure achievements signified by portfolio artifacts (www.ncate.org).

Such applications predominately have targeted the portfolio's efficacy in gathering judiciously selected products of student work to display content mastery or job readiness. Writing portfolios, for example, have been

used generously in composition, creative writing, and other types of communication courses to present a diverse profile of a student's creative and technical skills. Used in this way, the portfolio is an enhancement to a writing, speech, business, leadership, or computer-information-systems teacher's comprehensive assessment of a student's growth during a particular course or at the end of an enrichment program, an academic major, or a general education core with goals, objectives, and competencies in writing and other areas. Undoubtedly, the portfolio is both an intellectually stimulating process and a product with keen utilitarian properties.

Yet, despite the history of portfolios in certain disciplines, the portfolio approach to gauging student accomplishments and growth in learning—while not entirely new in higher education—has historically received more attention in the K–12 arena. In English and a few other disciplines in college classes, portfolios, journals, and more recently, digital storytelling strategies have been employed with some regularity, but remarkably, higher education has lagged behind the grade schools in innovating and refining such persuasive learning tools. Today, following the groundswell of interest in teaching, administrative, course, and institutional portfolios, learning portfolios are attracting significant attention in college and university settings. Now the numerous Web sites that provide information on portfolios—and that especially offer rich and diverse models of how electronic or digital portfolios are used for multiple purposes—are coming predominantly from colleges and universities around the world. Countries such as Australia, Britain, Canada, Finland, France, Hong Kong, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, and of course, the United States—just to name a few—are home to institutions with student portfolio programs designed to help with systematic learning-outcomes assessment plans. Arter and Spandel (1992); Gordon (1994); Wright, Knight, and Pomerleau (1999); and Cambridge (2001) are a few print resources that demonstrate the interest in portfolios in higher education. Helen Barrett (www.electronicportfolios.com); the ePortConsortium (www.eportconsortium.org); the Multimedia Educational Resource for Learning and Online Teaching (www.merlot.org); the Electronic Portfolio Action and Communication network (<http://eportfolio.merlot.org>); the Inter/National Coalition for Electronic Portfolio Research (<http://ncepr.org>); EDUCAUSE (www.educause.edu); the Europortfolio (www.europortfolio.org) consortium; EPICS-2 (www.eportfolios.ac.uk), a collaboration of several UK institutions dedicated to e-portfolio development, with strong emphasis on medical education; and other Web sites are among the numerous sources for online information on electronic portfolios in colleges and universities around the world. Following Seldin's

(2004) work on teaching portfolios, learning portfolios are clearly now mainstream in higher education.

A Focus on Learning

In addition to the diverse applications already mentioned, Burch (1997) suggests a few other uses of portfolios: “They can reveal, in the aggregate, the state of an academic program; they can provide valuable insights into what students know and how they construct that knowledge; they can provide institutional barometers, if you will, that suggest programmatic highs and lows, strengths and weaknesses” (p. 263). His comment hints that often what is left out of the formula in student portfolios is an intentional focus on learning, the deliberate and systematic attention not only to skills development and career readiness but also to a student’s self-reflective, metacognitive appraisal of how and, more importantly, why learning has occurred. This is not to assert, of course, that learning does not happen at all when portfolios are used only as collection and organizing devices, that a student does not benefit simply from the thoughtful act of choosing representative samples of accomplished work and making sense of the materials as a display. But more significant learning is likely to occur if the student is encouraged to come to terms self-consciously over the duration of an academic endeavor—for example, a semester course, the culmination of an honors program, the achievement of general education goals, or the completion of a degree—with essential questions about learning itself:

- How have such products as those collected in a portfolio over time contributed to significant higher-order learning?
- What has the student learned from the process of generating the work and from collecting it, selecting it, analyzing its value, pondering its integration and future applications?
- How does the work fit into a larger framework of lifelong learning that goes beyond simply completing graded assignments?
- Why was the work valuable in the student’s overall cognitive, social, ethical, spiritual development?

Imagine how such an opportunity for mentored, critical reflection and for immediate assessment of learning grounded in direct outcomes or products can benefit all our students, especially after carefully and intentionally integrating reflective learning pedagogies into our courses and programs of study. Imagine, too, how such work can benefit an academic organization looking for ways to demonstrate the value-added dimension of its

influence on students' learning. More importantly, imagine the impact of such an opportunity on students' appreciation for and understanding of the visible, recorded, shared evidence of the outcomes of their reflective learning.

Such directed probing of the sources, coherence, and worth of learning—especially when combined with the power of collaboration and mentoring in making learning a recorded and shared community endeavor—is sometimes missing from the model of the student portfolio as simply an individual repository of selected artifacts. To the point, analogously, the same vital components frequently are lacking in what many faculty describe as their teaching or professional portfolios, prodigious folders that often are not much more than elaborate personnel files submitted confidentially at critical junctures in a professor's professional career.

Student portfolios, too, largely have been used to collect and evaluate students' work at key points in their progress, usually at the end of an academic endeavor; in a sense, the portfolio has been used primarily as a capstone product, sometimes even unintentionally minimizing the crucial learning process along the way in favor of the finished document, especially when the shine of fancy covers and graphics or the glitz of digital enhancement becomes the student's focus, luring the teacher into similar pitfalls. Today, although exciting and positive innovations in electronic portfolios are increasingly emphasizing the importance of reflection (see Chen and Ittelson's piece in this volume, detailing the growth of the Electronic Portfolio Action and Communication network, dedicated to electronic portfolios), the allure and dazzle of electronic media make the temptation toward product rather than process even greater. In "Costs and Benefits of Electronic Portfolios in Teacher Education: Student Voices," for example, Wetzell and Strudler (2006) report how easily even a well-intended focus on reflection in portfolio systems can go awry when students quickly decode the perceived real emphasis on product and "busywork" in a portfolio:

The value of reflection differed somewhat from site to site depending on the emphasis, but generally, teacher candidates reported that the connections they made to state and national teaching standards helped them to understand the standards and the attributes of well-prepared teachers. They also thought that reflecting on their teaching practice helped them learn from their experiences. However, the sentiment was almost universal that there could be too much of a good thing and that they were being "reflected to death." They recommended that faculty modify the logistics for reflections; for example, the reflection should be embedded within the

artifact or inserted separately within the EP [electronic portfolio] system. Requiring both, however, led to redundancy and overload. . . . There was also evidence . . . of what might be described as elaborate, hyperlinked checklists in which faculty assess the EPs based on completeness rather than the quality of the content. In instances where students perceived this to be the case, they expressed great frustration in having worked hard on a component of their portfolio and feeling that it was not even read by faculty. (p. 77)

Nevertheless, in truth, it would be difficult today to find a portfolio system that does not incorporate some element of critical reflection, even if the reflection amounts to rudimentary and form-generated statements about individual exhibits collected in a portfolio developed exclusively as a performance assessment or as a “vitae on steroids,” as an acerbic voice once quipped informally about portfolio-based evaluation. One need not be so deprecatingly witty, however, because simply collecting artifacts for presentation and review purposes has the intrinsic worth of at least helping students organize the outcomes of their efforts in a way that communicates accumulated skills and learning. Add a reflective component, and learning portfolios, like teaching portfolios (Seldin, 2004), become “part of a process of monitoring ongoing professional growth,” encouraging “greater self-understanding” and serving as “effective tools for goal setting and self-directed learning”; they become, in short, “part of a learning process” (Campbell, Melenyzer, Nettles, & Wyman, 2000, p. 14).

The authors just cited—writing about portfolios with “a focus on product,” largely from the utilitarian angle of how such documents serve as an “employment or credentialing tool” for certification in teacher education—also make the strong point that in a well-managed portfolio project, students should realize that their effort is not simply to construct “a scrapbook of college course assignments and memorabilia” (p. 2). Instead, even in a “presentation” portfolio (which the authors distinguish from a “working” portfolio), the product is also a process and should be construed as an “organized documentation of growth and achievement that provides tangible evidence of the attainment of professional knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Each portfolio is goal-driven, original, and reflective” (p. 13).

Survey Responses

Citing responses from a survey administered to students in a teacher-certification program, Campbell et al. (2000) demonstrate how students

evidently “became aware of the full range of benefits of portfolio work” (p. 14):

Question: How have you benefited from the process of portfolio development?

- *“It has helped me to build confidence in myself as an educator.”*
- *“Portfolio development has helped me to identify my strengths and weaknesses. . . .”*
- *“I have become more aware of what future employers may be looking for. . . .”*
- *“It is nice to be able to look back at everything I have accomplished throughout my college career.”*
- *“The portfolio has helped me become more organized. It has helped me set goals and achieve them. I have a basis for my future education.”*
- *“By having specific outcomes to accomplish I am able to see exactly what areas of preparation I need to work on. . . .”*
- *“The development of the portfolio has helped me see the importance of my work.”*
- *“It made me strive to do my best work possible.”*
- *“It helped me see the value of the assignments that I have completed in my classes. I take away more meaning from my work.”*
- *“It has shown me how what I have learned all fits together.”*
- *“The portfolio development itself is a means of becoming professional. . . .”*
- *“I feel a sense of accomplishment. . . . Being able to see your own growth and achievement is very exciting.” (p. 15, from Dorothy M. Campbell et al., *Portfolio and Performance Assessment in Teacher Education*, published by Allyn and Bacon, Boston, MA. Copyright © 2000 by Pearson Education. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)*

Other students speak their minds about the value of reflective portfolios just as convincingly. For this volume, three students from Agnes Scott College have contributed a creative piece formatted as a video interview produced for a portfolio assignment, and one of the students offers the following insights, revealing the utility of portfolio work in fostering mature thinking and judgment:

The development of my views of a liberal arts education and what it means to me, my future, and who I am did not even become clear to me until I began the process of reflection. As a part of the project, we wrote reflections on the entire three-month journey. . . . In fact, this very essay for this volume has allowed me to step back and view the project objectively. While writing, I have realized how the project has changed me. The process has been ongoing, and we have shown the video at orientation events, to friends and family, and as a part of a presentation on our work open to the campus. Each time I have presented the video and spoken about the process, my understanding of my learning has become more refined through reflection. (See “The E-portfolio and Liberal Arts Education at Agnes Scott College” in this volume.)

In my own practice, I employ reflective learning strategies in a number of ways, including asking students to engage regularly and meaningfully in reflective writing in an online threaded discussion and in the continuous development of a learning portfolio that is submitted at the end of the course. In the portfolio, students ultimately reflect on their reflections, write about their writing, and critically examine the progressive arc of their learning throughout the semester. An excerpt from the culminating reflections of Amanda Bowman, a highly motivated, nontraditional Columbia College honors student, underscores the value of such work in enhancing metacognition, in establishing a safe and mentored space for creativity and intellectual risk, and in promoting deep learning:

For me, the learning portfolio was more than a mere assignment in an English course; it was an illuminating coda—a review of how I learn. I found that my learning doesn’t cease on completion of an assignment or class session but, instead, is an ongoing process that continues to evolve.

While compiling my work, I noticed a common thread that ran through my papers, online reflective writing forum entries, group projects, and class notes: this thread was metamorphosis, a change in my creative and critical thinking. The pages of my portfolio uncover the development of my ideas, the enhancement of my writing skills, and an enrichment of my learning repertoire.

I believe that this personal realization would not have been apparent without the assemblage of a portfolio. I have discovered that the utility of my portfolio is ongoing because it serves as a catapult for my continuing academic improvement. Thus, while the portfolio was the course’s grand finale where all the components returned to the stage for curtain, the portfolio, in fact, continues to be called to the stage for encores. (Personal entry in learning portfolio, English 102, Spring 2008).

Undoubtedly, much more has happened to such students than the satisfaction of physically completing the task of collecting and organizing information, though their comments suggest appreciation for how the portfolio prepared them for standards assessment and future careers. The testimonies also reveal a profound sense of the value of reflective inquiry, the intrinsic merit of involving students in the power of reflection, the critically challenging act of thinking about their learning and making sense of the learning experience as a coherent, unified developmental process. Such thinking is the linchpin of lifelong, active learning, the key to helping students discover and understand what, how, and why they learn.

Embracing the efficacy of reflection in promoting significant learning, King (2002), of the University of Portsmouth, argues in a paper delivered at the 4th World Conference of the International Consortium for Educational Development in Higher Education that reflective learning strategies are fundamental to international reform efforts in higher education:

Due to the increasing importance of critical reflection as part of the key skills agenda in higher education in the UK, staff and students need to develop an awareness of the stages of reflection and how these may be employed to develop better quality reflective writing and more controlled and informed assessment of that writing if required. . . . The potential for reflection in facilitating learning and understanding in the more unstructured areas of knowledge domains, enabling students to tackle the “messy corners” of even the most structured domains, is one of its most powerful features. (pp. 1–2)

King also reminds us that “the ability to reflect has been associated with the higher levels of learning in a number of taxonomies of learning objectives” (p. 2), a pivotal point also in the work of Fink (2003), whose seminal book, *Designing Courses for Significant Student Learning*, posits that the learning portfolio is an ideal approach to deepening students’ learning.

The Importance of Reflective Inquiry

The crucial element of reflection is the key to marshaling the power of what I call “learning portfolios,” and I will return to the theme in Chapter 3. I dwell on reflection precisely because of my emphasis on how reflective thinking and judgment are effective stimuli to deep, lasting learning. Certainly, such reflection is desirable in promoting better learning, but it is also challenging and painful, demanding a level of self-scrutiny, honesty, and disinterestedness that comes with great difficulty. As John Dewey (1910) proclaims:

Reflective thinking is always more or less troublesome because it involves overcoming the inertia that inclines one to accept suggestions at their face value; it involves willingness to endure a condition of mental unrest and disturbance. Reflective thinking, in short, means judgment suspended during further inquiry; and suspense is likely to be somewhat painful. . . . To maintain the state of doubt and to carry on systematic and protracted inquiry—these are the essentials of thinking. (p. 13)

Questions for Reflection in Portfolios

This book argues that the durable value of portfolios in improving student learning resides in engaging students not just in collecting representative samples of their work for assessment, evaluation, or career preparation but in addressing vital reflective questions that invite “systematic and protracted inquiry”:

- What have I learned? Why did I learn?
- When have I learned? In what circumstances? Under what conditions?
- How have I learned or not, and do I know what kind of learner I am?
- How does what I have learned fit into a full, continual plan for learning?
- What difference has the learning made in my intellectual, personal, ethical, spiritual development?
- Has my learning been connected, integrated, coherent?
- Is my learning relevant, applicable, practical?
- When, how, and why has my learning surprised me?
- What have been the proudest highlights of my learning? The disappointments?
- What difference has mentoring in the portfolio process made in my learning?

Many more questions come to mind as one begins to fashion a strategy for reflection. Fink (2001), sharing a keen interest in learning portfolios, suggests:

[S]tudents may comment on the way they were challenged to analyze new ideas; or they may report on the excitement generated by mastering complex material; or they may describe how they came away from the class with a new, more positive attitude for the subject matter. In addition, the development of the learning portfolio may ask the students to address such personal issues as: “Was this class enjoyable, exciting, interesting?” or “How did this class relate to your personal beliefs and/or prior knowledge about the subject matter?” (p. 1)

Linking his innovative taxonomy of “higher-level learning” to his understanding of how learning portfolios facilitate metacognitive processes that lead to greater leaps in knowing how and why one has changed as a result of learning, Fink (2001) also provides an example of how carefully formulated questions can yield fruitful reflective learning in the case of students’ internships:

I recently had occasion to interview a pair of students who had participated in a summer internship in Washington, DC, and who were trying to prepare future interns. During the interview, I posed a series of questions focused on each of the components.

1. *During the time you were working as an intern, how did you change, in terms of*

- *What you care about differently now, than you did before?*
- *What actions you are capable of performing now?*
- *What you can connect or integrate now, that you could not before?*
- *Your ability to think about problems in political science?*
- *What you know?*

2. *What did you learn about*

- *The process of learning about politics?*
- *Interacting with other people?*
- *Yourself?*
- *Some of the major ideas you studied in political science?*
- *The phenomena involved (in this case, politics)?*

The answers from the two students were different from each other, very focused, and very rich. (pp. 127–128)

In the context of a methods course, Yancey (1997) reports having student teachers respond to questions in portfolios structured to promote their reflections on their learning progress as prospective novice instructors:

- *“What have you learned so far in this class?”*
- *“Is this what you expected to learn?”*
- *“What else do you need to learn?”*
- *“How will you go about learning it?” (p. 252)*

Guiding students toward the metacognitive work necessary for higher-level composition and strong critical-thinking skills, Claywell (2001) begins nearly every section of her book on portfolios with directed questions for

reflection on purpose, content, format, process, and evaluation of learning. Here are some examples, slightly modified to make them practical across a variety of disciplines:

- *How will your portfolio be used? Who is the audience for your portfolio? What is the role of that audience? (p. 1)*
- *What have you learned about the subject that you did not previously know? What have you discovered about your learning style? (p. 20)*
- *What are the best examples of your work for this project? The worst? Why? (p. 33)*
- *What do the pieces and the portfolio reflect overall about your learning? (p. 35)*
- *What new learning strategies have you adopted as a result of the portfolio process? (p. 43)*
- *What were the most difficult parts of the process? Why? (p. 49)*
- *In what ways do your reflections reveal what makes your portfolio unique? What specific features of the class were beneficial in your learning? Your personal voice? How do your reflections point to specific changes in the actual revisions in the portfolio? The improved knowledge you have gained? The growth you have made as a scholar? (p. 52)*
- *What has been meaningful about the portfolio process? (p. 65)*

What is particularly instructive and liberating about the questions suggested by Fink, Yancey, Claywell, and others who employ portfolio strategies in improving and assessing student learning is that the queries motivate students to professionalize their responses to the enterprise of education by taking seriously the underlying pedagogical as well as overt methodological reasons for learning. Attaining this professional, objective attitude toward learning is an important lesson in mature and critical thinking for all students. In a sense, students are empowered to know and make sense of the sources and outcomes of their learning, acquiring not just the skills necessary for effective learning and goal setting but essentially a habit of being, an approach to knowing and learning—indeed, to life itself—grounded in critical reflection.

Learning as Community

Such reflection is facilitated best not by leaving students individually to their own devices in thinking about their learning but by using the advantages of collaboration and mentoring in making learning community property. The idea here is not to suggest tactics that would violate personal and

legal boundaries of privacy but rather to endorse the premise that learning is enhanced by recognizing its relational values, by helping students connect individual pieces of gained knowledge to a larger puzzle of learning with ever-widening intellectual, material, ethical, social, even spiritual implications. Deep, lasting learning is also relational in the sense that what students learn in the classroom ideally must relate sensibly to their felt lives, must provide avenues for them to connect the abstractions of academic pursuits to the realities of immediate experience. Dewey (1910), once again, provides us with the needed insight:

Instruction always runs the risk of swamping the pupil's own vital, though narrow, experience under masses of communicated material. The instructor ceases and the teacher begins at the point where communicated matter stimulates into fuller and more significant life that which has entered by the strait and narrow gate of sense-perception and motor activity. Genuine communication involves contagion; its name should not be taken in vain by terming communication that which produces no community of thought and purpose between the [student] and the race of which he is the heir. (p. 224)

In other words, dissemination of facts and delivery of knowledge are acts of instruction that serve an important but hierarchically lower purpose in how we think and learn. Higher-order teaching and learning are the shared acts of a reflective discourse community, a dynamic collaborative of living ideas that transform both teacher and learner.

The relationship with an influential mentor adds the collaborative edge that makes the human difference in moving students (and teachers) along a continuum of learning. Collaborators and mentors—whether peers or teachers (either or both can be helpful catalysts in the process of developing portfolios)—are vital agents in moving students in the right direction toward more meaningful learning, toward knowledge and insights that they can relate to other academic discoveries and to other dimensions of their personal experiences. Recent developments in the available scholarship on student portfolios suggest that more educators are recognizing the acute importance of such reflection in portfolios, and happily, a trend toward emphasizing the reflective, process-oriented component of student portfolios (as opposed to its twin function of collecting selected samples of representative work for assessment) is emerging. I would add to the trend that reflection, an inherently private act, is sharpened by the positive influence of collaboration with a mentor in developing and reviewing a learning portfolio.

Campbell et al. (2000) agree that collaboration is important:

[S]tudents . . . left alone to do portfolio work . . . tend to focus on organizing and justifying documentation of what they have already done well. It takes encounters with peers, faculty facilitators, and members of the larger professional community to challenge progress toward growing and changing, setting new goals, and designing new strategies for professional development. . . . [T]he more collaborative portfolio work becomes, the greater the growth in meeting the standards [of higher-level learning]. (pp. ix-x)

But identifying portfolio mentors can be a significant hurdle. Should the coach be the teacher in a course? Should trained students be enlisted as peer mentors? Can professional or faculty advisers serve as guides? Can students developing electronic portfolios turn to technology staff for mentoring resources? Are there ways to use interactive technology tools to provide virtual opportunities for collaboration? The questions are many, but the answer to each is yes. Context, resources, purpose, and other factors all play a role in helping us figure out ways to connect students with knowledgeable, effective mentors who can assist them in cultivating substantive reflective judgment and the analytical skills needed to develop a purposeful, selective portfolio.

The Argument for Learning Portfolios

This book sheds further light on how and why the portfolio contributes to students' sophisticated learning by exploring how strategies of reflective practice, especially when conjoined with the supportive influence of mentoring, can be applied to improve and document student learning. Engaging students not only in collecting selected samples of their work for assessment, evaluation, and career development but also in continuous, collaborative reflection about the process of learning is a powerful complement to traditional measures of student achievement. In her book on learning journals, kin to the format and function of learning portfolios, Moon (1999) summarizes the various ways in which students benefit from reflective activity and organized assessment; she argues that journals (or portfolios, in my rephrasing) create "conditions that favour learning":

- *Portfolios demand time and intellectual space.*
- *The independent and self-directing nature of the process develops a sense of ownership of the learning in the learner.*

- *Portfolios focus attention on particular areas of, and demand the independent ordering of, thought.*
- *Portfolios often draw affective function into learning, and this can bring about greater effectiveness in learning.*
- *The ill-structured nature of the tasks involved in portfolio development challenges a learner and increases the sophistication of the learning process. (p. 34)*

Moon also suggests that creating frameworks such as learning portfolios for students to reflect progressively on their work provides

an opportunity for a range of forms of learning activities [such as] learning about self (self-development); learning to resolve uncertainty or to reach decisions; learning that brings about empowerment or emancipation. Sometimes the learning that arises from reflection may be unexpected. (p. 34)

Finally, she adds that learning journals or portfolios stimulate and support learning across diverse disciplines by encouraging “reflective thinking and writing, which are associated with deeper forms of learning and better learning outcomes” and by fostering the “metacognition . . . associated with expertise in learning” (p. 35).

Alan Wright, one of the chief players behind the formidable Career Portfolio program at Canada’s Dalhousie University, offers apt testimony to the value of such reflective writing even when it is not ostensibly the main purpose of a student’s portfolio: “Although the employment parlance is what gets us the grants to do our work at Dal, the practice shows that the reflective component is crucial to the success of the enterprise” (personal communication, July 26, 2001). Again, the crossover lessons of the teaching portfolio’s premium on the “special power” of reflection apply to the learning portfolio (Seldin & Associates, 1993, p. 9).

In the next chapter, I will address some of the practical considerations involved in using student learning portfolios, such as the time involved, length, and content.

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