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Participation and cultural and linguistic diversity: An in-depth qualitative inquiry of an Australian primary classroom

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ABSTRACT

Educating for culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) learners emerged as a policy 'problem' that gained attention from the 1970s to the 1990s through Australian multicultural education discourse, but since then has been marked by policy decline and instability (Harris, 1995; Jakubowicz & Ho, 2014). Researching this anew, this study explored how the problem of participation can be understood in the context of CALD learners. Participation remains an eminent yet ambiguous 'buzzword' in the field of education (Black, 2011; Thomas, Whybrow, & Scharber, 2012).

This study contributes to the discussion of participation by offering a conceptual framework to understand the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners. In deploying this conceptual framework, this research engages with Bourdieusian conceptual tools: field, capital, and habitus—as heuristic devices to critically explore participation as a social phenomenon occurring in a CALD learning context. This study asks: How is participation understood, practiced, and experienced in the context of a CALD primary classroom?

To critically explore the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners, this study undertook an in-depth qualitative inquiry of an Australian primary classroom. The class, referred to as Class 5/6k, was a highly diverse student cohort, culturally and linguistically, located in a major metropolitan city. The study found that many of the teachers' taken-for-granted assumptions and practices about teaching CALD learners were constraining the students' participation. This study also found that building social relationships was inherently challenging in a CALD classroom context. In foregrounding the subjective experiences of CALD learners, a key finding of this study has been the diverse and complex interests, needs, and capabilities of a highly diverse student cohort.

The primary contribution of this study is the articulation of a conceptual framework for understanding participation in the context of CALD learners. This is referred to as 'the teaching triad of participation' consisting of 'positionality,' 'resourcing,' and 'sociality'. As illuminated through the empirical research, these constructs in the teaching triad function in a relational and dynamic manner. Thus, the study encourages continued exploration of teaching practices that can work towards empowering increasingly diverse learners in the classroom through a holistic approach that considers the three constructs in the teaching triad. Finally, this study also encourages reflecting on possibilities for future research including further exploration of the affective dimension of participation and an examination of how issues of race and gender intersect with cultural and linguistic diversity.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that this thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference is given in the text. The thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies, and appendices.

Signed: Bonita Marie S. Cabiles Date: 10 September 2020

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For my parents Conching and Loriven,
and for my brothers, Neil, and Jon,
thank you for the wise words, the many sacrifices
the 'Bisaya' jokes, for being my fiercest tribe,
and the boundless love we share

PREFACE

Presentations

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Cabiles, B. (2019, December). *The case of a Primary 5/6 classroom community: Participation, inclusion, and diversity.* Presentation at the Australian Association of Research in Education, Queensland University of Technology, Kelvin Grove, Queensland, Australia.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CALD – Culturally and linguistically diverse

EAL – English as additional language

ESL – English as second language

ICT – Information and Communications Technology

FoK – Funds of Knowledge

NAPLAN – National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Participation and cultural and linguistic diversity

They bullied me about my religion. . . They said, uhm, you have long hair, and they touch me on my hair, and they said, 'Oh, it's a button. You get angry.'
(Ramis, student, Indian, Hindi/Punjabi/Urdu)[1]

It's really good that [your research] is in this room because my culture is very different to theirs.
(Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

The practice of participation in culturally and linguistically diverse learning contexts is a complex matter. Western contemporary classrooms are increasingly diverse, making it challenging to nurture inclusive cultures of participation. The two narratives above—captured during my fieldwork in a primary school with high cultural and linguistic diversity—offer a glimpse of this challenging landscape for both students and teachers in their daily routines. This is understood as an invariable consequence of what is captured in the terms 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007) or 'hyper-diversity' (Noble, 2009); a feature of many metropolitan cities and ostensibly reflected in many classrooms. This diversity, owing partly to recent patterns of migration, brings plural identities—cultural, linguistic, and religious, among others—together in classroom communities. This can pose new challenges for how the practice of participation is facilitated by teachers and experienced by students. It is in the context of these continuing issues of diversity that I examine the concept of participation—an education 'buzzword,' that remains a fuzzy concept as I explore later in Section 1.2. This study explores the ways in which students and teachers, in one culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) classroom in a

[1] Quotes from respondents follow this order: Name (pseudonym), position (student/ teacher/ principal), cultural background, language(s) spoken.

metropolitan Australian school, understand and experience the social phenomenon of participation.

This thesis qualitatively investigates the meanings and practices of participation in one CALD primary classroom in Australia. It does so by focusing on the perspectives and experiences of students and teachers in the classroom. This study aims to critically explore 'what matters' for understanding CALD learners' participation. Underpinned by Bourdieusian theoretical framing, this thesis considers CALD learners' participation to be a practice. Participation as a practice can be understood as produced from the interaction of CALD learners' subjective experiences and the social context of learning (Bourdieu, 1977). This understanding is derived from Bourdieusian 'relational thinking' (Jenkins, 1992; Mills & Gale, 2010) that conceptualises an action or a social phenomenon—or practice—as the interaction of the conceptual tools: field, capital, and habitus.

A core contribution of this thesis is the exploration and development of a 'teaching triad of participation'—consisting of three interrelated constructs: positionality, sociality, and resourcing—that engages with Bourdieusian theorisation of practice. As I argue in Chapter II, this triadic elements for teaching are central to understanding the problem of participation in the context of CALD learners. The teaching triad, as a conceptual basis for understanding CALD learners' participation, attends to the following: (i) the positions that CALD learners inhabit in the classroom (positionality); (ii) the resources mobilised for learning (resourcing); and (iii) the social dynamics cultivated among students and teachers (sociality).

This thesis offers a story of a primary classroom community, composed of its teachers and students, and what it means for CALD learners to participate in learning. This learning community, characterised by multiple cultural and

linguistic backgrounds, offers fertile ground to understand the linguistic and cultural aspects of participating in schooling. This assumption is further developed in Chapter II, where I engage with conceptual and theoretical tools to examine issues of power that influence CALD learners' participation. Development of this research is meaningfully informed by my engagement with scholarly work that stimulated personal reflections about my own experiences as a student and schoolteacher. Thus, before I delve into a discussion of the research problem (Section 1.2), the research aims, questions, and significance (Section 1.3), and the overall structure of this thesis (section 1.4), I will first speak about my positionality as a researcher; specifically, reflecting on how I arrived at this research project and how it has impacted my stance as a researcher.

1.1 Reflecting on the problem: Researcher's positionality

Like some of the CALD scholars who have studied schooling in the context of CALD learners that I later draw from in Chapter II, including Lisa Delpit (2006), Sonia Nieto (1999), and Angela Valenzuela (1999), I too share the label 'CALD' as a scholar and alongside the student participants in my project. I personally experience what it feels like to be working multilingually in academic spaces, where the expectations of being a 'good' scholar tends to be based on White and middle-class dispositions. This had led me to question what it might mean for CALD learners attending Western(ised) schooling contexts whose knowledge and skills are often disrupted by the need to conform, often unquestionably, with standards and models that are different from their home socialisation (see Delpit, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005). Thus, whilst I offer more methodological reflections on researcher positionality and reflexivity in Chapter III, I have decided to open this thesis

with a personal narrative to outline my own connection to the research problem.

At the onset of this PhD journey, my interest in exploring multicultural education in the Australian context was primarily driven by pragmatic interests. Having worked extensively as an educator in various capacities (i.e., research, development work, and teaching training), I became particularly interested in how cultural diversity is mediated in schools. Prior to embarking on this doctoral study, I was involved in the mother-tongue multilingual reform in the Philippine education system through an international development program (see Clark-Chiarelli & Cabiles, 2018). When I received a scholarship to pursue a doctorate degree at the Melbourne Graduate School of Education, I became particularly interested in how cultural and linguistic diversity is attended and addressed in contemporary classrooms. The opportunity to study in Australia, considered as one of the most multicultural countries in the world, facilitated the decision to pursue this area of research.

The latter stages of my thesis writing process, however, was more unsettling (and challenging) with realisations that my personal narrative was woven into my thesis in a strange but familiar way. For one, all my schooling years (except post-graduate degrees) were spent in the Philippines. Yet the culture of education in the Philippines inherited from American colonial period continues to influence its schooling practices (see Maca & Morris, 2014; Tupas & Martin, 2017). For instance, throughout my primary and secondary schooling (1984-1996), speaking in my mother tongue was strictly prohibited—doing so incurred a fine. I was conditioned to believe that proficiency in the English language was a proxy measure for intellect. Furthermore, my primary literacy classes made references to practices and events such as taking the train (subway) where free newspaper was handed out. However, my childhood experiences of public transport involved riding a horse-drawn carriage and a

jeepney, and newspapers were certainly not for free. For these reasons, whilst I excelled in class, in hindsight schooling was a process of detaching from my personal background. This was profoundly carried out in my daily interactions and relations with relatives who did not have the same opportunity to attend school. Growing up, I felt very detached from them. Indeed, this represented my gradual detachment from my cultural and linguistic heritage.

The way schooling downplayed and indirectly degraded my linguistic and cultural (minority) background—as something less worthy of recognition—resonated strongly with the critical literature I was reading for this study. I engaged with work that was aligned with critical theory (i.e., Delpit, 2006; Nieto, 1999) for both scholarly guidance and personal support as I navigated through the cognitive and affective stirrings triggered by my encounters with school. I resonated with the narrated pain, for instance, from the respondents in Sonia Nieto's (1999) seminal work. As I listened to interviews with my student participants—like Ramis who I introduce later (in Chapter III) was ridiculed for wearing a Punjabi turban, a marker of his identity—I felt transported back to my younger years of being called out for my thick regional accent when I spoke either English or Filipino. The insights I gathered from my critical engagement with literature opened questions that, until recently, I was barely cognisant.

At the same time, I welcomed (albeit with difficulty) the space for critical reflection about my own practice as an educator. For this, I found myself both critical of Ms Wright's (and other teacher respondents) teaching practices, as analysed in the discussion chapters of this thesis, and sympathetic. As an educator, I too have extolled globally acknowledged teaching approaches with little consideration of learners' local cultures. I embraced, uncritically, teaching practices with nothing but positive intentions for developing my young learners. Whilst I was very much an outsider to the learning community I was

studying, my personal background still allowed me a modest insider perspective in relation to teaching and these teachers. For these reasons, I came to understand that the problem of participation in the context of CALD learners is a multi-faceted and complex one. My foray into this seemingly 'strange but familiar' perspective about looking at taken-for-granted schooling begins with my understanding of the problem of participation in the context of CALD learners which I discuss in the next section.

1.2 Participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity: An overview

In setting out to research classroom participation in the context of CALD learners, it is necessary to provide context for the problem, and why questions of cultural and linguistic diversity and participation matter. In this section, I expand on the significance of researching participation in the context of contemporary CALD classrooms.

In this thesis, I use the term 'culturally and linguistically diverse', or 'CALD', to refer to the diverse student population that I focus on in my study. CALD was officially used in Australian government discourses in the mid-1990s as an umbrella term to refer to groups that are defined by not having English as their main language, and for possessing 'different' cultural norms and values (AIFS, 2017; Sawrikar & Katz, 2009). Other terms have been used to label these students with respect to their level of English ability—including 'non-English-speaking-background' (NESB), 'English-as-additional-language' (EAL), 'English-for-speakers-of-other-languages' (ESOL), and 'language-background-other-than-English' (LBOTE)—but these have been widely critiqued in terms of placing these students in deficit light, without highlighting the linguistic and cultural resources of these students as assets (Creagh, 2016; Cunningham, 2019).

These terminologies also tend to emphasise linguistic abilities and overlook the cultural aspects of these students' backgrounds. This is addressed in employing the term 'CALD' as used in this research.

Educating for cultural and linguistic diversity emerged as a policy 'problem' that gained attention in mid-1970s, through Australian multicultural education discourse, but since then has been marked by policy decline and instability (Harris, 1995; Jakubowicz & Ho, 2014). The period from mid-1970s to 1990s is seen as the peak of Australian multicultural education policy and practice (Chodkiewicz & Buridge, 2014; Lo Bianco, 2014). Over time, approaches addressing multiculturalism seems to be watered-down with Jakubowicz (2014) criticising the Australian approach to multiculturalism as having "little theoretical rigour, lack[ing] many of the key elements that it requires to stabilise it away from the grace and favour of changing governments, and in general provid[ing] minimal resources for its implementation" (p. 28). It remains questionable indeed if schooling have robust mechanisms to address the needs and interests of CALD learners.

In Australian schools, the paucity in multicultural policy discourse beyond the 1990's has resulted in a significantly reduced attention towards educating CALD learners. School programs and initiatives, for instance, have suffered from the reduction of resources and staff that can support multicultural education (Burridge, Buchanan, & Chodkiewicz, 2009; Chodkiewicz & Burridge, 2014). The staff profile in Australian schools—and of teachers, in particular—has been critiqued for being unrepresentative of the cultural and linguistic diversity in wider Australian society. The most recent *'Staff in Australia's Schools'* report found that in contrast to 27% of the Australian population being born overseas, only 16% to 19% of its teachers were born overseas, mostly in other Anglo-centric countries (such as the UK and New Zealand) (McKenzie et al., 2014). Less than 1% of teachers and leaders in Australian schools are of Aboriginal or

Torres Strait Islander origin. The findings reveal that although most teachers report a high need for professional development on how to teach students with diverse backgrounds and abilities, at least among primary teachers, topics on diversity and inclusion were not prevalent themes in their professional development activities—whether self-directed or institutionally initiated (McKenzie et al., 2014).

The issues around educating CALD learners discussed above raise questions around participation and inclusion. Participation is often linked to inclusion, a process seen as countering social exclusion (Hill, Davis, Prout, & Tisdall, 2004). Within the context of schooling, inclusive participation intimates working towards achieving "participatory parity" for all students (Keddie, 2012, p. 13). Citing the work of scholar Nancy Fraser, Keddie (2012) conceptualises participatory parity as a form justice that:

> requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life. On the view of justice as participatory parity, overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating on par with others, as full partners in social interaction. (p. 14)

This definition of justice predicated on participatory parity then, calls for an examination of how contexts can operate to create an inclusive culture of participation (Gale, Mills, & Cross, 2017). This is because certain practices can exclude and constrain other people's participation whilst privileging others.

The practice of participation within the classroom setting is often taken up in literature on learner-centredness, a concept emerging from critiques against traditional teaching approaches that perceive students as knowledge recipients. Learner-centredness inherently promotes the concept of 'active' student participation where learners are understood and expected to display initiation and agency in their learning (Schweisfurth, 2015; Windschitl, 2002). Aligning

with learner-centred approaches, literature exploring schooling for minoritised learners (i.e., socio-economically disadvantaged, culturally and linguistically different) argue that entrenched issues of power can constrain the participation of these students. This is a topic I further unpack in reviewing the literature in Chapter II, and its implications for research in the context of Australia, a country with a long-standing history of diversity.

Research has demonstrated that CALD learners in Australian schooling are under consistent threats of exclusion in their participation. It is widely argued, for instance, that Australian education has resisted engaging with and addressing racism (Jakubowicz, 1988; Kalantzis, 2013). Kalantzis (2013) argues that there is "a general tendency to believe that children only experience racism as attitudes and therefore a teacher can work at the problem simply at this level" (p. 95). Yet this perspective ignores the structural or systemic features of racism. Writing about the Indigenous experience, De Plevitz (2007) contends that policies and practices such as "Eurocentric school culture [and] Standard English as the language of assessment," (p. 54) among others, adversely impact schooling of Indigenous students. Similarly, focusing on testing, Rudolph (2013) reveals how the "dominance of whiteness" (p. 207) in standardised testing in Australia for primary students continuously disadvantage Indigenous students.

Studies have also shown how students of CALD backgrounds are persistently othered in schooling. 'Othering' is intimately linked with the notion of racism and is generally described as expressing "prejudice on the basis of identities . . . which include, but are not limited to, religion, sex, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status (class), disability, sexual orientation, and skin tone" (Powel & Menendian, 2016 as cited in Baak, 2019, p. 127). Baak's (2019) study among students of South Sudanese heritage attending schools in South Australia demonstrates these students' experiences of repeated bullying and/or exclusion by peers and teachers. The experiences of the students in Baak's study

seemingly resonate with an earlier study of Arab Australian students attending secondary schools in Melbourne (Mansouri & Trembath, 2005). The students (and parents) in Mansouri and Trembath's (2005) study emphasised racialised experiences from peers and teachers perceived as a "backlash against Arab and Muslim communities" (p. 522) following the 9/11 terrorist attack in the U.S. These studies demonstrate that CALD learners' experiences of "ethnic-racial socialisation"—meaning the "processes by which messages about race, ethnicity, and culture . . . are transmitted"—in schools can gesture towards racism (Walton et al., 2014, p. 113). These findings suggest the need for in-depth deliberations of the meanings and enactment of participation in the context of CALD learners.

'Participation,' however, although an eminent buzzword, remains an ambiguous concept in the field of education (Black, 2011). A more deliberative exploration from other disciplines reveal participation as a social phenomenon interlaced with issues of power (Thomas et al., 2012a; Thomas et al. 2012b). In education research, although participation is seen as a gold standard, associated with slogans such as 'widening participation' or 'participation boost,' there is a tendency to overlook the deep contextual and situational dynamics of participation that often significantly impacts marginalised groups (Black, 2011; Thomas et al., 2012c). Thomas and colleagues' (2012a) analysis of literature on participation in the educational context, for instance, reveals that existing research tends to focus on participation's functionality as the answer to educational problems, thus averting attention towards the conditions that potentially facilitate the problems of schooling. Consequently, studies on participation tended to be normative. Examples include focusing on statistically measuring participation rates, monitoring assumed interventions to increase student participation, and identifying the effects of participation on learning and student development (Holdsworth, 2000; Thomas, et al., 2012a; Thomson & Holdsworth, 2003).

The issues raised in this section suggest the need for a deeper exploration of participation in educational research that attends to issues of power. Specifically, literature emphasises the need to develop a conceptual basis for understanding the practice of participation that is premised on cultural and linguistic diversity.

1.3 Research aims, questions, and significance

This study primarily aims to develop and examine a conceptual basis for understanding the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners. In doing so, the study aims to explore the experiences and perspectives of teachers and CALD students of participating in learning. In particular, the study intends to critically explore the interrelations of diversity and participation through an in-depth qualitative analysis of an Australian CALD primary classroom.

To address the aims of this study, the following overarching research question is put forward:

> How is participation understood, practiced, and experienced in the context of a CALD primary classroom?

To provide focus for this study, the following sub-questions were posed:

> How can participation be conceptualised to address cultural and linguistic diversity?
>
> How do educators understand and practice 'participation' in relation to cultural and linguistic diversity?

How do CALD students understand and experience 'participation'?

The open-ended nature of the research questions offers a robust foundation for generating data that allows for critical exploration of the practice of participation in a CALD primary classroom. As such, the study offers significant contribution to research in the primary years. The primary level is considered as a period when students are highly impressed and influenced by teachers, as students develop their own frames of thinking (Walton et al., 2014). These are also formative years where students develop understandings of difference through their interactions with peers of diverse backgrounds (Walton et al., 2014). The age group for primary students is identified as a period of significant cognitive and emotional developments where social interactions and networks, beyond family life become crucial (Harris & Butterworth, 2002). Moreover, in the Australian context, researchers argue that the primary years have "received relatively little attention from policymakers" (Redmond et al., 2016, p. xi). As such, the primary years have also been referred to as the 'forgotten years' due to its lack of attention in government funding historically (Milburn, 2008).

This doctoral research also offers significant insights for policy and practice in educating CALD learners in the primary years. This work extends on existing literature that examines schooling for ethnic minority students. It does so by investigating a 'superdiverse' classroom to offer a view of the complexities encountered in teaching student cohorts with multiple CALD backgrounds. As emphasised later in Chapter II, research into such diverse classrooms has not been extensively explored. Thus, empirical insights from this study hope to advance further classroom research that can inform teacher education and practice.

In developing a conceptual basis for understanding the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners, this thesis offers significant knowledge contribution to the field of education. It responds to a gap identified in literature in terms of a need for a more thoughtful conceptual examination of participation in educational research (as discussed in Section 1.2). The offering of a conceptual framework—through the 'teaching triad of participation'—provides an alternative and generative means for researching participation in the context of CALD learners.

1.4 Thesis overview

This thesis is organised in eight chapters.

Chapter II reviews existing literature to build a conceptual framework for understanding participation referred as the 'teaching triad of participation': positionality, resourcing, and sociality. The chapter also outlines the overarching theoretical orientation of this approach by articulating 'participation' as 'practice' drawing on the work of Bourdieu and contemporary Bourdieusian scholars.

Chapter III outlines the research design informed by this Bourdieusian theoretical orientation. Adopting a critical constructivist paradigm, this chapter outlines the case study method and techniques used for a multi-perspectival approach to researching participation in the context of CALD learners.

Following this are three findings chapters. Chapter IV analyses the case, Class 5/6k, as a classroom community. Engaging with the Bourdieusian notion of field, the chapter illuminates the 'rules of the game' by examining how CALD learners are de/legitimised as participants in the classroom community.

Chapter V further illuminates the 'rules of the game' through a focus on Bourdieusian capital. The chapter examines the resources that are mobilised in the classroom for learning. Chapter VI focuses on CALD learners' subjectivities examined through the concept of habitus. The chapter analyses the different learner dispositions of CALD students in the classroom.

Chapter VII discusses the conceptual and empirical contributions of the study. It advances the conceptual framework of the teaching triad of participation by outlining the relational characteristic of the three constructs: positionality, resourcing, and sociality.

Chapter VIII concludes the thesis by outlining further research directions towards conceptual understandings of participation, teaching practices in the context of CALD learners, and some considerations of analytical lenses in researching cultural and linguistic diversity.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW
Conceptualising participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity

Common sense says that you don't bracket out 90% of the world's cultural heritage if you really want to learn about the world.
Gates, 1994, p. 204

2.1 Introduction

To address the research problem outlined in Chapter I, this chapter brings together three strands of literature that are not typically in conversation with each other but can offer a deliberative and systematic exploration of the practice of participation in CALD classroom contexts. These three strands include: (i) research on how CALD learners are potentially dis/empowered as participants in schooling; (ii) research that examines learners' subjectivities in their classroom participation; and (iii) learner-centred literature on participation. Through a critical review of these threads of literature, I identify three key teaching dynamics that characterise participation—which I refer to collectively as 'the teaching triad of participation'—comprising of 'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality'. In highlighting these three constructs emerging from literature review, I build a case for a research that advances current conceptualisations of participation in educational context—often focused on measuring and quantifying participation (as discussed in Chapter 1)—through a more nuanced qualitative understanding of power relations at work in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity.

In working with the conceptual framing of participation through the teaching triad, this thesis adopts the view that participation—as a practice—is socially

and culturally mediated and underpinned by issues of power. Thus, in offering a means to understand the problem of participation in a CALD context, I bring into conversation Bourdieusian analytic. In doing so, I extend the explanatory potential of the teaching triad. Through the conceptual tools of habitus, field, and capital, Bourdieusian framework offers a systematic way for analysing the social phenomenon of participation. Put briefly, working with this conceptual framing allows the critical exploration of taken-for-granted schooling practices that can work to dis/empower CALD learners as they participate in learning.

Scholar Henry Louis Gates' (1994) quote opening this chapter frames this review of literature. Gates critiques schooling that assumes Anglo-Americanism as the universal culture against which all other cultures are judged; making the dominant culture as the taken-for-granted norm in schooling (Delpit, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999). Over two decades later, and reflecting on the Australian context, Gates' reflections still resonate through the monolingual and monocultural mindsets that prevail in schooling (Ho, 2015; Neilsen, Arber, & Weinnman, 2017). This bracketing of minority(ised) cultures in Australian classrooms provide impetus for research that can attend to the complex issues of power. This literature review particularly reveals the need for further research into participation in the Australian primary classroom context. Furthermore, the literature review argues for a multi-perspectival research on the meanings of and practices to student participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity.

This chapter, therefore, consists of two major sections. I begin by elaborating on the teaching triad of participation, demonstrating how the three constructs—positionality, resourcing, and sociality—emerge as key constructs in literature (Section 2.2). This is then followed by a discussion of Bourdieusian conceptual tools as heuristic devices deployed to illuminate how entrenched issues of power are enacted in teaching and learning practices (Section 2.3). The

chapter concludes by summarising the conceptual underpinnings of this research study and the need for further research into CALD classroom contexts.

2.2 Participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity: Positionality, resourcing, and sociality

In this section, through a thematic critical review of the literature, I put forward 'the teaching triad of participation.' The themes I draw out from the literature form the basis of the triad, becoming the three constructs of the triad: 'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality'. In what follows, I present each construct of the triad outlining its emergence from my analysis of existing literature surrounding CALD learners and participation in schooling. Within each discussion, I highlight the implications of my analysis of literature to conceptualising each key concept in the teaching triad and the implications to research on the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners.

The literature reviewed in the following sub-sections draws mainly from English-speaking contexts such as the U.S., Canada, the U.K., and Australia. From a comparative perspective, focusing on Anglophone contexts afforded exploration of patterns of discourses related to participation in the context of CALD learners. Whilst some of the themes discussed here may intersect or align with research from non-Anglo countries, interpretation of research from these countries will require attention to their histories and situatedness that often depart significantly from English-speaking countries. The contexts of Anglophone countries, where English language and culture are dominant and privileged, are particularly significant to this project, which has an Australian mainstream primary classroom as its focus, as discussed in the following sub-sections.

2.2.1 The perspectives that position CALD learners in their classroom participation

In this section, I focus on the perspectives that position CALD learners as they participate in the classroom. These perspectives, as I will discuss, come in internalised and externalised aspects. In the context of schooling, internalised perspectives are the views CALD students have about themselves as learner participants in the classroom. External perspectives are views nurtured by educators about students who come from CALD backgrounds. These perspectives, as I will argue, reveal the importance of 'positionality' as a construct shaping CALD learners' participation. Thus, there are three sub-sections organising my discussion in this section: (i) CALD learners' subjective experiences of participating; (ii) educators' perspectives about CALD learners in the classroom; and (iii) the conceptualisation of positionality as a construct for understanding participation in the context of CALD learners.

CALD learners' subjective experiences about classroom participation

Literature that explore CALD learners' perspectives suggest that an 'active form of participation' is an elusive participatory disposition. The notion of 'active participants' customarily emerges from learner-centred literature promoting the idea of students as contributors to or 'co-authors' of learning (Confrey, 1990; Dewey, 1903, 1916; Langford, 2010). For instance, in critical pedagogy, one that finds alignment with learner-centredness, Paulo Freire's (2005) work argues strongly against the 'banking model' of education, whereby traditional teacher-centred approach tends to assume learners as 'empty vessels'. Instead, Freire (2005) advocates for an education where teachers and students are working with each other, both acknowledging each other's varied experiences

and expertise. Following this, active participation generally denotes to students taking initiative and displaying authority over their learning (Patchen, 2012; Reeve & Tseng, 2011; Waring, 2011). Thus, an active participant disposition is often associated with the concept of student agency (Kumpulainen & Lipponen, 2010; Reeve & Tseng, 2011; Waring, 2011). Studies, however, suggest that agentic or active student disposition is atypical in many classrooms (e.g., Kovalainen & Kumpulainen, 2007; Kumpulainen & Lipponen, 2010; Patchen, 2012).

Empirical research suggests that CALD learners predominantly understood participating as taking on a passive role, a perspective aligning with traditional teacher-centred instruction. For instance, studies employing survey methods found that CALD learners typically characterised their roles as knowledge recipients (Reeve & Tseng, 2011; Waring, 2011). Such quantitatively oriented research designs, however, were not able to foreground students' voices in a way that a qualitative research, such as that of Patchen (2012), was able to achieve. In her ethnographic research among secondary Latina/o students in the U.S., Patchen (2012) demonstrates the elusiveness of active forms of participation among learners' perspectives. The study particularly revealed that the students mostly exhibited "responsive" or "attentive and deferential strategies" in participating (Patchen, 2012, p. 521). These behaviours were evident in responses such as "answer questions if individually asked," "pay attention," "stay on task," and "help out the teacher"—resonating strongly with instruction-directed learning rather than learner-centredness (Patchen, 2012, p. 521). These findings suggest that students tended to position themselves as responsive, rather than active, participants.

Qualitative research exploring CALD learners' perspectives further reveal a linguistically oriented internalised perspective that impacts on students' participation. Existing research has found that CALD students position themselves as inferior in English language interactions which then resulted in

students' withdrawal from participating. For instance, a seminal research from the 1990s conducted a longitudinal Canadian case study among newly arrived immigrant women who have recently completed an English language course (Norton-Pierce, 1994, 1995). Bonny Norton's (formerly Norton-Pierce; 1994, 1995) study conducted outside of schooling context revealed that these women nurtured deficit perspectives about themselves as reflected in words such as inferior, stupid, and illegitimate to describe how they see themselves as participants in English discourses. Consequently, the women inhibited from participating in English interactions in their everyday lives—especially where they believed the stakes were high (i.e., speaking with employers or in highly valued community groups).

Classroom-based research confirms that CALD students' perspectives about themselves impact on their participation in learning contexts. For instance, Duff's (2002) research in a CALD secondary school in Canada illustrates the existence and repercussions of deficit assumptions. Students perceived themselves as inferior and inadequate in the English language which then inhibited them from participating. Fearful of criticism, "silence protected them from humiliation" (Duff, 2002, p. 312). Relatively recent research, that of Patchen (2012) (discussed above), also demonstrates that the secondary English language learners of Latina/o backgrounds inhibited from participating due to perceived "threat of peer humiliation" (p. 524). These research findings, from an in-depth exploration of CALD learners' perspectives, intimate that these group of learners may find participating in English discourses a risky affair.

Notwithstanding, findings from empirical research also demonstrate that CALD learners do position themselves as active learner-participants, although this is not a dominant perspective in comparison to the more passive forms of participation. For instance, the survey studies (mentioned above) revealed that there was some evidence of agentic and learner-initiated typologies of

participation among secondary CALD learners (Reeve & Tseng, 2011; Waring, 2011). Another study of an elementary classroom in an under-resourced Mexican community demonstrate how students manipulated power asymmetries to reverse traditional interactional styles in a classroom where teachers considered students as passive recipients of knowledge (Candela, 2005). Candela's (2005) analysis of ethnographic data reveals that students can assert control over their learning—by contradicting teachers' assertions and orientations. However, this analytical tendency of celebrating students' overcoming the constraints of the traditional teacher-student interaction needs to be approached cautiously because it can avert attention away from understanding schooling mechanisms that impede participation. Rather, this study, as well as the other studies on CALD learners' withdrawing from participating (i.e., Duff, 2002; Norton, 1994, 1995; Patchen, 2012) can demonstrate that students' participation is facilitated by classroom practices, and that exploring students' subjective experiences of participation offer important insights.

In reviewing the literature above, a focus on CALD learners' perspective begins to highlight the impact of how students' positioning of themselves in the classroom influences their participatory behaviours. These internalised perspectives, however, only gives a partial portrayal about how perspectives shape the practice of participation in CALD classrooms. In the next session, I discuss another facet of perspectives emerging from literature, that is, focusing on educators' views about CALD learners, and how these views position CALD learners in the classroom.

Educators' perspectives towards CALD learners

Learner-centred literature advances the fundamental idea that students need to be perceived as assets or possessing valuable knowledge to position them as active participants. This echoes learner-centred approaches to teaching whereby students are considered as learner-participants who bring with them prior knowledge about the world (as discussed above). Specifically, in the context of CALD learners, Takacs (2002) illustrates asset perspective through an example of an ESL student who may be construed as problematic and deficient due to a perceived lack of English skills. However, (re)focusing on the student's assets, she may also be seen as "bilingual, a facile language learner who has much to teach about bridging cultures because of where she has been positioned with respect to a dominant culture" (Takacs, 2002, p. 170). In the context of CALD learners, therefore, there can be different, often conflicting, ways that students are perceived, depending on how their cultural and linguistic attributes are judged.

Literature illuminates that schooling can persistently facilitate deficit, rather than asset, perspectives towards learners who belong to minoritised backgrounds (i.e., those who do not possess elite cultural capital). Deficit perspective brings attention to the ways that CALD learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds are perceived as liabilities and problems when measured against the dominant and powerful culture and language (Delpit, 2006). A deficit lens can position CALD learners' behaviours, attitudes, and knowledge as flaws or defects resulting from cognitive shortcomings and/or linguistic weaknesses (Delpit, 2006; Valencia, 2010). The dominance of psychological-based perspectives in education, for instance, has been critiqued for overemphasising individual attributes to explain low school achievement, whilst downplaying the broader impact of power relations that disadvantage CALD learners as they participate in learning (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). "Deficit

perspectives," as it is broadly referred, exempts "inequitable schooling arrangements" from interrogation as a possible source of problem (Valencia, 1997, p. 3).

North American research suggests that teachers can perpetuate negative characterisations about CALD learners as they participate in classrooms (e.g., Flores & Smith, 2009; Friedman & Herrmann, 2014; Marling, 2007; Pica-Smith & Veloria, 2012). Findings from empirical research significantly illustrate teachers' deficit portrayals of CALD learners' attitudes towards schooling, and the students' cultural and linguistic heritage. For example, García and Guerra (2004) explored educators' assumptions and beliefs about CALD learners and their families in low-performing schools around one American school district. They found that primary (i.e., K-12) educators (i.e., teachers, principals, and staff) generally categorised CALD learners from under-resourced backgrounds as having lower potential for educational success (García & Guerra, 2004). This study importantly demonstrates that educators tend to cast CALD learners as lacking in educability.

Refugee-focused studies also demonstrate how teachers' perspectives can position CALD learners as problematic. In a study among London-based primary teachers, Costley and Leung (2009) found that teachers portrayed Somalian refugee students as without literacy skills, and with problematic cultural and religious backgrounds. Ethnographic tools, such as field notes of classroom observations, interviews, and school-based artefacts, were able to capture teachers' perspectives that portrayed the Somali students' cultural, religious, and literary traditions as aberrant (Costley & Leung, 2009). Another study among Somali Bantu refugee students in the American schooling context also demonstrate the persistence of deficit perspectives towards these students. Through interviews with various educators, which included teachers and administrators, Roy and Roxas (2011) found that American teachers assumed

that learners of Somali Bantu heritage with refugee backgrounds, lacked aspirations and positive attitudes towards schooling. These studies, in examining educators' perspectives, reveal that CALD learners' backgrounds are often judged as problematic as they participate in schooling.

The inaccurate ways that teachers portrayed CALD learners, as demonstrated in empirical research, can also facilitate deficit perspectives. For instance, literature has argued that a 'special events' approach—such as programmes celebrating traditional clothing, food, music, etc.—appear to define CALD students' cultures as static, fixed, and homogenous (Amanti, 2005; see also González, 2005 for a discussion on culture). A similar line of argument was also raised in an Australian study focusing on the practices of diversity and social justice in secondary schools. Through interviews, findings reveal that teachers were describing newly arrived Rohingya refugee students as "cute" and "gorgeous," conveying thin and simplistic appreciation of these students' backgrounds (Keddie, 2012, p. 77). Keddie (2012) argues that these are forms of "essentialising . . . [that] may disempower [these students] in terms of belittlement and low expectations," and that these language of exoticism from teachers' discourses can be "another kind of racism" (p. 77). Such analysis, without specifically mobilising the term deficit, suggest that teachers can be carrying reductive attitudes towards the different cultural and historical experiences of CALD learners. These deficit perspectives can often come in neutral or even positive language that are communicated unconsciously but are reflective of teachers' bias and stereotypes.

Apart from deficit perspectives attached to cultural backgrounds, empirical research also reveals that linguistically oriented deficit perspectives are often associated with CALD learners. Deficit frames around CALD learners' language is related to the issue of categories or labels such as 'English as additional language' (EAL), and 'English as second language' (ESL), and how students

labelled as such are often perceived as lacking in linguistic skills and competencies when measured against standardised English (Liyanage, Singh, & Walker, 2016). Findings from American empirical studies, for example, reveal that teachers can assume deficit understandings about CALD learners' home languages. Teachers' believe that students' use of their home languages in school can: (i) interfere with English acquisition; (ii) are distracting in class; (iii) are the family's (not school's) responsibility for language maintenance; and (iv) does not have value in learning (Flores & Smith, 2009; Karabenick & Clemen, 2004; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; see also Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, & Tsokalidou, 2015, for similar issues in the Greek context). These reasons suggest that deficit perspectives towards home languages are often associated with the assumption that mastery of the English language equates to learning, and that other languages are hindrances to learning.

Empirical research focusing on students of low-income backgrounds and those with trauma-related experiences offer further insight into the ways that deficit perspectives are enacted by teachers. For instance, data from observations and interviews of teachers working in under-resourced Australian secondary schools reveal that an aspect of students' experiences, specifically referred as "dark lifeworld knowledge,"—those consisting of themes such as "violence, crime, alcohol, [and] drugs"—were generally met with discomfort and avoided by teachers in classroom discussion (Zipin, 2009, p. 320). This is despite students' willingness to engage with these forms of knowledge. Teachers' decision to avoid such topics appear to emanate from a protective place; that is to avoid exposing students with dark lifeworld topics. In similar vein, relatively recent study in the U.S. focusing on "*the difficult*—those challenging life experiences that inevitably are carried into and lived within classrooms" shows that teachers tended to see the problem, rather than the potential, of difficult stories for learning (Dutro & Bien, 2014, p. 11, emphasis in original). As Dutro and Bien (2014) argue:

> The hard stories can quickly position children as challenges, rather than as having faced challenges, or frame children as problems, rather than as remarkable human beings who have faced catastrophe and survived. (p. 16)

These studies highlight that although these dark narratives have the potential to disrupt the status quo—or what is normalised learning content—teachers often frame these stories, and the students with such experiences as challenging or problematic in the classroom (Zipin, 2009; Dutro & Bien, 2014). As Dutro and Bien (2014) points out, "the marginalisation of students' experiences can reify deficit discourses" (p. 9) in the classroom. Although these studies were not specific to CALD learners, their findings suggest that deficit views can emanate from teachers' intent to shield students from dark or trauma-related discussions. As such, deficit tones can emerge through positive intentions.

Literature has indeed asserted that teachers' deficit perspectives can emanate from unconscious and often positive intentions of teachers who do not share similar backgrounds with their learners. For instance, in a survey of 230 non-Indigenous teachers in Australian primary and secondary schools, Phillips and Luke (2017) reveal that teachers' responses to the question, "what would you advise new teachers to your school?" (p. 962) were peppered with culturally deficit themes. Most of the teachers' responses constituted of deficit discourses along the lines of "remediation or fixing of students, community, culture or home;" citing issues relating to perceived problematic backgrounds of the students—such as lack of home support, lack of motivation or self-esteem, and family/community problems—as the primary barriers to their learning (Phillips & Luke, 2017, p. 962). Although Phillips and Luke's study focuses on Indigenous students, their arguments strongly align with literature on deficit perspectives regarding CALD more broadly. Their research suggests that cultural deficit

perspectives persist in Australian school contexts, a problem that must be understood in the context of differences in cultural backgrounds between teachers and student populations (see Liyanage et al., 2016): that is, teachers predominantly come from white middle-class backgrounds and do not necessarily know the "cultural/racial Other" (Phillips & Luke, 2017, p. 965). This is also demonstrated in other Australian research on CALD learners demonstrating the problem of a classroom where the authority lies with teachers having Anglo backgrounds and maintaining deficit frames towards CALD learners (Mills & Balantyne, 2010; Moloney & Saltmarsh, 2016; Zyngier, 2012).

Literature that has examined the beliefs and assumptions of educators reveal the different ways that deficit perspectives are cultivated towards CALD learners. These deficit notions tend to position CALD learners in inferior and problematic ways as participants in the classroom. These deficit perspectives are often attached to the cultural and linguistic heritage, and in general, the lived experiences of CALD students. Thus, these students can enter schools as inherently positioned as without knowledge or assets that are valuable to learning.

Conceptualising 'positionality' as a construct shaping CALD learners' participation

As demonstrated in literature, different perspectives can position CALD learners variably in the classroom. Learner-centred approaches highlight the importance of positionality in students' active participation. That is, from constructivist teaching orientations, active participation is theoretically achieved by nurturing conditions that empower learners to take authority and responsibility for learning (e.g., to negotiate lesson content and instruction)

(Chen & Looi, 2011; Confrey, 1990; Labaree, 2005; Rogoff, Matusov, & White, 1996). The foundation of active participation is seen as dependent on attempts to position students as knowledge-makers or co-authors of learning. However, the review of literature discussed in the previous sections reveal that CALD learners' positionality in the classroom is a complex matter. Positionality is shaped by CALD learners' internalised perspectives and the ways that educators perceive CALD learners.

Thus, in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity, I advance the construct of 'positionality' as a key aspect to understanding student participation. Positionality pertains to the ways that CALD learners position themselves and are positioned by teachers which can influence these students' participatory potentials in classroom learning. As discussed earlier, CALD learners' perspectives of themselves as learner-participants in the classroom are limiting their participatory potentials. This is demonstrated in key findings that reveal CALD learners' tendency to view participation as teacher directed (Patchen, 2012; Reeve & Tseng, 2011; Waring, 2011). Furthermore, empirical studies also indicate that CALD learners' non-participation is a consequence of internalised deficit perspectives whereby they position themselves as inferior and different to their English-speaking peers (Duff, 2002; Norton-Pierce, 1994, 1995; Patchen, 2012). Indeed, CALD students' understandings of their relations to others define how they position themselves in a social context.

The perspectives from educators also shape the ways that CALD learners are positioned. There are multi-faceted ways that CALD learners are perceived as deficits by educators as they participate in schooling. These deficit perspectives, often arising from positive intentions, are clearly counterproductive to positioning CALD students as co-authoring participants in the classroom. Instead, the deficit notions can persistently position CALD learners as

inadequate and problematic (e.g., Costley & Leung, 2009; García & Guerra, 2004; Karabenick & Clemen, 2004; Keddie, 2012; Roy & Roxas, 2011).

It is this complex interaction between CALD learners' subjective experiences and the external perspectives often from educators that offers valuable insights to the dynamics that can constrain (and potentially facilitate) CALD learners' participation. The empirical research discussed in this section shows that positionality can be explored through CALD learners' perspectives about their roles as learner-participants in the classroom. Interviewing students, as in Patchen's (2012) study, was a useful way of gaining insights into students' understandings about what it means to participate in a classroom. Similarly, interviews with teachers were also generative in providing understandings about the different ways that teachers can perpetuate deficit perspectives towards CALD learners (e.g., Costley & Leung, 2009; García & Guerra, 2004; Keddie, 2012; Liyanage et al., 2016; Roy & Roxas, 2011). However, the dearth of literature on participation that foregrounds CALD students' voices, in comparison to teacher's voices, was also revealed through this literature review in relation to positionality. Understanding positionality, as developed here requires further examination of the subjective experiences of both CALD students and their teachers.

2.2.2 The resources mobilised for CALD learners' participation

In this section, I focus my discussion on the different resources that are mobilised in the classroom to facilitate student participation. In doing so, I first discuss literature that attends to the ways that CALD learners mobilise their cultural and linguistic resources in everyday learning experiences. This is then followed by literature that discuss how schooling (de)mobilise the cultural and

linguistic resources of CALD learners. These are discussed in two sub-sections focusing on culture and language, respectively. The final sub-section then outlines my conceptualisation of 'resourcing' as an important construct to understand participation in the context of CALD learners.

CALD learners' mobilisation of their cultural and linguistic resources

Literature establishes that CALD learners possess distinct cultural and linguistic knowledge and skills, which they mobilise in negotiating with everyday life. These scholarly works challenge the persistent deficit positioning of CALD learners by educators as highlighted in some of the empirical studies discussed in the previous section (i.e., Section 2.2.1). The discussion here demonstrates the ways that CALD learners mobilise their cultural and linguistic resources to facilitate learning as evident in existing literature.

One concept that captures CALD students' propensities to create knowledge by drawing on their cultural heritage and traditions is 'Funds of Knowledge' (FoK). FoK broadly refers to the community and home-based resources accumulated historically and culturally by students and their families (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). In their influential work among secondary students (and their families) who are of Mexican heritage backgrounds, González et al. (2005) illustrate that there exist rich knowledge resources located in the homes and communities that these students bring with them to the classroom. These included knowledge about cattle ranching (Amanti, 2005), quilting (Hensley, 2005) and construction (Sandoval-Taylor, 2005) (see also Browning-Aiken, 2005). With wide influence globally, the FoK concept has been expanded to include learners' individual resources, such as their "personal, interpersonal, and metacognitive skills" (Oughton, 2010, p. 6; see also Chesworth, 2016;

Dabach & Fones, 2016; Seiler, 2001), and digital identities (Poole, 2017). These expanded notions of the FoK suggest that students, as knowledge sources, are continuously reshaping their perspectives about the world. In other words, CALD learners create knowledge by mobilising their cultural heritage and experiences in spontaneous, dynamic, and diverse ways.

Focusing on CALD learners' linguistic resources, literature provides evidence that CALD learners draw from a range of linguistic resources to produce knowledge. The notion of 'linguistic funds of knowledge,' for instance, has been advanced to describe the linguistic and literacy practices of students and their families that mobilise heritage or home languages (also referred to as L1, first language, or mother tongue) (Coleman, 2015, p. 20; see also Taylor et al., 2008). A related dynamic theorisation of CALD learners' mobilisation of their linguistic resources has been developed through the theory of translanguaging. Ofelia García and colleagues (2017, 2014) promote the concept of 'translanguaging' to describe the linguistic practices of bi/multilinguals as "always heteroglossic . . . always dynamic" (García & Lin, 2017, p. 120), using a breadth of "linguistic repertoire to adapt to both the ridges and craters of communication in uneven (and unequal) interactive terrains" (García & Wei, 2014, p. 16). Translanguaging frames the bilingual's mind as an "integrated linguistic system" (Coleman, 2015, p. 30). Aligning with the idea that linguistic knowledge is dynamic and fluid, Jim Cummins (2017), more recently, put forwards the notion of active bilingualism (a progression from earlier notions of additive bilingualism) as a concept that coalesces with translanguaging and other concepts that aim at highlighting the "fuzziness of language boundaries" (García, 2009 as cited in Cummins, 2017, p. 410; see also Flores & Rosa, 2015). These theorisations of CALD learners' use of linguistic resources suggest the bi/multilingual individuals' dynamic mobilisation of languages rather than discrete engagements with each language. As such, they denote to CALD

students' predispositions at spontaneously engaging with these languages in their meaning-making.

These concepts of funds of knowledge, translanguaging, and active bilingualism brings attention to the teaching and learning conditions whereby students are either encouraged or obstructed from engaging with their cultural and linguistic resources. CALD learners (re)create knowledge in their social interactions; thus, making it important to attend to the ways that resources—cultural and linguistic—are utilised within CALD classroom contexts.

(De)Valuing CALD learners' cultural resources as tools for learning

Literature highlights that for CALD students to inhabit the role of co-authoring learner-participant, teaching practices must centre these students' cultural resources and interests; meaning, an approach that builds on and adds to the students' cultural knowledge. Culturally responsive pedagogy is one that provides a learning environment that centres and acknowledges the cultural resources of CALD learners. Gay (2000) defines it as teaching "to and through [diverse learners'] personal and cultural strengths, their intellectual capabilities, and their prior accomplishments" (p. 26). Cultural responsiveness has recently gained attention in Australian educational context, particularly within Indigenous educational research, along with 'culturally relevant teaching' (i.e., Ladson -Billings, 2009) (Morrison et al., 2019). Another approach aimed at centring students' prior knowledge alongside established knowledge canons is the 'both-ways' or 'two-ways pedagogy' promoted in Delpit's (2006) work (Gale, Mills, & Cross, 2017).

The strategies above suggest that teaching practices can be redesigned to facilitate CALD learners' mobilisation of their cultural resources for learning. 'Both-ways' approach, in particular, stands out as one that attends to the valuing of multiple forms of knowledge. That is, whilst schooling teaches the "authorised" knowledge of the curriculum (i.e., the powerful cultural knowledge), it also deliberately uses students' own or prior knowledges (i.e., minority cultural resources) to produce new knowledge (Gale et al., 2017). The common theme running across these additive orientated teaching strategies is the promotion and assertion of "epistemological equity" (Dei, 2010 as cited in Gale et al., 2017, p. 351). 'Both-ways,' in particular, is seen as achieving epistemological equity, whilst also addressing critiques that privileging 'Other' forms of knowledge may (re)produce cultural arbitrariness, or the dominance of one culture over the other (see Oughton, 2010).

International research, however, has exposed that classroom practices can place less value on CALD learners' cultural resources as learning tools. Angela Valenzuela (1999), for instance, developed the term 'subtractive schooling' to capture the ways that schooling is structured to ignore, devalue, and silence CALD learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds (see also Valenzuela & Rubio, 2018). Subtractive schooling emerged from Valenzuela's ground-breaking ethnographic research investigating the schooling experiences among students of Mexican backgrounds in the United States. In a more recent work, 'subtractive schooling' is defined as a result of wider "assimilationist policies and practices" whereby "schools are organized to systematically divest students of their cultures, languages, and community-based identities" (Valenzuela & Rubio, 2018, p. 2). It is described as one where the learners' "experiences, lives, and identities were kept at an arm's length" (Valenzuela & Rubio, 2018, p. 4). Consequently, learners of bi/multicultural and bi/multilingual backgrounds emerge from schools as monolingual and/or monocultural—divorced from

their original identities, but also challenged to succeed in the mainstream US culture (Valenzuela, 1999).

Empirical research particularly intimate that taken-for-granted teaching practices can contribute to creating subtractive learning conditions by constraining the opportunities for CALD learners to engage with their cultural resources in the classroom. For instance, in Valenzuela's (1999) study referred above, key findings revealed that schools with a large cohort of CALD learners followed a general pattern of "cultural insensitivity" compounded by an absence of guidelines about how teachers can "build on students' cultural backgrounds and experiences" (p. 173). This pattern of cultural insensitivity was also highlighted in Sonia Nieto's (1999) provocative research with graduating teachers. Key findings from teachers' journal entry revealed the unintentional ways that teachers communicated, through micro-interactions, the insignificant worth of CALD learners' cultural backgrounds. One teacher, for example, wrote about teachers "being nice" as "not enough;" such as when teachers are welcoming about CALD learners consuming the culture of the dominant group (e.g. 'their' food, stories, music, and words), but not showing interest about the learners' worlds and aspirations (Nieto, 1999, p. 85). Another example is gleaned from a teacher (of Portuguese background) who after watching a video on bilingual education finds herself transported back to her own first-grade experience and wrote the words: "I learned quietly about her [teacher's] world, and my world was left with my coat, outside the classroom door" (Nieto, 1999, p. 110). These findings demonstrate that subtractive conditions can be perpetuated in teachers' practices, often exhibited in seemingly positive interactions.

Given the increasing diversity in contemporary classrooms, relatively recent studies demonstrate the persistence of culturally subtractive approaches. Religious diversity, for instance, has gained attention in educational research as

one of the more recently acknowledged characteristic of plurality. However, it remains an obfuscated aspect in classroom practices (see, for example, Neilsen et al., 2017; Patrick, Gulayers, & Peck, 2017; Smyth, Lyons, & Darmody, 2013). Research in a Canadian classroom, for example, revealed that teachers' treatment of religious beliefs varied from "nominal" where teachers, out of discomfort and concern, incorporate minimal themes on religion into their teaching; to "attentive" where teachers allow discussion of religion through "historical and current events"; and "integrated" where religion is seamlessly incorporated into the curriculum that is taught (Patrick et al., 2017, p. 6). These diverse teacher practices in relation to religion suggest a lack of common understandings among educators about providing a platform for religious discussions. Through observations of teachers in the classroom, the findings suggest the possibility that faith-based experiences, as a cultural knowledge, is ambivalently regarded as a learning resource in the classroom.

Critical research in the Australian context also intimates the continuing patterns of subtractive schooling in contemporary classroom. Key findings from Cross and colleague's (2019) study of an Australian secondary classroom reveal that a teacher's taken-for-granted patterns of discourses can exclude some students' cultural resources, particularly those who did not share the teacher's "own socio-economic/cultural background" (Cross, Mills & Gale, 2019, p. 135). In the study, the teacher was observed as consistently drawing from her own personal and family experiences—which represented Anglo-Australian middle-class tradition—as a starting point for discussion of lesson content. Cross et al. emphasise that although the teacher acknowledges the cultural and socio-economic diversity of her students, this understanding did not necessarily translate in the teachers' practices. Although their study focuses on class rather than cultural and linguistic diversity, the findings indicate that recognition of student diversity does not necessarily guarantee inclusive classroom practices. The teacher's practice of drawing solely from her personal experience reinforces

the valuing of the 'elite' forms of knowledge in the classroom. Concomitantly, other forms of experiences that students may have are not mobilised as learning tools. By observing patterns of teaching practices from a teacher of Anglo-Australian middle-class background, the kinds of learning conditions created through the teachers' unconscious practices are illuminated.

In her influential work, *'Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom,'* Lisa Delpit (2006) intimates that there are invisible mechanisms that allow the 'culture of power' to dominate in classrooms; and thus, marginalising 'Other' cultural backgrounds. According to Delpit, this culture of power is potentially embodied, enacted, and transmitted by educators in seemingly unconscious ways that often come from positive intentions. Extending the argument on the possible cause for teachers' deficit perspectives towards CALD learners (in the previous section), teachers' shortcomings in practices are also often unintentional and well-meaning. It is often a consequence of teachers' inability to be sensitive to the cultural and linguistic contexts within which they are operating as a result of occupying a position and location in the social world that is different from their CALD learners (Delpit, 2006). As Causey, Thomas, and Armento (2000) assert, many teachers (often of White and middle-class backgrounds) come with strong ideologies about inclusion and equity, but their monocultural backgrounds deny them of opportunities to practice these ideals in real world.

(De)Valuing CALD learners' linguistic resources as tools for learning

Scholarly work has illustrated the significance of valuing CALD learners' linguistic resources as they participate in schooling. For Cummins (2017), a linguistically additive approach can challenge hegemonic educational

arrangements and the coercive relations of power that occur when teachers impose English as the only language of learning in CALD classroom contexts (see also Cummins, 1997). Many national contexts, for instance, have embraced the 'multilingual turn' in the education system (e.g., Europe) (Turner & Cross, 2016). In Australia, although multilingualism has not been well-established (Turner & Cross, 2016), empirical research demonstrates the potential of linguistically additive teaching practices. Molyneux and colleagues (2016), for instance, studied a successful two-way Karen/English bilingual program in an Australian early years classroom. The authors noted that although school days were designated as 'Karen' or 'English', classroom practices were observed as accommodating and recognising both languages in "teacher instruction and in opportunities for students to move in and out of the different languages when required" (Molyneux et al., 2016, p. 341). The researchers identify this approach as adhering to the additive learning principles that challenge the dominance of monolingual English teaching practices in Australian classrooms.

However, like the mechanisms for cultural subtraction, literature has revealed how widely accepted and unproblematised schooling practices can diminish the development of CALD learners' bilingual resources; or what Cummins (1996, 1997) refers to as 'subtractive bilingualism.' A component of subtractive schooling (Valenzuela, 1999), subtractive bilingualism refers to the "situation in which a second language is learnt at the expense of the first language, and gradually replaces the first language (e.g., migrants to a country or minority language pupils in submersion education)" (Baker & Prys-Jones, 1998 as cited in Cummins, 2017, p. 406; see also Cummins, 1997; Wright, Taylor, & Macarthur, 2000). It can be operationalised as the schooling practices that denies "students the opportunity to build on their native language and promotes ideologies of monolingualism" (Menken & Kleyn, 2010, p. 215). As Cummins (2000) explains, linguistically subtractive teaching is reflective of the long-standing 'coercive relations of power' (p. 43) in the wider society exercised by dominant groups

over minoritised groups. These "macro-interactions between dominant and subordinated groups" become reflected in the classroom through the "moment-to-moment" interactions between teachers and students (Cummins, 1997, pp. 109, 107).

Research in various national contexts has documented that throughout history, teaching practices have often devalued the linguistic resources of CALD learners. The imposition of an 'English-only' rule in schools, for instance, has been found a detriment to different heritage languages such as the Welsh language in Wales, Giyuku in Kenya, and different heritage languages (i.e., Spanish, Cantonese, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Thai, or Russian) in American schooling contexts (Cummins, 1997; see also De La Luz Reyes, 1992; Valentine, Sporton, & Nielsen, 2008). Relatively recent research in the Australian context further reveals that teachers' practices is characterised by a lack of understanding about engaging with different linguistic resources. French's (2016) study, employing an ethnographic approach, was able to explore the lived experiences of multilingual students and their teachers in a secondary school. The study revealed that whilst students were exhibiting productive multilingual skills that aided their academic achievement, teachers' initiatives to tap these multilingual resources were varied. There were teachers who attempted to mobilise the students' multilingual practices. However, there were also some teachers who rejected the multilingual skills of the students and prohibited the use of students' home languages in the school yard (i.e., to show consideration for other students who do not understand the language and might get offended) (French, 2016).

This uncertainty in teachers' practices towards different home languages is also validated in international research. Cunningham's (2019) qualitative study among primary schools in the UK, for instance, revealed that students were not trusted to use their home languages in appropriate ways such that learners

were only allowed to speak their home languages in the presence of a bilingual staff. Teachers also demarcated between appropriate times (e.g., when responding during attendance roll) and inappropriate times (e.g., any other time not initiated by the teacher) for the use of home languages. Through teacher interviews and observations, these studies demonstrate that subtractive bilingualism is a potential consequence of a schooling that lacks a coherent approach to mobilising CALD learners' linguistic resources for learning.

Conceptualising 'resourcing' as a construct shaping CALD learners' participation

The literature discussed above show that CALD learners have the potential to mobilise their cultural and linguistic resources in everyday practices of knowledge production. Concepts such as funds of knowledge (i.e., González et al., 2015), translanguaging (e.g., García & Lin, 2017; García & Wei, 2014), and active bilingualism (Cummins, 2017) signify that CALD learners' inherent propensities to produce knowledge draws from a range of cultural and linguistic resources. Thus, attending to the ways CALD learners mobilise their cultural and linguistic resources helps understand how these students inhabit co-authoring dispositions in their everyday practices.

Learner-centred literature generally argue that students' active participant roles—displaying learner initiation and agency—in the classroom can be facilitated through teaching and learning approaches that allow learners to make connections with their homes and communities. Takacs (2002) explains that:

> By respecting the unique life experiences that each student brings into the classroom—by asserting that the broadest possible set of experiences

> is crucial to helping each of us understand the topic at hand as completely as possible—we empower all students as knowledge makers. (p. 170)

The quote above emphasises the importance of engaging with students' experiences and backgrounds so students can inhabit the role of co-authors of learning. As such, understanding students' participation means examining the ways that CALD learners' resources are engaged within learning contexts.

Teaching practices can engage with CALD students' cultural and linguistic resources in different ways. On the one hand, literature argues that additive teaching practices—those that engage with CALD learners' resources—can reinforce a co-authoring participant role for students. On the other hand, subtractive practices—those that ignore and diminish CALD learners' resources—can disempower students as they participate in learning. Empirical research strongly suggests that in the context of CALD learners, taken-for-granted teaching practices tend to fall within subtractive, rather than, additive approaches. Thus, a consideration of the ways CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources are mobilised for learning is essential to understand CALD learners' participation.

Given the significant discussion in literature pertaining to the ways cultural and linguistic resources are mobilised in learning, I therefore, advance the concept of 'resourcing' as a component of the teaching triad of participation. Resourcing, as developed in this thesis, conceptually draws attention to how cultural and linguistic resources are mobilised in learning. 'Resourcing' assists in understanding participation in the context of CALD learners by attending to the nexus of resource mobilisation; that is, as mobilised in CALD learners' subjective experiences and through the conditions offered in classroom practices. The concept of resourcing, therefore, relates to the ways that different cultural and linguistic resources are used (or not) as learning devices.

The concept of resourcing compels the interrogation of the experiences of students and teachers as they mobilise cultural and linguistic resources for knowledge-making. Existing research reviewed throughout this section (Section 2.1.2) implies that examining students' experiences in relation to their cultural and linguistic resources illuminate the different ways that they are producing knowledge (e.g. Cummins, 2017; García & Lin, 2017; García & Wei, 2014; González et al., 2015). In addition, exploring teachers' perspectives and practices provides insight into the classroom conditions that facilitate or constrain the use of CALD learners' cultures and languages for learning (e.g. Cross et al., 2019; French, 2016; Molyneux et al., 2016; Morrison et al., 2019; Patrick et al., 2017). Thus, a research design that is able to observe the practice of participation in the classroom, as well as the subjective experiences of students and teachers in relation to cultural and linguistic diversity, is essential to understanding resourcing.

2.2.3 The social dynamics that shape CALD learners' participation

This section discusses literature highlighting the role of social relationships for CALD learners' participation. The discussion is organised in three sub-sections. First, I discuss the significance of social dynamics as emerging from literature on CALD learners' subjective experiences. Then, I analyse literature pertaining to facilitating relationships in the classroom. Finally, I offer a conceptualisation of sociality as the third construct in the teaching triad.

The role of social dynamics in CALD learners' participation

Within education literature, the kinds of social relationships nurtured by teachers and students emerge as a key theme shaping students' participation. In learner-centred research, a focus on social relations is denoted by the idea of building a sense of community that nurtures feelings of "cohesion, trust, safety, interaction, interdependence, and a sense of belonging" (Rovai & Wighting, 2005, p. 101). This sense of connectedness among members of the classroom community is considered essential to sustaining and increasing student participation (Rovai, 2002). McCombs (2004), for instance, in advocating classroom relationships argues that:

> Learning is enhanced in contexts where learners have supportive relationships, have a sense of ownership and control over the learning process, and can learn with and from each other in safe and trusting learning environments. (p. 7)

In learner centred approaches, building a sense of community includes collaborative group work, and having the teacher function as a facilitator rather than an authority figure (Cullen & Harris, 2009; Cornelius-White, 2007). These approaches promote "warm" interactions between teachers and students, characterised by teachers' praise and encouragement (Power et al., 2019, p. 585), as well as respect and appreciation of different abilities (Crick et al., 2007). The presumption that social relationships is important to learning aligns with Wenger's (2002) theory of "community of practice," (developed together with Lave in earlier works). The theory emphasises "openness and trust" in fostering safe spaces for dynamic and risky interactions, such as "speak[ing] the truth and ask[ing] hard questions" (p. 37) (see also Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger 1998).

In the context of culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms, literature has emphasised that social relationships, particularly between teachers and students, are instrumental to creating an inclusive culture of participation. For instance, Poplin and Weeres' (1993) extensive study of schooling in "multicultural urban Californian schools" (elementary to high school), highlight the issue of relationships (Cummins, 1996, p. 1). This study essentially asking the question 'What is the problem with schooling?' revealed that:

> Participants feel the crisis inside schools is directly related to human relationships. Most often mentioned were relationships between teachers and students. Where positive things about schools are noted, they usually involve reports of individuals who care, listen, understand, respect others and are honest, open, and sensitive. . . Students desire authentic relationships where they are trusted, given responsibility, spoken to honestly and warmly, and treated with dignity (Poplin and Weeres, 1993, n.p.).

In the same study, students also persistently raised issues about feelings of being unaffirmed, disrespected, uncared for, and disconnected in schools. Building on Poplin and Weeres' (1993) work, Cummins' (1996) also promotes the concept of *"collaborative relations of power"* (p. 16, emphasis in original) particularly between students and teachers characterised by the teachers' accepting and affirming dispositions towards CALD students' sense of identity and self-esteem. Cummins (1996) believes that cultivating mutual trust and respect between learners and teachers is important so both can critically reflect on their perspectives and learn from each other. The findings from these literatures emphasise that *"human relationships are at the heart of schooling,"* particularly in the context of CALD learners (Cummins, 1996, p. 1, emphasis in original).

Research into the subjective experiences of CALD learners as they participate (or not) in English discourses particularly demonstrate the significant role of peer relations to participation (as alluded in Section 2.2.1). Key findings suggest

that a "threat of peer humiliation" among English language learners, emanating from a judgement of themselves as lacking in English fluency, was the primary factor for withdrawing from participation (Duff, 2002, p. 524). This is strongly connected to positionality in that learners' subjective understandings of self, impacted by the way they are positioned within the classroom, can impact their capacity to connect socially. This can be seen clearly, for instance, in Jennifer Miller's (2003) longitudinal research among English language learners transitioning from intensive English schools to mainstream secondary schools. Students revealed deficit perceptions of themselves, understanding themselves as being 'Othered' by their Anglo-Australian peers; and thus, they felt inhibited from participation. It is against this backdrop of students' internalised feelings of 'being different' that social dynamics become a key aspect for understanding CALD learners' participation.

Thus, in this section, I first discuss the challenges in attending to the social dynamics in schooling. This is then followed by my conceptualisation of sociality as a construct in the teaching triad of participation.

The challenges of attending to social dynamics in teaching practices

Literature educating CALD learners highlight the importance of social dynamics in understanding CALD learners' participation in schooling. The work of Paulo Freire (2005), for instance, stresses the importance for teachers to approach marginalised students with openness and humility to cultivate learning through dialogue. Studies building on Freirean philosophy highlight teachers working in "solidarity" with those who are positioned at the margins, helping learners work towards realising their liberation (Miller et al., 2011, p. 1085). Similarly, teaching approaches such as culturally responsive teaching

(Gay, 2000) and multilingual teaching approaches (e.g., Cummins, 1997) also stress the relevance of teachers' trust, respect, and appreciation towards CALD learners. An underlying principle behind these pedagogies promote teachers knowing and understanding their students' lived experiences, their histories and present circumstances. Concomitantly, teachers' narratives also attest to the benefits of connecting with their students and families, as positively influencing their curricular and pedagogical decisions (see for example, the Funds of Knowledge project by Moll et al., 2005). Arguably, much of the prominent literature on educating CALD learners tend to emphasise teacher-student relationships as significant to CALD learners' participation, although rarely foregrounding peer relations.

CALD learners' non-participation resulting from fear signifies the need to construct an atmosphere of acceptance and trust. As Rovai and Whiting (2005) points out, nurturing a trusting and safe space "acts as a buffer against threats, [and] provides a place in which individuals are free to express their identities" (p. 100). Cummins (1996) also highlights that a sense of trust is especially significant for CALD learners, against a backdrop of racism, monoculturalism, and monolingualism in the broader social context. For Cummins, strengthening students' "sense of identity," and giving them a sense of security that their "voices will be heard and respected in the classroom" can develop "confidence and motivation to succeed academically" (p. 16). Cummins further argues that the ways educators' interactions with students can validate their cultural and linguistic backgrounds and convey "an image of what identity options" (p. 18) are available for the students.

Empirical research, however, has demonstrated that attending to social relationships in schooling is challenging and complex in practice. For instance, in Poplin and Weeres' (1993) study (discussed above), teachers and students recount their "best experiences in school" (n.p.) as those where they established

connection with each other. However, the teachers also highlighted having little time within their days to reach out and have conversations with the students. Relatedly, another action-research study that utilised emails as a "contact zone for teacher-student relationships" revealed that middle school teachers in the U.S. were caught in a tension between "establishing close relationships with students and their charter to provide academic challenge" (Doherty & Mayer, 2003, pp. 582, 583). Echoing similar concerns about teachers' time and boundaries, a qualitative study among English language teachers in Canada revealed teachers' conflicted reactions towards building student relationships raising questions about "when and how far they should go when trying to help students" (Farrell, 2014, p. 32). This research further argues that nurturing relationships in the classroom, for these teachers, entail complex emotional labour. These teachers, whilst having ambivalent reactions about relationship building, also rarely articulate or reflect about their practices (see also Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Indeed, these studies suggest that social relationships, although relevant, are complex dynamics in classroom practices.

Empirical research has also found that inherent schooling structures can also impede opportunities to build strong relational ties among students in multicultural settings. For instance, in Patchen's (2012) study discussed earlier, key findings showed that part of the reason for students' lack of peer connectedness was the classroom segregation—often transitional and changing—depending on the students' length of stay in the U.S. and measured competency in the English language. This led to an underdeveloped peer relationship. Past studies, such as that of Valenzuela (1999) has argued against segregated English second language programs as potentially constraining in students' relationship-building. As observed in the research, students "arranged themselves on the basis of their socially constructed 'language preferences'" and thus, did not expand to other students belonging to other groupings based on different language competencies (Valenzuela & Rubio, 2018, p. 3). Through

observations of teaching practices, these studies suggest that provisions meant to support CALD learners, such as segregating students based on English skills, can be constraining for peer relationships.

In societies characterised by 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007) or 'hyperdiversity' (Noble, 2009), such as Australia, building a sense of community can be complicated and problematic. Hattam and Every's (2010) research in education, for instance, contemplates how a sense of community is achieved in pluralistic classroom amidst a "political and social" (p. 416) climate of "anti-asylum seeker, anti-multiculturalism, and anti-human rights . . . in Australian society" (p. 415) (see also Ho, 2015; Neilsen, Arber, & Weinnman, 2017). In their study, Hattam and Every (2010) particularly highlight the education of refugees who are portrayed adversely and in dehumanising ways in the broader society; a portrayal that can either be "taken up or contested in schools" (p. 409). These authors raise the "ethical challenges" for teachers in educating students who are different from themselves, and how to deal with possible issues of power and politics affecting students' lives (Hattam & Every, 2010, p. 422). Although this study is refugee-focused, it demonstrates the potential complexities of building community in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity. As such, research in the context of Australian hyperdiversity is critical to understand the influence of social dynamics on CALD learners' participation.

Conceptualising sociality as a construct shaping CALD learners' participation

As emphasised in the previous sub-sections, social relationships among teachers and students can influence CALD learners' participation. Literature has shown that cultivating positive and warm relationships—characterised by mutual trust and respect—can facilitate CALD learners' participation.

Examining CALD learners' experiences can offer elaboration into the role of social dynamics for participation.

Existing literature has also illustrated that addressing social dynamics through teaching practices can be complex in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity. Generally adhered teaching practices, it seems, do not give sufficient attention to nurturing the relationships among students and teachers. Furthermore, much of the teaching practices that constrain CALD learners' participation—identified in the discussion on 'positionality,' and 'resourcing'—can have implications to cultivating trustful relationships. For instance, teachers' deficit perspectives can be barriers for teachers' knowing and understanding their CALD learners. Subtractive conditions of schooling can marginalise and devalue CALD learners' identities; and thus, impede the affirmation of students' identities which is a key element for building positive teacher-student relationships.

Thus, I advance 'sociality' as a third concept in the teaching triad. 'Sociality' attends to the social dynamics experienced by CALD learners, and to the teaching practices that have consequences on the social dynamics in the classroom. Sociality then encourages an examination of how social dynamics impact on participation. At the same time, sociality also necessitates an interrogation of the learning conditions that can facilitate or constrain the cultivation of trustful and respectful relationships in the classroom.

The literature reviewed in this section illustrate that sociality can be examined through the experiences of both students and teachers in the classroom. Empirical research discussed in this section suggest that examining CALD learners' participation, as well as non-participation, in the classroom can reveal aspects of sociality influencing students' participatory behaviours (e.g., Duff, 2002; Norton-Pierce, 1994, 1995; Patchen, 2012). The literature focusing on

teaching practices signify that examining teachers' perspectives and classroom practices can provide insight into how sociality is attended in a CALD classroom (e.g., Doherty & Meyer, 2004; Farrell, 2014; Poplin & Weeres, 1993). Interview method stands out as the most widely used in the existing research studies for exploring the subjective experiences of students and teachers in relation to sociality. However, a study by Cross et al. (2019) indicates how classroom observations is also a relevant tool for investigating how sociality manifest through the pedagogic actions of teachers.

Across the review of literature conceptualising the triadic elements of participation—'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality'—emerges a depiction of participation that as influenced by the interplay of the subjective experiences of CALD learners and the social context for learning, crafted through teachers' practices. In referring to these three constructs shaping the practice of participation, I am deploying the collective term, 'the teaching triad of participation.' The depiction of the practice of participation across the teaching triad resonate with Bourdieusian theorisation of practice. As I discuss further below, underpinning my analysis of literature and articulation of the teaching triad is a Bourdieusian theorisation of practice.

2.3 Bourdieusian theorisation and the teaching triad of participation

To critically unpack the practice of participation in a CALD classroom, this thesis draws from Bourdieusian theorisation of practice. Bourdieu's theory of practice, summarised in his 'pseudo-mathematical formula: (Habitus x Capital) + Field' embodies the three thinking tools which are of relevance to this thesis (Davey, 2009, p.277; see also Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu's theoretical approach to practice responds to the need for a more rigorous exploration about the

practice of participation, beyond research that tend to portray participation as a "thing" or "essentialised phenomena" to be measured and quantified (as discussed in Chapter 1) (Mohr, 2013, p. 101). Rather, Bourdieusian framework offers a "relational [way of] thinking"; a means to understand participation "in context, as a part of a whole . . . with reference to the field of objects, practices, or activities within which they are embedded" (Mohr, 2013, p. 101).

Bourdieusian relationality offers an additional layer for understanding the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners. Bourdieu's contribution to the field of sociology lies in his 'relational thinking' (Jenkins, 1992; Mills & Gale, 2010). As Mills and Gale (2010) explain, Bourdieu's theory of practice provides an "alternative to the extremes of post-modernist subjectivity and positivist objectivity" (p. 20) by a relational theorising between the social conditions, and the individuals' subjective experiences (Grenfell & James, 1998 as cited in Mills & Gale, 2010, p. 20). Bourdieu does so by offering the interrelated conceptual tools of field, capital, and habitus.

Bringing Bourdieusian lens in conversation with the teaching triad can foreground issues of power that other scholarly works have highlighted in discussing educational disadvantage among students of minoritised backgrounds. I started exploring Bourdieu's work when I encountered Miller's (2003) empirical research on CALD learners' experiences of participating in English discourses. The study highlighted how difference is not only visible, but also 'audible'. Drawing on Bourdieu's work, Miller (2003) demonstrates how entrenched issues of power affect CALD learners' perspectives of speaking and being heard. From there, I continued to engage in Bourdieusian ideas, finding illumination in an unfamiliar field of discipline. My psychology background has dominated my philosophical orientations about learning and teaching, but as a product of colonial education (discussed in Chapter 1), I found resonance in the arguments of Bourdieusian sociology against class/cultural domination in

schooling (see also Go, 2013 for Bourdieu's thoughts on colonialism). Although I am aware of criticisms on Bourdieusian theorising (e.g., Rancière, 1991), my foray into Bourdieusian work stems from using the conceptual apparatus as a generative framework for understanding relations of domination in practice. As Wacquant (1992) writes about thinking with Bourdieu, "to think with Bourdieu is of necessity an invitation to think beyond Bourdieu, and against him whenever required" (p. xiv).

Bourdieu's relational thinking essentially offers a means to interrogate how issues of power shape schooling practices, specifically in the context of minoritised groups. A range of scholars have drawn on and developed Bourdieusian concepts to understand schooling in the context of marginalised students and communities (e.g., Grenfell, 2004; Grenfell & James, 1998; Mills & Gale, 2010). In education, Bourdieu's (1990; with Passeron) work had been used to argue how schooling replicates or 'reproduces' the same relations of inequality in society between dominant groups and those of minoritised backgrounds. This is because relations of power, for instance, are enacted in how schooling legitimises elite culture and languages. In other words, a dominant culture becomes privileged in schooling through symbolic ways—often taken-for-granted and invisible mechanisms—that can place 'Others' who do not belong to the powerful culture at a disadvantage. Bourdieusian conceptual tools, therefore, can offer a systematic way of unravelling these tacit mechanisms of dominance as elaborated in what follows.

2.3.1 The classroom as Bourdieusian field

'Field', the grounding concept of the field-capital-habitus trio, refers to the social context and the social relations among individuals. Bourdieu (in Wacquant, 1992) refers to the field as a "network, or a configuration, of

objective relations between positions" (p. 97). Individuals—independently or collectively—occupy positions in the field which is determined by:

> their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

The concept of the field designates relative positionings of actors or players within the field. The position occupied, however, is not voluntary, but is instead predetermined depending on the structure and volume of 'powerful' resources that an individual, or, in Bourdieusian term, "agent" possesses (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 111). Bourdieu uses 'game' as one of the metaphors for the field (Thomson, 2014). Writing about the Bourdieusian field, Thomson (2014) elucidates the significance of one's position in the field. Thomson (2014) states that "what players can do, and where they can go during the game, depends on their field position" (p. 66).

It is important to note that there are multiple ways to engage with the concept of field. Bourdieu, and Bourdieusian scholars, have used field to understand the practices around specific phenomenon, including the media, politics, policy, sports, the arts, education, and even schools (e.g., Gerrard & Farrell, 2013; Grenfell & James, 2004; Lingard & Rawolle, 2004; Marginson, 2007; Prior, 2005). This thesis thinks with the notion of the 'field' in relation to a classroom (as discussed further in the next chapter). The classroom as field can be considered as a learning context wherein both students and teachers "take on set positions marked in predetermined places" as they participate in the game (Thomson, 2014, p. 66).

In conceiving the classroom as a field, this thesis draws from Grenfell's (2004) discussion of Bourdieusian field in relation to teachers and students. As defined

earlier, individuals take positions in the field depending on the resources they possess that matter to the field (Bourdieu, 1992). Teachers are conferred as the legitimating authorities having gained qualifications that enable them to take the position and title of teacher. Teachers—by virtue of their 'roles' and 'responsibilities' within the game, and the power that comes with it—are "symbolically configured" as having the authority to legitimise systems and individuals (Grenfell, 2004, p. 51). As Grenfell (2004) explains, every pedagogic relation, even the more progressive ideals, involves teacher authority. This is because, "without it, the teacher would have to see the child grown up, thus not in need of help, thus, the pedagogic relation disappears" (p. 62). This position of power also places teachers in a position to legitimise other players in the fields, such as students, and to validate their membership and inclusion in the classroom community as *'one of us'* (p. 51, emphasis in original). According to Grenfell (2004), this process is *"magical* . . . because it is unrecognized, accepted, unchallenged within the social group as a whole" (p. 51, emphasis in original).

Engaging with Bourdieusian field means that teachers can (de)legitimise CALD learners in ways that have consequences on positionality, the core construct in the teaching triad. Literature demonstrating the significance of positionality revealed that, through the concept of 'asset perspectives,' CALD learners can be positioned as knowledge sources in the classroom (e.g., Takacs, 2002). However, empirical research has also pointed out the unintentional, and seemingly tacit ways, that teachers perpetuate deficit perspectives about CALD learners. As discussed earlier (Section 2.1.1), educators' deficit tones can manifest in: (i) portraying CALD learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds as problematic (e.g., Costley & Leung, 2009; Delpit, 2006; García & Guerra, 2004; Valencia, 2010); (ii) having thin and stable assumptions about CALD learners' backgrounds (e.g., Amanti, 2005; Keddie, 2012); and (iii) the lack of attempt to shift common negative assumptions to positive frames (e.g., Keddie,

2012; Zipin, 2009). The classroom as a field considers teachers' perspectives as central to understanding how CALD learners are positioned in the classroom. Thus, working with the notion of field necessitates a critical examination of teachers' perspectives—as either perpetuating asset or deficit frames about CALD learners' and their backgrounds.

The classroom, as a field, also helps illuminate how resourcing is enacted through teachers' power to legitimise CALD learners' experiences and backgrounds. This means that teachers, through their perspectives and practices, can validate CALD learners' identities and their embodied forms of knowledge as valuable to the learning context. Literature illustrating resourcing as a construct in the triad suggests that mobilising CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources for learning can position students as co-authors of learning (i.e., Delpit, 2006; Gay, 2000). Empirical research, however, suggest that teachers can create subtractive conditions of schooling in unintentional ways. As scholarly work suggests, teachers can unconsciously ignore the cultural backgrounds of CALD learners, often because of teachers' lack of experience and understanding of these learners' diversity (Cross et al., 2019; see also Delpit, 2006). Teachers can also choose to suppress aspects of CALD learners' linguistic practices out of positive intentions, usually emerging from a desire to develop students' academic skills (i.e., Cunningham, 2019; French, 2016). The concept of field emphasises teachers' engagement with different cultural and linguistic resources as crucial for understanding the practice of participation in CALD classrooms. In other words, working with Bourdieusian field requires an interrogation of the ways that teachers (de)legitimise CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources through their teaching practices.

Conceiving the classroom as a field also draws attention to the implications of teachers' authority to sociality. Literature reviewed in developing sociality as a construct of the teaching triad intimates that teachers' acts of validating

students' identities and prior knowledge can facilitate a sense of trust and acceptance among students and teachers (i.e., Cummins, 1997; Gay, 2000). However, as previously discussed (Section 2.1), teachers' perspectives about CALD learners and the ways they engage with these students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds convey a sense of distrust and a lack of acceptance. Teachers often perceived CALD learners' cultural backgrounds in negative light and considered such topics as inappropriate for classroom discussion (i.e., Dutro & Bien, 2014; Zipin, 2009). Furthermore, teachers suppressed the use of home languages perceiving that home languages were detrimental to learning and classroom inclusion (i.e., Cunningham, 2019; French, 2016). Through the concept of field, teachers' perceptions and practices in relation to CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources are illuminated as significant to understanding sociality. As such, working with the concept of field, compels an investigation of teachers' engagement with CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources in relation to classroom social dynamics.

Deploying the lens of field across the three constructs in the teaching triad essentially asserts the role of the teachers—their perspectives and experiences of teaching CALD learners—for understanding the practice of participation in a CALD classroom. The concept of field, unveils how teachers, occupying positions of power, can unconsciously create barriers for CALD learners to fully participate in learning. The significant role of teachers in enacting relations of power in CALD classrooms is further elucidated through the concept of capital discussed in the next section.

2.3.2 Capital as the taken-for-granted 'rules of the game'

Capital, a concept intimately linked to field, is broadly used by Bourdieu to refer to the different resources—or "species of power"—valued in the field

(Bourdieu, 1992, p. 97). A term borrowed from economics, Bourdieu expands capital to other forms of resources which Bourdieu claims have exchange value but are often hidden (Moore, 2012). Beverly Skeggs' (1997) interpretation of Bourdieu's complex and contested notion of capital is helpful to understand what constitutes capital and the process by which capital is converted to have symbolic power. Skeggs outlines the different forms of capital as:

- Economic capital: this includes . . . financial inheritances assets
- Cultural capital: this can exist in three forms - in an embodied state, that is in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods; and in the institutionalized state, resulting in such things as educational qualifications. . . . Cultural capital only exists in relation to the network of other forms of capital.
- Social capital: resources based on connections and group membership. This is capital generated through relationships.
- Symbolic capital: this is the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate. Legitimation is the key mechanism in the conversion to power. Cultural capital has to be legitimated before it can have symbolic power. Capital has to be regarded as legitimate before it can be capitalized upon. All capitals are context specific. (p. 8)

Capital is "always relative" depending on what is considered as valued resources in the particular field (Grenfell, 2004, p. 66). The intimate relationship between capital and field can be described as one that is interdependent; that is the capital animates the field, giving it both structure and dynamism with the field constructing and shaping what is considered capital. Moore (2012) explains that the notion of symbolic capital was introduced by Bourdieu to firstly, demonstrate that legitimating capital is "arbitrary and functional" that can result in "social and cultural advantage or disadvantage" (p. 101). Second, is that symbolic capital reflects the unequal relations of power causing social inequalities (Moore, 2012).

The arbitrary nature of capital illuminates how different forms of resources existing in the field, such as a classroom, becomes misrecognised. In education, for instance, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that schooling only recognises and values middle-class or elite cultural resources. This means that students with more exposure to the elite culture benefits from teachers' privileging of "'highbrow' culture" (Tzanakis, 2011, p. 77). This then leaves students lacking in the dominant cultural capital competing in a field that values the knowledge, networks, cultures, and ways of being that they do not have; a process Bourdieu refers as 'symbolic violence' (Tzanakis, 2011; Mills & Gale, 2010). In the context of schooling, therefore, teachers can reinforce 'symbolic violence' by rewarding the "elite culture-related competencies" whilst ignoring the minoritised culture's resources (Tzanakis, 2011, p. 77).

Bourdieusian capital is captured through the notion of the 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu, 1986). However, unlike a game, the rules in the field are not explicit and codified; and instead, are tacitly communicated through everyday customary practices in the field (Bourdieu, 1992). The rules appear in 'taken-for-granted' practices that are normalised within social contexts and often accepted and left unchallenged by the players in the field (Patchen, 2012). Bringing Bourdieusian capital in conversation with the teaching triad compels problematising the capital valued in teaching practices and how these practices relate to positionality, resourcing, and sociality.

Engaging with capital illuminates how teaching practices can nurture different perspectives that position CALD learners. As discussed in the preceding section, empirical research suggests the tendency for teachers (of English and middle-class backgrounds) to perpetuate deficit perspectives towards CALD learners. This persistence of deficit perspectives illustrates the schooling's pattern of misrecognising CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources. CALD learners' cultural and linguistic skills and knowledge are often dismissed,

essentialised, or considered as problematic for learning (as discussed in Section 2.1.1). This pattern of misrecognition exhibits 'rules of the game' that do not consider CALD learners' identities and backgrounds as valuable for learning. Consequently, CALD learners' range of resources—which can be illustrated through the concepts of funds of knowledge (i.e., González et al., 2005) translanguaging (i.e., García & Lin, 2017; García & Wei, 2014), and active bilingualism (Cummins, 2017) (as discussed in Section 2.1.2)—are potentially devalued, remaining invisible and inaudible. Employing the lens of capital then means investigating how underlying schooling approaches facilitate different perspectives that position CALD learners; and how these perspectives influence the valuing of CALD learners' embodied forms of knowledge as capital in the classroom field.

Through the lens of capital, the 'rules of the game' for mobilising different resources for learning is also revealed. Literature reviewed in developing the concept of resourcing reveals that teaching approaches can be additive or subtractive towards CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources. International research, however, highlights that in the context of CALD learners, subtractive conditions of learning can result from unproblematised teaching practices. Teachers, through their assumed practices, tended to legitimate only the dominant culture whilst ignoring the cultures of students from diverse backgrounds (i.e., Cross et al., 2019; Nieto, 1999; Patrick et al., 2017). A similar approach has been taken in relation to CALD learners' linguistic resources. That is, home languages tended to be prohibited and suppressed with the intention of improving CALD learners' English skills (i.e., Cunningham, 2019; Cummins, 1997; French, 2016). These findings reveal the 'rules of the game,' conveyed by teachers through implicit patterns of interaction in the classroom, can be one where CALD students need to forget their identities as they learn. The research studies seem to intimate that teaching practices—widely accepted but left unexamined—can diminish the

value CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources. Employing Bourdieusian capital necessitates the examination of the kinds of cultural and linguistic resources that are mobilised by teachers for CALD students' learning.

Working with capital can also explain the tacit mechanisms that shape sociality in the classroom. Capital, as the means for which power can be enacted in a classroom field, is a reminder that teacher-student interactions are never neutral. Literature analysed to demonstrate sociality argue that affirming CALD students' identities and backgrounds can build relations of trust, respect, and inclusion among teachers and students (Cummins, 1996). Existing literature discussed earlier reflects the potential challenges of a teaching cohort that does not understand the cultural and linguistic identities of their students, leaving their teaching approaches highly de-contextualised. For instance, teachers' deficit perspectives towards CALD learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds can convey a lack of respect and trust towards the students (see Section 2.1.1). With teachers constantly framing CALD students in negative light, affirming the students' identities through micro-interactions appear impossible. This was clearly illustrated in teachers' distrust for CALD learners' use of home languages in schools (Cunningham, 2019; French, 2016). Furthermore, subtractive conditions can send the message that CALD students are 'Others' or different. These actions, as Cummins (1996) argues, can affirm CALD learners' inferiority and that their identities are not welcome in the classroom. The notion of capital draws attention to how sociality is shaped by the valuing of different identities, knowledge, skills, and experiences. Engaging with capital entails an examination of how teaching practices de/value different forms of cultural and linguistic resources, and what this means for sociality.

Capital, as a means for understanding the 'rules of the game,' emphasise that the resources—knowledge, skills, identities, and experiences—valued in the classroom field is arbitrary and often communicated in tacit ways. Bringing

capital into conversation with the three concepts of the teaching triad assists in unpacking how issues of power are enacted in teaching practices. These then create the conditions of possibility for CALD learners' participation. Bourdieu's theory of practice, however, is incomplete without the third conceptual tool, habitus relating to the subjective experiences of CALD learners.

2.3.3 The habitus as stable but evolving; collective but diverse

Bourdieusian concept of habitus illuminates CALD learners' participatory behaviours as emanating from orientations into which students have been socialised. Habitus, Mills (2008) states, is the "unconscious habits or actions devoid of thinking that conditions and orients practices by providing individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives" (Mills, 2008, p. 80; see also Jenkins, 1992; Mahar, Harker, & Wilkes, 1990; Reay, 2004). Habitus, Bourdieu's (1990) central thinking tool, is defined as:

> systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can only be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (p. 53)

Habitus' first characteristic then is that it is embodied (Reay, 2004). Formed through a process of socialisation beginning in childhood, the habitus durably acculturates what individuals perceive as possible and not possible in the field (Bourdieu, 1990; Jenkins, 1992; Mills, 2008). Habitus illustrates how "improbable practices are rejected as unthinkable, but, concomitantly, only a limited range of practices are possible" (Reay, 2004, p. 433). This is because as Reay (2004) describes, Bourdieu's habitus operates in a way that "it regularly

excludes certain practices, those that are unfamiliar to the cultural groupings to which the individual belongs" (p. 433). The habitus is inscribed historically, such that, for example, individuals growing up from a middle-class background will acquire a relatively different habitus from someone brought up in a working-class background (Skeggs, 1997; see also Thompson, 1991). In the context of schooling, Bourdieu and Passeron (1964 as cited in Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 21) further elucidates that "the most privileged students . . . owe the habits, behaviour and attitudes which help them directly in pedagogic tasks to their social origins." This is because these students' habitus are likely to reflect the values and behaviours that schools aim to transmit and legitimate (Mills, 2008).

Habitus offers illumination of existing research related to the concept of positionality through the subjective experiences of CALD learners. Although habitus can suggest uniformity, habitus also suggests diversity among members of the same cultural groups. For Bourdieu, in as much as there is a collective or 'class' sense of habitus—that is, a habitus produced among individuals of similar historical experiences and location in the social hierarchy—there is also an individual distinct habitus that recognises the diversity among individuals of similar backgrounds (Reay, 2004). These aspects of uniformity and diversity within the habitus can explain the different perspectives CALD learners have about themselves as learner-participants. As discussed in the section on positionality (2.1.1), literature suggests that CALD learners tended to view their roles in the classrooms as responsive participants; a perspective that aligns with knowledge-recipient roles (i.e., Patchen, 2012; Reeve & Tseng, 2011; Waring, 2011). However, although this was a dominant trend, scholarly work also claimed that there were learner-initiated forms of participation evident in CALD learners' dispositions, although these were elusive and not conventionally perceived (i.e., Candela, 2005; Reeve & Tseng, 2011; Warring, 2011). As the concept of habitus would suggest, there are common dispositions

among students sharing similar background experiences. However, within these, there are also layers of diverse participatory dispositions.

The concept of habitus as socially (re)produced also assists in understanding CALD learners' experiences of mobilising their cultural and linguistic resources discussed under the construct , resourcing. Habitus intimates evolution resulting from being repeatedly socially (re)constructed as the past encounters the present. An example of this is the way schooling experiences can restructure the habitus that is produced from family socialisation (Bourdieu, 1992). This inventive nature of the habitus suggests transformation of and extending from 'old' dispositions. As Reay (2004) suggests, it implies "the possibility of a social trajectory that enables conditions of living that are very different from initial ones" (p. 435). The propensity of the habitus for evolution can be illustrated in the discussion on resourcing earlier (Section 2.1.2). Concepts such as funds of knowledge (i.e., González et al., 2005), translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014), and active bilingualism (Cummins, 2017) suggests students' predispositions to inhabit the role of knowledge creators as they participate in classrooms. However, this knowledge-making disposition is not consciously emerging in CALD students' understandings of how to participate (as discussed above). Rather, they appear spontaneous and unthinking in nature that occurs in response to the social context.

Habitus also sheds light into CALD learners' understandings of the social dynamics influencing their participation. Habitus, as having both stabilising and dynamic propensities, conveys choice—but circumscribed around certain limitations (Reay, 2004). As Reay (2004) expounds:

> I envisage habitus as a deep, interior, epicentre containing many matrices . . . demarcat[ing] the extent of choices available to any one individual. Choices are bounded by the framework of opportunities and constraints the person finds himself/herself in, her external

> circumstances. However, within Bourdieu's theoretical framework, he/she is also circumscribed by an internalised framework that makes some possibilities inconceivable, others improbable and a limited range acceptable. (p. 435)

This explanation of habitus sheds light into findings from existing research around CALD learners' different participatory dispositions. The studies conducted by Reeve and Tseng (2011), Waring (2011), and Patchen (2012) demonstrate a dominant disposition among CALD learners that is oriented towards compliance (to the teacher) as the acceptable participatory behaviour in the classroom. In other words, students appear to position themselves as passive, rather than active, learner participants. It appears that teacher-directed participation describes the range of participatory dispositions that CALD learners dominantly find acceptable. Conversely, learner-initiated forms of participation can appear inconceivable among CALD learners. In addition, the findings from the research of Norton (1994, 1995; see also Norton & Toohey, 2011), Duff (2002), and Patchen (2012) demonstrate that participating in English discourses may be considered as improbable for CALD learners. Literature discussed in the sections on positionality (2.1.1) and sociality (2.1.3) reveal that students withdrew from participating having judged themselves as inferior and not trusting the classroom community. By employing the concept of habitus, CALD learners' subjective experiences can be understood as a dynamic and evolving "potentially generating a wide repertoire of possible actions, simultaneously enabling the individual to draw on transformative and constraining courses of action" (Reay, 2004, p. 433). This demonstrates the complexity of understanding participation as a product of CALD learners' internalised framework.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has emphasised that from a conceptual perspective, 'the teaching triad of participation' offers a nuanced understanding of the problem of participation in the context of CALD learners. This conceptual basis for understanding participation attends to the ways CALD learners inhabit positions in the classroom (positionality); the resources mobilised for learning (resourcing); and the social dynamics among students and teachers (sociality).

I then argued how Bourdieusian theory of practice—which foregrounds issues of power—offers a generative lens to illuminate why the constructs in the triad can constrain and facilitate CALD learners' participation. Bourdieu's conceptual tools—field, capital, and habitus—illuminate the ways that teaching practices and CALD learners' subjective experiences elicit different participatory behaviours among students. Bringing into conversation Bourdieusian theorising of practice reveals that teaching practices can potentially disadvantage CALD learners as they participate in classrooms. Working with Bourdieusian field unveils the unconscious ways that teachers de-legitimate the cultural and linguistic identities and backgrounds of CALD learners. Engaging with the notion of capital reveals the tacit 'rules of the game' that can symbolically configure only the dominant culture and language; and thus, devalue other forms of cultural and linguistic resources. Through the notion of habitus, CALD learners' subjective experiences of themselves as learners, of their cultural and linguistic resources, and of the classroom social dynamics are interpreted as various participatory potentials within CALD learners' dispositions.

Existing literature and research discussed in this chapter highlight the significance of investigating participation by interrogating the taken-for-granted teaching approaches in CALD classrooms. Emulating the studies

discussed in this chapter, participation can be problematised by critically examining the perspectives and practices of teachers in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity. Teachers (from English and middle-class backgrounds) can unconsciously create classroom conditions that constrain, rather than facilitate, CALD learners' participation. These teaching practices tend to emerge from positive intentions and in assumed 'good' practices of teaching. Through the concept of field and capital, these practices are illuminated as tied to broader relations of power that position CALD learners as inferior or subordinate to elite cultural groups. Much of the CALD studies highlighted in this chapter however, focused on homogeneous CALD groups and often conducted in Northern American contexts. Thus, there is valuable contribution in researching the practice of participation in contemporary CALD classrooms such as Australia. Australia stands out as one of the most multicultural societies globally due to its long-standing history of diverse population (as discussed in Chapter I). Classrooms that can be characterised as 'superdiverse' (Vertovec, 2007) can give insights into the challenges and possibilities for teaching in CALD contexts.

The review of the literature also highlighted the significance of CALD learners' subjectivities for understanding participation. Key findings reveal that CALD students have different orientations about their participation in the classroom. Through the notion of habitus, these subjective experiences were illuminated as various participatory potentialities that help inform the factors that constrain and facilitate different forms of participation. However, as argued by Patchen (2012), most research on CALD learners often privilege teachers' perspectives without foregrounding the subjective experiences of CALD learners. Research that engages with CALD students' subjectivities can, therefore, address this gap in empirical studies. CALD learners' subjective experiences offer valuable understanding about what it means to participate in CALD contexts.

These research directions point to a multi-perspectival research that engages with students' perspectives, teachers' perspectives, and the critical lens subscribed in this research. In the chapter that follow, I turn to a discussion of the methods employed in this study to investigate participation in a CALD classroom context, as well as the overall research design and approach taken.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH DESIGN
Researching participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity

Paradigms . . . do matter. . . They tell us something about the researcher's proposed relationship to the Other(s).
(Lincoln, 2009, p. 5)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological framework and research design employed to answer the following sub-questions posed in this doctoral research:

How can participation be conceptualised to address cultural and linguistic diversity?
How do educators understand and practice participation through their teaching practices in relation to cultural and linguistic diversity?
How do CALD students understand and experience participation?

Chapter II concluded by highlighting the methodological implications for researching participation in the context of CALD learners, having proposed the teaching triad consisting of positionality, resourcing, and sociality. The review of literature also highlighted the importance of a multi-perspectival approach that attends to the subjective experiences of both teachers and students. Doing so enables a more holistic understanding of *'what matters'* for participation given the particular needs and capabilities of CALD learners. In this chapter, I elaborate how I approached the research design to achieve these aims.

This chapter opened with a quote from methodology scholar, Yvonne Lincoln (2009), gesturing towards the need for researchers to clarify the beliefs and assumptions guiding their work. Lincoln (2009) further explains that articulating paradigmatic stances which underpin method is important because:

> They tell us something about what the researcher thinks *counts as knowledge,* and *who can deliver the most valuable slice of this knowledge.* They tell us how the researcher intends to *take account of multiple conflicting and contradictory values* she will encounter. (p. 5, emphasis in original)

Thus, I begin this chapter by discussing the methodological assumptions that have guided this research (Section 3.2). In particular, I argue that a critical constructivist methodological approach can respond to Bourdieusian theorising, the theoretical basis for this thesis. Guided by these assumptions, I then outline the method used to organise the empirical dimension of the project, a case study, including a discussion of the fieldwork site and its significance for addressing the research questions (Section 3.3). I then discuss the data collection and analysis techniques (Section 3.4). This chapter concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations and issues for research integrity (Section 3.5).

3.2 Bourdieusian theorising and a critical-constructivist approach to methodology

Working with Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice, this thesis is premised on 'methodological relationalism' (Wacquant, 1992, p. 15). Methodological relationalism offers a way for understanding practice or action 'in context' or as part of an interrelated network or fields of practices. As argued in Chapter II

(Section 2.1), participation can be understood as a practice, which after Bourdieu, can be analysed by deploying three conceptual apparatus: field, capital, and habitus. The functioning of the three concepts is seen as dynamic and relational; meaning that they interact to produce practice.

A Bourdieusian approach to understanding practice resonates strongly with methodological approaches informed by constructivism, and the assumption that multiple realities exist, constructed socially and locally by individuals through their social relations and interactions (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2018; see also Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). Bourdieu's interest in the influence of power within these relations and interactions thus steers towards what Kincheloe (2005) describe as *critical* constructivism—a confluence of the critical and constructivist paradigms—which enables a socially constructed understanding of a phenomenon researched with an additive critical lens (Kincheloe, 2005).

The ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the critical paradigm attend to the relations of power in a way that accommodate a Bourdieusian framing of practice. Ontologically, the critical paradigm views the world as a constant power struggle (Lincoln et al., 2018). The critical paradigm considers the importance of examining power asymmetries between dominant groups and those marginalised based on their ethnicity, socio-economic backgrounds, gender, and indigeneity, among others (Creswell, 2008). Critical research often advances the need to scratch beneath surface appearances to unveil how power impacts the everyday practices of marginalised groups (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Creswell, 2009; Lincoln et al., 2018; Taylor & Medina, 2011). As such, epistemologically, the critical paradigm considers researchers, as knowledge constructors, being "interactively linked" with the phenomenon; their values "inevitably influencing the inquiry" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). The critical researcher is often seen as a "subject" influencing the conduct of

research—making methodological decisions—in an attempt to "discover the truth as it relates to social power struggles" (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 119). Subscribing to the critical paradigm thus necessitates "reflecting critically on the self as researcher"—a process called reflexivity (which I discuss in section 3.5.2) (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 125).

The ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the constructivist (also sometimes referred as interpretivist) paradigm also complements the relational approach of Bourdieusian theorising. Ontologically, the constructivist paradigm tends to emphasise the multiplicity of realities constructed socially and locally by individuals (Lincoln et al., 2018). Constructivism emphasises that knowledge creation occurs through the social relations and interactions with other members of society (Lincoln et al., 2018). Epistemologically, the constructivist paradigm assumes that "we cannot separate ourselves from what we know. The investigator and object of investigation are linked such that who we are and how we understand the world is a central part of how we understand ourselves, others, and the world" (Lincoln et al., 2018, p. 116). As such, constructivism can attend to the privileging of participants' voices, their lived experiences, and understandings of the phenomenon.

Combining the critical and constructivist research paradigms—or critical constructivism—offers a critical, but also measured and deliberative approach to knowledge generation; one that does not privilege one perspective over the other/s. The critical researcher's voice has often been critiqued as a source of researcher's bias; in that, although critical research responds to the call for democracy and social justice, it can be "explicitly prescriptive and normative"; and therefore, potentially marginalising of the voices of the participants, a predicament akin to being "hoisted by their own petard" (Cohen et al., 2007, pp. 29-30). Constructivism, by encouraging a holistic and in-depth experience with the phenomenon and the participants under study, can address and

complement the potential shortcomings of the critical paradigm. Critical constructivism thus, enables the critical reconstruction of the perspectives and lived experiences of the participants whilst also "protect[ing] them from dangers of misrepresentation" (Bourdieu, Accardo, & Emanuel, 1999, p. 1).

Positioning this research within a critical constructivist space implies a methodological orientation that can transcend the absolute gaze of the researcher's critical lens whilst attending to the exploration of participants' subjective experiences. In treating the critical and constructivist paradigm as complementary rather than competing, this thesis sits within what Denzin (2014) calls the 'New Paradigm Dialog,' often engaged by scholars who produce research that calls for social action (see also Denzin, 2008; Lincoln, 2009). According to Denzin (2014), this "proliferation, inter-mingling and confluence of paradigms and interpretive frameworks" (p. 1125) is important if research is to address "social justice and social change" (p. 1126). The purpose of this research, however, is not to provide interventions or immediate solutions often associated with critical traditions (like action research). Instead, this thesis seeks to contribute to knowledge about participation and cultural and linguistic diversity. In doing so, it offers a generative conceptual framework that may inform policy and practice in the long term. To do this, I conducted an in-depth qualitative inquiry of participation in a CALD classroom. The implications of adopting a critical constructivist researcher stance to the research design are further discussed in the succeeding sections.

3.3 Method: A case study of participation in a CALD classroom

Building on the considerations outlined above, this thesis employed a case study method. A case study is a bounded entity or social context for investigating a phenomenon (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). In defining the characteristic of a case study, Stake (2006) emphasises that a case offers an

"arena or host or fulcrum [that brings] many functions and relationships together for study" (p. 2). A case is an entity or a thing such as schools, a community, a training program, or teachers. For this research, the case is taken to mean a primary classroom. Stake (2006) distinguishes the case from the functioning or the phenomenon, such as 'participation.' It is the case that presents opportunities to examine the phenomenon.

As an in-depth and holistic investigation of a phenomenon or social unit within a real-life context (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003), a case study method is congruent with assumptions of the critical constructivist approach guiding this study. It enables the researcher to observe subjects or in Stake's (1995, p. 1, emphasis in original) term, *"actors"* in their natural setting and gain access to their thoughts, feelings, and desires (Merriam, 1998). At the same time, the prolonged exposure to the phenomenon also addresses the critical dimension by giving the researcher opportunity to examine patterns or tacit 'rules of the game.' In doing so, the researcher can scratch beneath the surface appearances of practices to illuminate power dynamics. Aligning with a critical constructivist approach, case study offers a method to explore the experiences of participants whilst also illuminating potential issues of power.

Adopting case study method enabled the privileging of multiple voices, including the researcher's critical stance, and the subjective experiences of educators and CALD students. As discussed in Chapter II, students' voices are often marginalised in research, especially those of younger age groups, and those belonging to non-dominant cultural groups. The in-depth qualitative inquiry of the practice of participation, through a case study produced rich accounts and thick descriptions of the phenomenon (Merriam, 1998). These thick descriptions invite readers in knowledge production, as they co-construct their own meanings of the phenomenon investigated (Merriam, 1998).

Despite the affordances of case study described above, literature also indicates a number of limitations. Flyvbjerg (2011; see also Flyvbjerg, 2006), for instance, explains that case study is often criticised for valuing "concrete case knowledge" over "general theoretical knowledge" (p. 302). Case study's focus on the "the particular and the situational" (p. 302) is sometimes misunderstood as a weakness of the method. However, as Flyvbjerg argues, seeking prediction and universals, as in the scientific tradition, can be futile in the social sciences, asserting that in studying human affairs, "there exists only context-dependent knowledge" (p. 302). Rather, case study method can offer tentative understandings for future research and thus, extend the knowledge base of a phenomenon or discipline (Merriam, 1998). Flyvbjerg further argues that it is through this "content-dependent" experience that researchers develop their skills to a high level, and it is from "intimate knowledge" of concrete cases that areas of expertise are built (p. 303). As articulated in Chapter I, the primary aim of this research is the construction of a conceptual framework for understanding participation in CALD classroom contexts. For this reason, what some sometimes see as a limitation of case study method was a strength for this research study.

To address the primary aim of this thesis—that is, to understand the practice of participation in a CALD context—identifying the "critical case" was essential (Flyvberg, 2011). Not to be confused with critical as used elsewhere in this thesis, a critical case is defined as one that can either "'most likely' or 'least likely' to confirm a theory"; theory development being one of the "primary uses of case studies" (Schwandt & Gates, 2018, p. 348, 346). The case study method enabled the exploration of the constructs comprising the teaching triad of participation: positionality, resourcing, and sociality—developed in the previous chapter. In this research, an in-depth and holistic investigation of participation was carried out in a primary classroom.

3.3.1 The case: Class 5/6k in Upstream Primary School

The choice of case for this research was a primary CALD classroom. Given that this research is focused on critically exploring participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity, Class 5/6k (a pseudonym) provided an especially rich empirical space to explore the questions driving the study. The school, Upstream Primary School (a pseudonym, also referred as 'Upstream' in this thesis) within which Class 5/6k was located, is in one of the most ethnically diverse suburbs of Australia. The suburb has also been identified as of low socio-economic status (Vinson & Rawsthorne, 2015). At the time of fieldwork, 82% of its student population had a background other than English (ACARA, 2020). Additionally, the students come from diverse immigration backgrounds including refugee or asylum-seeker backgrounds and those transitioning from a temporary visa (i.e., dependents of international student or individuals with working visa). In terms of national testing, however, the school had been performing low academically. This has prompted the Department of Education and Training to conduct a priority review of the school during the (then) newly hired principal's second term, and just a year before I commenced my fieldwork.

This study takes the classroom, Class 5/6k, as a 'bounded system or case' (Schwandt & Gates, 2018). This means that the phenomenon—participation in a CALD learning context—is examined "within the boundaries of one social system," that is Class 5/6k (Schwandt & Gates, 2018, p. 343). The boundaries between the classroom as the case and wider schooling context for which the case is embedded, however, is often complex (Schwandt & Gates, 2018). For instance, in this case, four of the students in Class 5/6k—three of which are participants in the study—attended classes in a different EAL classroom composed of approximately 20 students in the middle and upper primary years

(i.e., typically between 8 and 11 years old) (for further information on Victorian EAL curriculum and program, see also Victoria DET, 2019) . These students have been identified as needing extra support in the English language, and they spend three days in the EAL classroom. These students attended the EAL classroom three times a week for literacy classes and attended the mainstream class for the other subject areas (e.g., numeracy, physical education, French as additional language). Mainstream classroom here refers to the Class 5/6k classroom. This term is used to differentiate from the EAL class that only a few of the student participants in the project attended.

Designating Class 5/6k as the case means that the research is conducted with a focus on understanding the phenomenon of participation within the bounded case that is Class 5/6k. This also means that the extent of the investigation centres on Class 5/6k and, as the findings section will demonstrate, the analysis of data continuously reflects back towards understanding participation in the context of Class 5/6k.

The case, Class 5/6k, a primary 5/6 composite classroom, reflected the hyperdiversity of the school's student population. The students in this class typically ranged between 10 and 13 years old. In Australia, primary 5 students are usually 10 to 11 years old and primary 6 students are usually 12 to 13 years old (Victoria DET, 2021). The class of 23 students represented approximately 15 cultural and/or linguistic groups. This diversity was also represented in the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the student participants in the study. As summarised in the table below, the 11 student participants of the project came from 11 different cultural backgrounds and spoke 12 languages.

Table 3 - 1 Summary of student participant profiles: cultural and linguistic diversity

Student (pseudonyms)	Cultural background	Languages spoken other than English
Amal	Arabic	Arabic
Emma	Fijian	Fijian
Harry	Russian	Russian
Leo	Malaysian	Malaysian
Liana	Samoa	Samoan
Mateen	Iranian	Persian
Niko	Fijian	Fijian
Parisa	Afghani	Dari
Ramis	Indian	Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu
Roya	Afghani, Pakistani	Farsi, Dari, Urdu, Hindi, Hazaragi
Samantha	Albanian	n/a

This high level of diversity within Class 5/6k in terms of cultural, linguistic, social, and historical backgrounds thus, offered a fitting case for this research. Moreover, as noted in the previous chapter, most empirical research on CALD learners has tended to focus on a single cultural-linguistic population, leaving highly diverse *single* class contexts largely unexplored. This is despite high levels of diversity within a single class becoming increasingly the norm in many education systems.

However, as also noted in the previous chapter, there is a converse *lack* of diversity within the teaching profession, as in the Australian education system, particularly relative to student diversity (e.g., McKenzie et al., 2014). Class 5/6k was thus further fitting as a case study given that the teachers responsible for the group had relatively homogenous backgrounds and was therefore representative of the disparity between student-teacher diversity common in many contemporary Australian classrooms. The predominantly monocultural and monolingual backgrounds of Class 5/6k's teachers are summarised in the table below.

Table 3 - 2 Summary of educator participant profiles: cultural and linguistic diversity

Teachers (pseudonyms) and position	Cultural background	Languages spoken
Ms Wright, class teacher	Anglo-Australian	English
Mr Williams, IT specialist	Anglo-Australian	English
Ms Meyer, teacher aide	Dutch	English, Dutch
Mr Evans, PE specialist	Anglo-Australian	English
Ms Archer, French specialist	Anglo-Australian	English
Ms Kosta, EAL specialist	Greek	English, Greek
Ms Thomas, EAL specialist	Anglo-Australian	English
Mr Clark, principal	Anglo-Australian	English
Ms Duri, vice-principal	Sri Lankan	Singhalese

As noted in the table above, only 2 out of the 7 teachers (i.e., the teacher aide and the specialist EAL teacher) teaching the students of Class 5/6k had diverse cultural backgrounds. This mismatch of cultural and linguistic backgrounds between students and teachers featured in Class 5/6k offers a rich empirical site of analysis to explore participation in a CALD classroom. Below I discuss in more detail the participants of the study.

3.3.2 The CALD learners of Class 5/6k and their educators

The case study that informed this research, Class 5/6k, comprised of a total of 11 student participants and nine educators. Following human ethics guidelines, the recruitment of participants was all on a voluntary basis starting with contacting principals of schools with high population of CALD students based on the My School website (ACARA, 2020). One principal accepted the invitation, and one class teacher then volunteered to have her class observed. A copy of the letter inviting the principals and accompanying consent form are found in Appendices A and B. Following this, the principal announced the project through the school newsletter to inform the school community.

The recruitment of student participants was coursed through the teacher. Both parents and students signed consent forms to be part of the study. A copy of the letters and consent form distributed to students and parents are found in Appendices C, D, and E. The principal also offered translation services as they had available staff who can translate if required by students and parents. This was communicated to the students and parents. During the conduct of the research, participants were reminded that they can reschedule or withdraw from an interview, or from participating, at any time.

The invitation of additional teachers involved in teaching Class 5/6k occurred during fieldwork. A copy of the letter and consent form for teachers are found in Appendices F and G. Among the nine educators, seven were teachers (including one teacher aide) and two were school leaders. The following provides a brief account of each of this study's participants.

Student participant profiles

Out of the 24 students of Class 5/6k, 11 students volunteered (with both student and parental consent) to be part of the project. Three attended EAL classes in variable durations. Below are descriptions of each student at the time of the fieldwork. The names of the participants are all pseudonyms. They were chosen to align with their original names with others having Anglo-oriented names and others with names from their cultural backgrounds.

> **Amal, primary 5, female.** Amal joined Upstream at the same term that I started the field work (Term 1, School Year 2018) after moving from Perth to Melbourne to join her new foster family. In Term 1, she was in the mainstream classroom, but was assigned to attend EAL in Term 2

after assessment that she was falling behind academically. Amal was born in Iraq, and her linguistic background includes Arabic. She only speaks Arabic at home and is raised in the Muslim tradition.

Emma, primary 5, female. Emma has been attending Upstream since primary 1. Although she was born in Australia, her family comes from Fiji. Her linguistic background includes Fijian. At home, English and Fijian are spoken with her parents encouraging Emma to learn Fijian.

Harry, primary 6, male. Harry has been in Upstream since primary 1. He has been identified as a student in need of support. He was born in Australia with parents of Russian backgrounds. He can speak little Russian which he uses when conversing with relatives (i.e., grandparents). English is the predominant language in the home.

Leo, primary 6, male. Leo has been in Upstream since primary 1. He comes from a mixed cultural background. His father is Anglo-Australian whilst his mother is Malaysian. He is able to speak Malaysian and used to attend a community language school. Malaysian and English are languages spoken at home.

Liana, primary 5, female. Liana has been attending Upstream since primary 1 although there was short break when the family moved to a different suburb and she attended a different school for a couple of years. Her family comes from Samoa, and unlike her older siblings, she was born in Australia. Liana can speak Samoan which is used at home along with English.

Mateen, primary 5, male. Mateen joined Upstream in primary 3 and has been attending the EAL class since then. He is of refugee

background from Iran, and the family arrived in Australia when he was about 7 years old. Since the family's arrival at Christmas Island, the family moved to Darwin then, to Adelaide, and then, Melbourne. He speaks Farsi and English at home.

Niko, primary 6, male. Niko joined Upstream in primary 4. He was born in Australia, but his family is from Fiji. He understands Fijian, but only speaks in English. In term 2, Niko had to move to another school as his family's circumstances changed.

Parisa, primary 5, female. Parisa joined Upstream since primary 1. Her parents are from Afghanistan, and she is the first among her siblings that was born in Australia. Her linguistic background includes Dari. Parisa is raised within the Muslim faith and used to attend Koran classes when she was younger. Dari and English are languages spoken at home.

Ramis, primary 6, male. Ramis joined Upstream since primary 1. His family moved to Australia from India when he was 1 year old. At home, Punjabi and English are dominantly spoken although Ramis claims that he is also conversant in Hindi and Urdu.

Roya, primary 5, female. Roya joined Upstream primary school in primary 4 and was assigned to the EAL class. In term 2 however, she was assessed as showing good progress, and was moved out of the EAL and only attended the mainstream class. Roya was born in Pakistan although her parents are originally from Afghanistan. Roya follows Muslim traditions. She speaks Farsi and Urdu, the two languages spoken at home including English. Roya is also able to speak Hindi and Hazaragi.

Samantha, primary 5, female. Samantha joined Upstream when she was in primary 4. She has been in 6 other schools prior to Upstream. She was born in Australia and was introduced to the different cultural traditions of her parents. Her mother, of Albanian background, was born in Australia whilst her father is from Afghanistan. Samantha claims that the family used to practice Muslim moderately. She can speak very little Albanian when visiting relatives, and only uses English at home.

Educator participant profiles: Teachers and administrators

All teachers involved in Class 5/6K teaching and learning, except for one (the Arts teacher) agreed to participate in the research. In addition, to provide historical and policy background about the school, the school leaders were interviewed. As with students, all surnames of teachers are pseudonyms and has been aligned based on their cultural background. The profiles of these educator participants are discussed below:

Ms Wright, class teacher. Ms Wright has been teaching at Upstream Primary School for approximately nine years. She started as a teacher aide before getting qualified for teaching. As the class teacher, the students spend majority of the teaching hours with her covering content areas such as numeracy, literacy, and inquiry. She also coaches basketball as part of the school's after-hours enrichment activities. Ms Wright was born in Australia and although she enjoys overseas travels, has not lived in any other country. She only speaks English.

Mr Williams, ICT (Information and Communications Technology) specialist teacher. Mr Williams has been teaching at Upstream for approximately two years as an ICT teacher. Prior to taking a teaching

post, he worked in the corporate sector. In Term 2, Ms Wright and Mr Williams were observed co-teaching for an ICT project. Mr Williams was born in Australia, and although he has travelled to other countries, and tried to pick-up other languages, he claims he can only speak English.

Ms Kosta, EAL (English-as-an-additional language) specialist teacher. Ms Kosta has been teaching at Upstream for about nine years as an EAL teacher in a separate EAL classroom. Three of the student participants in this study spent about a third of their school time in the EAL classroom, with Ms Kosta. Ms Kosta migrated from Greece to Australia at a very young age. She is fluent in both Greek and English.

Ms Thomas, EAL specialist teacher. Ms Thomas has been teaching at Upstream for about nine years as an EAL teacher alongside Ms Kosta. She started working in a refugee bridging program for over three years before joining the school. Ms Thomas was born in Australia, and only speaks English.

Ms Meyer, teacher aide. Ms Meyer has been a teacher aide at Upstream for roughly ten years. She is attached to a student identified as 'having special needs,' but Ms Meyer also assists in most Class 5/6k classes. Ms Meyer's family moved from Netherlands to Australia when she was very young. She is fluent in both Dutch and English.

Mr Evans, PE specialist teacher. Mr Evans has been teaching at Upstream for roughly six years as a PE teacher. He started his own gym and body-building business before going into teaching. He was born in Australia and his parents are of British backgrounds. He only speaks English.

Ms Archer, French specialist teacher. Ms Archer has been teaching at Upstream for approximately nine years as a classroom teacher before taking on the role as librarian and French teacher. Returning from her travels to South America during her younger years, she learnt Spanish which she still can speak. She teaches French which she claims is a language she is not fluent. She converses in English.

Mr Clark, principal. Mr Clark has been a principal at Upstream for two years. Prior to joining Upstream, Mr Clark claims that he has always worked in communities with high ethnic diversity and challenging socio-economic conditions. Mr Clark was born in Australia and can only speak English.

Ms Duri, assistant principal. Ms Duri has been working at Upstream for 15 years as a teacher and then, as an assistant principal since 2009. Her family moved to Australia from Sri Lanka when she was in her teens. She identifies herself as coming from the Burgher ethnic group. She is fluent in English and Sinhala.

All these teachers were observed and interviewed. The data however, presented in the findings majorly featured the classroom teacher, Ms Wright, and in some instances the ICT specialist teacher, and the EAL specialist teachers. Inclusion of specific data is based on their relevance to the research questions.

To highlight the diversity of the participants' backgrounds, the interview quotes from respondents, as presented in this thesis (i.e., Findings chapters), are designated after each quote in parenthesis. The information will indicate the name, cultural background, and language/s spoken, for both teachers and students. For students, however, the languages featured are their home or heritage languages, except for Samantha who is of Albanian background, but

only spoke English. In the next section, I outline the approach to data collection and analysis that informed an understanding of the case.

3.4 Data gathering techniques and analysis

To enable a rich understanding of participation as a social practice, this thesis drew on multiple sources of data. This study employed three data gathering techniques—observations, interviews, and collection of students' works—that offered understandings of the perspectives and experiences of educators and students as they participated in teaching and learning. The period of fieldwork was approximately four months between late February and early July 2018, over the first half of the school year (Terms 1 and 2). The techniques focused on qualitative data, and rather than following a predetermined course, adopted a flexible approach to fieldwork that permitted me to "work inductively, ask additional questions, combine methods, and conduct follow up interviews and observations" (Maharaj, 2016, p. 114; see also Creswell, 2009).

3.4.1 Observations of Class 5/6k students and teachers

Employing ethnographic observations as one of the primary data gathering techniques provided rich account that assisted in constructing the practice of participation in Class 5/6k. Observation as a method is contested, but its usefulness lies in answering *'what kind'* of observations are made and to *'what end'* (Bratich, 2018, p. 527, emphasis in original). The goal of understanding the problem that this thesis upholds compels the use of ethnographic techniques that does not aim at intervention, but instead tries to maintain researcher distance (Bratich, 2018). Yet observation is not entirely distant as it is 'embedded in social relations;' it is a form of interpretation dependent on the

researcher's point of view (Bratich, 2018, p. 528). The process of observing is considered an active process of including, excluding, and defining boundaries. As such, it necessitated the reflection on the part of the researcher, and the systematic and rigorous recording of observations (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). The observations were captured in fieldnotes to help (re)construct a *'vicarious experience'* for the readers (Stake, 1995, p. 63).

Observations captured important dimensions of teachers' practices and students' experiences of participating that can offer substantive data for analysis. Empirical research reviewed in the previous chapter demonstrate the usefulness of observations for investigating patterns of teacher practices. Teachers, through their unconscious and well-intended practices, can be constructing conditions that potentially disadvantage CALD students (Cross et al., 2019; Delpit, 2006; Nieto, 1999; Valenzuela, 1999). At the same time, observations also allowed researchers to capture students' learner-participant dispositions in the classroom (Patchen, 2012; Candela, 2005). Other studies that examined students' participatory practices, without a focus on cultural and linguistic diversity, have also employed observations to provide accounts of learners' experiences in the classroom (i.e., Kovalainen & Kumpulainen, 2007; Kumpulainen & Lipponen, 2010). Indeed, classroom observations are significant sources of data for investigating the dynamics of teaching practices and CALD learners' participatory behaviours.

My observations were informed by Angrosino and Rosenberg's (2011) three-step process of ethnographic observation. The first step started with "descriptive observations" where I took into account every aspect of the situation (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 468). I accomplished this during the first four weeks of field work where I recorded unrestricted observations of the activities in the classroom and school to familiarise myself with the everyday culture of the school. This was a period of exposure and familiarity to the setting.

The second step of the three-step process was a phase of "focused observation" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 468). I discerned between valuable and irrelevant events for observation, which was also accompanied by interviewing to validate my assumptions or intuition. In this phase, I was more attuned to capturing events where the learners' linguistic and cultural resources were engaged in learning. Beginning this 'focused observation' stage, I also asked participants' perspectives about an episode observed, a technique further elaborated in the next section.

In the final step, I employed "selective observation" where I concentrated on the important elements that might influence the activities (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 469). In this phase, to assist my observation, I also drew on Sylva, Siraj-Blatchford, and Taggart's (2006) work to help inform areas I can observe and record in relation the school's practices on cultural and linguistic diversity. These steps allowed me to gather contextual information that provided a "relatively *incontestable description* for further analysis and reporting" (Stake, 1995, p. 62, emphasis in original). At the same time, it also allowed critical examination of patterns in practices through the 'funnelling' that the three step process allowed. This means that the research process was value-laden, and an act of judgement about what counts as valuable source of knowledge. Rather than see this as a weakness of observation technique, I consider it as a strength for a study that takes on a complimentary critical approach to constructivism.

Specifically, observations included classes conducted by the class teacher and the specialist teachers, as well as school-wide activities in which Class 5/6k participated. EAL classes were also observed as three of the student participants attended the class. Observations were conducted two to three times a week, on different days every week. This was coordinated with the class teacher a few

days before as there are sometimes unexpected changes to the schedule, such as teacher's leave, special events, and NAPLAN preparation. Observations were regularly conducted "to determine regularities and patterns, available only to the one who has sharpened the eye" (Bratich, 2018, p. 527). The prolonged duration allowed me to continuously reflect on the research problem and fine-tune the fieldwork strategies. Thus, it was important to pause in between observation days to assess and use the insights from the previous observation (Stake, 1995).

To help ensure observations were valuable as data, clear, consistent, and reliable record-keeping that focused on the key events but also paid attention to the background context were recorded in fieldnotes (Bratich, 2018; Maharaj, 2016). I used a notebook for recording, similar to what the students were using to lessen the intimidation and to convey the message that I was not evaluating them, but instead taking notes for my own learning. I was always conscious about how I was perceived, and thoughtful considerations were made about the tools I used for fieldwork and in the clothes I wore. Thus, I dressed in a smart-casual way that did not create boundaries of formality, but also conveyed that I was not taking an educator role. Throughout the fieldwork, I took observations from the back of the room, and unless of vital importance, I kept my distance from taking part in the activities as my focus was on observing the activities. These decisions in terms of dressing and tools for use in observation is guided by the notion of having to "blend in," but also keeping a moderate insider-outsider participant role (SAGE, 2017, p. 102). There are ethical considerations with subjecting the participants to the 'outsider's gaze,' (i.e., researcher) and I discuss this later in research integrity (Section 3.5).

Observations during fieldwork followed a simultaneous reflective process guided by Bourdieusian theorising. As Maharaj (2016) points out, drawing from methodology scholars, "field notes are often used in conjunction with

theoretical memos and researcher journals to record the researcher's conceptual reasoning and methodological decisions" (p. 114). This meant constantly reflecting on how the data helped reconstruct the field and capital in schooling, and how accounts of students' behaviours in the classroom help understand the habitus. Thus, my field notes, apart from observations, also consisted of reflective notes. These were short annotations that aligned with Bourdieusian conceptual apparatus and signalled their relevance for further exploration. Such exploration took place during interviews and focus group activity with CALD students. In this sense, observation data can be considered as the 'anchor data,' or the recorded episodes that guided data collection using other techniques.

3.4.2 Interviews with students, teachers, and school leaders

Building on this project's multi-perspectival approach, interviewing was another important data collection technique that complemented observations. As this project is built on engaging multiple perspectives, interviewing was a crucial method. This is what Brinkmann (2018, p. 578) suggests is 'magic' to interviewing whereby participants allow a stranger into their thoughts and feelings by virtue of the interviewer's role. Interviews are human relationships, and as such a product of "cultural-historical practices that enables different roles, positions, relations, and forms of agency that are too frequently taken for granted" (p. 578). Considered in this way, the interview then is the process of co-constructing knowledge with the participants. As Brinkman further proposes, interviewing can be flexible, affording agency in interviewees to be "able to raise questions and concerns in their own words from their own perspectives" (p. 579). This was an important consideration I endeavoured to address in my approach to the interview process.

Literature analysed in Chapter II demonstrates the generative way that interviews provided important data about the experiences and perspectives of teachers. Teacher interviews, for instance, offered a holistic account behind the reasons for teaching practices. In particular, teacher interviews revealed tensions and challenges in addressing the interests and needs of CALD learners (e.g., Poplin & Weeres, 1993; Zipin, 2009). Additionally, studies that foregrounded CALD students' voices, an aspect in research often overlooked, employed students' interviews. Significantly, students' interviews revealed feelings and thoughts about participating in the classroom (i.e., Duff, 2002; Norton, 1994, 1995; Patchen, 2012; Poplin & Weeres, 1993). Thus, interviewing was considered as a significant data gathering technique for this study, combining semi-structured and informal unstructured approach to the interview that allowed for both structure and flexibility (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011).

The reasons for conducting interviews with different participants varied, and logistical considerations aligned with these purposes. Interviews with students and teachers, for instance, were focused on examining their perspectives about the practice of participation in a CALD classroom. Interviews with school leaders were focused on providing a background history of the school and the school policies in relation to students' cultural and linguistic diversity. As such, interviews with school leaders were all scheduled and followed a semi-structured format. Interviews with students and teachers followed both semi-structured and informal chats. When interviewing, listening and paying attention is as important as asking questions: the interviewer's attention allows for clarification and recounting of essential responses (Stake, 1995). For these reasons, all interviews were audio recorded except in most informal chats where recording would have disrupted the flow of conversation. In these cases, I later summarised and took note of the conversation on my fieldnotes. The ethical consideration for using interviewing is discussed later in Section 3.5.3.

Interviews with a semi-structured format occurred at the beginning and end of fieldwork. At the beginning, interviewing involved getting information about the school, Class 5/6k, and the backgrounds of the educators and students. Towards the end of the research, the questions were more directed, clarifying aspects based on observation data. During these semi-structured interviews, there were opening and closing rituals that facilitated conversations, which usually started with talking about a recent event in school or an interest and closing the interview by giving the interviewee the opportunity to ask questions or share their opinion (van Enk, 2009). Semi-structured interviews were conducted in private spaces which often depended on the activities of the school. For instance, semi-structured interviews with teachers and school leaders were often in their classroom spaces and offices as this occurred during break time. For students, these interviews were conducted in a vacant classroom (when available) or in the faculty lounge. Each participant was interviewed for approximately 45-60 minutes in total. There were differences in semi-structured interviews with educators depending on availability. The breakdown of the interviews conducted are presented in the table below:

*Table 3 - 3 Semi-structured interviews with participants***

Participant	*No. of interviews*	*Duration* (approximate)
All students except Niko *	2	20 – 30 minutes per interview
Principal	2	20 – 30 minutes
Assistant principal	1	30 - 45 minutes
Teachers: Class teacher, IT specialist, EAL specialists, French specialist	2	20 – 30 minutes

Teachers: Teacher aide, PE specialist	1	30 – 45 minutes

* Niko left school in Term 2, so there was only one semi-structured interview with him.

** Initially, students were to attend focus group interviews. However, this was challenging (as described later in the section on 'Collection of text documents'), and so the questions for focus groups were used for semi-structured interviews with the students.

In addition to these semi-structured interviews, other interview data was generated through informal chats with teachers and students that occurred often during break time, and outside of the classroom. These informal chats were opportunities to discuss about an event observed and invite the perspectives of the participants. Through these informal conversations without a recorder (as opposed to semi-structured interviews), the realignment between interviewer and interviewee emerged (van Enk, 2009). The less formal atmosphere invited relaxed conversations—that included laughter, corrections, explanations, silences—that facilitated interactions which helped establish rapport with students and enabled their agency (van Enk, 2009).

Teachers assisted in directing my attention towards significant aspects of their lesson during my fieldwork. For instance, on the first occasion, Ms Wright, who had just taught an observed lesson signalled to me the importance of the lesson and that she wanted to discuss it further. (This episode is referred to in Chapter IV as 'A learning pit.') Another is EAL specialist Ms Kosta, who after delivering a literacy activity during Refugee Week, approached me to comment on the class' engagement. (I discuss this further in Chapter IV under 'Centring Mateen's experience'.) Similarly, as with the students' experiences, I interpret these informal chats as having built rapport with participants and offered opportunities for both teacher and researcher to mutually craft the research.

One of the problems with using interviewing as a research method has been raised by Brinkmann (2018) as akin to the process of *"McDonaldization"* (p. 589, emphasis in original). In other words, qualitative research has taken the route of interviewing as "efficiency" or the "best and least wasteful route to one's goal" (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 589). Essentially what Brinkmann is concerned here, drawing from the work of Zygmunt Baumann, are researchers who act like tourists and then quickly depart for another destination. This was not however, practiced in the study which employed the three step-process of observation (as discussed in the previous section) alongside two modes of interviewing, semi-structured interviews, and informal chats. All teachers and students were also invited for the interview (as further explained later in Section 3.4) although not all volunteered to participate. Entering the fieldwork with a level of openness to the number of participants can address another issue of interviewing raised by Brinkmann which is 'calculability.' According to Brinkmann, current calculability or pre-determining the number of interviewees can restrain the potentials for in-depth understanding of the phenomenon.

Another identified problem of interviewing that was addressed in this study is 'predictability' or the standardisation of interviewing, which can go against the tenets of qualitative research. Qualitative research which is "interested in contextual experience and emergent meaning making" can be constrained in standardised interviewing (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 590). This study was able to address the constraints of such predictability by employing both semi-structured interviews and informal conversations (as described earlier).

Finally, another problem associated with interviewing is the use of "nonhuman technology" for coding. As explained later (Section 3.3.4), I have used NVivo to assist with transcription and coding, but the identification of codes and the triangulation of data from the two other data collection techniques were accomplished by me. The analysis also relied heavily on a reflexive iterative

process (which I describe in Section 3.3.4) that can only be possible through the researcher's human capacity.

In outlining how I addressed the problem with an interview technique, I have demonstrated above how I have straddled aspects of predictability and a sense of openness in collecting data. In doing so, I was able to employ planned questions for interview, but also maintained space for "emergent and imaginative" inquiry that took place in the research process (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 90). In the context of interviewing younger population, as in the case of this study, there was a degree of flexibility needed to establish rapport and gather substantive data (Madriz, 2000). To address this, I also conducted group sessions with students that embedded short writing activities, which I describe below.

3.4.3 Collection of text documents through group sessions

For younger students, literature emphasise the need to provide a safe environment that allows them to share their opinions, attitudes, and beliefs, suggesting the utility of focus group discussions for this study (Madriz, 2000). Focus group pertains "to an assortment of discursive activities . . . that range from being highly scripted to being wildly dialogic" (Kamberelis, Dimitriadis, & Welker, 2018, p. 692). Initially, the focus group discussion was intended to establish rapport with the students. In this study however, based on the first focus group discussion, this approach seemed challenging and required adjustment as the fieldwork occurred. During the first focus group of 11 students, lasting for about 30-45 minutes, I noted that in the first 10 minutes where I asked the group 'what they think is a good or bad student,' some students were already dominating the discussion. For the remaining 15 minutes, I asked the students to illustrate their responses to the question and this allowed everyone a chance to express their ideas. On reflection, I considered

dividing the group, but finding the right mix became challenging. During my classroom observations, I already noticed that several student participants were not comfortable with speaking in front of the class (also discussed in data chapters). In the context of researching younger population, such as children, literature has suggested a need for a degree of flexibility "adapting the methods to match children's developing cognitive, linguistic, social, and psychological competencies" (Gibson, 2012, p. 148). Thus, I repurposed the focus group into a group session to gather textual documents from the students as a springboard for individual interviews.

Structured activities, which can include drawing and journaling, has been a recommended strategy to promote engagement among children participating in qualitative research (Gibson, 2012). During the two focus groups, students were asked to draw or write in response to three questions. I informed them that we will talk about their illustrations at a later time during individual interviews. Overall, there were three textual documents (1 during the first group session, and another two during the second) produced by the student participants in response to three questions designed to gain students' perspectives about participation. The first document asked students to write or illustrate what it means to be a good and a bad student. The second document asked students to write what it means to be an engaged and a disengaged learner. I adopted the term 'engaged' based on the class teacher's use of the term in the classroom to note down students who were paying and not paying attention as engaged and not engaged, respectively. Finally, in the third document, I asked students to write what it means to participate and not participate in the classroom. These documents were used to stimulate the semi-structured interviews with the students (as outlined in Table 3.3).

This technique of letting younger participants to illustrate their responses and use it for interviews, emerging from the fieldwork, enabled the exploration of

students' orientations towards participation in a child-friendly and developmentally appropriate manner (Gibson, 2012). The questions were scaffolded by first using terms such 'bad' and 'good' student, and then using the term 'engaged' based on observations of classes. Finally, I used the term 'participate.' All of these data were helpful to examine students' perspectives and orientations towards participation, a major component of the analysis, as discussed in the section that follows.

3.4.4 Data analysis: A reflexive iterative process

An iterative process of analysing qualitative data was employed in this thesis to allow for consistent reflection and revisiting of data "leading to refined focus and understandings" (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009, p. 77). The iterative process as explained by Berkowitz (1977 as cited in Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009) means:

> a loop-like pattern of multiple rounds of revisiting the data as additional questions emerge, new connections are unearthed, and more complex formulations develop along with a deepening understanding of the material. Qualitative analysis is fundamentally an *iterative* set of processes. (p. 77, emphasis in original)

The analysis of data in this study followed an iterative process. Patterns and themes emerge from the data, in an iterative process, where themes are often:

> driven by what the inquirer wants to know and how the inquirer interprets what the data are telling her or him according to subscribed theoretical frameworks, subjective perspectives, ontological and epistemological positions, and intuitive field understandings. (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009, p. 77)

As outlined in the previous sections, this study's research design has been guided by Bourdieusian theorising of practice, particularly the concepts of

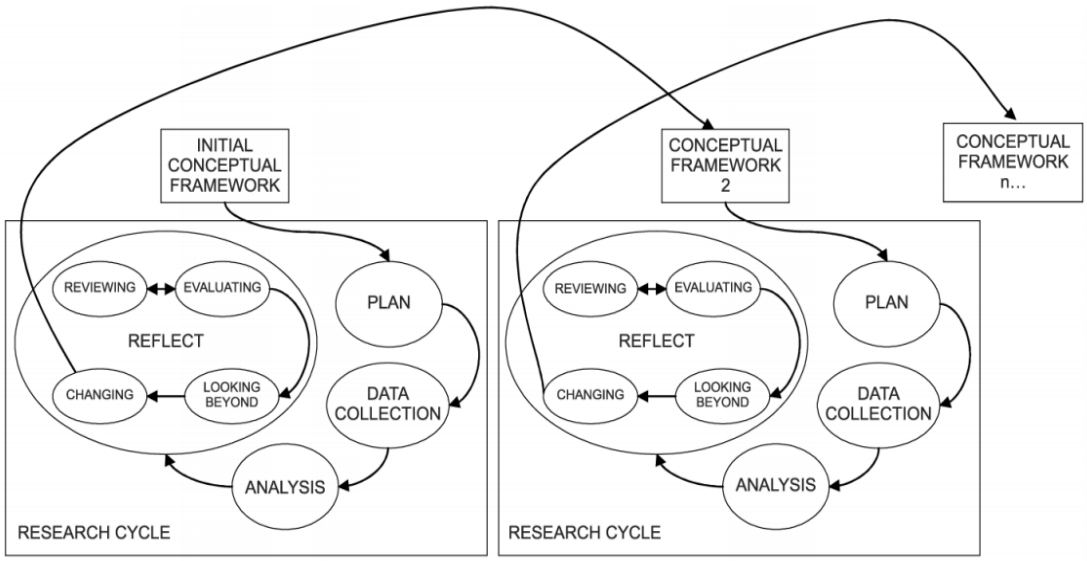
habitus, field, and capital. This theorisation influenced the critical constructivist ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the study (as described in Section 3.1). Furthermore, the thesis was also shaped by my intuitive understandings of the problem as a CALD scholar in a dominantly Anglo-Australian institution and having experienced colonial education in the past (as narrated in Chapter I). Thus, I entered the fieldwork with my own assumptions framed by my historical experiences, but also by the academic field for which I belong. This can be captured by the concept of perspectivism. That is, the researchers' analytical lens is not an individual viewpoint. Instead, it is shaped by the academic field's practices and disposition of scholars in a field but cannot be reduced to a single individual (Kenway & McLeod, 2004).

The iterative process afforded space for researcher reflexivity. As described above, iterative analysis consists of continuous revisiting of data and reflecting on interpretation in relation to the researcher's subjectivity. In their discussion of the iterative process, Srivastava and Hopwood (2009) referred to it as "reflexive iteration" (p. 78). According to these authors, the "reflexive turn" has been widely addressed in fieldwork and data collection, but little attention has been given towards data analysis (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009, p. 78). In their proposed framework, drawing on literature on reflexivity, Srivastava and Hopwood outlined the iterative process by making explicit the notion "analytic reflexivity" (p. 78). They further raised that little has been known about how an abstract process such as reflexive iteration can proceed in practice. They believe that this is associated with the difficulties of "getting inside one's head," (p. 78) a challenge that I, too, did encounter in explaining my analysis. Thus, drawing from their work, I outline my version of iterative analysis in the sub-section below.

An outline of a reflexive iterative analytical process

The iterative process describe above is consistent with this thesis' aim to develop a conceptual basis for understanding CALD participation. As previously discussed (Section 3.2), a critical case is often associated with conceptual or theory development (not to be confused with critical in the sense of the methodological approach for this study, 'critical constructivism'). This thesis endeavours to provide conceptual clarity about the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners by deploying the teaching triad of participation: positionality, resourcing, and sociality. Developing this triad, however, was not linear or straightforward. Instead, it was a constant iterative process of going back and forth across literature, data analysis, and discussion. It is a process that occurred in writing. The relevance of the iterative process in conceptual building is visually represented in the work of Cepeda and Martin (2005, p. 861) captured below:

Figure 3 - 1 Cepeda and Martin's (2005) Conceptual frameworks and research cycle



As in Cepeda and Martin's (2005) discussion of the research cycle and the process of building a conceptual framework, my research process also started with my own "current understanding" that allowed me to "lay out the research territory and guide the first research cycle" (p. 861). As demonstrated in this research, the initial conceptual framework is presented in Chapter II emerging from the literature review. The data collection and analysis, together with the process of reflection, advanced and 'solidified' the conceptual framework which is then discussed later in Chapter VII (Discussion). This conceptual framework, as my knowledge contribution, can then guide future research and (re)ignite the process of conceptual development.

Building on the works of Srivastava and Hopwood (2009) and Cepeda and Martin's (2005), my analytical process was also guided by continuous reflection. Guided by the central role of reflexivity in the iterative process, the following table below summarises the questions that guided my interpretation of the data as well as how I addressed this in my analysis:

Table 3 - 4 Reflexive questions that aided the data analysis

Question*	Analytical process
What is the data telling me about the practice of participation in Class 5/6k?	Thinking with Bourdieusian theorising and engaging with the teaching triad
What is it that I want to know about the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners?	Revisiting research questions and the key findings from literature
What are the alternative explanations for these findings? How is my positionality affecting my interpretation?	Finding alignment and misalignment with literature on CALD learners, and taking into account the differences in context and time

* These questions were informed by the works of Srivastava and Hopwood (2009), and Cepeda and Martin (2005)

The iterative analytical process that proceeded in my data analysis consisted of three layers. The holistic approach afforded by using a case study method enabled an analysis that engaged with Bourdieusian theorising to examine the issues across each of the constructs in the teaching triad. As emphasised earlier, this did not proceed in a linear fashion and instead occurred in a circular and overlapping motion, with empirical findings and conceptual clarity shaping each other.

The initial layer of analysis involved coding the data based on Bourdieusian conceptual apparatus. Data from observations of teaching and learning in Class 5/6k, captured through field notes, were primarily coded as 'field' and 'capital.' These observations included episodes and activities of teachers and students as they participated in the teaching and learning activities. Analysing the classroom as a field meant that teachers were tacitly de/legitimating CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources. Furthermore, the classroom as a field means that there were 'rules of the game' evident in taken-for-granted teaching practices that can be illuminated through the lens of capital. Supporting these observations, interviews with teachers and students were also coded as 'field' and 'capital,' with the aid of a qualitative data management software, NVivo. NVivo, as discussed earlier (Section 3.3.2), was used for data management with coding still based on the researcher's insights.

Bourdieusian analysis also used 'habitus' as a code to analyse CALD learners' subjective experiences. The data used for this was primarily taken from the students' textual documents which were analysed manually. Interviews with students were also used in analysing students' subjective experiences as habitus. The three Bourdieusian conceptual apparatus informs the presentation of the findings chapters (Chapters IV to VI).

The second additional layer of analysis involved mobilising the teaching triad, namely positionality, resourcing, and sociality, and bringing them in conversation with Bourdieusian framework. The triad focused the analysis on participation, revealing how each of the Bourdieusian thinking tool helped explain classroom practices in relation to positionality, resourcing, and sociality.

Finally, the third layer of analysis involved relating the key empirical findings of this thesis to the review of literature (Chapter II). This process examines how my findings relate to existing studies and their findings on participation in the context of CALD learners.

Consistent with the critical constructivist methodology guiding my approach to research, this iterative process assumes knowledge creation to be generative and evolving, with each cycle inviting further thinking as Cepeda and Martin (2005) highlight in their own framework (Figure 3.1). The analysis that took place remains partial, created at a particular time and space, and product of my own interpretation, as a researcher, of the lived experiences of the participants (Kincheloe, 2005).

3.5 Research integrity

Research integrity denotes to a sense of trustworthiness in the research process from design to data handling and presentation (Finlay, 2006; Morse, 2018; Shaw & Satalkar, 2018). In qualitative research, research integrity can be addressed in multiple ways, but below I highlight three key aspects that emerge in literature which have informed the design outlined in this chapter, and guiding my study: rigour, flexibility, and ethics (Finlay, 2006; Krefting, 1991; Morse, 2018).

3.5.1 Rigour

Rigour has been defined as the measure of coherence in the research study (Finlay, 2006; Morse, 2018; Shaw & Satalkar, 2018). It relates to the appropriateness across research problem, conceptual framework, and methodology to produce data and knowledge that is relevant or significant to identified fields of practice (Finlay, 2006; Janesick, 1994). As such, rigour is often discussed alongside trustworthiness, or having rigour as an "assessment of trustworthiness" (Krefting, 1991, 2004, p. 214). According to Krefting (1991), "truth value" (p. 215) seems the most significant measurement of qualitative research. Trustworthiness asks if the research "presents such accurate descriptions or interpretation of human experience that people who share that experience would immediately recognise the descriptions" (p. 216). Rigour comprises of four elements: credibility, transferability, confirmability, and neutrality which I elaborate in this section.

The critical constructivist methodology guiding this research helped ensure 'credibility' of findings. Critical constructivism offered a set of assumptions that resonated with Bourdieu's conceptual framework informing the study. This enabled coherence between the research problem and methodological approach. Critical constructivism also allowed for a multiperspectival approach to understanding the phenomenon of participation in the context of CALD learners. This included allowing the research to unfold over an extended period, and using multiple data gathering techniques (including observations, interviews, and textual documents; see Section 3.3.3). Together, these multiple sources of data enabled 'triangulation,' or the construction of knowledge from multiple perspectives and data sources, helping to present a picture of the 'truth' or reality close to that of those who experience it (Flick, 2018).

Employing a case study method addressed 'applicability,' also sometimes referred as transferability, a component of rigour. Applicability denotes to the ability of the findings to "fit into contexts outside of the study situation that are determined by the degree of similarity or goodness of fit between two contexts" (Krefting, 1991, p. 216). Drawing on Lincoln and Guba's (1985) work, Krefting (1991) explains that the responsibility for assessing applicability rests on the other researcher or reader who endeavours to apply the findings to another context or group. This study can enable applicability by providing thick descriptions which was achieved through a case study method. As discussed earlier (Section 3.2), thick descriptions invite the readers to (re)construct knowledge based on their perspectives. As Krefting argues, for "as long as the original researcher presents sufficient descriptive data to allow comparison, he or she has addressed the problem of applicability" (p. 216).

Consistency is another measure of rigour (Krefting, 1991). Consistency in quantitative research is defined by the attainment of similar results or outcome through repeated measurement. However, this form of consistency is not relevant to qualitative research which takes place in natural settings and where variability is a significant aspect in knowledge production. Qualitative research essentially "looks at the range of experiences rather than the average experience, so that atypical or non-normative situations are important to include" (Krefting, 1991). Consistency was addressed in this thesis that included multiple perspectives from different 'actors' in the classroom that included teachers and students.

Neutrality is the fourth component of rigour (Krefting, 1991). Neutrality denotes to the "degree to which the findings are a function solely of the informants and conditions of the research and not of other biases, motivations, and perspectives" (Krefting, 1991, p. 216). In qualitative research, this is often achieved by "decreasing the distance between the researcher and the

informants, for example, by prolonged contact with informants or lengthy periods of observation" (Krefting, 1991, p. 217). Critical constructivism, however, means that the researcher's subjectivities are entwined in the research process. According to Krefting (1991), Lincoln and Guba's (1985) discussion of neutrality attends to this by shifting the focus of assessment from the researcher to the data. As such, they argue that neutrality can be addressed by the presentation of thick descriptive data (Krefting, 1991). Through a case study, this research was able to do this. Moreover, approaching analysis through a reflexive iterative process also helped to address researcher bias (as discussed in Section 3.3.4). Indeed, in the context of critical research, addressing researcher's bias to establish rigour is a significant consideration. I expand on this below.

3.5.2 Reflexivity

The critical nature of this study necessitated demonstrating reflexivity to address the potential "imposition effect" that a researcher can make in interpreting the social phenomenon investigated (Kenway & McLeod, 2004, p. 532). Reflexivity can be defined as the practice of "steady, uncomfortable assessment about the interpersonal and interstitial knowledge producing dynamics of qualitative research, in particular, acute awareness as to what unrecognised elements in the researchers' background contribute" (Olesen, 2018, p. 160). As argued earlier, a critical researcher is always "interactively linked" with the phenomenon (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). Writing about Bourdieusian reflexivity, for instance, Schirato and Webb (2003) outlines three ways that a researchers' positionality can influence the conduct of research. The first denotes to the social and historical background influencing the researcher's understandings of the problem. The second relates to the researcher's position in each field or social context. The third refers to the scholastic viewpoint that the researcher brings into the interpretation of data.

Below I demonstrate my attempts at addressing reflexivity along these three themes.

My discussion of positionality at the beginning of this thesis helps make transparent how my own educational experiences have influenced, in part, the direction of this study, including the question to be asked and the choices of critical-oriented literature. An acknowledgement of my positionality also helped me deliberate on the methodological approaches I have employed to complement my intuitive assumptions. As explained in an earlier section, I have employed a critical constructivist approach that can complement my critical lens, but also offer space for the exploration and construction of the lived experiences of this study's participants. During data analysis, this awareness has allowed me to become reflexive of my positionality and how it impacts on my interpretation of the data.

Employing the critical constructivist methodology helped address the second dimension in Schirato and Webb's (2003) reflexivity. This dimension denotes to my position in a given field or social context with respect to fieldwork: which I perceive as somewhere between an outsider and insider. On the one hand, I find myself an insider to the possible experiences of the CALD student participants as a CALD scholar myself in an Australian university. I was also sympathetic to the teachers. I have been a primary teacher in different national contexts, often imposed to deliver content that were presumed to result in high achievement scores. However, I was also very much an outsider being a researcher in an Australian schooling context for which I only started to immerse at the beginning of my doctoral research (2016). A critical constructivist approach allowed me to highlight the benefits of my insider-outsider positionality. The recognition that I was an outsider reminded me to suspend judgement and to revisit alternative ways of interpretation.

Finally, adopting an iterative reflexive approach to data analysis provided recurrent refining of findings and conceptual tools that helped address the third point on Schirato and Webb's (2003) account of Bourdieusian reflexivity: that is, the researcher's "scholastic point of view" or "the intellectual bias, a set of dispositions and perspectives that is produced within the academic field" (Kenway & McLeod, 2004, p. 528-529). Constantly re-visiting and reworking the data with Bourdieusian theorising and the teaching triad offered reflexive moments. As discussed earlier (Section 3.3.4), the reflexive work in data analysis included asking questions such as: What is the data telling me? How does this relate to the research question? What is an alternative way of looking at this? Reflexivity in interpreting and presenting the data also encouraged a degree of humility and openness about the knowledge produced as a version of a truth that invites others to partake in sense-making. To reiterate, the thick descriptions provided in the data analysis offers such invitation whilst also offering participants a degree of protection from misinterpretation (Bourdieu et al., 1999). This aspect of care towards participants and their data is part of ethics which I discuss in the next section.

3.5.3 Ethics

Ethics in research can be understood as the trustful, respectful, and non-oppressive relations between the researcher and the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Bourdieu and colleagues (1999), for instance, have emphasised the value of trust as the unspoken condition in the relationship between research and participants. *The Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct on Human Research* sets out ethical considerations for the design, development, review, and conduct of research according to the principles of merit and integrity, justice, beneficence, and respect (NHMRC, 2018). My discussion on ethics in this section is informed by these values although the

first, merit and integrity finds substantial overlaps with discussion on rigour earlier (Section 3.5.1).

Apart from aspects of the research already discussed in relation to rigour, other conditions of the study have helped achieve research merit and integrity. The thesis has been "supervised by persons or teams with experience, qualifications and competence that are appropriate for the research," for example, including my doctoral supervisors and other members of the advisory committee (NHMRC, 2018, p. 10). Prior to conducting data collection, the project was reviewed and approved by the University of Melbourne's ethics committee and the Victorian Department of Education and Training. The approval of the applications from both organisations provided opportunities to validate the significance of the research as a knowledge contribution, and the alignment of the methods with the conceptual design. Furthermore, addressing integrity, the results of the study will be disseminated publicly by providing a summary of findings to the Department of Education and Training upon completion, as well as subsequent publications to the academic and professional community, including digital access to this finished thesis.

The *Guidelines* (2018) describe justice as treating participants fairly and with sensitivity to their needs. As described in Section 3.3.2, the recruitment of participants was all on a voluntary basis. Participants who have signified their interest to receive a report about the outcomes of the research will also be given copies of the research report that will be shared with the Department of Education and Training. During the interviews, I was sensitive to participants' well-being and offered to change the schedule if I sensed discomfort. They were also informed that conversations were recorded, and the recorder was displayed for participants to see during interviews.

There were no obvious risks anticipated by participating in the study. However, educators and students were subjecting themselves to be 'studied' and being open to the gaze and critique of the researcher, and others who will read the study. Thus, in producing this knowledge, thoughtful care was given to both protect and respect the participants. Care and reflection were exerted in the language used in presenting the data to show "due regard for the welfare, beliefs, perceptions, customs, and cultural heritage, both individual and collective, of those involved in research" (NHMRC, 2018, p. 10). Reflexivity importantly assists this process. In addition, respect for participants' privacy and confidentiality was attained by de-identifying the school, the suburb, and all the participants (Stake, 2000). From the beginning of fieldwork, field notes and interview transcripts did not reflect the participants' names. Codes were assigned for each participant, and later replaced with pseudonyms during thesis writing.

Ethical considerations in conducting research with children

The emphasis on ethics in the context of children has been highlighted by scholars as important partly due to the power that adults have over children which can be amplified depending on the children's positions and situations (Thorne, 2002). Significant ethical arrangements were considered in relation to: articulating the concepts explored to children, negotiating with researcher's non-formal position, and in encouraging participation among the student participants—as further elaborated below.

To articulate the concept of participation in a language with which all students could engage, questions asked were modified. Doing so stems from the recognition that language can either facilitate and be a barrier in exploring children's perspectives and experiences of participation. In interviewing, for

instance, different questions were asked to allow flexibility for varying levels of familiarity with the notion of 'participation'. When I initially asked students to verbally define 'participation' during the first focus group, not all students were able to respond. Thus, I changed the language and instead asked students to describe what they believe is a 'good' and 'bad' student. This adjustment resulted in all students responding to the question. At a later time during fieldwork, I used the language 'engaged,' which was introduced by the classroom teacher, and asked students what an 'engaged' and 'disengaged' student looked like. All students were also able to respond to this prompt. Finally, at a later stage of the fieldwork, I used the language 'participate' during a writing activity with the students and in individual interviews. Some, but not all students were able to respond possibly demonstrating varying levels of linguistic competencies. Furthermore, as outlined earlier, (i.e., Sections 3.4.3 and 3.4.2) various data gathering strategies were employed that allowed students to respond through text and/or illustration. In addition, students were given an opportunity to explain their written content during individual interview sessions. These methodological decisions were made to include varying levels of linguistic abilities and communicative expressions of the students.

In negotiating my non-formal position during the research, I made it clear that I was a non-teaching adult or staff in the classroom. I did not intervene in any teaching and learning activities unless necessary and in consideration of the safety and well-being of the students. For instance, on one occasion, I assisted and ensured the safety of the students in crossing the streets as we were walking to a nearby shopping complex for an activity. Although it was unnecessary during the fieldwork, any psychological distress experienced by any student participant would have to be referred to the teacher or school leader as outlined in my ethics application. Furthermore, when students had questions about the activities and content of the lessons, I always directed them

to the teacher. This minimised confusion and helped clarify to the students that my role in the classroom was as a researcher.

Significant efforts were also made to establish rapport with the student participants to encourage their engagement and empower their voices as they participate in the study (as discussed in section 3.4). I offered to reschedule interviews when I noticed that students were relatively unresponsive or tired. In two occasions, students also requested to reschedule and were later on keen to remind me of their rescheduled interviews. Furthermore, my position as an outsider in the school became an advantage as it imparted to the students that they are more knowledgeable than me about the school and their experiences in the classroom. This, I believe, facilitated increased engagement during interviews.

As emphasised earlier (section 3.3 Method), this study also importantly addresses the often-marginalised voices of younger age groups in research. Employing a critical-constructivist framework (already explained earlier in Section 3.3.1) and the 'triangulation' of data from multiple sources assisted in ensuring that the perspectives of student participants are foregrounded. In keeping with the authenticity of student voices, their responses have not been altered to conform with standard grammatical conventions. The thick descriptions from observations alongside student interviews provided a holistic depiction of the students' perspectives and experiences. As has been previously highlighted (in discussing the method), providing holistic accounts invites the readers' own interpretation and insights acknowledging that knowledge construction is a situated and dynamic process.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research design for exploring the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners. I begin by discussing the benefits of combining the critical and constructivist paradigms in this research. I argued that Bourdieusian theoretical framework offers a justification for a critical-constructivist methodology that seeks understanding, rather than intervention (Kincheloe, 2005). In doing so, a socially constructed process of knowledge production, informed by critical perspectives, is achieved. The critical tradition has often been aligned with research having an emancipatory agenda, such as participatory action research (Olesen, 2018). This thesis, however, does not seek to give immediate solutions, but rather provide an alternative perspective towards understanding the problem that can inform practice and policy, in the long term.

Guided by the coalescing of constructivist and critical approaches, this thesis advanced a case study design to provide a holistic understanding of participation in a CALD classroom. The methods used addressed the multi-perspectival approach to the project. The combination of these methods afforded space for the researcher's critical interpretation, but also invited the perspectives of the participants, as described in the three-step approach to an ethnographic observation (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). Bourdieusian theoretical tools informed the documentation of observations as well as guiding the questions for the interviews. This then, allowed for analysis that integrated the conceptual framework and Bourdieusian theorising discussed in Chapter II. As such, the findings section is organised along three chapters that mobilise the three conceptual apparatus of field, capital, and habitus. Within each chapter, the conceptual framework of positionality, resourcing, and sociality is explored.

Evaluation of the research design to address issues of ethics and research integrity concludes this chapter. This section provided a justification for the conduct of the research, including the implications to future reading of the research. The principles of rigour and reflexivity, discussed above, guided the approach to communicating key findings discussed in the next chapters.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

Class 5/6k as a learning community

You helped me grow because before I wouldn't have anyone in my room. That would be really intimidating for me to have someone in my room watching me teach . . . you feel like you're performing. You got to be part of my community.

(Ms Wright, class teacher, Australia, English)[2]

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the case study by examining how teachers constructed the learning community that is Class 5/6k, and the associated roles and responsibilities of the CALD learners in this community. It was during our final interview quoted above that the main classroom teacher, Ms Wright, in reference to my presence in the classroom, made explicit that she conceived and constructed her class as a learning community, and also recognised my participation as a researcher. Taking cue from this, in this first 'analysis' chapter, I start to deconstruct the practice of participation in Class 5/6k's learning community. I do so by examining the values, norms, and expectations of being 'participants' in this class. To understand how Class 5/6k operates, as well as the practices that govern its functioning, I mobilise the Bourdieusian notion of field (elaborated in Chapter II). As explained previously, Bourdieu's field can be elucidated through the game metaphor where CALD students and their teachers—as players—"take on set positions marked in predetermined places" (Thomson, 2014, p. 66). Through the experiences and perspectives of teachers and students, in this chapter, I illustrate what Lamaison and Bourdieu (1986) refers as "a model, a principle constructed by the social scientist in order

[2] To add meaning in interpretation of data, the designation, and cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the teachers are indicated. For instance: Ms Wright is the class teacher. She is of Anglo-Australian origins (represented 'Australian') and only speaks English.

to account for the game" (p. 111) that illuminates the power dynamics in Class 5/6k learning community.

This chapter is organised into three major sections. The first (section 4.2) examines how the class teacher, Ms Wright, constructs a learning community in Class 5/6k. Here, I show how Ms Wright's ideas of cultivating classroom participation is underpinned by learner-centred philosophies and the notion of community. Following this, section 4.3 begins problematising the notion of 'community' through interrogating the notion of 'co-authorship of learning' that teachers intended to nurture among CALD learners in the classroom. Then, in section 4.4, I continue to advance this interrogation by examining how building a sense of trust is complex and challenging in the context of CALD learners.

4.2 'Class 5/6k' as a learning community

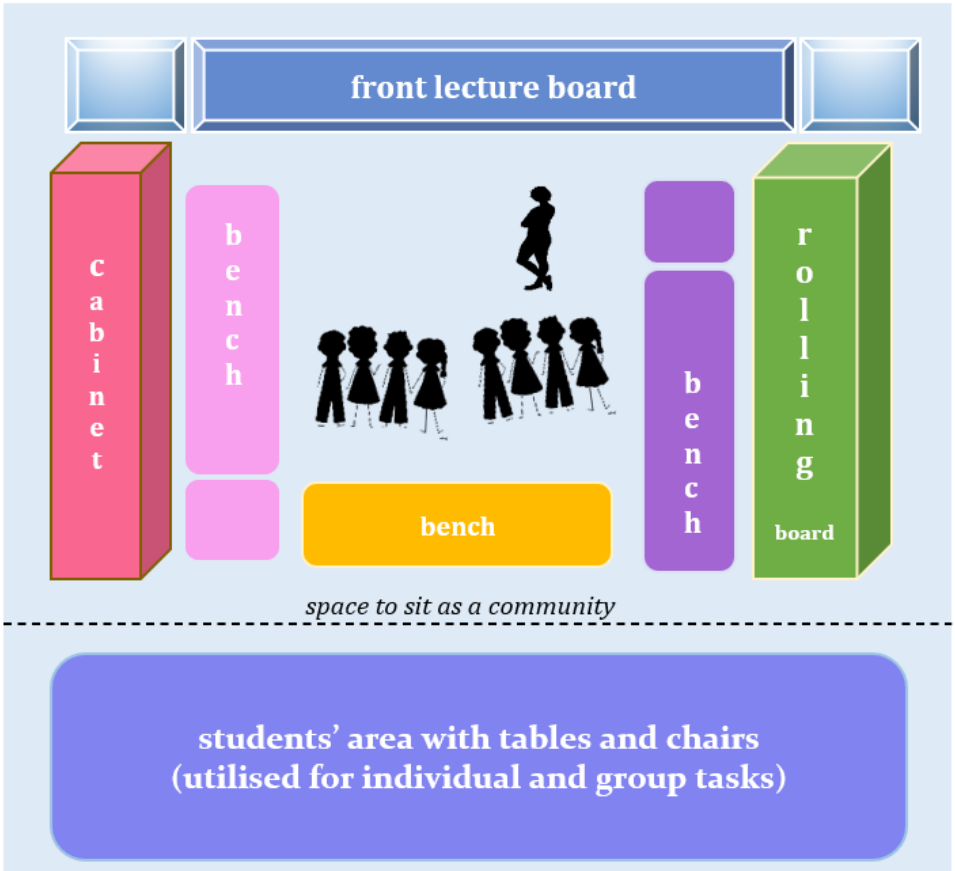
This section examines how the main class teacher, Ms Wright, constructed and conceived her Class 5/6k as a learning community. 'Community' was a concept distinctly emerging in the ways Ms Wright attempted to nurture an inclusive culture of participation in the classroom. I noted, for instance, in term 2 how Ms Wright went about establishing her 'learning community' through the classroom's physical arrangement. Through field notes, I captured the following:

> ***Sitting as a community.*** As Ms Wright gathers the students to discuss figurative language, she remarks, 'I'm gonna change this room today because it annoys me that we can't sit as a community.' The class discussion proceeds, and Ms Wright gives students an individual task. Whilst students accomplish the task, Ms Wright starts rearranging the space where whole class discussion takes place. She places a cabinet

and a rolling board on each side of the space as if creating borders. She then remarks, 'That's better. I feel the zen.' (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

This Primary 5/6 class—which I have called 'Class 5/6k'—is one of the Primary 5 and 6 composite classes of Upstream Primary School. It should be noted that Class 5/6k's classroom stands out from the rest of the Year 5/6 classes. Located at the end of the hall, in an open-plan set-up, the classroom is bordered by cabinets and mobile boards, with the overall space opening up to the building's hallway—unlike the other primary 5/6 classrooms which were more traditionally bounded as a designated room. Taken from my field notes, below is an illustration of the space described above:

Figure 4 - 1 Class 5/6k's communal space for whole-class discussion



Within this unconventional classroom space, Ms Wright aimed to build a sense of community. Crucial to this, is the idea of sitting as a community where the class came together for discussions, as described above. Based on field notes, Ms Wright would repeatedly encourage the students to sit within the space during whole-class activities. Occupying the space, therefore, became symbolic of students' membership, and their willingness to participate in the activities of the community. In demarcating what she described in her interview a "space to sit as a community," Ms Wright sent a message to the students that there exist expectations in being part of the learning community; the most obvious is the students' display of intention to participate by sitting within the bordered space.

Ms Wright expressed her understanding of the learning community in discussing her professional background. Reflecting on her teaching career, she narrated:

> When I started teaching and did placements, I made sure that I went to schools that worked as communities. I went to a school that did Reggio Emilia . . . went to a school that did PLC [professional learning communities], went to another school that did open learning, and my favourite ones were the Reggio Emilia and the PLC. And I think we need to think of this community that everybody has input into our learning. I'm learning. They're learning. We're all learning. . . . And they need to understand that by having it as a community, the more that they build on their skills, the better our community will be. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

In describing how learning can take place in the community, Ms Wright emphasised the members' shared contribution to knowledge as a way for building skills. She also spoke of preferencing teacher training experiences that exposed her to the idea of "schools that worked as communities," an idea aligning with learner-centred teaching, such as Reggio Emilia and professional

learning communities. This expectation for learners to contribute to learning conforms with the concept of 'active participants' where learners are positioned as knowledge contributors or co-authors of learning (as discussed in Chapter II). Here we see glimmers of a learner-centred philosophical influence emerging from Ms Wright's approach to teaching Class 5/6k, a considerably diverse classroom, culturally and linguistically.

Ms Wright further validated the influence of learner-centredness as she called attention to the benefits of community-building, drawing from her personal experiences. During an interview Ms Wright talked about the reasons for promoting 'community' in her classroom as being influenced by her own experiences in the Army Reserve. She shared:

> I joined the Army Reserve when I was 17 and loved it. And again, community. There are still people that I met in that community that I still talk to today. . . . Definitely a sense of belonging and community. They look out for you. . . . Even if you haven't been in the army for years, we still all come together to help people. Yeah, and that's community. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

In the quote above, Ms Wright's positive experiences of serving the army resonate with the social dimensions of a community, where a sense of belonging, trust, and cohesion among members is imperative. Her commitments echo the arguments advance around 'learner-centredness' as an essential foundation to learning (e.g., Rovai & Wighting, 2005; Cornelius-White, 2007; but see further discussion in Chapter II). The importance of positive or warm social relations highlight the significance of sociality, as identified in my articulation of the 'teaching triad.' For Ms Wright, 'sociality' was expressed through her commitment to developing cultures of belonging and connection for her students.

Ms Wright's orientation towards community-building was also an attempt at centring the lives of her CALD learners based on her understanding of their backgrounds. Further into the interview, she explained:

> And especially in this school because I found out they all had their individual communities. These kids aren't like Australian people. We live in our family units, and we have our house. . . . And when I [was growing] up, you know, you have the lady down the road you called 'Auntie'. You were a community, and it just seems to have gone now. Whereas these kids do have communities. They have people in their culture, and that's their community. So, I think it's important. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

Here, Ms Wright suggests the CALD students in her class have a community akin to her own childhood sense of community; something that she suggests is lost in Australian society. Again, we see how Ms Wright's personal experiences and long-held beliefs about community continue to guide her present teaching disposition in Class 5/6k. Ms Wright's understanding reflects the idea espoused in learner-centred approaches which model learning spaces "on the lines of extended families and communities" (Katz et al., 1993, p. 31). It reflects an attempt to place the child's values and interests at the centre of schooling (Fleer, 2003). Ms Wright's rationale, as articulated above, reflects an understanding of her CALD students' lived experiences as one that exists within communities.

Ms Wright's collective description of the CALD students as 'not like Australian people,' whose belonging are tied to their cultural communities, signifies her acknowledgement that these students have different cultural practices. Ms Wright's discussion of building a community revolved around centring the well-being, interests, and backgrounds of her CALD students. There was also a tendency from Ms Wright to primarily draw from her personal and historical experiences—or what Grenfell (2004) refers to as "cultural psychobiography"

(p. 65)—to make sense about the conditions that can work best for teaching in the context of CALD learners.

Ms Wright's narratives, however, given the context of her students, begins to suggest a lack of rich understanding in CALD students' backgrounds. From the last quote, her articulated belief appears limited, captured only through the perception that students live within cultural communities. Ms Wright's cultural background, as an Anglo-Australian who only speaks English, is indicative of the differences between her and her students' backgrounds. Ms Wright herself articulated in Chapter I: ". . . my culture is very different to theirs." Although Ms Wright's teaching strategies develop from positive intentions, often underpinned by student-centredness, her cultural distance from the students as I will show later in this chapter work against building a sense of classroom community.

For the rest of this chapter, moving deeper into the data, I demonstrate the repercussions of teachers' lack of deep understanding of their CALD learners' backgrounds. I do this by conceptualising Class 5/6k as a classroom field. Doing so, allowed me to examine how seemingly neutral classroom practices were laden with power. I argue that Class 5/6k teachers' beliefs about building a learning community are not necessarily responsive to CALD learners' cultural backgrounds. I first illustrate this by interrogating the notion of students as 'co-authors' of learning.

4.3 CALD students as co-authors of learning

In this section, I examine three episodes demonstrating how CALD learners are positioned as co-authors or contributors to learning. Here, I focus on the ways that learning conditions are crafted to position CALD learners as 'co-authors of

learning'—a core principle in learner-centred schooling—presumed to facilitate active participation (Confrey, 1990; Schweisfurth, 2015). To do this, I draw from multiple sources of data to understand the constraints in positioning CALD learners as assets in knowledge-making in the classroom. The first two sections are taken from activities in the Class 5/6k classroom that illustrated the challenges in teachers' attempts at positioning the students as contributors to learning. The third is taken from an English-as-additional (EAL) specialist classroom that only three of the student participants attended during my fieldwork. I examine this incident, particularly with a student participant, Mateen, to help illuminate the obstacles and possibilities for CALD learners' participation. The discussion here illuminates how the classroom field can constrain and facilitate CALD learners' participation through the process of teacher legitimisation.

4.3.1 CALD learners as co-authors of learning in the classroom

An analysis of data from two educators, Ms Wright (the main classroom teacher) and Mr Williams (the ICT specialist teacher), expressed similar ideas about how they understood the roles and responsibilities of the learners in Class 5/6k. During term 2, both teachers co-taught the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) class that involved building solar-powered boats. Ms Wright and Mr Williams are of Anglo-Australian backgrounds, and except for English, speak no other languages.

Both teachers revealed similar intentions at positioning students as 'co-authors of learning', again an approach in tune with learner-centredness. These were evident in the kinds of strategies used in the classroom. Ms Wright referring to the physical arrangement of the classroom, for example, highlighted:

> I like the kids to own the room which I got from a school [using] open [plan] learning. . . . When you look at Reggio Emilia classrooms, they're not tables and chairs, and it's a creative mindset. I really like these sorts of things because the kids can sit where they want. . . . I love that they can put the furniture in different ways. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

In the quote above, Ms Wright appears to encourage students to take initiative in designing parts of the room. The space she refers to is the 'students' area' indicated in Figure 4.1 earlier (Section 4.2). Throughout my observations of Class 5/6k, there was no seating plan or arrangement followed, and students were free to choose their seats and move around the furniture in this area. However, once, in response to a student's disruptive behaviour, Ms Wright threatened to enforce a seating plan. I noted at the beginning of Term 2 how students re-arranged the furniture in this area (e.g., with stools, ottomans, and a booth). In terms of physical space, Class 5/6k students were given a degree of autonomy to design their work areas, an opportunity that the students welcomed.

The same message was also echoed by Mr Williams in the ICT class that has moved to an open-plan space for the boat-building project in Term 2. For instance, at the end of one ICT session, Mr Williams asked the class about improving the room set-up. Later in an interview, Mr Williams explained the principle behind opening the discussion for students' suggestion about the boat-building project working area:

> Well, I wanted their opinion. I've just started using that space, and actually they did a really good job. They made some really sensible changes. They put the power board under the glue sticks. I've kept their changes. It's not like I know the best way to do the space [or] I know all the answers. I think if you give them some ownership over what's going on [and] you use what they're saying, [you'll] actually have meaningful discussion and say, 'Okay look, I don't know the truth. What do you guys think? What should we

> do?' Then, you might get more engagement as well because then, they'll think, 'Okay, they've actually taken on board what I'm saying. They're using that to do something, not just asking me what's one plus one.' (Mr Williams, ICT specialist, Australian, English)

As demonstrated in their quotes above, both Mr Williams and Ms Wright view their students as co-directors of the learning space. Mr Williams' comment, for instance, emphasising that 'he does not know all the answers' acknowledges that Class 5/6k students were expected to be active participants in the classroom; that is, giving their suggestions and offering information. Both teachers intended to create conditions that offered students a degree of autonomy by configuring their learning spaces.

Another strategy employed by both teachers to facilitate learners' active participation can be summarised in the term, 'Ask-three-before-me' rule, which meant students need to ask three peers first before the teacher. This was a recurring pattern in the lessons conducted by Ms Wright and Mr Williams; their strategies departed slightly, however. For instance, during group or individual work, Ms Wright would give a reminder for students to ask other students first before asking her. In Mr Williams' class, he would check students' work first, and then write their names on the board informing the class that if they have questions, they can ask the students whose names are listed on the board. In explaining the reason behind this general rule, both teachers commented:

> It gives them power. When you teach, you learn. So, by getting them to help other kids, they're empowering themselves with their learning. (Ms Wright, classroom teacher, Australian, English)

> I don't like being the only person that knows everything. That's why I try and write names on the board if students have already done the task. I want them not just to come to me. I want them to feel empowered [to think] I can do that; I can help

> someone. And that also strengthens their knowledge when they help someone else. (Mr Williams, ICT specialist, Australian, English)

The significance of perceiving students as knowledge sources is captured in my discussion of positionality, as a component in the triad. For both Ms Wright and Mr Williams, 'positionality' was evident in their intentions at empowering students to take ownership in the classroom design. As the legitimating authorities in the field, both teachers are expressing their commitment to nurturing an asset perspective towards their students. Their responses express the belief that students are not only recipients of knowledge but are also bearers of knowledge and skills.

Based on observation notes, the mechanism for positioning students as knowledge sources was relatively more pronounced in the ICT class. Aside from listing the names to legitimise students as 'teaching assistants,' Mr Williams also asked for student volunteers with prior knowledge about certain tasks. For instance, during the boat-making project, I noted Mr Williams asking for student volunteers to perform the task of sharing files or creating slides and tables in a presentation. Mateen, one of the student participants, would often take on these roles because he would either finish relatively earlier or he volunteers. In my informal chats with Mateen, I found out that he does spend most of his free time at home on the computer. After the school holiday in term 1, he shared with me that his father gave him a new laptop for his birthday. Mateen, therefore, seem to have an advantage in taking up these roles during the ICT classes as he has relatively more developed digital literacy skills from his home environment.

Although the opportunity was open for all students participating in the ICT class, not all students may be able to take on this role as easily as those who have the facilities to further their digital skills in the home (as Mateen does).

Although the school provides laptops for students to use, it seems likely that most students do not have these provisions in the home. Mr Williams provides an insight to this during an interview, explaining:

> One of the disadvantages for the school is we can't do things like a BYOD program. . . . We can't do our own bring your own device program. Our scope with technologies is a lot more limited because we have to provide all the technology whereas a lot of schools let students bring in, you know, iPad from their home. And then, the school can spend their budget on really interesting things because they have that baseline. That's gonna be something that will always be hard for us, and most schools are going that way, given the most socio-economic ones.

The concept of field reminds us that in the classroom, there are different resources that are valued which can be symbolically configured into capital (Skeggs, 1999). The ICT class as the only class consistently employing the 'Ask-three-before-me' rule means that only those students with prior knowledge in ICT are able to inhabit the position of 'co-authors of learning.' It also demonstrates that teachers' engagement with students' prior knowledge is limited; bounded by the curriculum content and focus of the subject. In this case, it was confined to ICT skills.

The discussion in this section offers a glimpse of what is possible and constraining in mobilising different students' resources for learning. In the context of CALD learners, literature highlights the significance of what I conceived as 'resourcing,' in relation to CALD learners' participation. In particular, additive approaches (e.g., culturally responsive teaching, 'both-ways' pedagogy) are considered as intimately linked with mobilising students' cultural and linguistic resources for classroom learning (e.g., Gay, 2000; Delpit, 2006; for further elaboration, see Chapter II, Section 2.1.2). 'Resourcing' was generally addressed in two ways by Ms Wright and Mr Williams. First, in their attempts to encourage students to make decisions about the classroom

environment, they have offered the students a space to co-design their learning space. Second, specifically in the ICT classes, Mr Williams consistently invited students to share their computer-related expertise. These examples, however, of mobilising CALD learners' prior knowledge were circumscribed within aspects of physical arrangement and specific content knowledge (i.e., ICT). The teaching approaches did not engage with the cultural and linguistic resources of the students. Thus, the intention to position CALD learners as co-authors of learning is limited, specifically by not engaging with students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As I will further examine through two contrasting episodes in the next section, the classroom field can be constraining or enabling for CALD learners' potentials to participate as co-authors of learning.

4.3.1 A learning pit

In this section, I examine an episode in Ms Wright's literacy class—the 'learning pit'—that endeavoured to centre CALD students' interests by allowing them to lead the discussion. An analysis of what occurred revealed that whilst the class teacher afforded students the opportunity to co-author the learning process, these were constrained by expectations about what kinds of themes and ways of discussing them were 'acceptable'. A quick interview with Ms Wright after the class provides a background for the lesson. She explained:

> So, what happened was while we were reading, the kids have asked a question, and I knew that we were gonna do persuasive speech text today. I needed something that they could do persuasive text about, and I've been thinking of that. That was the perfect question because they were all gonna have different reasons and different arguments for a persuasive text out of it. And you could see how passionate they got? So, it was really a 'fly-by-night', 'let's-see-how-we-go', but it's the language they get out of it as well. . . . And they were all passionate about it. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

Ms Wright often uses the term 'learning pit' during class discussion in the area illustrated in Figure 4.1 (section 4.1) as the communal space. When I asked her what it meant, she sent me a link to the website, 'Challenging Learning' (see Challenging Learning, 2019), which explains the 'learning pit' approach. Using the 'learning pit' metaphor, the approach argues that in-depth knowledge is built from a conceptual struggle that eventually leads to a students' moment of discovery.

As quoted above, Ms Wright emphasised two significant points related to positioning students as co-authors of learning. First, by engaging with a question raised by the student, Ms Wright has allowed students to co-design the flow of learning. Second, Ms Wright highlighted how the activity generated a high level of participation from the statement: 'And you could see how passionate they got?' Indeed, Ms Wright's statement coincided with my own field notes that reflected the active participation of nearly all student participants except for Amal, and Emma (who was absent).

> **A learning pit.** Ms Wright starts the lesson by reading the book, 'My Place.' One of the students calls out a question just after she finishes reading. From where I was sitting, it is inaudible. All I could see is Ms Wright's excited expression. Smiling, she walks to the whiteboard and writes, 'Is the Earth a boy or a girl?' Ms Wright instructs the students that after each answer, they either give a thumbs up or down if they agree or disagree, respectively. Alternatively, they can also move their thumbs up and down to signify that they don't know. As students start to raise their hands, I prepare to write as much as I can.
>
> ***Roya*.** Roya answers that the Earth is a girl because girls are brave and responsible. 'I like that idea,' Ms Wright replies. About 20 minutes into the discussion, Roya again raises her hand. She shares that in her culture, if someone good dies and it's summer, it will rain. Ms Wright asks, 'Who determines what's good?' Roya replies, 'God.' Ms Wright remarks, 'Not everyone believes in God, but I will let you talk about that, Roya.'

Ramis and Leo. Another student says that the Earth is maybe a boy, and Ms Wright replies with 'What about Mother Earth?' At this point, Ramis and Leo say unison, 'I just thought about that.' Ms Wright says to them, 'You are allowed to disagree, but there has to be a reason.'

Mateen. Mateen shares that maybe it's a girl and a boy because the Earth is just a rock. Ms Wright questions this arguing that there are living things on Earth. Mateen insists that it's a rock. Ms Wright commends him for his confidence and speaking up even after challenging him. After 10 minutes, Mateen raises his hand again to explain and argue that the Earth is a rock.

Liana. In response to Mateen, Liana speaks up disagreeing with Mateen. From my chair, I could only make out her final words to Mateen spoken relatively louder. Firmly, she says, 'That is your belief.'

Parisa. Parisa replies that the Earth is a boy because like in the classroom, there are more boys. Ms Wright tells her that whilst she is being brave, she senses a bit of fear creeping in. She adds, 'I want you to take a deep breath and think again.' Ten minutes later, Ms Wright calls Parisa again. Arguing that the Earth has no gender, Parisa explains that this is so because the Earth has no emotions. Ms Wright then hugs her for being brave.

Samantha. Samantha speaks up stating, 'I'm not sure what gender it is.' Ms Wright says, 'I like the way you use the term gender.'

Niko. Ms Wright calls Niko, and he replies that the Earth is both a boy and a girl because 'they are two genders working together.' Ms Wright accepts the answer.

Ramis. Ramis then calls out, 'It's just a rock!'

In wrapping up the discussion, Ms Wright explains to the students that the lesson was about their beliefs and values. She stresses on the importance of speaking up and accepting other people's ideas.

The episode described above ended with Ms Wright commenting to me, 'Did you get that? You could write a whole thesis about that.' Perhaps Ms Wright wanted me to highlight this episode as it is one where majority of the student participants actively participated. Indeed, the episode offered generative insights about the 'rules of the game' in the Class 5/6k as crafted by class teacher, Ms Wright. The episode above reflects the kinds of participatory behaviours encouraged in the classroom field. It also offers insight to the tensions that may arise when teachers attempt to engage with students' cultural backgrounds. I first analyse Ms Wright's 'rules' about how students participate as observed in 'A learning pit.'

The goal of this lesson was for students to exercise persuasion, and so there was no predetermined right or wrong answer. Rather, Ms Wright wanted to encourage students' persuasiveness or the ability to speak confidently and defend one's opinion. For instance, in response to Ramis and Leo, Ms Wright gave them permission to disagree for as long as they had a reason. In the case of Mateen, Ms Wright praised him for insisting on his idea despite Ms Wright's questioning. Furthermore, Ms Wright generally accepted Liana's firm disagreement with Mateen's answer. Based on these data, it seems clear that Ms Wright was encouraging students showing dissent and disagreement in opinion, two forms of active participant dispositions (as discussed in Chapter II, Section 2.2.1). In addition, Ms Wright also rewarded speaking with confidence—as evident in how Ms Wright commended Parisa's "brave" articulation of her ideas. Displaying confidence in communication—either by disagreeing or speaking up—is therefore valued in this classroom field. The ability to take initiative and show dissent and disagreement is clearly a valued participatory behaviour in Class 5/6k. In Chapter VI, I return to 'learner initiation' further to unpack different dispositions that CALD learners inhabit in the classroom.

In engaging with Bourdieu's notion of field to understand Ms Wright's practice of diversity in the classroom, I was also able to interrogate her initiative at affording students a space to draw from their cultural backgrounds. Ms Wright emphasised this goal for 'A learning pit' in an interview as quoted below:

> They were drawing from their beliefs [and] their family values on what they think. And you sort of know when it comes to boy-girl, earth, spirituality, that they're gonna come up with that sort of stuff, but I didn't think it would lead down the God path, but I sorta, yeah, it did. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

> I'm very aware that some, that's why I say to the kids that you need to speak to your mum about it when Chris brought up about transgender. I said, well, that's something you need to talk to your parents about, because I'm aware that in some cultures, that's not on. In some, it is. I'm very careful in what I talk about. You do have issues when it comes to, especially Muslim boys and Muslim girls because the boys are treated, you know, and the girls are the workers. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

From the quotes above, Ms Wright clearly considered the activity as a valuable opportunity for students to bring in their cultural backgrounds, albeit with some caveats. For instance, Ms Wright's response to Roya: 'Not everyone believes in God, but I will let you talk about that, Roya'—could have been a sign of encouragement. Roya is of Muslim background who grew up in Pakistan with Afghani-speaking parents. As such, Roya can speak about five languages. She is often described as a confident student by teachers, and among all the responses recorded, was the only one who shared aspects of her traditional beliefs. In the interview however, Ms Wright revealed that discussions with religious intonations, such as that of Roya's, was something that she steered away from. Thus, Ms Wright's response to Roya whilst seemingly permitting Roya to discuss about God, can also be a way of curtailing the discussion in relation to religion.

During this quick interview with Ms Wright during yard duty, she further expressed discomfort towards topics on religion and 'tansgenderism.' Ms Wright referred to these themes since it emerged in one of the students' responses during 'A learning pit'. Ms Wright's comments about these two topics convey hesitancy, seemingly expressing a feeling of inadequacy to open discussions about transgender and Muslim faith. Instead, Ms Wright relegated these topics as within the purview of parents and the home. Seen from this perspective, Ms Wright's expressed discomfort seem to spring from a perceived lack of capacity or perhaps inadequate understanding of how best to approach these kinds of topics.

As noted earlier in this chapter, Ms Wright, coming from an Anglo-Saxon middle-class background, does not share the backgrounds of her students. Australia is an increasingly multi-religious society in addition to being multicultural and multilingual (as discussed in Chapter I). It is also a society that has legally acknowledged varied gender identities. However, in Ms Wright's teaching practices, these lived experiences appear unwanted and silenced.

Ms Wright—whose teaching practices are bounded within school policy and macro-societal discourses and perspectives—actively avoiding specific experiences of her students exposes an aspect of resourcing in the teaching triad. Resourcing emphasises the significance of engaging with CALD learners' cultural backgrounds if these students are to be considered as sources of knowledge. However, we see from the discussion above, how Ms Wright stops short from fully centring the experiences of her students. By closing down opportunities for further discussion, from a resourcing aspect, Ms Wright is (again) potentially creating culturally subtractive conditions of learning. Ironically, 'A learning pit,' as described by Ms Wright is an example of an "additive" teaching approach where students are encouraged to build on their

experiences, knowledge, and skills as they create emerging learning (Delpit, 2006; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2009). However, such initiative appeared constrained once it encountered Ms Wright's understandings about what are appropriate topics for learning in the classroom.

In this case, Ms Wright's discomforts towards particular themes led her to close down the conversation. As the legitimating authority in the field, Ms Wright can position different student identities in the classroom in different ways. I gathered from Ms Wright's response earlier that her decision to avert further discussion on topics about God, transgender, and the Muslim faith stem from an assumption that these experiences are controversial and therefore, best not entertained. This echoes the findings in Zipin's (2009) study where teachers' perceived students' 'dark lifeworlds' as unfit for learning. This perspective prevented the teachers from utilising students' challenging experiences as learning resources (as discussed in Chapter II, Section 2.1.2). Positionality is illustrated through this dilemma where CALD learners' lived experiences are framed as deficits rather than assets. In other words, these experiences are considered as problematic rather than relevant topics of conversations. Effectively, these deficit lenses are constraining initiatives, such as Ms Wright's 'A learning pit,' from becoming a genuinely additive learning experience for the CALD students. This illuminates an issue related to positionality and resourcing in the teaching triad. That is, when students and their backgrounds are positioned as deficits, there is a limit to how their cultural resources are engaged in the classroom.

In the next section, I examine an episode that further demonstrates the potential for participation when teaching practices centre the lived experiences of CALD learners. I do this by discussing an episode of a student participant, Mateen, during 'Refugee Week.'

4.3.2 Centring Mateen's experiences

In this section, I discuss episodes from field work with a student participant, Mateen, who came to Australia from Iran on a refugee boat. Sometime before Term 1 ended (SY 2018), Mateen shared with me his journey to Australia. Whilst in the playground, Mateen narrated:

> Mateen: I remember I was in like shaky boat. It was really shaky, and I was scared 'cause I was in the middle. And this other boat, it crashed in the middle of the sea. So, then the boat sank. There were like hundreds of people on the ship.
>
> Bonita: Was it your boat or the other boat?
>
> Mateen: It was this boat. So, then, we were prepared. So, we had tubes around. My mum took my little sister. When this happened, my littlest little sister wasn't born yet. My mum carried Zaneb. My dad carried my big sister. And my oldest sister, carried me. And we had to stay in the water, about 6 and a half hours until a rescue boat came. And a lot of us die of . . . Like they got stuck on the boat, and they got pulled underwater. So, they went down with the ship. My family friends' cousin, they died. So, there was not much people left.
>
> Bonita: Did you tell anyone here about this story?
>
> Mateen: No. . . . And we had to go like a lot of ships, and there's one ship. We had to get on, and we had to stay a few nights on an island. And we found this huge lizard, look like a crocodile. We're just relaxing, and then we found it. And then, there was like a lot of Singhal people. They came and shoot it off.

I was vaguely aware of Mateen's circumstances for arriving in Australia. Mateen's EAL teachers already shared with me Mateen's experience as narrated above. They added that although his sister openly talked about it, Mateen never discussed it to them or in class. One of the teachers, Ms Thomas perceived it as:

> That's trauma, and they've also come from a war-torn country. So, they've not only got that trauma. They've also got the trauma of war.' (Ms Thomas, EAL specialist, Australia, English)

Mateen has been described by majority of his teachers as generally unconfident, unmotivated, lacks initiative, quiet, and withdrawn, apart from Mr Williams (as discussed earlier in Section 4.3). These descriptions about Mateen well-illustrates a problem in positioning CALD learners. We witness again the deficit tones in teachers' descriptions about Mateen's seemingly inactive participation in the classroom. Relegating Mateen's inactivity to trauma, being unconfident, lacking in initiative, quiet, and unmotivated locates the problem within Mateen. Deficit perspective consequently averts attention away from examining schooling, and classroom practices, that may have contributed to Mateen's lack of participation.

By examining observed episodes where Mateen participated actively, the significance of the contextual dynamics for students' participation was elucidated. A relevant example is an episode at the EAL classroom during "Refugee Week," the final week of my fieldwork. Like other students attending the English language classes (i.e., Roya and Amal), Mateen's learning experiences predominantly took place in this specialist class. These classes were facilitated by two EAL specialists, Ms Thomas and Ms Kosta. Below, I've summarised my observations of the classroom activity during 'Refugee week':

> ***Mateen during refugee week.*** Ms Thomas informs the class that they are going to watch a film entitled 'Ali and the Long Journey to Australia'. The animation features the story of a refugee family and their journey by boat to Australia. After the film, Ms Kosta asks the students who of them had similar experiences. Mateen keeps raising his hand. Ms Kosta calls him, and he talks about traveling by boat and the boat capsizing before getting rescued and finally arriving at what he refers as a 'jail'. A few minutes later, he raises his hand again to share that his family reached an island with 'scary looking lizards'. Mateen again raises his hand to share that his dad was able to speak English whilst traveling which was a good thing. For about 20 minutes, this dynamic discussion went on with different students sharing their refugee experiences. Towards the end of the discussion, Ms Kosta asks the group: 'Who knows about the Taliban?' Mateen, including some students, raise their hands. This marked the end of the

> discussion before teachers instructed students to do individual activities on worksheets.

My interview with Mateen happened two months before the episode captured above. He only shared this story to the class after watching the animation, 'Ali and the Long Journey to Australia' (see Harmon, 2018). During this episode, Ms Kosta, would often look at me as if to signal something. I went up to her as students were working in small groups and she commented about Mateen:

> He hesitated at first, but see how the hand kept going up when he saw the others did? (Ms Kosta, EAL specialist, Greek, Greek & English)

Later, working in groups, I noted that Mateen continued to further discuss his experience with a peer. Mateen shared about his family still not having a passport but continued to explain what happened on the boat.

> Ah yes, you came by plane. I don't have a passport. You're lucky. . . . You wanna hear something sad? Many people drowned in the boat. . . . We needed to save ourselves. . . . The boat was wobbly. The driver didn't care and was only smoking. All we ate was lemon. We were prepared from Malaysia. My dad's friend gave us life jackets thinking that the boat might sink. (Mateen, Iranian, Persian)

It appears that a relatable story where Mateen found areas of connection facilitated his active participation. In the moment described above, within the classroom field, Mateen found his personal experience legitimated as a valuable source for learning. The story appeared to transform his position in the field, allowing him to take on an expert role, as someone who has lived through civil unrest and travelled by boat to Australia, an experience similar to that of Ali in the animated film. Mateen inhabiting this expert role is also displayed in his interaction with a peer. Their conversation quoted above shows Mateen describing his knowledge about the experience. Although he describes his friend as 'luckier' for having a passport and traveling by plane, he continued to

steer the discussion by asking: “You wanna hear something sad?” Mateen then portrays himself as the expert narrating the tragedy that befell on his companions in the boat. Here we witness the potential for a field that centres and legitimates the experiences of students. The film on Mateen’s refugee experience became empowering for Mateen who is otherwise predominantly described as unconfident and unmotivated. This experience seems a manifestation of Mateen symbolically shifting position—from a marginal to a central position—in that moment in the classroom.

Resourcing, as a component in the triad, is evident in the ‘Refugee Week’ episode above through Mateen’s participation. The episode observed demonstrates an ‘additive’ approach to learning that values and builds on the experiences of learners as they participate in the classroom. The episode demonstrates that by engaging with CALD students’ resources in learning, students like Mateen, are afforded opportunities to take on expert roles in the classroom. Mateen was not the only refugee student in the classroom. This was quite evident in the high engagement of students, as observed, in the episode.

The episode also draws attention to positionality in the triad through the ways that the EAL specialist teachers judged Mateen’s refugee background. Earlier, in a quoted interview, Ms Thomas labelled Mateen’s experience as traumatic, but Mateen, as observed, seemed to narrate his story quite light-heartedly. It seems that Mateen’s inhibition from participating is not out of psychological trauma, but from a lack of opportunities to discuss his experiences. As described earlier, Mateen was quite participative in the ICT class where he can engage with his digital skills acquired from home. Mateen’s patterns of participation indicate that when opportunities are crafted for him to draw from his knowledge base, his participation increases. This again demonstrates the ways that positionality and resourcing appear interlinked. That is, deficit perspectives attached to CALD learners’ cultural backgrounds can constrain teachers from identifying

assets within CALD learners and mobilising these assets for learning.

The two episodes highlighted in this section—'A learning pit' and 'Refugee Week'—are the only two episodes recorded throughout my fieldwork of classroom teaching approaches that engaged with CALD learners' cultural backgrounds. Generally, there is a lack of deliberative and sustained engagements with CALD learners' cultural resources in schooling. Although these are isolated initiatives that engage with students' cultural backgrounds, these initiatives still seem to indicate teachers' openness towards teaching practices that build on students' prior knowledge.

It remains questionable if teachers are indeed framing CALD learners from an asset perspective and whether they are prepared to welcome and become comfortable with different experiences, including those which they perceive as 'difficult' or 'dark.' The two episodes highlighted in this section—'A learning pit' and 'Refugee Week' suggests that teachers, as legitimating authorities in the field—whose practices are situated within school curriculum and policy—are crafting limited and limiting opportunities for students to engage with their cultural and linguistic resources for learning. Thus, in relation to this, in the next section, I trouble the notion of 'community', which Ms Wright used to refer to Class 5/6k.

4.4 Troubling the notion of 'community' in Class 5/6k

In this section, I explore the notion of community a term employed to describe Class 5/6k. Ms Wright, as discussed earlier, has often referred to Class 5/6k as a community (Section 4.2). Here, I trouble this notion of community by drawing on two relevant episodes observed in the classroom. The first examines Ms Wright's strategy of building mutual trust in Class 5/6k. The second is an

analysis of Niko's (non)participation in a literacy class. These episodes are not meant to offer generalisations about the students and their experiences. Instead, they are discussed to further examine how the three constructs in the teaching triad—positionality, resourcing, and sociality—interact to shape the practice of participation in a CALD classroom. In doing so, I offer further illumination of the classroom field and the teaching practices of Ms Wright that (de)legitimise CALD learners' identities, and cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Cultivating trustful relationships with students stood out as a key element in Ms Wright's teaching approach. Observation data revealed Ms Wright's general pattern of infusing personal stories during classroom discussion. An interview with Ms Wright affirms that the strategy of bringing her personal stories into the classroom was meant to build trust with her CALD students. She stated:

> I feel like if they can relate to me, then they'll trust me. That's why I tell them stories. So, they'll gonna need to hear about my family. I hear about their family. It's that flow of conversation and communication. So, then they'll feel comfortable with you, and they'll feel comfortable to come and say, 'Hey, I can't do this.' (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

> I just be myself, but I truly believe sharing our stories creates that community in our room where they feel safe. They could share their stories. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

As quoted above, Ms Wright believed that in sharing stories about her family, she is more likely hear about her students' lived experiences. Classroom observation notes analysed revealed this pattern in observations. In Term 1, for instance, Ms Wright, awaiting the arrival of her tailor-fitted brand-new luxury car from Europe, would at times show photos of the car and give updates about its completion and delivery. Once during snack break, as Ms Wright was

tracking its progress, she explained naming the car 'Minim8,' replacing her old one. Another recurring story from Ms Wright was her body-building endeavour. She would often share updates about her current weight, and what her diet consisted. She also talked fondly about working in the army sporting a radically short haircut.

Family featured prominently in Ms Wright's stories. At the beginning of Term 1, Ms Wright, for example, informed the class that her son will be travelling to the top of Australia, and that once there, he will be taking a photo of himself to send to the class. She then added, 'Just for us.' The day after Australian Mother's Day celebration (May 15, 2018), I also noted Ms Wright showing students her new lunch box and talking about receiving slippers as Mother's Day presents from her children and grandchildren, as students settled in class.

This sharing of personal stories, as Ms Wright explained in the earlier quote, came with an implied invitation for students to reciprocate by sharing their own family stories. My field notes, however, painted a rather different picture of what played out in the field. Observation notes reveal that Ms Wright's stories were often met with an attentive yet silent response from the students. The initiatives—although well-intentioned—did not necessarily facilitate the mutual exchange of personal stories that Ms Wright had hoped. To illuminate the possible repercussions of Ms Wright's attempt to connect with students through her personal narratives, I engage with Bourdieu's notion of field to understand what might account for the students' unresponsiveness.

The classroom, as a field, means that students and teachers occupy positions within it that determine their roles and responsibilities. These positions, however, are predetermined depending on the types of resources, or capital, one holds (as discussed in Chapter II). The teachers then, can be interpreted as occupying a position of authority—"symbolically configured" through their

"position and title" (i.e., the 'roles' and 'responsibilities' within the game, and the power that comes with it)—to legitimise systems and individuals in the classroom field (Grenfell, 2004, p. 51). Legitimisation can be enacted through teachers' instructional strategies, such as the kinds of life experiences and backgrounds that teachers validate. Consequently, the kinds of narratives legitimated in classroom can be facilitative for some, as they find connections, or constraining for those who "struggle to connect" with what is presented before them, and can be "subtly othered" (Cross et al., 2019, p. 138) in the discussion. Cross et al.'s (2019) study illustrates this by analysing how a teacher's curated personal narratives—often unthinking in nature—pedagogically mobilised in the classroom can be marginalising for students who do not share the same experiences as that of the teacher (see Chapter II, Section 2.1.2). Their analysis of teachers' pedagogic interactions helps elucidate why Class 5/6k students may have resorted to only listening instead of actively participating in the mutual story-telling opportunities that Ms Wright initiated.

As the legitimising authority in the classroom field, Ms Wright's narratives tended to reflect a lifestyle that was different from the students. Her stories often depicted what is commonly considered as a 'good' and 'stable' family life largely portraying Anglo-Australian middle-class and mainstream traditions. Ms Wright's English background is very different from that of her students. The 11 student-participants, for instance, identified diverse cultural background with 10 of them indicating knowledge of a language(s) other than English. This situation brings to light a dilemma for sociality or building a sense of connectedness among the students and teachers. As highlighted earlier (Section 4.2), Ms Wright aimed to build a sense of community in the classroom. Community can be defined, in a romanticised sense, as one underpinned by "coordinated unity of a *group"* with common "traditions and understandings" (Zipin et al., 2012, p. 183, emphasis in original). Ms Wright's construction of her

classroom as a community appears near impossible given an approach that is not sensitive to the layers of diverse backgrounds among the students.

The students' histories and ancestries depict variability and dynamism in experiences (as discussed in Chapter III, Section 3.5), that were not captured in the stories legitimated by Ms Wright. Ms Wright, as the main class teacher, was the only teacher involved in Class 5/6k who stressed on cultivating trust for students' participation. She was also the only one who employed the strategy of sharing stories for building trust. Although there is certainly nothing averse with her stories, as this was the only 'model' of a legitimate lifestyle for discussion in the classroom, this may not necessarily build connections with the experiences of CALD learners.

In a different interview, Ms Wright offers her understanding of her students' lives as complicated, and clearly disparate from the personal stories she shared. In describing some of the student participants in the class, Ms Wright recounted the following narratives about the students' family backgrounds:

> *On Amal.* Amal is from a broken home. She's been in and out of care. In Perth, she was in an Australian speaking family. She's now in an Arabic speaking family that have no English. So, Amal's stuck between an Australian world and an Arabic culture world.
>
> *On Harry.* He also has ADHD. He comes from a really loving broken marriage. Uhm, mum's really fantastic and dad doesn't accept that there's anything wrong.
>
> *On Leo.* Leo also comes from a broken marriage. Leo's mum has mental health disorders. Leo is a very, very bright boy. When he was younger, he didn't quite understand what was happening whereas now he's started to realise that his mum's different and things are happening.

> *On Liana:* Liana is a beautiful child. She is strong in all areas. Again with her, it's uhm, her Mum and Dad are in Samoa. So, she's living with her sister at the moment. So, that makes it really difficult for her, as in, she's not going home to a normal family situation.
>
> *On Ramis.* Ramis is a very confident boy, but I think some of his confidence covers up other things. He socially struggles. . . . He plays with the same group of boys every recess time who are also in that seat.
>
> *On Samantha.* Samantha comes from a broken home as well. Samantha lives with a single parent, has gone through a lot of violence. Her stepfather is not allowed within 200 meters of her.

Ms Wright's descriptions above of more than half of the student participants trace the disjuncture between Ms Wright's curated personal narratives from the narratives she weaves about her students. Her presentation of material success (her purchase of a car), familial success (the narratives of her son), and her personal pursuit of fitness (body building) stands in stark distinction from the ways in which she understood students' families, wellbeing, and social networks. Ms Wright's discussion of her students' background primarily revolved around perceived family dysfunction and social problems.

Ms Wright's perspectives about students' backgrounds raises an issue in relation to positionality which has also been identified in the literature review. Positionality refers to the different perspectives that position CALD learners. The overemphasis on students' difficult home lives has positioned these students at a deficit, primarily associating their low performance in schools to students' attitudes and family backgrounds. This is well in tune with concept of deficit perspectives (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Valencia, 2010; see Chapter II, Section 2.1.1 for a discussion). More importantly, Ms Wright does not articulate the cultural and linguistic diversity of the students as part of their 'backgrounds.' As argued earlier, Ms Wright, in this context of describing her students' backgrounds, does not seem to have a rich understanding of the

students' backgrounds. Consequently, she has overlooked the cultural and linguistic assets possessed by the students.

It can also be argued that Ms Wright's deficit positionings of these students' lived experiences has implications for 'resourcing' in the teaching triad. Ms Wright, despite acknowledging how complex these students' lives are—perhaps with histories beyond her own horizon of experience—overlooked how students' lived experiences can be resources for learning. This builds on the argument from the earlier section on 'A learning pit' (Section 4.3.1) that some forms of experiences are often either neglected or dismissed as resources for learning. The studies by Zipin (2009) and Dutro and Bien (2014) have argued in similar ways. Dutro and Bien (2014), for instance, have argued how difficult experiences can position students as "challenges, rather than having faced challenges . . . and remarkable human beings" (p. 16) with important life experiences. Deficit frames associated with difficult experiences can often overlook their potential for learning. Ms Wright's strategy legitimises particular ways of being whilst ignoring the 'lifeworlds' of CALD students in Class 5/6k, a teaching stance that can result in 'cultural subtraction' (Nieto, 1999; Valenzuela, 1999).

As argued above, the classroom field of Class 5/6k lacks a robust mechanism for building a sense of community in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity. The analyses along the three concepts of the triad has illuminated how Ms Wright's deficit positioning of CALD learners impact on resourcing and sociality. In the next section, I further examine the three constructs through the case of one student participant during a literacy class.

4.4.1 Niko in literacy activities

In this section, I further illustrate the limitations of Ms Wright's approach to building trust in the community. I do so by examining one student participant's pattern of inhibiting from participation in literacy activities that required him to read out his written work. In bringing forward Niko's case, I aim to highlight how participating in CALD classrooms must be understood, not only through the social context, but also in relation to the subjective experiences of each different student. I am not attempting to make generalisations from this example to the rest of the class. Instead, I demonstrate the repercussions of broader issues surrounding the construction of a 'community' through an in-depth consideration of one student's experience.

At the beginning of my fieldwork, Ms Wright alerted me about Niko, describing him as a challenging student behaviourally. Ms Wright further confided that she has requested for Niko to attend her class with the intent of helping Niko improve his learning outcomes. At the time of field work, Ms Wright was attempting to build a special relationship with Niko by sharing a weekly journal where they wrote to each other. On my first day of field work (February 14, 2018), I recorded my first observation of Niko's resistance in a literacy activity as summarised below:

> **Niko during paired reading.** It's Niko's turn to read his work to his partner, Parisa. Ms Wright goes over to the pair. Niko refuses to read. Ms Wright tells Niko, 'How would you feel if I did that to you? You're worried about yourself? What's the worst that could happen? What are you worried about? Doesn't sound right? Big deal!' Niko replies, 'I'm not going to read.' Ms Wright tells Niko, 'I won't give up on you. Ever. No, mate.' After lunch, Ms Wright informs the class that Niko read his story in the faculty room adding, 'I'm really sorry you missed out because his writing is really good.'

From the observation data related to Niko, I recorded the following instances of disengagement—one of which (highlighted) resembles the paired reading episode described above:

Table 4 - 1 Observations of Niko's disengagement (Term 1, School Year 2018)

Date	Session	Time (approx.)	Observation notes
March 6	Spelling	9:20 a.m.	Students spell words by writing on air. Niko does not participate.
	Individual writing	9:30 a.m.	During an individual writing activity, Ms Wright approaches Niko and looks at his work. She says, 'Niko, you haven't written one sentence.' She gives him question prompts and Niko responds verbally.
		10:13 a.m.	Ms Wright sits and writes with Niko. She asks questions and Niko answers. Ms Wright writes on Niko's notebook. Ms Wright asks Niko to rewrite what she wrote and leaves him. Niko starts rewriting/ copying what Ms Wright has written.
March 20	Sharing work to class	10:40 a.m.	Niko refuses to read his work to the class. Ms Wright reads it for him mimicking Niko's voice. Other students start to laugh as they listen.

My observations above reveal a pattern of Niko's unwillingness to read out his work in class. It also shows that although Niko needed assistance on one occasion with writing, most times, he did accomplish the writing task. The disengagement occurred when asked to read out his work in front the class. Ms Wright interpreted this as:

> He doesn't like reading at all, and that's a confidence thing. He's just not sure if he can do it, so he'd rather not be embarrassed by it which is fine. I'm happy to do it, and that's just building up his confidence. So, yeah, 'cause he's going through a lot at home at the moment. So, when he's been really good at school, then I just try and keep it

> level playing field. I just try not to upset the balance, and just keep him the way he is. (Ms Wright, Australian, English)

Ms Wright's comments above seem to locate the problem of participation in Niko's personal attributes. These events highlight the importance of 'positionality'—the construct in the teaching triad that attends to the perspectives that position CALD learners. Here, Ms Wright actively positions Niko as not only disengaging from work, but as requiring confidence and as being impacted by his home environment. This aligns again with deficit perspectives which solely locates the problem of schooling on students' attributes rather than the schooling conditions that may impact on students' participation (as discussed in Chapter II, Section 2.2.1). This positioning may also be limiting of the possibilities for Niko, with Ms Wright trying to keep things at a 'level playing field' by not pushing Niko harder in class. Mills and Gale (2007), for instance, reveal how educators in a disadvantaged school can nurture low expectations of their students resulting from deficit perspectives.

Due to family circumstances, Niko left the school (and thus, the study) at the beginning of term 2. Before the leaving the school, Niko disclosed during an interview the source of his unwillingness to participate in paired and whole class reading of his work:

> Bonita [Researcher]: Do you enjoy reading your work with a partner or in a class?
> Niko: Nope.
> Bonita: Why?
> Niko: Because I'm shy. Get embarrassed by it.
> Bonita: Why?
> Niko: Because my work is bad and that. Like, it's really bad.
> Bonita: Who would you read it to?
> Niko: Ms W, and like them my friends, but nah, only Ms W. Oh yeah, Morris and David, and all the boys because they don't really laugh, but not the girls.
> Bonita: Why?

> Niko: Because the girls always laugh. I like when the boys laugh because it helps me, and I laugh with them.

Niko's responses above illuminate that his refusal to participate is largely due to fear of humiliation among class members who are not within his friendship group. Although Ms Wright's earlier explanation labelled Niko as 'unconfident,' Niko's response further reveals that this perceived lack of confidence stems from Niko's impression that interactions in the learning community are unsafe or threatening. Whilst Niko explains that he is willing to read his work to Ms Wright, and his friends, he fears humiliation from other peers, specifically, his female classmates. At the risk of embarrassment, Niko selectively performs to an audience he knows will be accepting of him.

Niko's explanation for withdrawing from participation illustrates an issue around positionality, the concept in the triad that relates to perspectives. Niko articulates an internalised deficit judgement towards his work describing it as 'really bad,' and being 'embarrassed by it.' This internalised deficit perspective seem to persist despite Ms Wright praising his work as captured in my fieldnotes (Niko during paired reading). Judging himself as 'less than others', based on standard English, may have prevented Niko to read out his written work. Niko's negative assessment toward his work as inhibiting participation echoes the internalised deficit positioning reflected in empirical research on English language learners (e.g., Norton-Pierce, 1994, 1995; Duff, 2002). Like the students in the literature reviewed (Chapter II, Section 2.2.1), Niko found participating a risky investment to take given the threat of humiliation.

The issue around positionality, illustrated in the case of Niko in literacy class, also demonstrates the role of 'sociality,' the teaching triad's third concept relating to the classroom social dynamics. Niko's case implies the need for forming trustful relationships for CALD learners to take risky forms of

participation. The absence of a bond, as in the case of the 'girls,' constrained Niko's participation. Ms Wright's ideas of fostering trust in the community is confirmed through Niko's subjective experiences. However, it seems that the trust nurtured is only between the student and teacher, a point supported by narratives from other student participants during our informal chats. Amal, for instance, the newest student during my field work shared in an interview that whilst she was shy to ask questions in front of the whole class, she would only do so with Ms Wright or the teacher aide, Ms Meyer. Student participants such as Samantha and Roya described Ms Wright as 'cool' with Samantha referring to her as 'the boss', and Roya fondly calling her as 'G'ma' (as Ms Wright is referred to by her grandchildren). These students expressed having built a sense of relationship with Ms Wright, but this trustful dynamic has not been fully developed more broadly within peer-to-peer relationships.

Attending to the three constructs in the triad—positionality, resourcing, and sociality—demonstrates the challenges in conceiving Class 5/6k as a learning community where students are considered as 'co-authors of learning' and mutual trust and regard are established. Across the sections, the dynamic ways that the three concepts interact are demonstrated. For instance, the deficit perspectives towards CALD learners' experiences can position them as without or lacking in valuable resources for learning. This in turn, constrain teachers' mobilisation of the students' cultural and linguistic resources in classroom learning. This lack of valuing and recognition of CALD learners' resources can serve as barriers in teachers' efforts to nurture a sense of trust in the classroom.

4.5 Conclusion

I opened this chapter with a quote from Ms Wright signifying her commitment to nurture a sense of community in Class 5/6k. Ms Wright emphasises

'community' as one where members develop mutual trust and exchange of knowledge. These positive intentions, however, as I demonstrated in the sections above, require careful consideration in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity. It can even be more daunting for teachers like Ms Wright whose Anglo-Australian middle-class background diverge significantly from the highly diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds of her students. In engaging with Bourdieu's concept of 'field' to understand classroom practices, I illustrated how teachers' power to legitimate experiences, knowledge, and values are unintentionally marginalising towards CALD learners. Teachers, as Delpit (2006) would argue, "do not wish to damage children; indeed, they likely see themselves as wanting to help" (p. xxiv). However, analysis of teachers' well-intentioned pedagogical practices for students' participation are at its best inadequate, and at worst, potentially alienating.

In exploring mechanisms for active participation in Class 5/6k, I focus my discussion in Section 4.3 around the teachers' positioning of learners as "co-creators of emergent learning" as an empowering stance to facilitate agency (Cahill & Coffey, 2016, p. 547). Despite teachers' articulated intentions to position the students as knowledge contributors, their strategies tended to fall short in recognising students' cultural backgrounds—the students' inherent and fundamental resources that can allow them to take on an expert role in the classroom. Notwithstanding, teacher's initiatives such as Ms Wright's 'A learning pit,' (i.e., where she intended to draw from students' cultural backgrounds) and the EAL specialists' 'Refugee Week' lesson (i.e., where they showed the journey of a refugee child, Ali) signify teachers' openness towards pedagogically integrating the lifeworlds of their CALD students. However, their attempts at engaging with CALD learners' cultural experiences tended to proceed with deficit perspectives attached to some aspects of CALD learners' experiences.

Teachers' lack of understanding and knowledge in approaching what they perceive as "difficult topics" (i.e., transgenderism, religion, and refugee experiences) stirred discomforts and eventually led to curtailing of and/or giving little attention to these topics. Yet, CALD learners' (non)participation in the classroom, as I illustrated in Section 4.3, depends on whether or not they are given opportunities to engage with their prior knowledge and skills. Doing so, enables students to inhabit the role of knowledge experts. However, Class 5/6k's learning community persistently illustrate isolated teaching initiatives that engage with CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources.

As I troubled the notion of 'learning community' in Section 4.4, I showed how Ms Wright—symbolically configured and positioned as the legitimising authority in the classroom field—validated a curated version of her personal lifestyle. This in turn constrained the active participation of her CALD students whose home experiences were clearly different from that of Ms Wright's. Consequently, the relations of trust Ms Wright aimed to build among members of Class 5/6k was not fully reinforced. Niko's case, as explored in Section 4.2.1, reveals that although he trusted Ms Wright and his friendship group, he felt inhibited participating in front of those he has not considered as 'friends.' This analysis of Niko's participation in the literacy class emphasises the importance for sociality in participation. Although Ms Wright perceived Niko's non-participation as a result of problematic home and difficult life, Niko's interview reveals that his lack of confidence seems to emanate more from a lack trust among some members in the learning community. Considering the significance of building trust in this learning community, Ms Wright is the only teacher explicitly committed to building a sense of community in the classroom. As I argued, there was a lack of a robust sustained approach to nurturing positive relationships in Class 5/6k's learning community.

Across all the sections in this chapter, I have demonstrated how the constructs in the teaching triad—positionality, resourcing, and sociality—work interrelatedly to create conditions of possibilities or constraints for CALD learners' participation. In working with Bourdieusian conceptual tool, 'field,' I was able to demonstrate that there are potentially constraining factors originating from teachers' beliefs about teaching in CALD contexts. Teachers, in this CALD classroom context, generally held deficit understandings about students' lived experiences and cultural backgrounds. Operating from a deficit stance has largely resulted to missed opportunities to build on the assets that CALD learners bring with them to the classroom. The lack of engagement with CALD learners' cultural resources pose issues around the social dynamics cultivated in the classroom. My discussion in the next chapter further builds on this argument as I explore the resources that are valued in the schooling fields. In my analysis, I engage with Bourdieusian notion of capital to examine how teachers' practices are constraining and facilitative of CALD learners' participation.

CHAPTER V: FINDINGS

The cultural and linguistic resources of Class 5/6k

I knew this particular [area] was going to be a very diverse community and I had a feeling I'd enjoy it. . . . The thing I love most is working with people from different cultures, and that's something. . . . You'll basically learn about a culture here. I've only been here a short time, but I'm very much learning something new everyday.
(Mr Clark, principal, Australian, English)

I find here, these kids have so many stories and they have such a background that we don't understand 'cause we've never lived those lives that they've lived.
(Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

5.1 Introduction

Class 5/6k, has been shown, in Chapter IV, to be one where classroom practices, intended to facilitate CALD learners' participation, were potentially marginalising of students from non-dominant backgrounds. The Bourdieusian concept of 'field', mobilised to understand these classroom practices, helped render visible the dynamics in a CALD classroom that obstructed the teachers' positive intentions to nurture a sense of community and facilitate student agency. Chapter V develops this argument by bringing into focus 'capital,' another of Bourdieu's concepts intimately related to the 'field.'

This chapter opens with quotes from the principal and the class teacher celebrating their students' diversity. Findings, however, demonstrate that these proclamations were not translated into classroom practices with a strong focus on building on CALD students' backgrounds, experiences, and resources.

To advance this analysis, the chapter is organised into three sections. The first section (5.1) provides an overall picture about what is considered valuable 'capital' in Class 5/6k and Upstream Primary School more generally. I then demonstrate the ways that CALD learners' cultural resources are valued in, seemingly, tokenistic ways in the school (Section 5.2). Section 5.3 focuses on language and how, as an obvious cultural marker of students' difference, it remains devalued in schooling.

5.2 Valued capital in Class 5/6k

The two educators' acknowledgements of the value of students' diverse backgrounds and lived experiences, specifically their cultural and linguistic heritage, in the chapter's opening quotes bore little relation to my observations of the learning activities of Class 5/6k. My nearly 200 pages of field notes—covering a period of approximately five months—reveal that, such recognition did not feature prominently in these learning activities. In this section, I shall discuss the extent to which CALD students' cultural and linguistic resources were recognised (or otherwise) as sources of knowledge, drawing on key observation data at the level of school and classroom fields. Sylva and colleagues' (2006) work has highlighted the importance of attending to racial diversity and equality practices to understand CALD students' engagement in schooling. This work has helped direct my focus in the collection of data during fieldwork and the ensuing analysis. Consequently, in this section, I argue that Class 5/6k, and Upstream Primary School, more generally, do not have a robust and coherent learning plan that engages with CALD students' cultural and linguistic resources.

The first aspect of schooling I explore is related to the recruitment practices and personnel of Upstream Primary School. The initiative of employing "'ethnic

minority educators' in 'multi-ethnic areas'" is considered favourable in promoting racial awareness and equality (Sylva et al., 2006, p. 7). At Upstream, the principal attempted to achieve this by employing multilingual staff. In an interview, Mr Clark explained:

> If someone speaks a language other than English then, I hold them in good stead when it comes to applying for jobs here. I went out of my way to recruit another Dari-speaking person to cater to our Afghan community, and particularly that had good written skills in Afghan languages as well which is very handy for translating documents and things for [that] community. We have good staff who speak Serbian, Greek, Chinese, Spanish so, it's very handy. (Mr Clark, principal, Australian, English)

Although this initiative appears to value bilingual educators, Mr Clark's response above also suggests that the core value of these bilingual educators is confined to interpretation and translation. The hiring of multi-ethnic staff was primarily, to help ease misunderstandings in communication: their cultural and linguistic knowledge was not identified as a valuable resource for teaching and learning. Furthermore, as previously highlighted in Chapter III, teachers teaching Class 5/6k students were predominantly of Anglo-Australian background. Two exceptions were an EAL specialist teacher, Ms Kosta, who has a Greek background, and a teacher's aide, Ms Meyer who is of Dutch background.

Beyond staffing profiles, the lack of valuing of the linguistic resources in Class 5/6k was most evident in how the class teacher, Ms Wright, regarded students' languages. In analysing my field notes, I examined them for episodes where Class 5/6k teachers engaged with the students' linguistic resources to find few, very isolated instances. For example, during informal chats, often during snack break, Ms Wright would occasionally ask students to teach her common English expressions such as 'How are you?' in Dari or Fijian. I also recorded an episode in a numeracy lesson where Ms Wright asked the students to count

from one to ten in their home languages. Almost all student participants counted in a language other than English. However, apart from these remote episodes noted during my classroom observations, there were no other incidents of teachers showing interest in engaging with CALD students' home languages. These conditions of schooling demonstrate that valuing of CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources is "'accidental' or lack[ing] coherence" (Sylva et al., 2006, p. 7). Indeed, my observations of teaching in Class 5/6k over nearly five months confirm that English is the dominant language of learning with French as an additional or second language. Class 5/6k students attended French lessons once a week which were taught by another teacher, Ms Archer (as outlined in Chapter III). To use the conceptual language of Bourdieu, despite the wealth of linguistic resources within Class 5/6k, none of the CALD students' languages were formally given the status of linguistic capital.

The observed episodes described above reveal the lack of mobilisation of CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources in schooling. However, it must also be noted that the general absence of the use of home languages and students' cultural experiences pose ambiguity in interpretation. Such absences (as described in the episodes above), specifically, do not reveal the nuances or degrees of (de)valuing of the students' cultural and linguistic resources. Rather the episodes in this section set-up the need for further interrogation for how schooling mobilises these resources which are examined more deeply in the sections that follow (i.e., Section 5.3 and 5.4).

This issue of valuing students' own cultural and linguistic resources resonates strongly with the key theme of 'resourcing' as identified in the triad developed from the literature review. Through the lens of resourcing, the practices described above can be understood as linguistically subtractive for bi/multilingual students. Elaborated in Chapter II, 'subtractive bilingualism' refers to the process whereby schooling gradually erodes bilingual students'

skills and knowledge of their first language(s) in the process of promoting mastery in the second language (e.g., English) (Cummins, 1997; see also Valenzuela, 1999). As described above, there were very few opportunities for CALD learners in Class 5/6k to improve their bilingual skills as they developed their English competencies. Although experts in their home languages, they were constantly limited in opportunities to demonstrate this expertise. Had a wider range of languages been recognised in Class 5/6k, more students might be afforded opportunities to take on the position of co-authors of learning. Such is the fundamental argument of scholarly works that challenge 'deficit perspectives' of CALD learners and instead promote asset-perspectives (see, for example, Cummins, 1997; De La Luz Reyes, 1992; Delpit, 2006; Nieto, 1999; Gay, 2000). As extensively elaborated in Chapter II, these literatures significantly contributed to the conceptualisation of 'positionality' and 'resourcing' as key constructs in the 'teaching triad of participation'. However, Class 5/6k's 'resourcing' arrangements privilege languages of prestige, such as English and French—which are these students' second and third languages, respectively—making it inherently problematic for students to take on the role of co-authors of learning as they participate in learning. I offer a more in-depth understanding of this phenomenon in Class 5/6k in the focused discussion on languages in Section 5.4.

Given the focus on culture in my research, I explored the classroom "activities [designed by teachers] with the express purpose of promoting cultural understanding . . . . and understanding of difference" (Slyva et al., 2006, p. 37). The episodes in the previous chapter—'A learning pit' (Section 4.3.1) and 'Centring Mateen's experiences' (Section 4.3.2)—can be characterised as bearing similarities to the practices towards students' linguistic resources. That is, they were sporadic and not necessarily intentionally designed. In terms of resourcing, this shows there is a lack of adequate understanding of how

teachers can mobilise CALD learners' cultural backgrounds and experiences and subsequent lack of practices doing so.

My survey of Class 5/6k learning activities further supports this argument. For instance, I observed how Ms Wright streamed videos of 'Kid President' in the classroom during snack or lunch breaks. The show is hosted by an African American child giving pep talks about everyday life (see for example, SoulPancake, 2013). The activity could be, potentially, regarded as promoting cultural understanding had the case study been conducted in the context of African American students. However, in the context of Class 5/6k's diverse student population, this example may not necessarily represent the cultural backgrounds of the Class 5/6K students which included Arabic, Fijian, Russian, Malaysian, Samoan, Persian, Afghani, Indian, Pakistan, and Albanian (as outlined in Chapter III) but not African American. Whilst the CALD students, may be able to make connections with an African American child, having this as the only media consistently used in the classroom to represent a diverse background lacks representation of other culturally diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, showing these clips was relegated to breaktime; thus, falling outside formal teaching and learning. This is indicative of the lack of an established platform that prioritises and genuinely includes students' diverse cultural resources for classroom learning.

Another attempt at intercultural understanding was observed in Ms Wright's class during 'Refugee Week.' Ms Wright read 'My Two Blankets'; a story about a Sudanese immigrant moving to a new, English-speaking country where she feels different as she learns to talk and live differently (see Kobald & Blackwood, 2014). 'Refugee Week' is an annual, global celebration that Upstream observed. Celebrations like 'Refugee Week' afford spaces for students of refugee background to share their stories and be recognised as valuable members in the learning community (as illustrated in Mateen's case discussed in Section 4.3.2).

However, engagement with special events like Refugee Week can seem tokenistic as associated activities are relegated to a specified week, rather than being part of the everyday experiences of the students. During the observed period, Ms Wright's engagement with refugee themes was isolated to that one day during Refugee Week. She provided no other opportunity to discuss the story again in a deeper way. Events like 'Refugee Week' make diversity practices seem like an addendum or postscript to the whole-of-school approaches to learning. Again, this shows that, as argued earlier, there is, generally, a lack of systematic approach in Class 5/6k towards valuing the cultural backgrounds of its CALD learners.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, my field notes recorded more incorporation of students' cultural backgrounds in the EAL specialist class. The EAL class was a specialised classroom attended only by students identified as needing intensive English classes. Among this study's student participants, only Mateen, Roya (up to end of Term 1), and Amal (beginning of Term 2) attended this class. Recognition of students' cultural backgrounds in this class occurred through, for example, faith-based celebrations that included Ramadan, alongside Christmas and Easter. However, Islam and Christianity were the only two religious denominations recognised and celebrated in the EAL class I observed: other religious faiths such as Sikhism, which students like Ramis practice, were not given attention; nor was atheism. It may also be that, due to my limitations in time for conducting research, I missed the opportunity to observe other faith-related discussions. Nevertheless, given that the religious celebrations only occurred in EAL classes, not all students in Class 5/6k were exposed to these experiences. This again shows the lack of a consistent and coherent pedagogical approach in Class 5/6k to engage with the CALD learners' cultural backgrounds. The relevance of this finding to this thesis is significant and will be analysed further in the next section, where I examine one whole-of-school

event that aimed to engage with students' diverse cultural backgrounds (Section 5.3).

Although the episodes in the EAL class appear tokenistic in the context of a whole school approach, the EAL teachers' approaches to religious diversity reflect a theme around the 'resourcing' component in the teaching triad, emerging from the literature review. Unlike Ms Wright's discomfort towards discussing themes with religious intonations (see Section 4.3.1), the EAL teachers seem more comfortable engaging with students' multiple beliefs. This is suggestive of these teachers' openness towards mobilising students' cultural backgrounds as learning resources, including those with religious intonations, to facilitate participation of students. As an isolated practice manifested in the EAL classroom, this approach is not, however, fully supported at Upstream Primary School. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the school lacks a robust schooling mechanism to engage with cultural diversity to create a more inclusive culture of participation.

Taking another example, the EAL teachers' openness towards understanding the cultural backgrounds of their students is further supported by their reflections about making connections between students' home lives and the learning content in the classroom to increase student participation. In a joint interview, the two EAL teachers discussed their views on the mainstream classroom's discussion about the 2018 Olympics, which at the time of fieldwork was streamed live on TV (in February 2018). They shared:

> Ms Kosta (EAL specialist, Greek, Greek/ English): We assume a lot of things, but we actually need to know what they know before we can decide what we're going to teach because we assume that they know about things, like none of them knew what the Olympics were. Out of the 25 children in this room, no one have heard of the Olympics before.

Ms Thomas (EAL specialist, Australian, English): And I found out today, one of them doesn't have a TV or computer at home.

Ms Kosta: So, we can't assume. Yeah. So, that means we've got to make sure they know what we're talking about. If we're talking about Olympics, and they don't know what it is, they're not gonna understand much of it or any of it.

Ms Thomas: So that's what you'll perhaps find with our children, that when they're being spoken to that they'll disengage because they don't know what you're on about, or there's too much information coming to them that wants to try and work out what they're being told.

'Resourcing,' a component of the teaching triad, is manifested through the teachers' explanation about using the 'Olympics' as a starting point for classroom discussion to enable the participation of CALD learners. As Ms Kosta emphasises, "we actually need to know what they know before we can decide what we're going to teach". The Olympics may be a valid starting point in another schooling context, with a different student cohort, but not for the EAL class where none of the students had heard about the Olympics. The topic then becomes alienating and does not necessarily build on the prior knowledge of the students. The teachers' emphasis on engaging with and building on students' knowledge is reflective of the additive principle (Delpit, 2006; Gay, 2000). It also illustrates that understanding of students' cultural backgrounds expands to different home environments, such as where some have access to computers or television, but others do not. As the teachers discuss, this shapes the kinds of learning resources that students bring with them to school.

Relatedly, the teachers' acknowledgement that 'resourcing' needs to attend to students' home environments illustrates the aspect of 'positionality' in the teaching triad. The teachers articulated a need to understand students' prior knowledge to effectively create an inclusive culture of participation that encourages student engagement. This means that an asset-orientation towards CALD learners—that they have prior knowledge—can then guide teachers to

mobilise, within their teaching strategies, the resources of CALD students. This approach can then position CALD learners as co-authors of learning in the classroom, as having knowledge to share. This is also illustrated in the example of Mateen, a student of refugee background, whose increased participation in the EAL classroom was facilitated by centring his background experiences. Thus, attending to 'resourcing'—the mobilisation of CALD learners' resources in the classroom—facilitates students' participation as they become positioned as 'knowledge experts' rather than simply knowledge recipients.

The sporadic pattern of activities to engage with the diverse linguistic and cultural resources of CALD learners illuminates a classroom field where the CALD learners' resources are not considered as valuable capital. The picture that is painted is a subtractive schooling approach that work towards weakening students' connections with their cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Valenzuela, 1999; also discussed in Chapter II, Section 2.2.2). Notwithstanding, there remain attempts by teachers to position CALD learners as assets and mobilise their resources in both formal (i.e., EAL classroom) and informal spaces of learning (i.e., break time). However, the field that continues to prioritise the elite and dominant culture as valued capital can undermine the initiatives of the teachers.

This section has introduced the classroom as a field where English and Anglo-Australian cultural knowledge remains the valued capital. In the next two sections, I further examine what it means to be a CALD learner in this classroom field that values the dominant and elite culture. My discussion first focuses on culture (Section 5.3) then, second, on language (Section 5.4).

5.3 'Harmony Day': Tokenistic engagement with cultural and linguistic diversity

In this section, I interrogate a special event celebrated at Upstream in conjunction with a nationwide, national celebration of Australian multiculturalism called 'Harmony Day' (renamed 'Harmony Week' in 2019) (Australian Government DHA, 2020). I begin by discussing the school's performance of 'Harmony Day,' the only day throughout my fieldwork where the school had a concerted and purposive effort at engaging with the students' cultural and linguistic heritage. I then problematise this 'Harmony Day' celebration as a thin approach towards valuing multiculturalism that is restricted to students' experiences of the Muslim faith and is divorced from their experiences of multiculturalism. Following this, I demonstrate that students' multilingual practices are more sophisticated than how 'Harmony Day' programmes often portray bi/multilingualism. I argue that, in the context of students' dynamically diverse cultural and linguistic resources, Upstream Primary School's 'Harmony Day' seems tokenistic and inadequate in capturing multicultural and multilingual practices.

On March 21, 2018, as my field notes document, Upstream Primary School celebrated Harmony Day thus:

> **Harmony day.** At 12:30, the class heads to the assembly hall. A man from Timor Leste teaches the students how to play bongo drums. He calls Liana, Roya, and Samantha to perform in front of the big group. Ms Wright stands up from her chair and starts dancing with the beat. The session finishes at lunch break.
>
> After lunch break, the school gathers at the assembly hall. There are different stations representing different countries such as France, India, Greece, and Afghanistan. The school captains greet the students in different languages. Student performances feature Chinese and Samoan dances, Albanian songs, and English songs by the school choir,

> and students attending the EAL class. Ms Wright comments to me: 'Sometimes, these girls could be the shyest, but you look at them there …' as she points to the stage.
>
> The drumming group led by the Timor Leste instructor assembles the drums. Samantha and Emma are part of the group performing. The group starts the drumming performance and a few minutes later, one of the female teachers stands up and dances with another student. Very quickly, the rest of the students and teachers follow—dancing, clapping their hands, shouting, and chanting. The parents observing at the back are mostly smiling but others keep serious faces. One of the teachers unsuccessfully tries to pull one of the parents to dance with the students.

Upstream Primary School's Harmony Day celebration provided a glimpse of the possibilities in engaging with CALD learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds to facilitate students' participation. For instance, Ms Wright commented about how students were judged as "shy" actively participated in singing and dancing. The programme concluded with the drumming session which was dynamically participated by students, teachers and staff through dancing and cheering. I witnessed, in that instance, how a connection was built between educators and students expressed through dancing. However, a closer examination of the data above also reveals that the celebration did not include all cultural backgrounds. Based on my student participant profiles, for instance, Arabic (Amal), Russian (Harry), Persian (Mateen), Pakistani (Roya), and Fijian (Niko and Emma) origins were not represented, neither through the presentations nor the different display stands in the assembly hall. In this sense, we see the two ways that resourcing in the teaching triad are constrained or facilitated in Harmony Day. On the one hand, by letting students' cultural heritage take centre-stage, students were able to actively participate. However, the programme was still exclusive by not engaging with other cultural backgrounds such as the absences identified. This illuminates the limitations of a school-wide Harmony Day programme as the sole event in the academic calendar that attempts to show a valuing of students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

An issue related to resourcing is further demonstrated through the performance of 'Harmony Day' with a one-day celebration of diversity that lacked emphasis within the teaching and learning instruction. Particularly, there was no follow-up discussion in the classroom. It was only through the displays and presentations that students and teachers witnessed and learned about diverse cultures and languages but there was no space for productive discussion. In other words, opportunities for in-depth learning about different cultures and languages were missed. Initiatives like 'Harmony Day' occurred only once throughout my fieldwork that spanned 50% of the year's face-to-face teaching. Evidently, students' cultural and linguistic resources are not considered valued capital for learning but only meant to be showcased in a 'show-and-tell' approach. As such, this 'special event' approach appears tokenistic and is characterised by a thin engagement with CALD learners' background that lacked inclusivity and depth. Affirming the arguments earlier in this chapter (and in Chapter IV), although students clearly enjoy celebrating Harmony Day, there remains an absence of a coherent, routinised approach to valuing CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources that is not tokenistic.

The portrayal of culture through celebrations like 'Harmony Day' exposes a concern related to 'positionality' in the literature review's teaching triad. Programmes like Harmony Day have been criticised as portraying 'culture' as monolithic and static and as not necessarily engaging with how multiculturalism is embodied and enacted in the daily experiences of CALD groups (Knijnik & Spaaij, 2017). They tend to classify members of a particular culture based on characteristics—such as food, clothes, physical appearance—in an 'essentialised' way that may disregard variety and richness of individual experiences (Keddie, 2012). "When teachers engage their students in learning about the holidays, food, typical costumes, and art of their own and other cultures", it can portray culture as "homogenous and frozen in time" (Amanti,

2005, p. 131). Such essentialising can position students at a deficit. The deficit perspective arises from the inadequate understanding of CALD learners that does not engage with their dynamic and heterogenous identities. I explore this further below, focusing first on students' 'multicultural' identities, and, then, on students' 'multilingual' skills.

5.3.1 CALD learners' everyday multiculturalism and multilingualism

I ended the previous section by raising concerns over schooling practices, such as the Harmony Day celebration, that reinforce the concept of culture as static and fixed. Amanti (2005) further argues that:

> This special event approach to culture ignores and devalues the everyday experiences of many minoritised and immigrant students … who may not practice all of the traditions of their cultural past. This is also how stereotypes of other cultures are created. (p. 131)

Leaning on this argument, I demonstrate how a one-day event is inadequate at recognising the complex cultural and linguistic experiences of the CALD learners in Class 5/6k. The narratives of this project's student participants reflect lifeworlds that are complex, thick, and vibrant. I begin by examining the cultural narratives of some student participants around the Muslim religious tradition.

Diverging cultural narratives on the Muslim faith

The narratives in this section contain themes about the Muslim faith, a faith practiced by many students in Class 5/6k and at least three of the research participants. This included Leo, who is of Malaysian cultural background,

Samantha of Albanian background, and Parisa of Afghani background. I was doing fieldwork at the time of Ramadan and was informed by Ms Wright about some students who were observing fasting. On the day of Eid al-Fitr (June 15, 2018), which fell on my classroom observation day, I noted the relatively high number of student absences to celebrate the event. This theme on Muslim religious practice emerged organically within my chats and interviews with some of the student participants, led and initiated by them. This is illustrative of the centrality of the Muslim faith in these students' lived experiences and in their understandings of the world.

Students' narratives indicated fluid practices related to the Muslim faith. For instance, student participant Leo, talked about practicing religion flexibly in his home. In our conversation, Leo and I were making comparisons about Malaysian and Filipino languages. He then explained that he lived in a bicultural household as his father is Australian, and his mother is Malaysian. Leo speaks Malay fluently and used to attend a Malay community school. He gave an insight about how he practiced Islam:

> Leo (Russain, Russain): When I had to go to the houses for Eid, I can speak [Malay].
> Bonita: So you practice Eid? Can you tell me about it?
> Leo: It's like where you like, you can go like Eid. It's where you go to these houses and like, you greet them. It's like Christmas for Muslim.
> Bonita: Are you Muslim?
> Leo: Yeah. I go to Friday prayer sometimes. Sometimes my cousin, and sometimes with my mum.
> Bonita: Both your parents are Muslim?
> Leo: My dad's not.

Leo's narrative depicts a person who navigates different belief systems with only one parent involved in practicing the Muslim faith. He describes a home life that seems to exhibit cultural pluralism where Leo inhabits a hybridised

identity. Leo speaks about the diverse ways of expressing faith in a household where both parents practice different faiths. He likens Eid to Christmas and shows acknowledgement of how his lived experiences are informed by these two faiths and he has found intersections in how these faiths are traditionally lived out. Here, we see how Leo's religiously plural home situation enables him to reflect across different religious faiths. His discourse demonstrates an ability to discuss his relation to these religions in an interestingly comparative way.

My conversation with another student, Samantha, also led to a discussion about her Muslim faith. We were talking in the playground about her chores and what her family does together when she mentioned something about not fasting during the Ramadan period. She explained her practice:

> Bonita: Are you Muslim?
>
> Samantha: Not so much, because I don't wear the hijab. And uhm, I don't fast as much. I need food. . . . We don't pray either. So, yeah. My mum has the practicing prayer mat.
>
> Bonita: Do you talk about it in class?
>
> Samantha: I used to talk a lot in the classroom about my religion. How I started off to become Muslim and 'cause I wasn't Muslim like when I was like 5, 4 years old. Uhm then, I went with my mum. And then, she's like, 'We're converting to Islam.' And I'm like, 'Okay.'
>
> Bonita: How did that feel?
>
> Samantha: It was kind of surprising. And then, after a while, I'm like, this isn't so bad. . . .I mean, apart from not celebrating Christmas, and Easter, and stuff which is okay, but uhm, it was okay. I like the religion. (laughs)

Samantha's responses above shows another facet about her understanding of becoming Muslim. In a separate conversation, Samantha disclosed that her mother converted to Islam because her then-stepfather was Muslim. She then indicated that she considered the Muslim faith as central to her identity, a conversation that she used to talk about in the classroom. Samantha's

descriptions about how to practice Islam did not include fasting or praying but it meant that they abstained from participating in Christian traditions such as Christmas and Easter. For her, this conversion to the Muslim faith is something she enjoys. Samantha shows ease and comfort in transitioning across different religious practices. She talks about this practice as being non-contentious or controversial within her and her family unit.

The complex dynamics around the Muslim identity is further revealed in the subjective experiences narrated by another student participant, Parisa. In an interview, as we talked about books written about her culture, Parisa disclosed some of her reflections about the Muslim faith in which she has been raised. She shared:

> Parisa: I was reading. It wasn't really in a different language. I was reading one, but it wasn't like interesting. It was about a prophet. I don't wanna read it though.
>
> Bonita: Why?
>
> Parisa: I don't know. I don't, 'cause like, sometimes when I'm at home, I feel like. How do you know God is, I don't know, God is real. 'Cause like, yeah, how is it proven? So, that's what I think to myself. My mum tells me never to think that because it's not good. But yeah. So, I don't know. That's why I don't really think about it that much. I mean, I do think. I do believe. It's just kind of confusing. How do people know? That's what I think about. But if I thought of something like that, I'd get in big trouble. So that's why I tell my mum.
>
> Bonita: You will get in big trouble with your dad?
>
> Parisa: Yeah, because he's like, more religious.
>
> Bonita: What about your mum?
>
> Parisa: I don't know. She's more nice, and she wouldn't get angry. But she would tell me, 'Don't think about this stuff.' She just convince me.

Parisa's discussion above articulated her critical deliberations about her family's religious beliefs and her questioning of the existence of an invisible, omnipotent being that forms the base of not only her religion but many religions. Parisa demonstrated a sophisticated way of speaking about

religions—an issue that has long-been debated, often fueling the dichotomy between Science and religion. She also talked about navigating her emotions as she confronts these issues at home and how this is received by her parents.

'Resourcing' is illustrated through the students' ability to talk interestingly, and sophisticatedly about their relationship to religion in a way that is not controversial for them. Their narratives illustrate the divergent ways that they understand and experience the Muslim faith in their daily lives. These students convey dynamism, variety, and fluidity. In their narratives, we can hear their ease in talking about their experiences with religion: they do not seem compromised or uneasy bringing up the topic (with a researcher). From a 'funds of knowledge' perspective—one that extends the concept of capital to include the extensive resources of 'Other' students (Zipin, 2009)—students' narratives of Muslim practices captured in this section suggest the individual or identity dimension of knowledge funds. We can see here how students are crafting and shaping their subjectivities as having Muslim identities that are constantly negotiated and open to modification in their daily practices. They are exhibiting funds of knowledge, based on inherited cultural tradition, and their appreciation and understandings of it in their present lives. The students' subjective experiences, therefore, offer insights into the ways they are mobilising their cultural experiences to provide an understanding about their everyday lives. In other words, these are forms of inherent resources or capital within these students with the potential to be mobilised for learning.

Within the confines of the classroom, however, how faith-based topics are perceived can manifest an issue around positionality in the teaching triad. In Chapter IV, I analysed a lesson episode I refer to as 'A learning pit', where Ms Wright reacted uncomfortably to student participant, Roya, sharing her beliefs about God. Ms Wright's succeeding interview about the episode suggested her uneasiness towards faith-based topics, in general, which she does not welcome

in classroom discussions. In particular, Ms Wright's elaboration of the Muslim faith seemed an essentialised version of the practice, where her description was solely based on the gender relations between males and females. The discussion in this section strengthens the argument that teachers' lack of understanding about students' cultural backgrounds can nurture deficit perspectives.

The issue around 'positionality' in relation to CALD learners' faith-based funds of knowledge intersects with the teaching triad aspect of 'resourcing'. The students' responses show that their experiences with the religion is thick, varied, and intricate and is a conversational piece with which they are comfortable. As such, Ms Wright's resolve to not actively engage with faith-based topics dovetails with a culturally subtractive form of schooling (Valenzuela, 1999; see also Chapter II, Section 2.2.2). This subtractive dimension results in a missed opportunity to build on students' confidence to speak about this topic in the classroom. These knowledge funds are not considered as capital in Class 5/6k and are not, therefore, taken up in the teaching environment. This affirms the argument in the previous section that the valued capital in the classroom field is exclusive of CALD learners' cultural backgrounds.

The interrelated issues surrounding 'positionality' and 'resourcing', discussed above, also have implications for 'sociality', the third concept in the teaching triad. Considering Ms Wright's background of teaching at Upstream for over ten years, she seems to lack in-depth knowledge about her students' lived experiences. This lack appeared to (mis)guide her portrayal of the Muslim culture as solely based on gender roles, which is quite different from the experiences the three students shared with me. This relates to my discussion on 'sociality' in Chapter II. That is, despite her long history at Upstream, Ms Wright does not seem to have learned much about what her students think and feel about their cultural backgrounds. Thus, students' lives, with which teachers

can potentially build rapport by showing their interest, seem untapped, leaving teachers and students disconnected. Perhaps because students' cultural resources are not considered as capital in Class 5/6k, teachers tended to overlook these cultural backgrounds as conversational pieces from which to build rapport with students. These cultural backgrounds are, instead, pushed to the side of schooling, only to be remembered during national days of observance such as 'Harmony Day'. It seems that Ms Wright's lack of engagement and in-depth understanding about her students' backgrounds is partially at a least a consequence of a whole-of-school approach that does not mobilise or engage with CALD learners' diversity.

This discussion showed the triad of 'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality' operate interactively to shape the practice of participation in a CALD classroom. I have demonstrated across the discussion of the three constructs in the triad that Upstream Primary School's 'Harmony Day' initiative is a tokenistic approach to valuing cultural and linguistic diversity. The event does not account for the plural ways that CALD learners experience their culture, as discussed in this section, nor their linguistic backgrounds which I elaborate in the next section.

Narratives of dynamic bi/multilingualism

Building on the argument above, this section further demonstrates that 'special event' programmes inadequately capture the depth of linguistic experiences that bi/multilingual students bring with them to school. Instead, such activities portray students' linguistic resources (i.e., English and home languages) as static and isolated, neither interacting with nor integrated in how CALD learners use them. By comparison, the students' narratives highlighted in this

section demonstrate that CALD learners' linguistic repertoires are better captured as fluid and actively intertwined.

Students' narratives signify they simultaneously tap into multiple linguistic resources in their daily communicative practices. Harry, for instance, who speaks English and Russian, explains the different mechanisms he uses to deploy his linguistic skills, based on contextual cues.

> [I speak] Russian and English to my mum. Well, in my mum's house, we like combine it. Like if I or someone can't say like a word in Russian or English, we just like, we just change the thing. So, yeah. But in my grandma's house, we only speak Russian. (Harry, Russian, Russian)

Harry was born in Australia and both of his parents are of Russian descent. His reference to combining Russian and English at times and only speaking Russian on other occasions signifies his versatility in using different languages in different contexts. Harry's narrative suggests that CALD learners' linguistic resources are not mobilised in discrete ways but, rather, are integrated and responsive according to social contexts.

Students' historical narratives also illustrate the dynamism of CALD learners' linguistic competencies, as in the case of Roya. Roya was born in Pakistan and her parents come from Afghanistan. Roya's pattern of migration resembles that of many asylum-seekers coming from Afghanistan who pass through Pakistan before arriving in Australia (HRW, 2002). Roya's multifaceted linguistic background, acquired through her historical experiences, is captured during an interview:

> I speak English, a little bit of Urdu, and Dari. . . Sometimes my dad get angry, 'Why do you guys speak thingy - English?' And then, she says, 'You need to go to Farsi school', but then we're like, we say, 'No.' Because in Pakistan, we went to Urdu school. We didn't went to Farsi school, yeah. Because in Urdu school, you get to learn English as

> well with it. When Farsi, it's too hard as well. You have to have different languages. (Roya, Afghani & Pakistani, Urdu/Hindi/Dari/Farsi/Hazaragi)

Another facet of CALD learners' linguistic knowledge emerges in narratives regarding these students' role in assisting and teaching older members of their home and communities, such as their parents. Below are two excerpts demonstrating this role:

> My mum, she wants to be uhm, she wants me to like uhm, talk a lot of English so I can teach her including like Arabic, you know. (Amal, Arabic, Arabic)

> My dad tells me, 'Can you like teach me?' I just say meanings. . . . And then, I tell in [my] own country, what it means. And sometimes if my dad gets like text messages, he doesn't understand, he sometimes tells me what this means. And I just say what it means in my own Persian. . . . He says it in Persian, then I write it in English. (Mateen, Iranian, Persian)

These experiences shared by Amal and Mateen reinforce what has been suggested; that CALD learners' linguistic skills are intricate and dynamic. These students tap into multiple linguistic skills in their everyday practices. They do so by constantly switching between two languages. Again, we see how languages are mobilised by these bilingual students in more fluid, rather than discrete, ways. In the quotes above, Amal and Mateen, highlight how they are taking on the role of language teachers or experts in their household. This illustrates how students are positioned as knowledgeable experts in the home by virtue of their ability to bring together English and home languages.

The students' narratives above show the implications around 'resourcing' to CALD students' participation. The students' use of languages suggest fluidity, echoing notions of 'translanguaging' or the idea that individuals tap into multiple linguistic channels as they participate in discourses (García & Lin, 2017; García & Wei, 2014). It also resonates with what Cummins (2017) refers as

'active bilingualism' or the fluidity and vibrancy of linguistic practices. This dynamism in bi/multilingual practices, as narrated by the CALD students, manifests in diverse ways. It manifests in the ways CALD students selectively mobilise their languages in specific discursive contexts (Harry); in students' learning two languages simultaneously (Roya); and in how they cross-translate—from home language to English then vice-versa (Amal and Mateen). These narratives of bi/multilingualism demonstrate how CALD learners spontaneously inhabit the position of knowledge producers by drawing from their linguistic backgrounds.

The intricate ways that bi/multilingual students mobilise their linguistic resources to produce knowledge in their lives beyond the classroom seems to be in sharp contrast to how the same resources are mobilised by their teachers for classroom learning. The findings in this section extends the previous section's arguments by highlighting the shortcomings of Upstream Primary School's 'Harmony Day' celebration in the context of everyday multilingual practices of its students. The Harmony Day celebration I witnessed in Upstream Primary School reified the students' home languages as discreet entities, performed through traditional songs or common phrases (e.g., "How are you?", "Good morning!"). Such celebrations regard students' resources as exotic and work against positioning the home language as an equally valuable, 'everyday', meaning-making resource that students can draw on as they participate in learning. Effectively, schooling that celebrates diversity in this manner—tokenistic and without recognition of CALD learners' linguistic resources—according to the literature on resourcing (discussed in Chapter II to develop the teaching triad) demonstrates 'subtractive bilingualism' (Cummins, 1996, 1997). Such subtractive conditions of schooling constrain students' full participation into learning. This is because, as demonstrated above, students' draw from multiple linguistic resources for knowledge creation in an integrated manner.

Students' use of various linguistic resources in the home also brings to light an issue related to the construct of 'sociality' (in the teaching triad) for CALD students' participation. Students' narratives demonstrate the ways they mobilise different languages to build a sense of connectedness with family members and extended relatives, as in the case of Harry and his Russian relations. Yet this potential for home languages to strengthen social dynamics did not appear developed in the classroom. This is because, as highlighted earlier, there are no opportunities embedded within classroom learning to engage with students' linguistic resources. Consequently, there is a lack of valuing of students' home languages and missed opportunities to mobilise the linguistic resources for students to participate as co-authors of learning.

The absence of formalised, regular classroom practices that recognise and value students' linguistic resources emphasises the constraints to CALD learners' participation in the classroom. Despite the educators' acknowledgement of students' diversity in Upstream, Class 5/6k's classroom practices are best described as very much still monolingual and monocultural. Clearly, the capital valued in the classroom field excludes the linguistic resources of CALD learners. I turn to examine this aspect of the classroom field next, focusing on a key issue around language.

5.4 (Mis)Conceptions regarding CALD learners' home languages

The previous sections have highlighted how, despite students' diverse linguistic resources, opportunities to use this knowledge and skills were tokenistic and sub-optimal. The 'Harmony Day' celebration (Section 5.3) and isolated classroom discussions (Section 5.2) were the only opportunities for students to actively engage with their home languages; and both depicted students'

linguistic skills as static. In this section, I further demonstrate the lack of valuing in teaching practices that recognise English as the only language of learning, and French as the only 'additional language' within the curriculum. I illustrate that the existing teaching approach in Class 5/6k perpetuates missed opportunities to build on students' linguistic knowledge and facilitate their co-authoring, participant roles. I explore two aspects of how students' first language was managed in the classroom. The first is when the use of home languages was discouraged because it was perceived as not valuable to learning. The second is when teachers felt that students' use of home languages had the potential to exclude the teachers and other peers in the classroom. Further, this section illustrates how the lack of a coherent and robust scheme in Class 5/6k to engage with CALD learners' linguistic resources seems, to use a Bourdieusian reference, 'symbolically violent' towards CALD learners.

In the interviews with students, it became apparent that some saw their home languages as 'inappropriate' for use in the classroom. Ramis, who speaks three languages other than English (i.e., Punjabi, Hindi, and Urdu), is an example of this. Born in India, Ramis' family moved to Australia when he was one year old. Although he speaks these three languages with immediate family members and relatives, he shared that he does not speak these languages "much in school because the teachers tell [the students] to speak English". He explained:

> We already speak it in the yard, and the teachers are happy with it. Mostly they are happy with it, but if you speak it more, the other students feel like that 'What are they saying? Maybe they're saying something bad to us. Maybe they're saying something good to us.' (Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu)

Ramis' statement above was confirmed by another multilingual student, Roya, who speaks Hindi, Farsi, Hazaragi, Urdu, and Dari. Roya's parents, originally from Afghanistan before moving to Pakistan, speak Hazaragi at home. Roya was

born in Pakistan where she learned to speak Hindi and Urdu before migrating to Australia at eight years old. She shared:

> 'Cuz it's not, like previous our teacher get angry, like, 'Speak English. Speak English.' Sometimes when they start saying, 'speak English because we wanna understand you, what you're talking about'; and then, yeah, we just talk a little bit of whispering to each other. (Roya, Afghani & Pakistani, Urdu/Hindi/Dari/Farsi/Hazaragi)

These students' statements suggested a general school climate whereby CALD learners' use of home languages was generally prohibited. Although Ramis and Roya stated they found ways to circumvent the teachers' insistence on using English, they both held an understanding that speaking in their home languages can potentially exclude others. As they shared, teachers want to know "what you're talking about," and if "they're [i.e., bi/multilingual students] saying something bad to us [i.e., those who don't understand]". The students' quotes above indicate that teachers appear to enforce a policy that discourages the use of home languages in the school.

Teachers shared that they were, indeed, imposing a rule against students' use of home languages even though there was no official school policy stipulating this. Except for the class teacher, Ms Wright, all teachers I interviewed explicitly prohibited the use of other languages in the classroom. The EAL specialist teacher, Ms Kosta, explained that there is no such "rule like you can't speak your own language, but we encourage them to. . . . We encourage them not to speak their own language." The teacher aide, Ms Meyer, also encouraged students to only speak English in the classroom, explaining that she has "not seen a written policy, but that's the way [she does] it." Although Mr Williams, the ICT specialist teacher, admitted to implementing such a rule, he shared his discomfort in an interview, as below:

> I've worked here for only a couple of years, and I always feel bad telling students not to [speak in their home languages]. But I do, I feel bad. It's like English, it feels like some kind of nationalist or something that's horrible. (Mr Williams, IT specialist, Australian, English)

Teachers acknowledged the absence of a formal school language policy. As assistant principal Ms Duri, who has been working at Upstream for approximately fifteen years, asserted, it was "definitely not a school policy". Nonetheless, the teachers had a shared understanding that English must always be spoken in the classroom. The principal, Mr Clark, relatively new to the school when I interviewed him explained:

> I don't think there's any rules around, no definitely, I don't think we say to them you must speak English. Obviously, the classroom teachers talk in English, but maybe they might have their own little side chats in particular languages. . . . I've been here two years and I've never heard us talk about having a rule around kids not speaking their own language. . . . I don't really know, but if there are teachers saying that, telling kids not to speak their own language, I would imagine would come down to maybe an insecurity or something on the teacher's behalf. That's the only reason I could think of they might do that. (Mr Clark, principal, Australian, English)

From the perspectives of both teachers and students, there seems to be general agreement that English is the only language permissible in the classroom. This is so except for Ms Wright. As discussed above (Section 5.2), Ms Wright showed interest in learning the students' home languages, but her approaches did not fully engage with the languages deeply. In short, English is the only language deemed capital in Class 5/6k's classroom field. This further validates the previous argument that teaching practices in Class 5/6k are linguistically subtractive.

As highlighted earlier, these subtractive conditions illuminate a key issue of resourcing in the teaching triad. A classroom field that does not value CALD

students' prior knowledge and skills—or does not recognise the multilingual skills as valued capital for learning—can position students as passive participants or recipients of knowledge. Here, the influence of resourcing on positionality, two constructs in the teaching triad, emerges. A classroom field that does not mobilise the linguistic resources of CALD learners has implications for the ways CALD learners can inhabit the position of 'co-authors of learning' in the classroom—a positioning of students that the teachers of Class 5/6k endeavoured to achieve (as discussed in Chapter IV, Section 4.3).

Considering that Upstream Primary had no policy prohibiting the use of other languages in the classroom, it becomes important to understand why most teachers nevertheless seem to be imposing this unwritten, 'English-only' rule. Such rule continues the subtractive bilingualism legacy of assimilationist policies that are enforced variably throughout history (Cummins, 1996; Nieto, 1999; see also my elaboration in Chapter II, Section 2.1.2). As I shall explore in the next section, based on teachers' perspectives: (i) students' home languages were not seen as valuable to learning; and (ii) teachers felt that students' speaking in their home languages had the potential to exclude teachers and other peers in the classroom.

5.4.1 Teachers' perspectives: Students' home languages as barriers to learning

Teachers' perspectives about students' use of their home languages can be categorised along two threads. The first relates to the ways CALD learners' home languages are perceived as a barrier to students' mastery of English language. The other is the assumption that home languages can foster exclusion among members in the learning community. I elaborate below how

these perspectives illuminate issues related to the concepts in the teaching triad.

CALD learners' home languages as obstructing English acquisition

For some teachers in this study, prohibiting students' use of languages other than English appeared to stem from a perception that being immersed in the English language develops mastery; thus, the use of other languages in the classroom interferes with English language acquisition. For instance, Mr Williams, whose earlier quote revealed unease about enforcing the English-only rule, went on to explain:

> I guess, as we want to be working on their English language skills, then we want to encourage them even though it is probably harder for them to express that thought in English, we still wanna help them do that and if they're just using their home language, then, they're not pushing themselves. . . . We want to push their English and make sure they're practicing. (Mr Williams, ICT specialist, Australian, English)

The assumption that students must only speak English to improve their English skills was also expressed by the EAL specialist teacher, Ms Thomas. When asked whether she allowed students to speak their home languages in the classroom, she replied:

> When children aren't able to express themselves, yes, but when they're working in here, they're asked to speak English because the more they practice, the more fluent they'll become. And so, if they just speak their own language all the time, they're not learning. (Ms Thomas, EAL specialist, Australian, English)

Both quotes above emphasise how speaking in English is the primary measurement of learning. This perspective echoes international research that

found teachers tend to devalue home languages for students' learning (e.g., Karabernick & Clemen, 2004; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; see also Chapter II, Section 2.2.1). It is thought that students who are using or speaking their home languages are "not pushing themselves" or "they're not learning." For these teachers, mastery of a second language, such as English, is challenging to achieve when there is 'interference' from their first or home language.

Teachers' assumptions about the detrimental impact of students' home languages to English acquisition, and learning in general, exposes an issue related to 'resourcing'. That is, teachers are missing opportunities to build on students' linguistic resources in second language acquisition in the way that current research acknowledges. For instance, the multilingual turn in language education has highlighted advances in theory and practice that shows advantages of additive approaches to language acquisition (Turner & Cross, 2016). This includes 'mother-tongue-based, multilingual education' that has been implemented in many national contexts (e.g. Philippines, Nepal; see Pouezevara, 2018), or the use of multiple languages in teaching as in many European countries (Turner & Cross, 2016). Deficit views about CALD learners' home languages, seemingly held by Class 5/6k teachers, are outdated and ill-informed by contemporary research on bi/multilingualism teaching approaches. A deficit perspective illuminates a conflict relating to 'positionality'. It reveals that students' linguistic resources—a hallmark of their identities—are considered a hindrance when measured solely against English as the yardstick of their knowledge. Effectively, they are perceived as entering classrooms with inadequate knowledge and resources.

The intimate link between the two constructs, 'positionality' and 'resourcing', is further illustrated through teachers' assumptions about the linguistic resources of CALD learners. Teachers' assumptions, which have guided their implementation of an 'English-only' rule in the classroom relate to deficit

perspectives about the students' linguistic knowledge and skills. Ms Kosta, for instance, in talking about newly arrived migrants, shared:

> They've had interrupted schooling and they may have had no schooling and that's in their own language. If they've been in Pakistan, they've done English. . . . There are so many gaps in the learning. A lot of them spent time in detention camps. So, there was no schooling there. They may have a little bit. Some basic English, and then they would move them maybe to a language school. (Ms Kosta, EAL specialist, Greek, Greek/English)

'Positionality' of CALD learners' linguistic resources comes through in Ms Kosta's quotes above. Ms Kosta's response can be understood as coming from a concern for students who have little English background, and their abilities to succeed in school. However, when examined through the lens of 'positionality', the quote above carries deficit tones. Ms Kosta seems to categorise schooling in another language, as well as language learned during schooling while in detention, as equating to "no schooling". Arguably, there are questions about the quality of schooling, wherever schooling takes place. Yet, Ms Kosta's statement above indicates English is the only measure of quality schooling. Following her argument, other forms of schooling in a different language—such as Roya who learned English and Urdu simultaneously in Pakistan or Leo who attended Malaysian community language school—are not valuable learning experiences. Ms Kosta's narrative suggests that learning can only happen within an 'English-only' environment. These deficit perspectives reveal a 'positionality' problem whereby CALD learners are positioned as lacking in knowledge and not bearing knowledge assets that teachers can capitalise on in the classroom.

Teachers' deficit positioning of CALD learners' is, further, manifested in teachers' construction of students' bi/multilingualism. Class teacher, Ms Wright, for instance, when discussing her understanding of her students' use of multiple languages shared:

> They're learning English here and they go home and speak a different language. It's a whole different brain thing that they've got to go through. . . . 'Cause that makes a difference especially at home if the parents don't speak English. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

Ms Wright's statement above echoes deficit perspectives. When she highlights the "different brain thing" that students go through, she presents this bi/multilingual attribute as problematic rather than an asset. Her lamentations align with Delpit's (2006) argument that often the resources of CALD students are perceived as problems requiring fixing. Ms Wright articulates bi/multilingualism as a liability. However, these dynamic bi/multilingual skills can, instead, be appreciated as valuable forms of knowledge and skills that these students possess (as discussed in Section 5.2.1). This deficit view of students' dynamic use of their linguistic resources again unveils another issue that challenges positioning CALD learners as assets.

The impact of 'positionality' on 'resourcing' is illuminated in the teachers' perspectives of students they articulated in their reasons for imposing an 'English-only' rule. The statements of the four teachers discussed above—three of which are of Anglo-Australian and one of Greek-Australian backgrounds—communicate their deficit stance towards CALD learners' linguistic backgrounds. Specifically, they reflect an understanding that learning can only occur when transmitted through an English medium of instruction. Consequently, these perspectives have facilitated a linguistically subtractive schooling condition. Class 5/6k's learning community is one where students are required to suppress the use of their linguistic knowledge and skills. The data again reiterates that English is the valued capital in the classroom with all other linguistic resources given an inferior value (French, the school's additional language, sits between English as the superior language and 'the rest' as inferior). In the next section, I discuss another reason behind teachers' English-

only policy that is, again, in-tune with a deficit stance towards languages other than English.

A lack of trust in CALD learners' use of home languages

The second reason highlighted by teachers for imposing an English-only rule revolves around the perspective that students may be speaking in their home languages to gossip or talk about something with negative connotations. This perspective, analysed through the lens of sociality, has implications for building a sense of community in a CALD classroom.

For some teachers, CALD students' use of various home languages in school was seen as potentially excluding others. It was, therefore, perceived as being rude to those who do not understand the language. For instance, the teacher aide, Ms Meyer, elaborated on her reasons for adhering to the English-only rule:

> I don't know what you're discussing and people here with you don't know what you're talking about. And I said sometimes, you know what, you could be talking about us and we wouldn't know. Oh, but Miss, we're not.' And I said, 'I know you're probably not, but when you speak a different language, how do we know what you're saying? You could be being very rude or very nice. I don't know.' I said, 'I think out of respect for the other children and the adults, you don't speak your language. I would prefer you spoke English.' I said, 'When you go outside, recess and lunch, you can speak your language with your friends.' I'm not worried about that, but in the classroom, I would like English because that is the one common language that binds us all. . . . I mean, I don't know what they're doing. No doubt they're just discussing something light-hearted, but I think it's just out of respect. (Ms Meyer, teacher aide, Dutch, Dutch/English)

Ms Meyer's comments above are consistent with the points made by Ramis and Roya earlier about why teachers often discourage them from speaking their home languages in the classroom. Ms Meyer's statements above delineate where home languages are permissible, that is, during lunch and snack break, but not within the confines of the classroom. Again, this statement makes it clear that English is the only capital valued in the classroom field. Moreover, these students' home languages can be portrayed, as Ms Meyer did, as tools for excluding others, and potentially for discussing something 'rude'. This deficit perspective towards home languages can constrain CALD learners' participation in such a way that they are unable to draw from their linguistic resources as they learn.

The class teacher, Ms Wright, also expressed the idea that students' home languages can be used for negative purposes. She explained during an interview:

> If they're sitting there talking in their own language, I'd never stop it. Unless if I thought though that they were using their own language for bad, like something bad. You can tell by their body language. You can tell by their faces, especially if they're like trying to (whispering gesture). If they're just openly talking, and they'll tell. They feel safe enough. They feel safe enough to say, 'Hey, they're swearing in their language.' The kids will tell. (Ms Wright, class teacher, Australian, English)

Ms Wright's comments gesture towards the connected way that 'positionality' and 'sociality' function. Ms Wright points out that, given a safe space, monitoring what students are speaking about is unnecessary, as they can openly express to the teachers their ideas. Ms Wright's non-adherence to the English-only rule and her belief that students can be trusted paints a slightly different picture from that of Ms Meyer. Ms Wright acknowledges the possibility that students' use of home languages can be used for negative purposes, a perspective that carries deficit tones. However, Ms Wright implies

that building a sense of mutual trust can help ease these deficit perspectives. This illustrates the relationship between 'sociality' and 'positionality'. That is, the social dynamics nurtured in the classroom can shape teachers' perspectives about CALD learners and their linguistic resources.

Teachers' lack of trust towards students' use of their home languages raises an important issue around 'sociality' and how students are positioned in the classroom. A lack of trust from teachers constrains students' capacities to take on an active participant role in the classroom. As indicated previously, students create knowledge through an integration with their linguistic repertoire—a manifestation of translanguaging (García & Lin, 2017; García & Wei, 2014) or active bilingualism (Cummins, 2017). These ways of participating in learning are constrained, however, due to teachers' judgement that students are causing divisiveness by using their home languages in school. In the next section, to further problematise the English-only rule in Class 5/6k, I examine students' perspectives about their home languages.

5.4.2 Students perspectives: CALD learners' home languages as valuable to learning

In contrast to teachers' perspectives that home languages have little value in the classroom field, students' own perspectives emphasise the significance of learning other languages to their home life, school life, and aspirations. Samantha, for instance, who is of Albanian cultural background but only speaks English, expressed a desire to learn her peers' language, particularly Dari, a popular language in Upstream where there is a significant number of Afghani students. Samantha explained:

> I'd like to learn, I don't know how to say it, Dari? I wanna learn that because I wanna know what the people are saying at school. 'Cause they talk, like in our class, most of them, they'll all go like, 'ah-bara-bara-ba' and I don't know what they're saying. And I don't know if they're talking about me or other people, 'cause I don't like it when people talk about other people bad. Yeah, they talk about other people and stuff. Like if I understood, I'd be like, 'No, no, no, no!' (Samantha, Albanian, English)

Samantha's response offer insights on how the learning community with respect to CALD learners' linguistic resources might be (re)conceived. Samantha seems to share some of the teachers' perspectives in the previous section; that is, home languages might be used by other students to "talk about other people [in a] bad [way]". In addition, Samantha's perspective offers an insight into what may be possible in the field in terms of opening up the linguistic capital to include, in this case, Dari which is a predominant spoken language in the school.

Samantha's response illustrates the links between 'resourcing' and 'sociality'. In terms of 'resourcing', she puts value on a linguistically additive approach to schooling whereby Dari, a home language, can be given the status of a language of learning. Doing so also relates to 'sociality' where Samantha expressed that learning her schoolmates' language can enhance her interactions with them. Although she asserted her dislike for people talking behind her back, she also signalled openness to productive communication; not by asking other students to stop using their languages but, instead, by showing interest in learning their language.

For several CALD students, maintaining their home languages was central to their home lives and their connection to their origins. These themes were expressed by students in relation to how they foresaw aspects of their future lives. For instance, Ramis talks about the significance of maintaining his home languages to converse with distant relatives:

> When my grandpa calls me, when my grandma, grandpa calls me they speak in my language. So, if I'm not able to speak my language, how would I speak to them? (Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu)

For some students, developing their competencies in their home languages is closely tied to their aspirations. Mateen, for instance, who, along with his family, as described in Chapter IV, is of refugee background and still waiting on approval for an Australian passport, shared:

> I'm like starting to forget my own language 'cause I'm learning too much of English. I'm starting to forget my own one. . . . It would be kind of sad because if maybe if we get our own passport, and go to our own country, and I don't know how to speak. It would be harder. (Mateen, Iranian, Persian)

Like Mateen, other students also talked about the importance of knowing the language of their origins as part of how they envision their future lives. These are expressed in students' quotes below:

> 'Cause I'd like to learn more about my language. . . . So, 'cause my mum wants me to move to, uhm, move to Samoa for my dad. . . . So, just in case I go to shops in Samoa when I grow up, and they ask, they speak Samoan and I don't know what they're saying, and I just keep saying yes. And then, so, I think it's really important to learn my own language. (Liana, Samoan, Samoan)

> I find it good 'cause then, I can maybe learn. Because in the future I might need to, like, if I need to, like, 'cause I might go to my country. So, I won't know how to talk to my relatives if I didn't know how to like speak to that other language. (Parisa, Afghani, Dari)

Students' perspectives, as quoted above, emphasise the value of different home languages to building social connectedness within the confines of the classroom, and outside in their home lives. These were articulated in different

ways. For Samantha, learning Dari meant being able to interact more productively with peers in the school. For Ramis, his home languages allow him to maintain his relations with relatives overseas. For Mateen, Liana, and Parisa, maintaining their home languages is part of their aspirations for the future. These themes highlight the value of CALD learners' home languages to addressing the social dynamics in the classroom, a potential that is suppressed by the 'English-only' rule.

The scenario depicted in the above Section 5.4.1 where CALD learners are perceived as causing problems when using their home languages raises an issue around sociality in the teaching triad. The students' narratives highlight how students' home languages are deeply tied to social connectedness. As Delpit (2006) argues, students' home languages are directly tied to their sense of identities and connections with loved ones. This is also emphasised in this section's discussion. However, in this classroom field, students are not trusted to use their home languages. Such deficit positioning of CALD learners' linguistic identities is problematic for building a sense of community, a theme that Class 5/6k, through Ms Wright, aimed to foster (see Chapter IV, Sections 4.2 and 4.4). When teachers communicate to students that they are not trusted to use their home languages, this exposes a problem for establishing an inclusive culture of participation and means students enter schools inherently perceived as 'suspicious' for speaking a different language. Thus, the potential to use students' home languages to nurture social dynamics—as articulated by the students here—is impeded.

Arguably, in the classroom field of Class 5/6k, CALD learners' cultural and linguistic backgrounds are not considered valuable capital for learning. Bourdieu (1998|2001) refers to this as symbolic violence. Symbolic violence, for Bourdieu, is a "soft violence indetectible and invisible to its very victims, which is wielded essentially through purely symbolic channels or, more precisely,

through recognition or misrecognition, or even through sentiment" (Bourdieu, 1998|2001 as quoted in Wacquant, 2008, p. 3). The symbolic power used to inflict violence is insidious in that it imposes the perception upon dominated agents that they are inferior and that such social order is normalised. The patterns of symbolic violence discussed in this chapter were often unconsciously conducted, usually arising from well-meaning or positive intentions of teachers who do not share the same cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the students.

5.5 Conclusion

The analysis of data in this chapter shows that in Class 5/6k the 'rules of the game' do not consider CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources valuable to learning. Essentially, schooling for CALD learners is devoid of robust and deliberative teaching-learning approaches that provide opportunities to build on CALD learners' diverse cultural and linguistic knowledge. As demonstrated in Section 5.2, teachers' attempts at engaging with diversity are either superficial or not contextually informed. Teachers' initiatives were sporadic, incidental or followed a 'special events' approach, such as that of 'Refugee Week.' The notion of capital reminds us that valued resources are relative, depending on what is legitimised in a particular field. The pedagogical practices examined in this chapter continue to privilege the 'culture of power' (Delpit, 2006); that is, cultural and linguistic knowledge of the dominant groups.

Practices designed to acknowledge and celebrate diversity, such as Harmony Day, seemed tokenistic, as elaborated in Section 5.3. A 'Harmony Day' approach to valuing diversity portrays culture and languages as static and frozen in time. In examining students' subjective experiences of culture and language, this study found that CALD learners have sophisticated funds of cultural and

linguistic knowledge. CALD learners' perceptions of their religion and their bi/multilingualism demonstrate that their experiences of these markers of diversity are far more complex and sophisticated than a 'special events' approach to celebrating diversity can currently capture.

Finally, in Section 5.4, I emphasised that deficit perspectives about CALD learners' linguistic resources constrains how students can be positioned as knowledge sources. Furthermore, these deficit notions impacted on building social relationships among teachers and students in the classroom. While students' narratives emphasised the potential for their use of home languages to build connections with family and friends, the conditions in the classroom restrict such opportunities.

This chapter worked with the Bourdieusian concept of capital to demonstrate how schooling overlooks and devalues the diverse forms of knowledge and skills that students from non-dominant linguistic and cultural backgrounds bring to the classroom. Teachers enact the culture of power through their classroom practices which can be symbolically violent toward CALD learners' backgrounds. Given this, the classroom field becomes a problematic space for CALD learners to inhabit a position of co-creators of learning. In the next chapter, I further examine the dispositions of CALD learners in the classroom by engaging with the Bourdieusian concept of habitus.

CHAPTER VI: FINDINGS
Participating as a CALD learner in Class 5/6k

6.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the previous two chapters by illuminating the relations of the field and capital to CALD students' understandings of themselves as learners in the classroom community. In it, I work with the Bourdieusian notion of 'habitus'—or what is also referred to as the 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1990)—to examine the subjective experiences of CALD learners about classroom participation. As outlined in Chapter II (Section 2.3.3), habitus is defined as a durable system of dispositions orienting individuals "with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives" (Mills & Gale, 2010 , p. 89). The habitus, post-Bourdieusian scholars emphasise, is both generative and structuring (Atkinson, 2010; Addison, 2009). As Reay (1995) explains, the habitus is produced through the "opportunities and constraints framing the individual's earlier life experiences" (p. 355). Thus, the habitus offers a "sense of limits and realistic possibilities" for individuals' thinking, feeling, and acting within the 'field' (Atkinson, 2010, p. 4). Mills and Gale (2007) stress the subjective potential of habitus, categorically distinguishing between a reproductive and a transformative habitus as understood not in discrete terms but as "dialogically related" or as "potentials within each agent" (p. 101).

The conceptualisations of habitus guide my overall structure of presenting the findings in this chapter. In my analysis of the data, I highlight themes from the triad of participation: 'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality'. In doing so, I identify the potential for CALD students to inhabit 'active' participant roles although this was rarely demonstrated in existing practice.

This chapter is composed of two major sections. The first discusses themes arising from my analysis of student data that suggest students are acting within the constraints of their social condition(ing)s. The second elucidates students' perspectives that are illustrative of learner-iniative as they work within the classroom field. I use these categories to analyse students' data that relate to the practice of participation. As I will demonstrate, these dispositions can also be understood as different 'participatory potentialities' in the classroom field that students draw from and classroom practices can activate or harness.

6.2 Acting within social condition(ing)s

In this section, I examine the different ways that CALD learners' perceptions about participation can be understood as acting within the constraints of their social conditioning and the conditions of the classroom field. I understand these as dispositions, drawing from the notion of habitus, that can undermine students' propensities to take on the position of 'co-authors of learning' in the classroom. To illustrate these students' perspectives, I draw mainly from student interviews and use supporting documents collected during focus group sessions. These documents (i.e., students' works) were used during individual interviews to prompt further discussions with students (as explained in Chapter III).

There were three ways that CALD students' subjective experiences in the classroom exhibited a disposition that acted within the constraints of social condition(ing)s. The first disposition relates to students' understandings of their roles and responsibilities in the classroom which echoed traditional teaching-learning hierarchy between teacher and student (Section 6.1.1). The second refers to students avoiding behaviours indicated in the literature as 'active participation', such as 'taking initiative' (Section 6.1.2). The third

pertains to the ways student participants experience using their home languages and cultural backgrounds in the learning community (Section 6.1.3).

6.2.1 Participation as compliance

The data presented in this section demonstrates that students' understandings about their roles and responsibilities in the classroom predominantly conform with traditional teacher-directed participatory behaviours. This was initially evident in student participants' work during our first focus group where I introduced the project. At the beginning of my fieldwork (SY 2018, Term 1), I asked student participants to illustrate and/or write about what they think is a 'good' and 'bad' student which I then followed up in individual interviews. In Term 2, the term 'engagement' was introduced by the class teacher, Ms Wright, who wrote on the board the names of students who were engaged and those who were not engaged in the classroom. I later asked the students how they understood the term 'engaged', to further explore themes that relate to participation based on the students' understandings about how it was used in the classroom. Finally, before fieldwork ended, I again asked student participants how they understood the term 'participate.' Reflecting on the potential bias of the questions asked especially in terms of delineating what is 'bad' or 'good', and 'engaged' or 'not engaged', the order and timings of asking these questions assist in diminishing such bias. The questions were asked within 6-8 weeks span between each other and in between, other formal and informal chats were conducted based on observations. These measures aided in decreasing the impact of 'priming,' or the phenomenon where the structure or order of questioning influence the responses of the interviewees (see, for example, Hjortskov, 2017).

In this section, I shall discuss the perspectives that suggest compliance with or deference to the teacher. These perspectives, as discussed earlier, align typically with 'passive participatory behaviours' as defined in literature discussed in Chapter II (i.e., Candela, 2005; Patchen, 2012). However, as critically analysed later in this section, these perspectives can also be interpreted as the students' display of agency—specifically as a way for students to understand, negotiate, and practice participation. This is further elaborated in the latter part of this section through the lens of 'habitus' that is employed in the analysis. To highlight the cultural and linguistic diversity of the students—which is a distinct feature of this empirical study (as discussed in Chapter III)—I have indicated the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the students. The cultural background appears next to their name and is followed by their linguistic background/s.

Students' descriptions of their understandings of a good and bad student offer a productive starting point to examine how they see themselves as members in the learning community. Statements made during students' individual interviews describing what the students believe to be a good student are given here as examples:

> [As a good student], I listen most of the time. (Harry, Russian, Russian)
>
> A good student listens to the teacher. (Niko, Fijian, Fijian)
>
> Being a good student is listening to the teacher . . . (Emma, Fijian, Fijian)
>
> They look, listen, think, understand, and do it. (Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu)
>
> A good student would be like listening to the teacher. And uhm, and paying attention, uhm, what the teacher's saying so then you can get it. (Amal, Arabic, Arabic)

> [A good student is] someone who pays attention and knows what they're doing. You're paying attention, not talking while the teacher's talking. (Parisa, Afghani, Dari)

In the six responses above, listening to the teacher or paying attention stands out as a common definition of a 'good student', indicating students across different linguistic backgrounds understand participation as teacher-directed. Paying attention to the teacher and accurately performing the tasks given by the teacher are perceived by these students as highly valued participatory strategies.

Similarly, students' descriptions of a 'bad student' affirm students' orientations towards participation as denoting compliance and paying attention to the teacher. According to student participants, being a 'bad student' is constituted by the following:

> A bad student is that you're not listening to the teacher, and you're not paying attention. (Amal, Arabic, Arabic)

> A bad student will not . . . listen to the teacher. . . . Like if I'm just sitting down and not doing anything, and looking down, and not listening to the teacher and that. (Niko, Fijian, Fijian)

> [A bad student does not] listen to the teacher and looking at something else. You don't hear what she said you should do, and then you have to ask someone else. They're like, you should've listened. (Harry, Russian, Russian)

> [A bad student is] someone who doesn't pay attention, talks a lot in class, and disrespects the teacher. Like they don't put their hand up, like they talk while the teacher's talking. (Parisa, Afghani, Dari)

These interview quotes affirm the argument that students' understandings of participation in the classroom centre on the teacher. Amal expressed this clearly by describing a bad student as "not listening" and "not paying

attention". Niko, on the other hand, depicted what not paying attention may look like; that is, being unresponsive to the teacher and looking down. Harry also described the act of "looking at something else" as not listening to the teacher. He further characterised an inattentive student as one who does not know what needs to be done and "has to ask someone else." Similarly, for Parisa, participating in the classroom meant showing respect to the teacher by paying attention and not talking a lot or over the teacher. All these descriptions of a bad student imply that participating as a 'good student' in the learning community, ultimately, means paying attention to the teacher.

The primacy given to 'listening to the teacher' as a participatory disposition was also evident in the students' responses about what it means to be an 'engaged' and 'disengaged' learner. A majority of the students' responses of an engaged learner resonate with 'paying attention to the teacher'. As explained above, in the later stages of data collection with students, I used this term to further explore students' perspectives about participation in Class 5/6k. The responses, presented in the table below, were distilled from written activity sheets during a focus group discussion at the beginning of Term 2 where I asked students to describe "what it looks like when students are engaged in learning".

Table 6 - 1 Students' description of an engaged learner

Student participant[3]	**Description of an engaged learner**
Amal, Arabic, Arabic	Listening; Answer questions; Hand up; Working
Harry, Russian, Russian	Listening; Putting your hand up; Looking at the person who is talking; Helping someone if they need help; Brainstorming; Thinking

[3] A total of 10 participants are represented in this table (and in Table 6.2). Niko, as discussed in Chapter III, left Upstream in Term 2, SY 2018. He was not part of the project by Term 2.

Leo, Malaysian, Malaysian	When they're on task; Doing the right thing; Respecting; Not talking
Liana, Samoan, Samoan	Listening; Focusing on the person talking; Not messing around; Not being silly; Part of the group; Trying not to be disturbed
Mateen, Persian, Persian	Talking to friends
Parisa, Afghani, Dari	Brainstorm; Writing ideas; You are thinking; Listening
Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/ Hindi/ Urdu	When students look, listen, think, understand, and do it; Not talking; When they are trying their hardest; When you concentrate
Roya, Afghani and Pakistani, Urdu/ Hindi/ Dari/ Farsi/ Hazaragi	When you focus and listen with your heart and ears You finish your work all the time and not to talk Doing what the teacher say and support other children Respect environment, respect others, respect yourself
Emma, Fijian Fijian	Fun
Samantha, Albanian, English	Illustration of teacher saying: 'Today, we are going to learn about cheese.' Two students are raising their hands. One says: 'Me, me, I know about cheese!' Another says: 'Me too, pick me.'

Most of the students' perspectives of being an engaged learner, presented above, correspond with students' descriptions of a 'good student.' First, engagement as paying attention dominated their responses, as evident in statements such as "listening" and "not talking" articulated by Amal, Harry, Leo, Liana, Ramis, and Roya. Notably, one of Ramis' responses describing a 'good student' earlier is nearly verbatim to his response here describing an 'engaged learner'. Samantha illustrates an act of showing interest in the lesson and paying attention to the teacher. This connects to the second aspect of engagement, as understood by these CALD students, which also strongly connects with ideas around following or doing what the teacher has instructed. This was evident in answers that denote performing classroom tasks such as

"writing", "brainstorming", "doing what the teacher says", "trying not to be disturbed" and "not being silly".

Responses that signify "helping other students" and "respecting self and others" can be similarly understood in this context as "following the teacher". As discussed in Chapter IV, "helping other students" is associated with one of the rules in Class 5/6k where students were instructed to ask three students before approaching the teacher for help. "Respecting self, others, and environment" was also consistently communicated in school to the students. Slogans related to this were visible inside the Class 5/6k classroom and in the hallways of the Primary 5/6 building.

In these responses, the teacher's central role as directing classroom activities is apparent, as is the students' role mainly involving compliance with the rules set by teachers. There were two exceptions, however: Mateen and Emma highlight that engagement is characterised by "talking with friends" and having "fun", respectively.

The understanding that to participate in the classroom means listening, avoiding talking, or focusing on the teachers and their instruction is further supported by data from students' written activity. In the second activity in the focus group described above, students were asked: 'What does it look like when students are not engaged in learning?' The students' responses are presented in table 6.2 below:

Table 6 - 2 Students' description of a disengaged learner

Student participant	Description of a disengaged learner
Amal, Arabic, Arabic	Not listening to the teacher

Harry, Russian, Russian	Calling out; Not looking at the person who is trying to talk to you; Talking to your friends; Not listening to the person; Not working
Leo, Malaysian, Malaysian	Talking too much; Not concentrating; Distracted; Not doing their work; Doing something other than work
Liana, Samoan, Samoan	Student don't: listen, pay attention, do work most times They try to disturb people and talk about what happened and do not give their eyes, ears, and hearts to the person talking! They have no interest in learning. Not that much respect to others
Mateen, Persian, Persian	Not talking to friends
Parisa, Afghani, Dari	Eating in class; Talking; Not listening; Being naughty
Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu	When you don't listen; When you don't look; When you don't pay attention; When you don't do your work; When you talk when someone else is talking; When you be silly; When you don't know what the teacher wants you to know; When you do something you're not supposed to do; When you make bad choices; When you don't participate; When you don't follow the 'Golden Rules'
Roya, Afghani & Pakistani, Urdu/Hindi/Dari/Farsi/Hazaragi	Not being responsible and always talking when the teacher start talking Not respecting and making bad choices Not finishing their work on time and not being respectful
Emma, Fijian, Fijian	Getting distracted from learning
Samantha, Albanian, English	Illustration of teacher saying: 'Today we are going to learn about prunes!' The two students showing sad faces with one of the students saying, 'Boo!'

Corresponding with their responses about what 'engagement' looks like, students' depictions of 'disengagement' also further indicate compliance with the teacher and the rules in the classroom, consistent with the interview data obtained earlier. Responses relating to talking and not paying attention as characteristics of a 'disengaged' learner were emphasised by majority of the participants; specifically, Amal, Harry, Leo, Liana, Parisa, Ramis, and Roya. Some students signified other behaviours associated with being disengaged such as inattention. Ramis and Harry, for instance, emphasised "not looking at the person talking"—behaviours that also align with descriptions of "bad student" earlier. Liana further defined a disengaged student as "not giving their eyes, ears, and hearts to the person talking".

Indeed, for many of these students coming from very diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, participating in the learning community has a lot more to do with listening, in a seemingly attentive way, than talking. However, Mateen is one notable exception. Aligning with his response earlier, Mateen perceived that not talking with friends is a sign of disengagement. Apart from this, in general, student participants' responses indicate a perspective of classroom participation that regards silences over noise as an indicator of productivity.

Students' portrayals of a 'disengaged' learner also gesture towards the significance of yielding to the teacher as they participate in the classroom. Most of the students' responses emphasised accomplishing work or learning tasks. Being distracted, as Leo and Emma highlight, and distracting others, as Liana, Parisa, and Ramis mentioned in their responses, are perceived as characteristics of "disengaged learners". Some students also indicated "not showing respect" as a form of disengagement which, as discussed earlier, aligns with a value that the school aimed to cultivate. The idea that participation means obeying or deferring to the teacher is illustrated in Samantha's response where a

"disengaged learner" was portrayed as one who expresses dislike towards the teacher's lesson content. Consistent with earlier arguments, for many of these CALD learners, obeying the teachers' instructions appears to be a common, dominant understanding about what it means to participate in the classroom.

This disposition of deference to the teacher as authority was further reflected in some students' responses promoting the pursuit of teacher-directed tasks and arrangements despite discomforts and anticipated challenges. Towards the end of fieldwork, the following comments were given by students when I asked them to describe their understandings of 'participation':

> When you're participating, even though maybe it's like hard, you're still giving it a go. Like, if it's a group activity, and you're like, I don't wanna do this, I'll just let all the other people do the work. . . . Right now, I'm participating because I didn't say anything like I don't wanna go or uhm ... It's going to be hard or I just don't feel like it. (Parisa, Afghani, Dari)

> To communicate well with someone else even if you don't want to. It's like, if you don't like that person, you still have to make progress in what you're doing. (Liana, Samoan, Samoan)

> Like to join in. And like to be with the one like, like to join in and no matter who you work with, and not thing [participating] . . . is uhm, is to not join in with someone that you don't wanna work with. Or you just wanna be by yourself. And you don't join in. (Harry, Russian, Russian)

The three quotes above gesture towards an understanding of participation as accepting teachers' instructions—without dissent or disagreement—despite difficulties. Again, these responses demonstrate students' positioning of themselves as good students by being compliant with the teacher.

'Positionality', as one aspect of the teaching triad, is concerned with perspectives that can constrain or facilitate students to take initiative and co-direct the process of learning. The overall theme captured in this section suggests that, overall, CALD learners' perspectives about participation does not resonate with definitions of 'active participation' in the literature. The discussion, thus far, illuminates that students position their roles as being 'responsive' or attentive students whereby they see themselves as listening to the teacher, and speaking only when given opportunities or asked to respond (Patchen, 2012). This was not universal, however, as two students (Mateen and Emma) highlighted that talking and enjoyment are characteristics of being engaged in the classroom.

This finding that CALD learners predominantly perceive participation as compliance extends existing literature on CALD students mostly exhibiting passive participatory behaviours. For instance, research on university students show that English language learners, compared to native, English users are more oriented towards responsive behaviours (e.g. Kettle, 2005; Liu & Littlewood, 1997; Marlina, 2009). Furthermore, while this compliant disposition reflects similar findings from the research highlighted in Chapter II, it also extends this research which has tended to focus on one particular cultural group and mostly among secondary students (e.g., U.S. secondary students of Mexican backgrounds in Patchen, 2012; Korean secondary students in Korea in Reeve & Tseng, 2011). This study shows that similar findings can be attributed to students with very diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

'Positionality', examined through the lens of habitus, reveals that compliant participatory behaviour is the common, dominant disposition among these CALD learners. This can be understood as habitus in a collective sense (Reay, 2004; Skeggs, 1997; see also Jawitz, 2009); meaning an orientation towards classroom participation that is shared among these CALD learners despite the

diversity within cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Edgerton and Roberts (2014) argue, for instance, that families of different class backgrounds provide different "cultural toolkits" that students bring with them in their interactions and participation in school which then impacts on the students' "educational trajectories" (p. 197). They further explain that "working-class parents tend to be more restrained and deferential, although at the same time distrustful, in their approach", passing on these "different attitudes and interactional styles . . . to their children" (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014, p. 197). Viewed through the concept of habitus, the dominance of the compliant disposition in the student participant responses can be understood as coming from a habitus that is shaped from a similar historical and social upbringing (as discussed in Chapter II, Section 2.3.3).

The concept of habitus, however, also denotes to an individual sense and, therefore, dispositions can be divergent (Jawitz, 2009; Reay, 2004). In the data, although the overwhelming trend was to view participation as compliance, two students offered different perspectives. For Mateen, for instance, being a good and engaged student means talking with peers. Emma also shared that participation means having fun. For Bourdieu, diversity in habitus indicates that, although people may come from similar backgrounds, they can have distinct experiences that socialises them into different understandings about the world (Reay, 2004). The responses of these two students denote the divergent tendencies of the habitus—dispositions that do not follow the common trend of compliance.

Bourdieu's notion of habitus intimates different forms of choices that individuals make based on the individual's perception of the social context (Reay, 2004). In Reay's (2004) interpretation, some possibilities can be perceived as either "inconceivable, others improbable, and a limited range acceptable" (p. 435). As discussed in this section, these CALD learners are

perceiving a limited range of acceptable participatory behaviour in the classroom that is aligned with a compliant disposition.

6.2.2 Discomforts with student-initiated participation

Building on the argument above that CALD students generally see good, engaged, and participative learners as compliant and deferential students, I now turn to data that revealed students' ambivalent feelings towards student-initiated participation. This again helps to understand the tendency for CALD students to be responsive rather than taking more initiative. Interrupting the teacher to ask questions and make comments is identified by Fristchner (2002) as a form of student-initiated participation. As demonstrated earlier, these behaviours were not necessarily identified by the student participants as characteristics of a 'good' student or an 'engaged' learner, nor that of a 'participant' in the Class 5/6k learning community. I further explored this through students' subjective experiences to understand this seemingly atypical behaviour. Students, for instance, talked about 'asking questions' as:

> Sometimes I do in front of all of my classmates. Sometimes I go to the teacher because like sometimes there's privacy, and then you just have to tell the teacher you don't want anyone listening. So yeah, just got to tell ... privacy. (Roya, Afghani and Pakistani, Urdu/Dari/Farsi/Hazaragi)

> I wait till the class is finished and ask. . . . Sometimes it would be easier to ask the teacher after the class because sometimes it might not be related to what they're talking about and sometimes I'd be scared if I like ask the question and it might be silly, and then, everyone starts laughing. (Liana, Samoan, Samoan)

> I go to the teacher to ask because sometimes I get it wrong, and all the kids laugh. I don't like being wrong. (Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu)

The interview quotes above from Roya, Liana, and Ramis signify being more disposed to ask questions privately with the teacher than before the whole class. In all three responses, the students identify "privacy" as the cause for approaching the teacher to ask questions rather than in front of the class. Moreover, the responses of Liana and Ramis offer an additional frame to understand why these students select private moments to ask questions: both students are "scared to ask silly questions," or potentially showing that they "get it wrong" by asking questions which might result in peers laughing at them. This reaction is similar to Niko's statements, discussed in Chapter IV (Section 4.4.1), where he talked about resisting reading out his written work to the class because he anticipates that the "girls [will] always laugh". These findings again demonstrate how students' perceived lack of trust in the learning community can inhibit participation in ways that are deemed risky.

This reluctance to ask questions relates to 'sociality'. The students' quotes elucidate that, for some students, concerns about 'losing face' or being humiliated can prevent them from asking questions. This reiterates the significance of building relations of trust among peers to facilitate participation in the learning community (as in Niko's case in Chapter IV). These findings seem to suggest that asking questions can be potentially facilitated by strengthening the social relations in the classroom so that it offers a sufficient level of confidence for students to take initiative in their learning.

Another strategy identified as significant in student-initiated participation is commenting (Fritschner, 2000). For Fritschner (2000), commenting is distinctive from *"offhand comments"* where students give "remarks that were loud enough to be heard by the class but did not pertain to the topic" (p. 344, emphasis in original). To explore how the students feel and think about giving comments, I asked them if they shared their likes or interests and dislikes with

the teacher. The students' responses below indicate the same orientation as above towards following the teacher:

> I just wait and do what the teacher says, uhm, because you just listen and get to task. (Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu)

> I just follow what the teacher says because if I know it, then, I just do it, and if I need help, uhm, after I said I could do it, then I'd ask my friends. . . . I just listen to the teacher, and straight away do what she says. . . . I just do what the teacher says, and then, a little bit later, I'd be really interested. (Liana, Samoa, Samoan)

> I do everything that we have to do 'cause the teacher knows where you're at. So, she's like, you have to do 'cause she knows where, like, you're at in work. (Mateen, Iran, Persian)

> [I just] follow because like, I don't know, 'cause they might be like, 'No!' (Harry, Russian, Russian)

> I just don't. I don't know. I think she knows that. I think she found that I like drawing 'cause I draw really fast, and I don't really tell. . . . I don't know 'cause if I don't like it, then I don't, like, if I say I'm not interested in this then, it's gonna get weird. 'Cause the teacher just wasted the time teaching this. The teacher just wasted her time teaching me, and then, I don't care. (Parisa, Afghani, Dari)

All the responses above reveal a shared belief that it is unnecessary for students to express their ideas about the lesson content and, instead, comply with the teachers' instructions. Their responses offer nuanced perspectives about expressing likes and dislikes, signifying that students perceive teachers as doing things the 'right' way and that students need not express their interests. Students' responses also suggest some anticipation of negative responses from the teachers. Harry, for instance highlighted that the teacher might say "no" and so, he believes, it is better to just follow. Parisa, on the other hand, provided a detailed explanation highlighting that things "might get weird" and

is concerned it might send a message to the teacher that the time has been "wasted teaching" and that the student does "not care". Strongly captured in these students' accounts is a sense that they do not see it as their role to take initiative by questioning or commenting on teachers' instructional strategies.

These themes on taking initiative in learning draw attention to 'positionality', the third construct in the teaching triad. Specifically, it demonstrates how these CALD learners see themselves as being positioned to receive rather than initiate learning. Their responses suggest that learning is the purview of the teachers and that their preferences carry lesser value in the learning process. This brings another facet to the 'compliant' student disposition described in the previous section. Specifically, the students' focus on accomplishing tasks determines how they behave in perceived difficult situations. As they articulated, it can mean either persisting or sometimes quiet resignation.

The responses also reveal how 'sociality' and 'positionality' interact to influence and shape learners' participation. Students refrain from asking questions or making suggestions, anticipating that doing so might have negative consequences for their relationship with the teacher. These responses illuminate the significance that students place on their social relationships with the teacher as directing how they participate in the classroom. This implies that students' subjective experiences are deeply tied to their interactions and relationships in the classroom.

The way that social conditions can shape students' dispositions to take initiative was also evident in a few students' elaboration about asking questions and making comments. They explained:

> If I want to make a suggestion, like you said, uhm, or a comment, uhm, like not a question, like a comment about what's happening and stuff, if the teacher doesn't make

> it specific, I won't put up my hand. So like, if she does a bit like, if she says, 'Any questions?' Uhm … I wouldn't really put up my hand because it needs to be specific. 'So, any questions and comments?' That would be good for me. I'd be like, 'Yes!' (Samantha, Albanian, English)

> Like when you offer a suggestion. Like a tip, like about the room or something like that. Like, make it cleaner or change the look of it or something. . . . I told Ms Wright like last term if we could change the room up. She said maybe. . . . In the first start of Term 1, I didn't like the look of it. I mean the new tables and stuff. That was us. Me and Hassan and stuff. We like made a, like a circle table. And then, we kind of ditched it. Because Hassan talks too much to us, and now he followed us. (Leo, Malaysian, Malaysian)

> Well, if it's free time, then yeah. Sometimes, yeah. . . . [Not other times] because the teacher knows what to do. . . . But I don't think about it that much. (Parisa, Afghani, Dari)

These quotes from Samantha, Leo, and Parisa show how contextual dynamics are important for facilitating learner-initiative. Samantha, for example, elucidated that she will only suggest when specifically given the opportunity. The narrative of Leo about re-designing the classroom layout with furniture substantiates Samantha's comment. Class 5/6k teachers, specifically Ms Wright and Mr Williams, have openly suggested to the students that they can redesign the classroom to take ownership of their working space (see Chapter IV, Section 4.3). This coincides with Leo's example of making suggestions in the classroom as revolving around the layout of furniture. Parisa also qualifies when she thinks she can make suggestions; that is, for activities during free time. Overall, the responses highlight the moments students made suggestions were ones where the teachers provided opportunities. Yet, these situations, examples of which include classroom design and free time, tended to sit on the periphery of learning.

Several students' responses on questioning and making suggestions gesture towards social conditions. Some concerns were expressed over peer and student-teacher relationships. The need for the teacher to facilitate asking questions was emphasised. These responses came from students of very diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, suggesting that withdrawing from questioning and commenting is a common disposition—emerging from a collective sense of habitus—among students of CALD backgrounds. Students' reasons for abstaining from taking initiative demonstrate the socially (re)constructed nature of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1992; Reay, 2004). Learner-initiation is an uncommon participatory disposition—a possibility that the students see as improbable in the classroom. The students' responses seem to indicate that this has potential to be tapped and facilitated by attending to the social dynamics in the classroom.

6.2.3 Suppressing home languages in participation

The discussion I turn to now focuses on the students' understandings of participation related to earlier discussion in Chapter V highlighting the devaluing of students' home languages in Class 5/6k. Students like Ramis, who speaks three South Asian languages, highlighted that: "The teachers tell us to speak English". Outside the confines of schools, however, students stressed their dynamic engagement with English and home languages in their daily practices. The discussion in this section furthers the assertion made in Chapter V that classroom practices in Class 5/6k are, arguably, symbolically violent towards the cultural and linguistic identities and resources of students. Here, I analyse how students' perspectives about their home languages contribute to a lack of students' use of their home languages in the classroom. CALD students' diminished appreciation of their home languages, as a learning resource, offers

important implications to the conditions of learning for these bi/multilingual learners.

During interviews, a few student participants articulated a sense of discomfort in using their languages in public spaces, including school. When I asked them if they used their home languages in the classroom, some students spoke of self-constraint:

> I don't talk [Dari in school]. If someone knows, I don't say anything. It's kinda embarrassing. . . . I don't know it that much, but I just, I know it. But I don't wanna talk about it. (Parisa, Afghani, Dari)

> I don't like speaking [Russian] when I'm like in public, but at home, I'm okay with it. I don't know. It's just ... I don't know. I'm just not used to it. (Harry, Russian, Russian)

> I feel like I'd be bullied again . . . (sighs) . . . because I got bullied because of my culture. That's why. . . . We just speak [Punjabi] to each other. We would never speak it to someone else because we feel like, we feel stupid to speak it to someone else because they don't understand it. (Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu)

The students' narratives above convey internalised deficit perspectives towards speaking their home languages outside their homes and communities. Parisa, for instance, who speaks Dari fluently, talks about her avoidance of speaking the language even when confronted by someone who speaks Dari in school. She feels embarrassed to use the language. A similar disposition was shared by Harry about speaking Russian in public as something unusual for him. In Ramis' case, talking about discreetly using one of his spoken languages, Punjabi, he recalls being bullied for his cultural background. Ramis had recounted being ridiculed by peers for wearing a Punjabi turban (as described in Chapter I). Influenced by this experience, Ramis does not seem comfortable speaking Punjabi unless around people who speak the language. Although highlighting different reasons, the narratives of these students share a common

thread: that their home languages bring them shame or humiliation rather than a sense of pride.

'Positionality' is made evident in students' perspectives about their home languages. The narratives signify an internalised deficit perspective towards their home languages. Parisa believed that "it's kinda embarrassing". Harry does not like speaking Russian in public. Ramis feels stupid to use his home language. These accounts signify students' inferior positioning of their home languages. The discussion in the literature review highlighted English language learners' internalised deficit perspectives about their English-speaking skills. Students considered themselves inferior, stupid, and illegitimate to participate in English discourses (Duff, 2002; Norton-Pierce, 1994, 1995). The findings in this section, therefore, extend the range of internalised deficit perspectives among CALD learners. Specifically, the findings indicate that internalised deficit perspectives towards students' home languages exist and dispose students to suppress, in varying degrees, the use of their home languages.

The issues related to 'positionality' above also relate to 'resourcing' with respect to how participation is shaped as a practice. The students' responses indicate having to suppress using their home languages. In Chapter V (Section 5.3.1), however, it was highlighted how students are spontaneously engaging with their linguistic resources as theorised through translanguaging (García & Lin, 2017; García & Wei, 2014) and active bilingualism (Cummins, 2017). Students' socialisation about the use of these home languages seems to suggest that they need to be using these languages in isolation, in discrete social contexts, such as home but not in public spaces. Such understanding demonstrates the constraints within students' dispositions about what is possible and not possible in their use of home languages. These constraints can be further facilitated by classroom conditions, such as the 'English-only' policy enforced in Class 5/6k.

The responses of Parisa and Ramis also yield insight into the social dimension of participation for these students in relation to language. Both students highlight the impact of using their home languages on their social dynamics with peers at school. As Parisa articulated, even if someone speaks to her in Dari, she refuses to reply as she finds it embarrassing. This internalised deficit framework can hinder the potential growth of social groups or networks for students like Parisa who understand speaking in their home languages as embarrassing. Another case is that of Ramis who has developed an internalised deficit perspective towards using his home languages due to an experience of being bullied for his religious identity. Instead, Ramis only engages with his home language in situations where he is with friends of similar linguistic backgrounds. The experience of Ramis demonstrates, again, how mobilising one's home languages can limit a student's possibility to expand his or her social network. The stories of Parisa and Ramis represent the double-edged sword of nurturing deficit perspectives towards home languages. On the one hand, it constrained Parisa's interaction as she refuses to speak in Dari. On the other hand, Ramis has learned to supress using his home languages to gain acceptance in the wider school community. In both actions, students' use of home languages in school becomes suppressed.

Through the notion of habitus, CALD learners' internalised deficit perspectives are illuminated as a product of social conditioning or socialisation about their home languages. In Chapter I, I shared my own perspective on my home language, Cebuano, which had an inferior status when I was in school in the Philippines. Bourdieusian habitus refers to the gradual inculcation of orientations—a process of conditioning—that begins in childhood (Jenkins, 1992; Mills, 2008; Reay, 2004). Perceived in this way, these internalised deficit views about home languages can stem from a society, such as Australia, that has historically privileged the English language (as discussed in Chapter I; see

also Creagh, 2016; Lo Bianco, 2014). These students have come to an understanding that speaking their home language is acceptable only in limited contexts (Reay, 2004). This is not to suggest that these students are showing disrespectful or wrong behaviours towards their home languages. Rather, the habitus demonstrates that these dispositions are products of processes of socialisation. As the habitus also implies change, it follows that schooling experiences can restructure the habitus by modifying the field to enable more possibilities (Bourdieu, 1992). This discussion highlights the potential for teachers to work in ways that transforms the classroom field to create different possibilities for students' use of their home languages.

Overall, the first half of this chapter has discussed the student dispositions that constrain CALD learners' participation in the classroom. It has shown that students are predominantly disposed towards showing deference or compliance to the teacher. Some of the students' interview responses indicate that they are inhibited from taking initiative and avoid putting questions or comments to the teacher. Students also seem to hold internalised deficit notions about using their home languages in school. In the next section, I discuss another set of dispositions that can be captured as students acting on the edge of or against their 'social condition(ing)s'.

6.3 Acting on the edge of social condition(ing)s

This section discusses themes about participation emerging from students' perspectives that show glimmers of students' acting against social condition(ing)s. Compared to the dispositions discussed in the previous section that reflect CALD learners' acting within the constraints of social condition(ing)s, the dispositions discussed in this section were less prevalent. Thus, I use the notion of 'on the edge' to denote a sense of students' acting

against dominant tendencies but one that is not fully expressed. In other words, these are not the dominant or common dispositions of CALD learners about participation. Engaging with the notion of habitus, these are participatory orientations deemed "improbable" that may be "rejected as unthinkable" (Reay, 2004, p. 433). In discussing these dispositions, I highlight four themes. The first discusses students' notions of participation that demonstrate non-compliance with the teacher. The second discusses themes from students' responses that convey initiative. The third illuminates altruistic tendencies in their participation and the fourth introduces subversive practices in students' use of their home languages.

6.3.1 Exhibiting non-compliant dispositions

To show students' non-compliant dispositions, I discuss the ways that students expressed understandings of participation that involve *not* following the teacher. The first is evident in students' description of participation as a felt experience of a process of discernment. As such, the responses seem to move away from a teacher-oriented perception (as discussed in Section 6.1.1). For instance, during interviews some students explained participation as:

> [Participating is] when they're like pumped. They wanna put their hand up straight away. When, ah like, I don't know, like, they're really enjoying the subject and the topic that's being talked. You're actually wanting to like do what everybody else is doing. You want to actually like focus and stuff. . . . [Not participating] is when they just don't care [and] when they're like bored. (Samantha, Albanian, English)

> If they are participating, they'd be like, right on it. They'd answer or like, they'd try. . . . If they're not participating, they're like, that means they're not into it or they just don't wanna do it. (Leo, Malaysian, Malaysian)

> I think that participating is on the person. If he gets forced to participate, he cannot think. He cannot do anything. If the person wants to do it, he'll be on the top. Some people don't like cricket. If I just force them to participate in it, they won't be good. Like me, I'm no good at soccer. If they be just, like, "Oh, go. Do that. You do that. You do that." Hehehe, I wouldn't be good at that. . . . The thing that you can do, and you're interested in it. Like if someone told you, to go and computers or something, teaching. You won't do that because you have an interest in PhD. The Science. Whatever you're doing. What if someone tells you to go and play Sport outside and teach Sport? (Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu)

The students' comments above convey a dimension of choice, as they determine for themselves whether to actively take part in an activity. Samantha, for instance, highlighted the notion of "want", as in "wanting to put their hand up straight away", "wanting to do what everybody else is doing", and "wanting to actually focus". Leo also emphasised students' judgement in participating, stressing that a student who is participating would be "right on it"; whereas non-participation is an indicator of someone who is "not into it" or "just don't wanna do it". Echoing similar ideas, Ramis also explained participation as being "on the person", and something that a person is not forced into. For Ramis, he would not be good at something—"wouldn't be able to think" or "do anything"—if he were told to just "do that". Although these responses can be interpreted as students' simply following the teachers' instructions or complying with teachers' requests, the difference lies in students' articulation of having a choice. Although there are different ways of participating, the essential disposition highlighted here is showing willingness to take part in each activity. As such, the responses move beyond performing what is expected or asked as a member of Class 5/6k community.

'Positionality' is demonstrated in the students' responses as they expressed their capacities to make decisions about whether to participate or not. These perspectives show that students can decide to abstain from participating. It reflects a sense of internal motivation to participate rather than something that

is imposed by teachers that students need to follow. In the previous section, these students defined participation as predominantly teacher-directed rather than learner-determined. Their responses here, however, indicate glimmers of student initiation of going against teachers' wishes and follow their decisions. At times, this can mean withdrawing from participation.

The notion of choice is at the core of habitus (Reay, 2004). Students' perspectives about participation demonstrate this choice. As earlier highlighted, these same students have indicated that a 'good' student follows the teacher. However, in these responses, what is seemingly unthinkable, such as 'not participating,' 'not caring,' and 'not doing anything' is plausible and they do have a choice. In their responses, they highlight the conditions of the field for possible reasons to participate—that is, finding enjoyment and interest in the topic or the activity. Conversely, when being forced to participate in an activity which they do not enjoy, the students highlighted, they would not be able to think or do anything, or even try. These responses imply the need for teachers to (re)create classroom field conditions to generate interest and engagement.

6.3.2 Showing initiative to drive learning practices

Another participant disposition that demonstrates choice is captured in student's responses about expressing their interests, likes, and dislikes to the teacher. According to several student participants, commenting to the teacher about their learning is significant:

> If I just hide it then, I might not get the chance to tell the teacher what I like and not like. (Liana, Samoan, Samoan)

> If the teacher knows they're interested in something, she'll bring more activities like that. (Ramis, Indian, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu)
>
> I think I should tell her what I like and I don't like. Yeah, like say, you can make it more entertaining or something. Like if you said, or I don't like this, you'll like, "Oh, I don't like this uhm ..." or whatever it is. She could probably try to make it better or something. . . . You have the right to say you don't like this or that. You have the right. Just say I have the right to say it. I'll just say that. (Leo, Malaysian, Malaysian)
>
> Like if there's a way of adding or times or subtract or dividing, but the teacher says it's times; but you can also divide. . . . Because there can also be another way. There's just not one way. She said you can do division as well when I said that. . . . I felt good because I knew there was another way. (Emma, Fijian, Fijian)
>
> I don't get shy, and I don't care about it. I just tell. . . . I say I'm interested in doing Maths or interested in doing History. She like kind of says, 'No' sometimes. Make me angry sometimes 'cause, uhm, like you're interested in something, and she's just like, 'No. Go away. Can't do this.' (Roya, Afghani and Pakistani, Urdu/Dari/Hindi/Farsi/Hazaragi)

From the interview quotes above, nearly half the student participants highlight the importance of expressing their interests. For instance, Liana talked about wishing to express her likes and dislikes. Ramis shared the importance of sharing interests so the teachers can design "more activities" around it. Leo perceived that giving feedback can help the teacher make a discussion "more entertaining . . . or better." Leo further highlighted that speaking up and expressing what one does not like is a right. Emma illustrated her experience of offering suggestions about a Maths lesson. In her narration, she expressed feeling good at expressing "another way" of doing a mathematical operation to the teacher. Another student, Roya also expressed that there should be no constraints in talking about one's interests. As Roya asserts, "I don't get shy" or "don't care" even if the teacher says 'No.' As argued earlier, although these same

students have defined a 'good' student as compliance, they also exhibit beliefs that they can take initiative to craft the learning experience.

The variable ways that CALD learners respond to making comments or suggestions demonstrate their inclinations to behave in diverse ways as they participate in learning. Section 6.2.2 discussed some students' answers that demonstrate discomfort at raising questions and making comments to the teacher. Here, we see that, although aspects of these students' responses align with a compliant learner participant (Section 6.2.1), their responses also differ significantly in other aspects of participation such as showing initiative.

'Positionality' is expressed by students' articulation of taking the initiative to co-design learning. The responses above show students centring their interests as they express their willingness to make suggestions and question the teacher. This is a departure from the dominance of a teacher-centred perspective relative to participation discussed in the previous section (Section 6.2). The strands of learner-initiation presented here suggest that the classroom field, as a malleable and changing context, can facilitate students to take initiative as they participate in learning.

6.3.3 Altruism in participation

This section analyses students' perspectives about themselves as inhabiting co-authoring dispositions in the classroom. The discussion in this section relates to one of the 'rules of the game', discussed in Chapter IV, in relation to helping other students that is encouraged by Ms Wright and Mr Williams (see Section 4.3). The interview responses from students to the question about what they think 'participation' and/or 'engagement' means in the classroom carried

themes of altruism and subjective experiences about helping others evident in the following qoutes:

> Engaged is like, you're like, helping. You're like doing to your classmates. . . . [Not helping is] not quite good because maybe they might need help like try to like, work it out together. . . . [When I help,] I feel good 'cuz I want like, my whole class to finish. (Mateen, Iranian, Persian)

> Participate means you're helping people, and not participating is not doing anything. And you don't get any work done if you're not learning in the team. (Emma, Fijian, Fijian)

> Like I get the idea first and I answer, and I help the others answer for them. Then, they get the idea out too. And then, they start getting the idea. And then, they can answer. . . . Because it's good for their learning. It takes them to the next level of learning, and they, if like, someone else doesn't know, they can teach them. (Roya, Afghani and Pakistani, Urdu/Dari/Farsi/Hazaragi/Hindi)

These students' responses indicate that participation means helping other students. On the one hand, these dispositions may align with teacher compliance. As discussed, teachers have highly encouraged students to help each other in classroom. Students' responses, however, do not indicate their altruism is carried out to satisfy the teacher or follow the teacher. Instead, their responses demonstrate a sense of community through phrases like "working as a team" or "the whole class finishing". These responses echo Ms Wright's idea of 'community' articulated in Chapter IV (Section 4.2). These perspectives may be a process of socialisation through Ms Wright's teaching practices, but the responses do seem to indicate students taking ownership for participating in an altruistic manner, rather than perceiving it as a teacher-mandated behaviour.

There is, however, a sense of limits to participating through altruism. Amal expressed this during an interview:

> I feel I'm too shy to help other kids. Especially little kids, you know, I can help them. Yeah, no big kids, no, no, I'm not very good at it. I'm scared about that, you know, in Maths, I'm not really good. . . . I just like use my hands and all that stuff, sometimes. Or I use my head and I do like this, you know, that stuff. But for helping other kids, like you know, I can't, I might, I can't do that on my head. I'm like, mmmm, and I'm like, you know, I'm too struggling. Yeah. Helping other students is actually quite hard for me. (Amal, Arabic, Arabic)

'Positionality' in the teaching triad is again demonstrated through students' altruistic participatory behaviour as a function of resourcing. Amal was a new student when I started my fieldwork at Upstream, who transferred to the EAL specialist class in Term 2. She has been described by Ms Wright as a student who "may never catch-up". In her interview response, Amal's description of her capacity to help other students seems to fall along deficit perspectives; specifically, in terms of feeling inadequate in Maths. Yet, Amal also has a wealth of linguistic and cultural knowledge allowing her to navigate through Australian and Arabic cultures (as discussed in Chapter V, Section 5.3.1). Amal's sense of what is possible in terms of helping other students seems limited to what is acknowledged as valuable knowledge to the learning community.

The concept of habitus helps to understand altruistic participation as a disposition that is embodied and socially constructed. Whether these tendencies for students to think as a team and to help others is a product of Ms Wright's socialisation or previous experiences, from the concept of habitus, they can be understood as an embodiment of past conditionings. Although habitus can represent a potential, Amal's account provides insight to how an altruistic disposition is socially constructed and, thus, has a sense of limits. As pointed out above, and in the previous chapters (Chapter IV and V), the valued capital in Class 5/6k is limited. As such, Amal's knowledge of Arabic culture and language finds no place for expression in the classroom. Although Amal

expressed a willingness to help, there also exists a sense of limits to express this potential due to the subtractive conditions of learning in Class 5/6k.

6.3.4 Subversive participatory dispositions

This section discusses students' dispositions towards using their home languages and considers findings from the previous chapter on teachers' imposition of an 'English-only' rule in Class 5/6k. The responses of students emphasised in this section show a use of home languages that seems to escape the rule imposed by teachers and, as such, displays a subversive form of participation. In the interviews, students disclosed the following:

> The people that sit on my table. Uhm, they speak their language and I'm like, I speak to them about my language, and they ask me questions about my country. . . . Sometimes I talk about, like, the bad things that happens like the big tsunami and that. And sometimes, I get like sad. But then they talk about their country and they say, "Oh, we have the yummiest food," and then I'm like, "Oh yeah!" And then I start talking about the food I have in my country. . . . it'd be good if they learn my culture, and I learn about their culture 'cause not everybody is the same in our class. So, I'd like to learn about their culture, and uhm, learn about my culture. (Liana, Samoan, Samoan)

> [I speak Persian] sometimes when we go back to our seats to do our work. (Mateen, Iranian, Persian)

> It's like funny. We say funny things to each other, and then we start laughing. And ah ... you know it makes us good friends. . . . We were talking about Jill and Rahme. We were talking about them. (Roya, Afghani and Pakistani, Urdu/Dari/Farsi/Hazaragi)

Students' narratives about using their home languages in class demonstrate that they are mobilising their cultural and linguistic capital for learning and forming social bonds in the classroom. Regardless of the 'English-only' rule,

these students find ways to draw from their cultural resources although in seemingly covert ways. As Mateen narrated, he speaks Persian with his classmates when they go back and do their individual work. For Roya, she talks about how speaking in one of her home languages among friends gives them a shared experience and "makes [them] good friends". Similarly, Liana recounts how talking about their countries of origin, culture, and languages occurs among the students seated in her group. This intercultural exchange occurs and are enjoyed by the students regardless of the 'rules of the game' requiring students to not use their home languages in the classroom. The legitimacy of these activities, however, happen within the margins of learning, as students do their individual or group work independent of the teacher. In the same way, as argued in the previous chapter, teachers only engage with students' cultural and linguistic skills through special events, or outside-of-school experiences (such as break time) (see Chapter V), not in their teaching practices.

The three concepts in the teaching triad, 'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality', and their interaction is illustrated in the students' responses above. Within pockets of interactions outside of the teacher's full gaze and beyond whole class discussion, these students perceive each other's cultural and linguistic resources as assets. Liana's response demonstrates this as she shared about talking about her country amongst peers sitting close to her and enjoying other students also talking about their country. As she stressed, "it'd be good if they learn my culture, and I learn about their culture 'cause not everybody is the same in our class". This highlights 'resourcing' in the teaching triad. Students expressed mobilising their cultural and linguistic resources in their small groups to learn about each other and when performing their learning tasks. Moreover, the relationship of 'resourcing' to 'sociality' is demonstrated through Roya's narrative. Roya expressed how speaking their home languages in a playful way seems to build the group's social capital—or the accrual of resources "by virtue of possessing durable network of more or less

institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu , 1992, p. 119). However, as discussed earlier, the 'rules of the game' constrain these forms of interaction where students use their home languages. As such, these narrated experiences appear subversive given how the classroom field is configured.

The data reveals that, although the classroom field tends to constrain students' use of home languages through an 'English-only' policy (as described in Chapter V, Section 5.3), these students still act to counter this rule with instances of being highly participative in relating to each other within small groups. For example, students work collaboratively and strengthen friendship bonds using their home languages and sharing of intercultural knowledge. These forms of participating, however, can be seen as dissenting or subversive considering the overall policy to suppress home languages in Class 5/6k's learning condition. This has implications for teaching and overall schooling practices that show students are constrained in taking up co-authoring dispositions. Students are using their home languages in friendly exchange but are not given opportunities to take authority and become experts in learning. These findings suggest the need for educators to (re)consider their engagement with students and their home languages in the classroom.

6.4 Conclusion

The classroom field can be understood as a "field of forces" where "various potentialities exist" (Mahar et al., 1990, p. 8). As such, the notion of habitus was used in this chapter as a tool to analyse CALD students' participatory dispositions or potentialities. Thus, the two main topics of this chapter can be understood as participatory potentials of CALD learners as they take on learner-participant roles in the classroom. The discussion, therefore, is not

meant to highlight what is a good or bad to student but to understand that CALD learners have different potentials for participation that can be made possible through different conditions in the field.

In Section 6.2, I discussed the students' perspectives that principally took a teacher-centred orientation. "Paying attention to the teacher" and "performing the tasks" instructed by the teacher dominated the responses of the students. Other narratives from the students expressing discomfort towards commenting and making suggestions to the teacher support the idea that some students understood participation as being responsive rather than taking initiative. The findings around students' suppression of their home languages also signify that practices are influenced by prior socialisation shaping dispositions. The discussion in this section demonstrates the embodied and acculturated nature of the habitus as a product of socialisation. Furthermore, it also illuminates the collective and diverse nature of the habitus.

Notwithstanding, students also demonstrated learner-participant roles showing participating against social condition(ing)s. Section 6.3 highlights four different ways that students 'acting against the grain' is demonstrated through CALD learners' subjective experiences. The first is by exhibiting choice in participation. Second is through showing willingness to take initiative in learning. Students' displays of altruism in the classroom is the third way. Finally, the fourth is through subversive dispositions as students mobilised their home languages in the classroom. The habitus as denoting choice helps understand these learner-initiated forms of participation. It shows that students articulate a sense of ownership to make decisions about their participation that goes beyond teacher-direction. These dispositions gestures towards (re)conceiving the CALD classroom to facilitate the diverse participatory potentials of CALD learners.

The diverse experiences of CALD learners captured in this chapter demonstrate key themes across the three concepts of the teaching triad: 'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality'. Students' subjective experiences demonstrating these concepts offer empirical insights that extend key findings from the existing literature discussed in Chapter II. The findings from this study extend previous research that found CALD learners predominantly understand participation as teacher-directed whereby they demonstrate responsive participant roles (Patchen, 2012; Reeve & Tseng, 2011). It does so by affirming the findings in the context of a 'superdiverse' (Vertovec, 2007) student cohort in a single class at the primary level. This study also extends findings on English language learners' internalised deficit perspectives (Duff, 2002; Norton-Pierce, 1994, 1995). This specifically occurs in CALD learners' views about using their home languages in school. Finally, and importantly, through the notion of habitus, different participatory potentials of CALD learners were illuminated that go beyond the binary of active-passive student participants. Instead, these are understood as different participatory potentialities within the field.

The interrelated mechanism of the three constructs in the teaching triad emerged across the discussion in this chapter which I shall further elaborate in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII: DISCUSSION
A conceptual framework for CALD learners' participation: 'The teaching triad of participation'

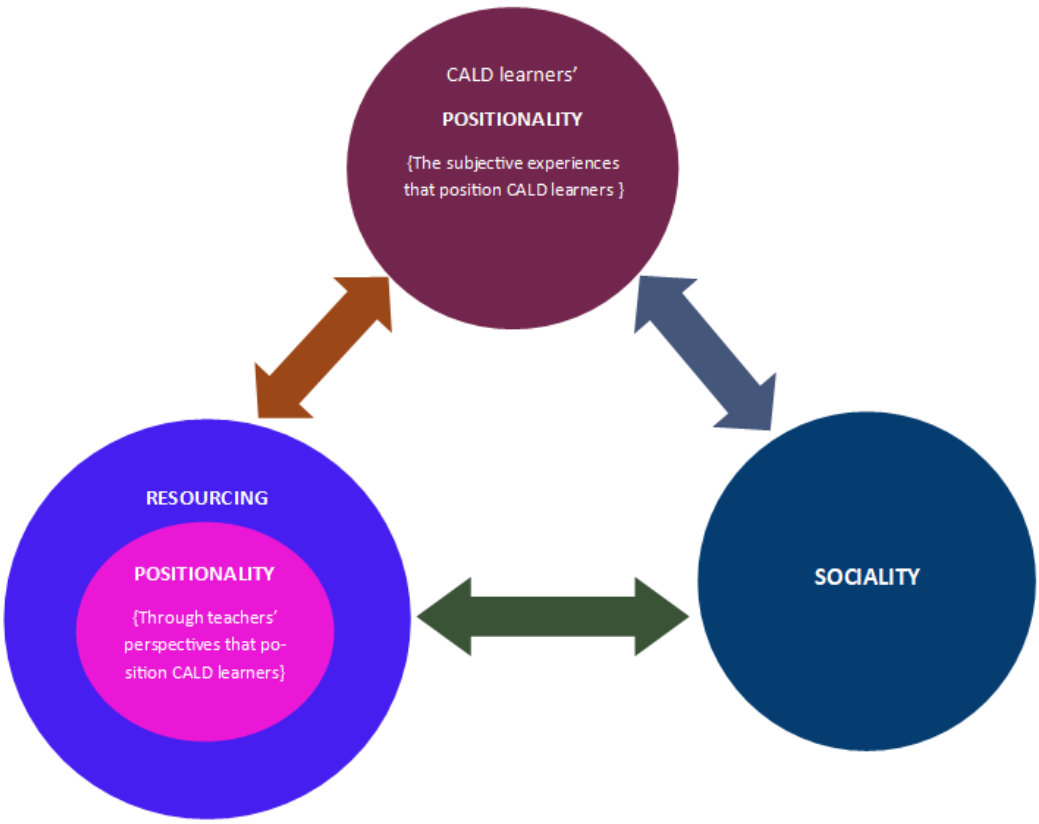
7.1 Introduction

In exploring participation as a social practice, I identified three key constructs for understanding CALD learners' participation: 'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality'. Emerging from my literature review, I refer to these constructs collectively as 'the teaching triad of participation.' This chapter discusses and reflects on the key findings of this thesis to advance a framework on how the three constructs work together to shape participation amongst CALD learners. Specifically, it examines the interrelations among the constructs, and how they shape the forms of participation that students take up in the context of a CALD primary classroom, and its implications for theory and practice.

From my discussion in the literature review (Chapter II), I have brought the teaching triad in conversation with Bourdieusian theorising to illuminate how taken-for-granted practices are never neutral and are instead embedded in power dynamics. Although Bourdieusian theorising has been widely engaged in research to critically examine various practices in different disciplines, this thesis mobilises Bourdieu's toolkit specifically to understand classroom participation in a CALD context. The triad has been engaged in this thesis as a means to provide analytic clarity in examining participation in relation to habitus, capital, and field. I have developed and used the teaching triad here not as an overlay or as synonymous concepts, but to offer a new analytic layer that seeks to understand how field, capital, and habitus can be activated to interrogate participation as a practice amongst CALD students.

In this chapter, I show how the relationship across the three constructs follows an interrelated manner with each construct influencing the other (see Figure 7.1). Thus, I argue that understanding CALD learners' participation must attend to the three concepts in a holistic and relational manner.

Figure 7 - 1 The teaching triad of participation: A conceptual framework



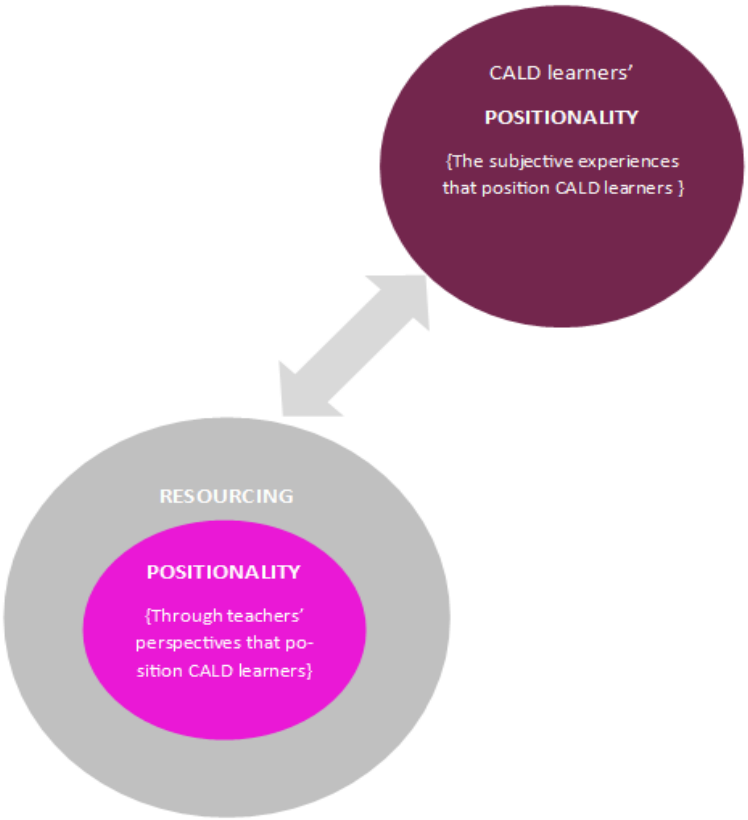
In the sections that follow, I discuss the interrelations of the constructs in the teaching triad. I focus on a set of relations in each section. I doing this, I do not consider each construct as separate. Instead, I aim to provide a clear explanation about the interrelated ways that the constructs are mutually influencing each other to shape CALD learners' participation. I begin with 'positionality' which, in Figure 7.1 above, comprises two interrelated constructs:

positionality as experienced by the students (i.e., *learners'* positionality) and positionality as perceived by the teachers (i.e., *teachers'* positionality). I argue that *learners'* positionality is the central construct from which to view how the other two constructs, sociality and resourcing (including *teachers'* positionality), also work to shape CALD learners' participation (Section 7.2). I then discuss the interrelations across the three constructs as represented in Figure 7.1: resourcing and positionality (Section 7.3); sociality and positionality (Section 7.4); and resourcing and sociality (Section 7.5).

7.2 Positionality as two distinct but interrelated constructs

Positionality attends to how CALD learners position themselves as learners, and how they are positioned by teachers as learner-participants. Thus, I have represented these two concepts distinctly, although interrelated, as I will elaborate in this section. My discussion in this section is focused on the two highlighted notions of 'positionality'. One designated by the magenta colour, and the other with the pink colour within resourcing as shown in Figure 7.2 below:

Figure 7 - 2 The two distinct but interrelated notions of 'positionality'



Separating positionality as two interrelated constructs enables conceptual clarity for understanding the positionality of *learners,* in relation to the other aspects of the triad: sociality, resourcing, but also positionality as it relates to the subjectivity of the *teachers.* Although my initial approach to positionality has been as a single construct (see Chapter II, Section 2.2.1), as I analysed the data and through conceptual reflection, I found the need to account for the separate subjective experiences, of teachers and learners, as separate dimensions. Further, my thinking of *learners'* positionality is one where it is positioned as the central concept for which the teaching practices can be understood as either constraining or facilitating CALD students' participation.

This will be further revealed as I discuss the interrelations among the different constructs in the triad.

Positionality relating to *teachers'* subjective experiences is conceptually distinct from *learners'* positionality. In terms of positionality's influence in relation to learners' participation, data shows that *teachers'* positionality is nested or embedded within resourcing. In other words, the influence of *teachers'* positionality on *learners'* positionality and sociality is through the mediation of resourcing. That is, *teachers'* perspectives influence the types of resources that are mobilised in the classroom for learning which in turn shape how CALD learners inhabit learner-positions in the classroom, and the affordances to build social dynamics. (I will further discuss these interrelations in Section 7.3 and 7.4.). As I will elaborate later in Section 7.2.2, this embeddedness between resourcing and *teachers'* positionality does not render *teachers'* positionality as redundant. It remains a significant construct, that requires attention to understand what brings about the types of resources mobilised for classroom learning. I approach the discussion of these two constructs of positionality, first, by discussing *learners'* positionality (Section 7.2.1) followed by a discussion on *teachers'* positionality (Section 7.2.2).

7.2.1 *Learners'* positionality as the lens for understanding the field dynamics of participation

'Learners' positionality relates to CALD learners' subjective experiences of participating in the classroom. In developing the construct of *'learners'* positionality', I thus, foreground the centrality of students' subjective experiences to understand how contextual dynamics shape CALD learners' participation. Analysed through the lens of habitus, students' subjective experiences are illuminated as participatory potentialities that can be activated

through field transformations, which in this case, means through the teaching practices in the classroom field.

'Learner positionality' recognises the influence of CALD learners' subjectivity on how participation ultimately comes to unfold. That is, as a distinct construct, it enables a focus on the student as the 'lens' through which all other constructs are being interpreted and understood: including how the students read and respond to their *teachers'* positionality (towards them), as well as resourcing and sociality (which I elaborate on later).

'Learner positionality' considers how participation is shaped by CALD learners' understandings of their learner-participant role. Key findings around CALD students' perspectives of themselves as learners demonstrate the predominance of teacher-directed instruction whereby students mostly consider participation as teacher compliance (Chapter VI, Section 6.2.1). This is further validated by key findings that emphasise students' discomforts at displaying learner initiative behaviours in the classroom (Chapter IV, Section 6.2.2). This elusiveness of learner-initiated dispositions among CALD students is affirmed by existing research that focused on a culturally diverse student cohort from a single cultural background (Patchen, 2012; Reeve & Tseng, 2011; Waring, 2011). As such, this research extends the existing findings by demonstrating that a compliant disposition is a manifestation of a collective sense of habitus among learners with very heterogenous cultural and linguistic backgrounds. A collective or common sense of habitus denotes to similarities in past socialisation whether in family or previous schooling (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). As explained in the previous chapter, this is part of the CALD students' 'cultural toolkit', or a product of their socialisation (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). This means that, conversely, social conditions can be configured to either facilitate teacher compliant dispositions or enable other forms of learner participant dispositions to emerge in the classroom.

'Learners' positionality' recognises that CALD learners' experiences of themselves as learners is diverse, dynamic, and socially constructed. This is a reflection of the socially constructed characterisation of the habitus; meaning, that although it is stable, the habitus is also evolving and dynamic (see Chapter II, Section 2.3.3). Although, as discussed above, there was a predominant orientation among CALD learners towards teacher compliance, key findings also indicate that students orient themselves towards active or learner-initiated participant roles. These kinds of participation, characterised as 'risky' forms of participation are enabled or constrained by the kinds of classroom practices cultivated in the learning context.

'Learners' positionality' attends to the role of CALD learners' diverse cultural and linguistic experiences to participation. An important contribution of this study is to foreground the voices of CALD learners which enabled an understanding of the students' diverse practices in relation to their cultures and languages (Chapter V, Section 5.3). Key findings demonstrated the centrality of CALD learners' cultures and languages to their meaning-making practices. These findings build on influential literature such as Funds of Knowledge (González et al., 2005), translanguaging (García & Lin, 2017; García & Wei, 2014), and active bilingualism (Cummins, 2017) that highlight that CALD learners' cultural and linguistic skills, knowledge, and identities are integral to these students' participation in learning.

'*Learners'* positionality', as I am conceiving it, is the central construct that enables a contextual understanding of how resourcing and sociality are shaping CALD learners' participation. The importance of conceptualising *learners'* positionality as a distinct construct in the triad is demonstrated in CALD learners' diverse understandings about their learner-participant roles. *Learner's* positionality is also significant for considering how CALD learners' diverse

cultural and linguistic backgrounds can inform learning conditions. I further elaborate on this in my discussion later about the interrelations of learners' positionality with resourcing and sociality in Sections 7.3 and 7.4, respectively. Meanwhile, I turn to a discussion on the other dimension of positionality: *teachers'* positionality. As I will elaborate below, as a nested concept within resourcing, the interrelation of *teachers'* positionality with other constructs in the teaching triad is mediated by resourcing.

7.2.2 *Teachers'* positionality as a nested concept within resourcing

Teachers' positionality, as it relates to understanding learner participation, is a distinct, but an interrelated and nested construct within resourcing. As conceptualised from the literature review, *teachers'* positionality refers to the educators' subjective experiences that position CALD learners in the classroom (see Chapter II, Section 2.2.1). Resourcing, as a construct I developed through the literature review, denotes to the ways that CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources are mobilised for learning (see Chapter II, Section 2.2.2). Bourdieu's concept of field illustrates that as the legitimating authorities in the classroom field, teachers have the power to position CALD learners variably, often in very tacit ways, through their interactions with students and overall classroom practices (see Chapter II, Section 2.3.1).

Teachers' positionality, as nested with resourcing, highlights that teachers' perspectives drive the diverse ways that teachers mobilise CALD learners' resources for learning. As such, *teachers'* positionality is intimately linked but distinct from resourcing. I do not see *teachers'* positionality as redundant with resourcing, however. Rather, I conceive it as a key concept shaping the boundaries and limits that diverse cultures and languages are considered as

learning tools in the classroom. This is because teachers are the legitimating authorities in the classroom field, and as such their assumptions and beliefs are critical in shaping the kinds of resources or capital valued in the field (Grenfell, 2004). Thus, *teachers'* positionality needs to be emphasised as a nested construct within resourcing to understand how these two constructs intersect and overlap, but also to look beyond their interactions as I will discuss later in the interrelations of resourcing to sociality and *learners'* positionality (Sections 7.3 and 7.4, respectively).

Teachers' positionality emerging from teachers' beliefs, assumptions, and emotions contribute to legitimating the kinds of cultural and linguistic experiences that are mobilised for classroom learning. In other words, *teachers'* positionality influence how different cultural and linguist experiences, knowledge, and skills can be symbolically configured as 'capital,' or valued resources for learning. Key findings from this research reveal that teachers' discomforts led to the suppression of topics relating to CALD learners' cultural and linguistic experiences. This extends findings from existing research indicating teachers' discomforts as influencing decisions to suppress challenging and/or trauma-related topics raised by students (Dutro & Bien, 2014; Zipin, 2009). In Chapter IV (Section 4.3.1), for instance, Ms Wright was found actively avoiding faith-based discussions, arising from students, that elicited her discomfort. This aligns with findings from international research demonstrating that teachers' stereotypes about religion have led to minimal engagement of religious themes in the classroom (Costley & Leung, 2009; Patrick et al., 2017). Similarly, teachers' discomfort around students' use of their home languages led to the imposition of an 'English-only' rule in the classroom (see Chapter V, Section 5.4), echoing findings from existing research in Australian context (French, 2016), and international research (Cummins, 1997; De La Luz Reyes, 1992; Valentine, Sporton, & Nielsen, 2008). In the absence of any school policy prohibiting students' use of their home languages in the

classroom and the discussion of faith-based experiences, these teachers have followed their own instincts. Thus, creating subtractive conditions of learning for the CALD students (Cummins, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999).

It is important to highlight the situatedness of the process of teachers' legitimisation of CALD learners' diverse cultural and linguistic resources. This means that teachers' beliefs, assumptions, and practices result from wider institutional and socio-political contexts. As Cummins (1996) emphasise, the micro-interactions between students and teachers in the classroom are reflective of broader or macro-issues of power. Such understanding of teachers' positionality is significant as it brings to light the broader social processes that influence teachers' practices and the decisions that teachers make in the classroom. These systemic processes can include (but not limited to) experiences and understandings of diversity, teacher education and professional development, schooling culture, and the taken-for-granted norms of speaking, thinking, and being in society. Teachers' practices can result from school policies, cultures, and practices which means that teachers act within certain conditions of possibility. Recognising the situatedness of teachers' processes of legitimisation is crucial to advance reflections on teaching and teacher education based on this study's key findings (as discussed in the next Chapter, Section 8.3).

The role of *teachers'* positionality in shaping resourcing underlines the need to attend to teachers' subjective experiences if CALD classrooms are to become additive rather than subtractive of diverse cultures and languages. Culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000) and 'both-ways' pedagogy (Delpit, 2006), both aligning with additive approaches, emphasise the importance of building on CALD learners' cultures and languages as students participate in schooling. Central to these approaches are asset perspectives, or the teachers' beliefs that CALD learners have cultural and linguistic resources that are valuable to

learning. *Teachers'* positionality, therefore, is a critical dimension of resourcing. As the key findings from this research illuminate, there existed a wealth of cultural and linguistic resources in Class 5/6k. These resources remained untapped and ignored as a consequence of teachers' (mis)understandings that such resources were insignificant or disruptive to learning. Teachers' deficit perspectives, this study has found, typically stemmed from teachers' unconscious and unexamined beliefs and orientations that were seemingly neutral, or even positively intended (see Chapters IV and V). The embeddedness of *teachers'* positionality to resourcing suggests the need for educational policy and practice to direct attention towards developing teachers' more conscious awareness and understandings of how they are positioning themselves, and in turn their learners in relation to the cultural and linguistic resources present in the classroom.

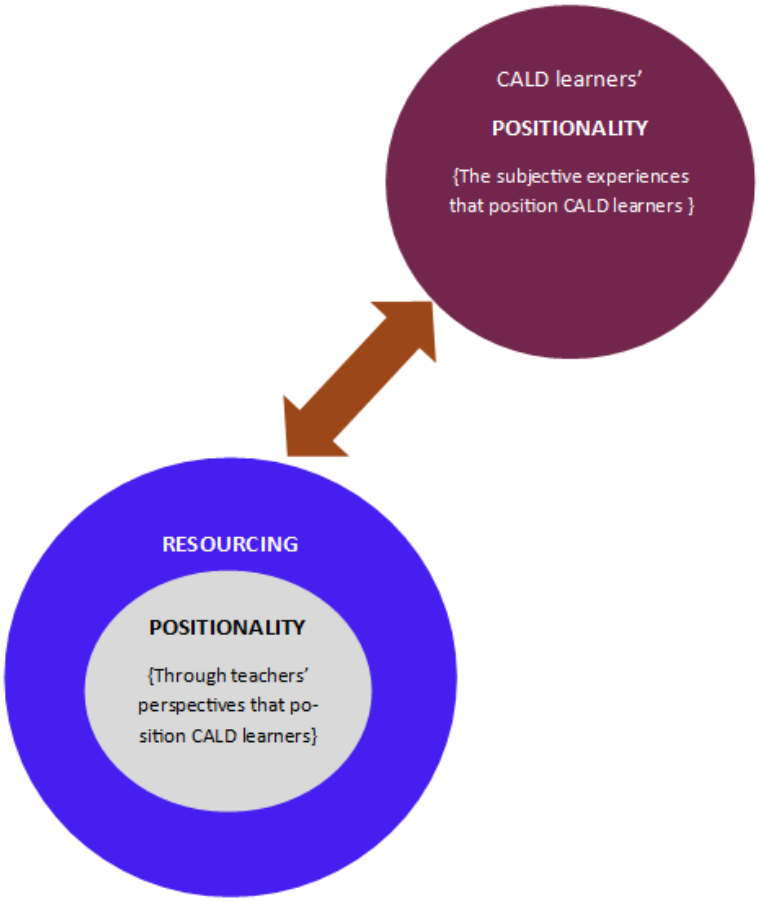
In conceiving *teachers'* positionality as embedded or nested within resourcing, I therefore demonstrate that resourcing, or the practice of mobilising different learning resources in the classroom, is not neutral or cannot be taken-for-granted. Within the classroom field, resourcing is a power-laden interaction resulting from teachers' beliefs and feelings about cultural and linguistic diversity. As the legitimating authorities in the field (Grenfell, 2004), teachers enact the culture of power in the classroom (Delpit, 2006). Teachers' assumptions and stereotypes result from their own processes of socialisation, often reflective of a society that privileges the cultures and languages of the elite (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Cummins, 1997; Delpit, 2006). Engaging with the notion of 'habitus', this means that teachers' conditionings and experiences afford them certain dispositions as well as possibility for actions. Thus, the assumptions guiding the interactions of teachers with CALD learners cannot be taken-for-granted. As such, *teachers'* positionality deserves a distinct construct nested within resourcing, although the way *teachers'* positionality interacts with the other two constructs, sociality and *learners'* positionality is primarily

mediated through resourcing. This means that resourcing, which is shaped by *teachers'* positionality, is the construct interacting and mutually influencing *learners'* positionality and sociality. For this reason, in the interest of brevity and coherence, from this discussion forward, I refer to *learners'* positionality as simply 'positionality.'

7.3 The interrelations of resourcing and positionality

As two constructs emerging from my literature review in Chapter II, resourcing and positionality's relationship is designated by the bidirectional (⇔) arrow in Figure 7.3 below. (To be clear, and as just explained above, 'positionality' here refers to *learners'* positionality.) My discussion in this section focuses on the relationship between resourcing and positionality, indicated in Figure 7-3 below.

Figure 7 - 3 The interrelations of resourcing and positionality



The relationship between positionality and resourcing illuminates that CALD learners' ability to inhabit positions in a social context is intimately linked to how they mobilise their cultural and linguistic resources. Significant findings from this research shows the sophisticated and intricate ways that CALD learners produced knowledge by drawing from various cultural and linguistic experiences. Students manifested their faith-based knowledge in their articulation of their Muslim practices, for example, demonstrating a 'Funds of Knowledge,' that is dynamic and hybrid in nature (Amanti, 2005; see also González et al., 2005). In similar vein, students were engaging in knowledge creation through the use of varied linguistic resources, such as translating for

parents, intercutlural exchange, and collaborative work, reflecting theories of translanguaging (García & Lin, 2017; García & Wei, 2014) and active bilingualism (Cummins, 2017). These findings demonstrate that students' propensities to produce distinct forms of knowledge were deeply tied to their abilities to engage with, build on, and mobilise a range of linguistic and cultural resources.

Resourcing's ability to shape positionality reveals the socially constructed ways that CALD learners can potentially inhabit learner-participant roles in the classroom. The key findings discussed above demonstrate that CALD learners' co-authoring dispositions were formed and framed in various social interactions where students mobilised their cultural and linguistic resources. In the home, it was facilitated in situations where students performed tasks that required translating across English and home languages. Here, the students were displaying the potential to take on expert roles as they engage with their parents (see Chapter V, Section 5.3.1). At school, students' potential to inhabit expert dispositions manifested in friendship groups where students were able to speak in their home languages and share about each other's cultures (see Chapter VI, Section 6.3.4). Students also displayed the potential for co-authoring through a display of their funds of knowledge—in particular faith-based knowledge—in a social context whereby students were encouraged to do so. This was manifested during fieldwork interviews whereby picking up cultural innuendos from students' seemingly banal narratives, I followed up with: 'Are you Muslim?' These conditions illustrate that in social interactions demonstrating an interest, openness, and sensitivity towards students' cultural and linguistic resources, the students' co-authoring dispositions are reinforced and facilitated. This reflects the socially constructed characteristic of the habitus that suggests dynamism and potentiality through the affordances of the field.

Resourcing as shaping positionality draws attention to the learning context as offering conditions of possibility for CALD learners' participation. A key empirical finding from this study has been that centring a refugee students' experience in the classroom, through a lesson content, enabled the student to become a knowledge expert and participate in an authoritative manner (see Chapter IV, Section 4.3.2). This episode captured during 'Refugee Week' is a powerful demonstration of how the classroom field afforded Mateen—often described by teachers as traumatised, shy, and unconfident—space to find his voice. These findings resonate with narrative of teacher-researchers in the 'Funds of Knowledge' project that found increased student participation by connecting classroom lesson content with students' home lives (Amanti, 2005; Browning-Aiken, 2005; Hensley , 2005; Sandoval-Taylor, 2005). Envisioned as a field, the classroom has the potential to transform in a way that offers the possibility for CALD learners to occupy a position of authority (see Chapter II, Section 2.3.1). That is, (re)configuring the field to include other forms of resources as valued capital to learning, similar to what occurred during 'Refugee Week', can open up spaces for CALD learners to inhabit the position of co-authors of learning. As demonstrated in this study, and supported by existing empirical research, this requires teachers to value and validate CALD learners' cultural and linguistic knowledge.

Resourcing's relationship with positionality suggests the need for teaching and learning practices to address the interests, experiences, and needs of CALD learners. This is supported by literature on additive approaches to learning such as culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000), 'both-ways' pedagogy (Delpit, 2006), and translanguaging pedagogies (e.g., Palmer, Henderson, Martínez, Garcia-Mateus, 2014). These approaches highlight the significance of teaching approaches that are culturally and linguistically responsive. The increasingly diverse contexts of classroom, such as this study's empirical context, has brought attention to the complexities of students' diverse backgrounds and

associated challenges for schooling in such 'superdiverse' contexts. The findings of this study suggest that apart from multiculturalism and multilingualism, 'multi-faith' classrooms are becoming a feature of contemporary schooling contexts, as also signified in existing literature (e.g., Fozdar, 2014; Patrick et al., 2017). Furthermore, within these aspects of diversity, there are further layers of diverse identities as illustrated in the students' narratives of be(com)ing Muslims (see Chapter V, Section 5.3.1). These diverse contexts, captured through notions such as 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007) and 'hyperdiversity' (Noble, 2009) compels a (re)examination and further exploration of how schooling policies and practices can attend to the many layers of diversity characterising contemporary classrooms.

Resourcing's influence on positionality illuminates that, in the context of CALD classrooms, contextualisation matters. This study has shown that although teachers intended to position CALD learners as co-authoring learner participants in the classroom, teachers' lack of attention to students' cultural and linguistic resources obstructed such intention (see Chapter IV, Section 4.3). Teachers' rhetoric around positioning students as co-authors of learning strongly echoed learner-centred approaches to teaching. Teachers were conceiving the classroom as a space where students can co-design the learning process. Teachers' intentions, however, to promote a learner-centred approach in teaching CALD learners were inadequate and highly unsuccessful when working in schooling conditions that were linguistically and culturally subtractive, as described above. Key findings in Chapters IV and V emphasise the lack of coherent and robust schooling mechanisms in Class 5/6k to recognise and mobilise the cultural and linguistic resources of CALD learners for learning. The shortcomings of learner-centred teaching approaches in engaging with diverse learners have also been emphasised in existing literature (e.g. Schutz, 2001). Learner-centredness remains influential globally in contemporary educational practice, as this study demonstrates, and as argued

in literature (Fleer, 2003; Langford, 2010; Windschitl, 2002). The discussion here suggests that given the influence of resourcing to positionality, there is a need to further (re)consider how teaching and teacher education bring into conversation 'mainstream' learner-centred educational approaches and additive approaches to learning exemplified by translanguaging pedagogies (e.g., Palmer et al., 2014), culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000), and 'both-ways' pedagogy (Delpit, 2006).

I conceive of the interrelations between resourcing and positionality as one that denotes mutuality, or the act of shaping and being shaped by each other. This mutual influence produces the practice of participation, an understanding that resonates with Bourdieusian relational thinking. Engaging with this relational thinking, I understand resourcing, as demonstrated in this study's key findings, as crafting the learning conditions that allow students to take on co-authoring roles in the classroom. Resourcing can either enable and constrain CALD learners' co-authoring dispositions by either mobilising or disengaging with the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of CALD learners, respectively. Theoretically, students' positionality offers potential to assist and inform resourcing, or the different kinds of resources that can be utilised as learning in the classroom. As CALD students perform their co-authoring roles, such participation in the classroom empowers students to shape or co-design the learning conditions, in a way that enables "epistemological equity" (Dei, 2010 as cited in Gale et al., 2017, p. 351). This notion of positionality shaping resourcing, however, is my reflection as I engaged with Bourdieusian theory of practice. It does suggest a possible direction for future research.

Perceiving resourcing and positionality as interrelated and mutually influencing recognises that relations of power are embedded within student-teacher interactions. As previously emphasised, teachers are inherently configured as legitimating authorities in the classroom field (see Chapter II, Section 2.3.1). As

such, teachers have decision-making power over what counts as valued knowledge for learning, and can enact the 'culture of power,' in tacit and unchallenged ways in the classroom. The interrelations of resourcing and positionality discussed above offers a way for envisioning how 'collaborative relations of power' (Cummins, 1996) is achievable in the classroom. That is, in attending to resourcing, CALD students are afforded a space to inhabit authoritative roles in the classroom. In doing so, as explained above, CALD learners are empowered to inform and craft resourcing in the classroom, in a way that produces co-authoring dispositions and allows for the expansion of capital valued in the field. Such is the generative interrelations between resourcing and positionality that I am conceiving through developing this conceptual framework.

7.4 The interrelations of sociality and positionality

The relationship between positionality and sociality is designated by the bidirectional (⇔) arrow in Figure 7.4 below. Sociality, a construct in the teaching triad of participation, attends to the social dynamics among students and teachers that influence CALD learners' participation. Emerging from my literature review, sociality emphasises how relations of trust, acceptance, and inclusion, or the lack thereof, shape CALD learners' participation in the classroom (see Chapter II, Section 2.1.3).

Figure 7 - 4 The interrelations of sociality and positionality

The way that sociality shapes CALD learners' participation illuminates the socially constructed characteristic of positionality (as alluded in Section 7.2.1). The case of Niko discussed earlier in Chapter IV indicated that in the presence of Ms Wright, with whom he has built relations of trust, and potentially with his friendship groups, Niko was willing to read out his literacy compositions. Key findings also show that students' suppression of their use of home languages was tied to past experiences and previous socialisation with peers that placed their cultures and languages as inferior and cause for shame (see Chapter VI, Section 6.2.3). Furthermore, key findings reveal that students' concerns about weakening connectedness with teachers inhibited them from taking initiative in their participation. These findings illuminate that social dynamics enable or constrain different forms of participation. The different ways that sociality shapes positionality is reflected in the dynamic and socially

constructed nature of the habitus (Reay, 2004). The kinds of assumptions students made about themselves as learners, were deeply social. Students' judgements made about peer and teacher relations were fundamental to the ways in which these learners understood and practiced themselves as 'learners'. These judgements were dynamic and unfolding; made and remade in the interactions these students had in the classrooms.

Sociality's relationship to positionality, in particular, draws attention to the powerful role of peer relationships in activating CALD learners' dispositions to participate. Peer humiliation was highlighted by students as a reason for suppressing learner initiation through asking questions or making comments. These findings extend empirical research in the North American context demonstrating how recently migrated secondary and adult English language learners inhibit from participating in situations perceived as risky (Duff, 2002; Norton-Pierce, 1994, 1995; Patchen, 2012). That is, unlike existing studies that have only focused on newly-arrived migrants, this study has found that some second-generation migrant students—or those born in Australia, with at least one foreign-born parent (European Commission, n.d.)—also inhibit from participating to avoid weakening their social relations with members in their classroom community. The literature around sociality discussed in Chapter II have tended to highlight the consequences and tensions around student-teacher relationships to CALD learners' participation (e.g., Cummins, 1996; Doherty & Mayer, 2003; Poplin & Weeres, 1993). This study extends the importance of classroom social relationships by emphasising the equally important role of peer relationships to the kinds of participatory behaviours CALD learners perform.

The relationship between sociality and positionality considers how taken-for-granted classroom practices attends to the social dynamics that enable or constrain CALD learners' participation. Literature argues that in conditions

where mutual trust and acceptance prevail, students feel empowered to take risks and take on 'active' participant roles in the classroom (Cummins, 1996; Poplin & Weeres, 1993). Existing empirical research, however, has also revealed that addressing social relationships in the classroom is challenging and complex (Poplin & Weeres, 1993). Research suggests that schooling practices do not prioritise relationship building with an overemphasis instead on academic achievement (Doherty & Mayer, 2003). This resonates with findings from this study that show the near absence of teaching practices intended to build a sense of belonging and trust in the classroom community. As discussed in Chapter IV, the classroom field lacked concerted, coherent, and robust schooling practices that attends to social relationships. Yet key findings in this study demonstrate the important role of sociality in shaping CALD learners' positionality. These findings gesture towards the need for a (re)consideration of the role of social relationships in schooling policies and practices.

My conceptualisation of the interrelations between sociality and positionality, informed by key findings from this research, is one that resonates with Bourdieusian relational understanding of practice. That is, the practice of participation is produced through the mutual ways that sociality and positionality influence each other. The discussion above has highlighted the significant ways that nurturing relations of trust and acceptance enables risky forms of participation. In thinking about the facilitative function of sociality to positionality, engaging with Bourdieusian framework, has led me to theorise about the potential for positionality to shape sociality. To put concretely, this means that as students take risks and show their vulnerabilities in their participation, this in turn further shapes the social connectedness within the classroom community. Thus, strengthening the relations of trust and inclusion in the learning context. This study, however, was not able to capture this relationship between positionality and sociality. The teaching approaches to address sociality in the classroom studied were inadequate and limiting. My

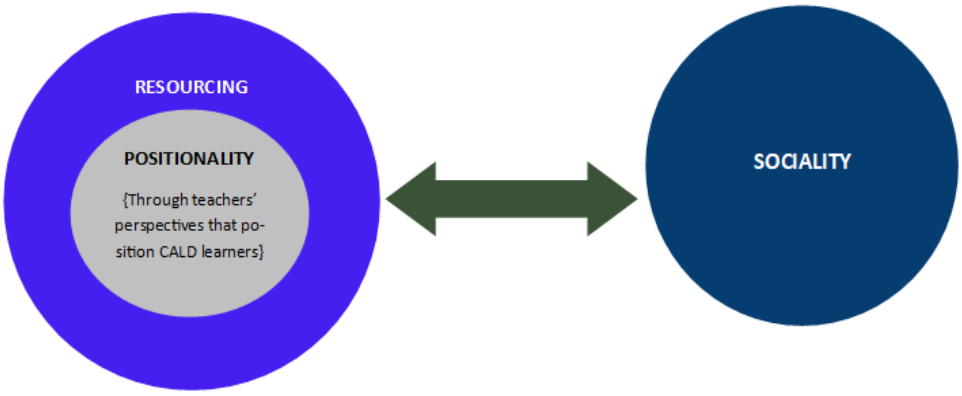
reflections of key findings with Bourdieusian theory of practice suggest the possibility of positionality as shaping sociality. Thus, to gain a more nuanced understandings of the practice of participation, I propose further examination of the relationship between positionality and sociality in future research.

My exploration of the relationship of sociality and positionality has also unveiled a key element in learners' subjectivities that influence their participation. This element is captured through an affective dimension of participation. This is elucidated in CALD students' feelings of embarrassment, humiliation, and shyness that inhibits forms of participation perceived as risky. Engaging with Bourdieusian thinking, this affective dimension in CALD learners' subjective experiences is advanced by post-Bourdieusian scholars such as Dianne Reay (2000, 2015) through the notion of habitus and capital. This dimension offers a lens for understanding why sociality matters for CALD learners' participation. The way that findings surrounding CALD learners' subjectivities speak to the affective domain intimates a generative area for further research.

7.5 The interrelations of resourcing and sociality

The green arrow in Figure 7.4 signals the relationship between resourcing and sociality. The nature of the relationship between resourcing and sociality is one that is distinct from positionality. However, the mutual influence that resourcing and sociality have on each other is consequently shaping each constructs' interrelation with positionality.

Figure 7 - 5 The interrelations of resourcing and sociality



Resourcing's relationship with sociality recognises that the mobilisation of different cultural and linguistic resources in social contexts shapes social relationships. This study has found that a lack of appreciation towards CALD learners' cultural resources had clear implications for nurturing relations of trust and belongingness. As discussed in Chapter IV, Ms Wright's attempts at building a sense of community was found limiting resulting from her unconscious practice of drawing only from her own experiences (see Section 4.4). This finding mirrors existing research in Australian secondary classroom problematising taken-for-granted teaching strategies that alienated students from low socio-economic backgrounds (Cross et al., 2019). Conversely, CALD learners' engagement with their cultural and linguistic resources were found as bearing strong potentials for building social connection. This study has found that at home and in students' friendship groups, outside and inside the classroom, home languages play a crucial role in strengthening social bonds (see Chapter V, Section 5.3.2 and Chapter VI, Section 6.3.4), resonating with existing research on the use of translanguaging (i.e., French 2016). This occurred among students within the same linguistic groups and also among those with very diverse linguistic groups which found the intercultural

exchange rewarding. In the classroom, however, these were exhibited in somehow subversive ways—often in the margins of formal learning—as a consequence of an 'English-only' rule (see Chapter V, Section 5.4). This potential, therefore, for resourcing to shape sociality was not harnessed in Class 5/6k, despite its diverse student cohort, due to the subtractive conditions of schooling (Valenzuela, 1999) that persisted in the classroom.

The interrelations of resourcing and sociality also considers how social dynamics influence the kinds of resources mobilised in the classroom for learning. A significant finding of this study has been that teachers lack of trust towards students has led them to assume that students' use of their home languages arises for negative purposes, such as gossiping, which may hamper student cohesion (see Chapter V, Section 5.4.1). This perspective among teachers has also been revealed in existing literature (e.g., Cunningham, 2019; French, 2016). This assumption, has in part, contributed to teachers' promotion of an 'English-only' rule in the classroom. These assumptions stand in contrast to the findings discussed above that students' home languages and cultural backgrounds can indeed strengthen peer relationships. These findings illuminate that the absence of trusting relationships between teachers and students has led to the prohibition of students' use of home languages in school.

The ways that resourcing and sociality shape each other, as discussed above, acknowledges the dynamic and contextual nature of the two constructs. The generative way that each construct shapes the other highlights the need to attend to the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the students. That is, the extent to which CALD learners' cultural and linguistic resources are mobilised in the classroom can shape classroom social dynamics. Relatedly, the extent to which trustful relationships exist in the classroom impacts on the ways cultural and linguistic resources are mobilised for learning. The interrelations of

resourcing and sociality, therefore, gestures towards the need for a holistic understanding about how these two constructs operate in conjunction to create conditions of constraints and possibilities for CALD learners' participation. This understanding of sociality and resourcing as mutually influencing denotes that to create an inclusive culture of participation in the context of CALD classrooms, schooling practices must attend to both resourcing and sociality. Furthermore, as I have discussed at the beginning of this section, the interrelated ways that these two constructs, resourcing and sociality, shape each other respectively influence each construct's relationship with positionality. As such, a holistic and relational perspective across the three constructs in the teaching triad is needed if schooling is to productively address the capabilities and needs of CALD learners in the classroom.

It would seem that the interrelations of resourcing and sociality can be described as relational, but my conceptualisation of the relationship between resourcing and sociality do not follow Bourdieusian relational framing of practice. This is because the relationship between resourcing and sociality can be understood as confined to the field conditions (as suggested in the green bidirectional arrow in Figure 7.4), which then interacts with habitus (through *learners'* positionality). In engaging with Bourdieusian concept of capital, sociality can be thought of as capital—a resource valued by the agents in the field—that is essential for learning. However, the notion of capital, as described in Chapter II, which is framed from the language of economics denotes to having an exchange value (Moore, 2012). That is, in the context of schooling, capital is one that helps to generate (new) knowledge. Sociality's role, as defined above, can assist this knowledge production through the mobilisation of cultural and linguistic resources. However, the concept of capital, as I have discussed in Chapter II, falls short in capturing sociality as a dimension in the classroom field. Post-Bourdieusain scholarship, however, have explored the notion of emotional capital, after Bourdieu (i.e., Cottingham, 2016; Reay, 2000,

2015; Zembylas, 2007). As pointed out in the previous section, this again denotes to an affective dimension in the practice of participation among CALD learners. This further reiterates the relevance of pursuing conceptual examination of CALD learners' participation by engaging with an affective dimension or construct.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a conceptual basis for understanding the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners as the primary contribution of this research study. In outlining the various constructs and their interrelations, I have explained the conceptual mechanism for understanding CALD learners' participation. I have revealed that understanding CALD learners' participation requires a relational, but also holistic, perspective across the three key constructs in the teaching triad of participation. Crucial to this understanding is the notion of two distinct, but interrelated notions of positionality. One that relates to CALD *learners'* positionality, and the other to *teachers'* positionality (Section 7.1). *Teachers'* positionality is nested within resourcing and its interaction with the other two constructs: *learners'* positionality and sociality—is mediated by resourcing. As such, in my discussion throughout the rest of the chapters, I have used the term 'positionality,' for brevity and clarity in discussing the interrelations with resourcing and sociality.

In conceptualising the interrelations across the constructs of the teaching triad of participation, I have highlighted the implications of such relational and holistic understandings to teaching and learning practices. Subscribing to a relational thinking means that in the context of CALD learners, teaching and learning approaches need to attend to the positions that CALD learners inhabit in the classroom, the resources mobilised for learning, and the social dynamics

among students and teachers. Furthermore, the increasing diversity in contemporary classrooms gestures towards teaching approaches that are contextualised and informed by the many layers of diversity manifested in students' identities and backgrounds. This then highlights the need for attention to cultural and linguistic diversity in teaching and teacher education practices, and the ways that learner-centred approaches can foreground issues of cultural and linguistic diversity.

My conceptualisation of the teaching triad of participation has also brought to the fore possible research directions in practice. For instance, my reflections on how positionality can theoretically shape resourcing is a possible area of research (see Section 7.3). Furthermore, I encourage further research along an action research agenda that explores how the teaching triad works in practice within CALD classroom contexts.

My engagement with Bourdieusian theorising in articulating the teaching triad has revealed some limitations that offer productive areas for future research. The relationship between sociality and resourcing, a significant aspect of this triad has revealed the limits of using Bourdieusian lens. The relationship between the two constructs, resourcing and sociality, although relational in nature is not captured by Bourdieusian relational thinking. Bourdieusian relationality describes how individuals' subjective experiences (i.e., habitus) and the social context (i.e., field) are mutually shaping practice (see Chapter II, Section 2.3). However, the interrelations of resourcing and sociality are confined to the field dynamics that does not follow Bourdieusian relationality. Furthermore, the field dynamics denoted by the relations of sociality and resourcing exposes further thinking about Bourdieu's notion of capital. In particular, the concept of sociality has revealed an affective dimension to participation that post-Bourdieusian scholars writing about emotional capital intimate (e.g., Cottingham, 2016; Reay, 2000, 2004; Zembylas, 2007). As such,

this affective dimension of participation offers fertile grounds for further conceptualising the practice of participation in CALD context.

In offering a conceptual basis for understanding the practice of participation in the context of CALD learners, my offering of the teaching triad of participation remains a work in progress. Knowledge production, I believe, is infinite and with this thesis I hope to offer valuable contributions, which I have outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSION
Participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity: Moving Forward

8.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to examine the practice of participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity. As discussed in Chapter I, this study responds to literature urging for a more thoughtful and deliberative conceptualisation of participation in educational research (Holdsworth, 2000; Thomas et al., 2012a; Thomson & Holdsworth, 2003). Additionally, it attends to the context of cultural and linguistic diversity, a now common feature of many classrooms in multicultural societies such as Australia. However, since the 1990s, there has been a steady decline of robust policy discussion on multicultural education in Australia leading to decreased attention on current issues that relate to cultural and linguistic diversity in relation to schooling (Jakubowicz & Ho, 2014). This thesis thus aims to contribute to the existing scholarship on classroom participation in the context of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) learners.

In advancing this knowledge, I conducted an in-depth empirical examination of participation in a CALD classroom. A central line of inquiry for this study has been to examine how participation is understood and practiced by educators, and how this is in turn is understood and experienced by CALD learners. To do this, this study addressed the over-arching research question:

> How is participation understood, practiced, and experienced in the context of a CALD primary classroom?

To provide focus for this study, the following sub-questions were posed:

> How can participation be conceptualised to address cultural and linguistic diversity?
>
> How do educators understand and practice 'participation' in relation to cultural and linguistic diversity?
>
> How do CALD students understand and experience 'participation'?

Guided by these research questions, I conducted a case study of a primary 5/6 composite classroom (Class 5/6k) composed of a very diverse student cohort in a school located in one of the most multicultural suburbs of Victoria, Australia. The classroom reflects the suburb's 'hyper-diversity,' marked by the presence of intensely stratified cultural and linguistic diversity (Noble, 2009). In addition to its long-term residents, the suburb hosts a mixture of new migrants including those of refugees and asylum seeker backgrounds, as well as families on temporary visas.[4]

In Class 5/6k, 47% and 43% of the total students in the class were from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, respectively. Of the 11 participants, eight cultural backgrounds were represented including Albanian, Arabic, Afghani, Fijian, Indian, Malaysian, Pakistani, Persian, and Samoan. These student participants also spoke a total of 11 languages other than English including Arabic, Dari, Farsi/Persian, Fijian, Hazaragi, Hindi, Malaysian, Punjabi, Russian, Samoan and Urdu. However, most teachers who worked with Class 5/6k did not reflect this same degree of cultural and linguistic diversity. Eight of the 9 teachers interviewed who were involved with Class 5/6k were from Anglo-

[4] For anonymity, the source of this information which is the council website has been eliminated. Interviews with school leaders also affirm this characteristic of students and families at Upstream.

Australian backgrounds and only two spoke a language in addition to English (i.e. Dutch and Greek). Class 5/6k thus offered a productive site to examine the dilemmas in schooling practices given the contrasting backgrounds between student and teacher profiles. As identified in the literature review, this context of hyper-diversity in the primary years deserves further attention in educational research.

In addressing the overarching research question of this thesis, this study has generated conceptual, methodological, and empirical contributions about the practice of participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity. Thus, this chapter begins by outlining the contributions of this study (Section 8.2) followed by the limitations and directions for future research (Section 8.3).

8.2 Contributions of this study

This study offers conceptual, methodological, and empirical contributions to the scholarship and discourse on CALD learners' participation in schooling. This study offered a more nuanced examination of participation that attends to how relations of power shape CALD learners' participation in schooling. In the discussion that follows, the organising structure of this section highlights the three areas of contribution.

8.2.1 Conceptual contributions

This study's primary contribution is the offering of a conceptual framework for understanding participation in the context of CALD learners thus responding to the problem outlined in Chapter I. Although participation has become an eminent concept in educational discourse, much of its understandings are

based on measurements and indicators (Holdsworth, 2000; Thomson & Holdsworth, 2003). The concept of 'participation' in educational research, unlike other disciplines (e.g., development work, political science), has lacked a deliberative examination, in particular, one that attends to issues of power (Thomas et al., 2012a, b, c). Thus, this study offered an alternative way to understand the problem of participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity, a characteristic of many contemporary classrooms.

This thesis advances a conceptual basis for understanding participation in the context of CALD learners through 'the teaching triad of participation' composed of three interrelated constructs: 'positionality', 'resourcing', and 'sociality' (as elaborated in Chapter VII). These constructs emerged through a thematic analysis of empirical data. Each dynamic and interrelated construct of the triad points to key tensions in the practice of participation in the context of cultural and linguistic diversity. To summarise, positionality attends to the ways that CALD learners are positioned as learner-participants in the classroom. Resourcing attends to how resources are mobilised in the classroom for learning. Within resourcing is a nested concept which I refer as *teachers'* positionality that attends to the teachers' perspectives that position CALD learners. Sociality attends to the social dynamics among students and teachers shaping CALD learners' participation. The interrelations of the three constructs were illuminated by bringing into conversation Bourdieusian theory of practice.

Examining the interrelations of the three constructs, in the previous chapter, has revealed that the practice participation in CALD contexts needs to be understood in relational and holistic terms. That is, CALD learners' positionality is shaped by resourcing (which embeds *teachers'* positionality) and sociality. Theoretically, guided by Bourdieusian thinking, I advance the possibility that resourcing and sociality can be shaped by positionality. Such suggestion emerges from significant findings that beyond the constraints of the

classroom, CALD learners were mobilising their resources and strengthening social connections. These authoritative or co-authoring dispositions are potentialities that the classroom can facilitate, and that in doing so can generate and deepen the funds of knowledge in the classroom and the social dynamics fostered. This postulation has implications for further research on the teaching triad in an empirical context which I will later discuss in the section on limitations and directions for further research (Section 8.4).

Examining the interrelations of the constructs of resourcing and sociality has also revealed a characteristic of sociality that has not been originally accounted for in this research. The interrelations of resourcing and sociality, as I have discussed in Chapter VII, is one that is not captured by Bourdieusian relationality. It gestures towards the ideas of emotional capital discussed by post-Bourdieusian scholars (i.e., Cottingham, 2016; Reay, 2000, 2015; Zembylas, 2007) as a component in the classroom field that shapes participation. At the same time, the interrelations of sociality to positionality also reveals an affective dimension within CALD learners' subjective experiences. Thus, I raise the possibility of an affective dynamic or construct to CALD learners' participation that future research can further explore (as outlined in Section 8.4).

8.2.2 Methodological contributions

In developing this conceptual framework, this study has made methodological contributions to educational research by demonstrating the significance of bringing theory in conversation with methodology. Bourdieusian theorising informed the employment of a critical constructivist methodological approach (see Chapter III, Section 3.2). The confluence of the critical and constructivist paradigms enabled a critical examination of participation whilst offering a

socially constructed understanding of the phenomenon (see Chapter III, Section 3.2). In employing critical constructivism, informed by Bourdieusian theorising, this thesis contributes to the literature that highlights the significance of bridging theory and method in educational research (e.g., Costa & Murphy, 2015).

The thesis also made methodological contributions through adopting a reflexive iterative process of analysis. As a CALD scholar conducting research on CALD learners, an awareness of my positionality—or how I see the world in relation to how I have been positioned—is important. It was clear therefore, to adopt a researcher stance that enabled reflexivity in critically exploring the phenomenon of participation. Building on the work of Srivastava and Hopwood (2009), I utilised the process of analytical iteration that attends to reflexivity in developing the conceptual framework advanced in this study (see Chapter III, Section 3.4.4). In doing so, I advance the procedural knowledge of conducting analysis that attends to reflexivity, a process that is often discussed in literature at a conceptual level but needs further practical demonstration (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009).

8.2.3 Empirical contributions

The empirical context of this research makes significant contributions to understanding the challenges in teaching in increasingly diverse context, culturally and linguistically. The study is conducted in a classroom with multiple cultural and linguistic diversity or a 'hyper-diverse' (Noble, 2009) classroom context. As such, the empirical insights produced in this study extends findings from existing classroom research on CALD learners that is often focused on a single cultural and linguistic group. The study has found that in such diverse classroom contexts, multi-faith identities have been found

as an additional component alongside multiculturalism and multilingualism in contemporary classrooms.

This research, in foregrounding the subjective experiences of CALD learners at the primary level, makes significant contributions by capturing the complexities of CALD learners' identities. Foregrounding students' subjective experiences is an identified gap in classroom research, especially among CALD student cohorts (i.e., Patchen, 2012). In foregrounding students' subjective experiences, this study has found the different layers of diversity in CALD learners. Key findings, for instance, revealed students' varied faith-based knowledge within one religious denomination, such as the Muslim faith. In addition, students' subjective experiences also reveal commonalities and divergencies in participatory dispositions. These imply the need for complex understandings to teach in CALD classroom contexts.

8.3 Implications to teaching and teacher education

This study has found the persistence of deficit perspectives and subtractive conditions of schooling in the context of CALD learners. These were often enacted in tacit, but also very unconscious ways, often emerging from teachers' positive intentions. In conceptually exploring the nestedness of *teachers'* positionality within resourcing, this study emphasises the need for teacher education and/or professional development to attend to teachers' beliefs and assumptions about cultural and linguistic diversity. The necessity of this aspect in teacher education was evident in the case study where educators, such as classroom teacher Ms Wright, who have been teaching in a CALD context for several years lack in-depth understanding about students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and how these resources can be mobilised for learning. This reinforces existing research that found teachers, particularly at the primary

level, lack professional development training in the areas of cultural and linguistic diversity (McKenzie et al., 2014). Attention to cultural and linguistic diversity in teacher education is also especially significant in light of this study's findings suggesting the increasingly complex nature of diversity in contemporary classrooms.

This study has revealed that alongside the persistence of teachers' deficit perspectives and subtractive conditions of schooling is the need to appreciate diversity as multifaceted and layered. For teachers therefore, this means the need for continued reflexivity and professional development to understand the complexity of their students' personhood (see, for instance, Rudolph & Brown, 2017; Tuck, 2009). Below are some key areas that can bring attention to the value of cultural and linguistic diversity to classroom learning particularly in the primary setting. This is not an exhaustive list, and is instead meant to stimulate thinking about teacher education and continuous professional development:

- Teaching for diversity and inclusion. Teacher education and professional development need to further emphasise the ways that cultural and linguistic diversity, including religious diversity, can be understood. Doing so can nurture critical reflection of pedagogical practices that can be engaged in the classroom.

- Understanding the connections between language and culture. A pattern that is often observed in the literature discussed in Chapter II is the separation of culture and language in research and pedagogical approaches. Yet these two are intimately linked with language as a significant cultural marker. There is potential therefore, for schooling in general to build on the connections between diverse cultures and languages in curriculum and pedagogy.

• Critical reflection of teaching practice. A major finding in this study is that often well-intentioned and taken-for-granted teaching and learning practices can be constraining for CALD learners' participation. As highlighted in the previous chapter, teachers' beliefs and practices are situated within broader institutional and socio-political contexts. The key findings gesture towards more robust discourse and attention in policy and practice along the following areas: (i) teacher education that empowers teachers to question classroom norms; (ii) schooling practices that (re)imagine ways of constructing knowledge in the classroom; and (iii) teaching and learning practices that nurture and facilitate a community of learners and empowers students towards creating respectful and trustful relationships in the classroom.

8.4 Directions for future research

The discussion of the conceptual framework in the previous chapter has illuminated important areas for future research. Although this study has employed a critical lens, it has not engaged with an action-research agenda often associated with the critical tradition (as discussed in Chapter III). Articulating the interrelations of the constructs in the teaching triad (see Chapter VII) compels an action research agenda to further explore the interrelations of positionality, resourcing, and sociality. In particular, as discussed in Chapter VII, of interest is exploring how positionality can shape or influence sociality and resourcing in the classroom field that can enrich the ways that resourcing and sociality can be enacted in teaching practices. This gestures towards research that considers the active participation of both teachers and CALD learners.

The interrelations of the constructs in the teaching triad, particularly the relationship with sociality has illuminated the limits of Bourdieu's theory of practice as I have employed in this research. Such limitations, however, have led to a research direction that engages with the affective dimension which post-Bourdieusian scholars have highlighted (e.g., Reay, 2000, 2015; Zembylas, 2007). The pursuit, therefore, on the affective dynamics of participation in the context of CALD learners is an important recommendation for area of future research.

In attending to students' subjective experiences, the empirical contributions of this research have revealed students' faith-based knowledge. Such notion resonates with the concept of 'Funds of Knowledge' (FoK), or the household and community-based knowledge that students bring with them to the classroom. However, the students' discussion of their Muslim faith illustrates a faith based FoK that is evolving and changing with time and their social circumstances. This suggests the potential for exploring and expanding an FoK that is based on religious knowledge and practices but is also shaped by students' individual experiences. This is a possible area of research to further expand conceptualisations of FoK.

In focusing on cultural and linguistic diversity, this thesis has been limited in terms of engaging with race and other theoretical lenses. The findings intimate the intersectionality of race and possibly other dimensions such as gender, for understanding the practice of participation in CALD contexts. As discussed in Chapter I, racism in Australian schools remains a major issue. Key findings allude that issues of race are pertinent in CALD schooling contexts. Deficit perspectives can be forms of racism. Stereotypes and essentialised versions of religious traditions can carry issues relating to gender and race. Chapter I opened with a quote from student participant Ramis narrating an experience of bullying in relation to his racial identity. Indeed, the intersections of race and

CALD issues, along with other markers of difference, require attention in research.

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APPENDIX A: Plain language statement for principals

Plain Language Information Statement for Principals
Melbourne Graduate School of Education

Project: Language and the field of participation:
Exploring school experiences for culturally and linguistically diverse students

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Dear [name of school leader],

We would like your permission to conduct research in your school for the above-mentioned project which is a PhD research under the supervision of Dr Jessica Gerrard and Associate Professor Russell Cross. This project has been approved by the Victorian Department of Education and the University of Melbourne's Human Research Ethics Committee. The study investigates the broad impact of languages on classroom participation of students from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds.

Aim of the project
This study is a case study of how students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds participate in classroom practices in the upper primary years of schooling. The study hopes to gather an in-depth and more nuanced understanding of how such students experience and engage in learning in Australian classroom contexts.

What will the project involve?
If you agree to participate, we would like to interview you about your school demographics and policies as they relate to CALD students. Specifically, we would like to explore your understandings and ideas on the impact of languages on students' interactions with peers and teachers as they engage in classroom learning. These interviews will be approximately 30 minutes, twice per term for two terms, and audio recorded.

In addition, the project will also involve working with your teachers and students for two terms in the following ways:

- **Classroom observations** in an upper primary class at least twice each week for each term, on days that are mutually convenient for your teachers and students. We will maximise opportunities to observe classes on the agreed days for observation. Observations will be recorded through field notes in a research journal.
- **Interviews and conversations with teachers** connected to that class (e.g., the classroom teacher, specialist teachers, etc.). Interviews will be about 30 minutes, audio-recorded, and occur about three times over each term, whilst conversations about classroom observations will help inform the field notes in the research journal.
- **Focus group and individual interviews with students** from that class. Focus groups will be about 30-45 minutes, audio-recorded, and occur twice each term. The individual interviews will occur weekly, but will be short and relatively informal (i.e., about 10 – 30 minutes on an "as needs" basis when students express a willingness to discuss a lesson that has been observed, and be either audio-recorded or summarised as field notes).

We aim to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of all participants to the fullest possible extent, within the limits of the law. Publications from this research will use pseudonyms to refer to participants and schools. Any information that can possibly identify the participants or the school will be removed. However, as the number of the participants involved in this project is relatively small, you should note that it may still be possible for someone to work out who were involved. All data will be stored in password-protected computers for five years after any publication from the research, after which it will be securely destroyed. On completion of the project a summary of findings will also be sent to you. You may also request a copy of the summary later by contacting the researcher directly.

Participation is completely voluntary. If you wish to withdraw from the project at any stage, you are free to do so without explanation or prejudice, and any unprocessed data you have provided will also be removed.

If you would like to participate in this project, please indicate that you have read and understood this information by signing the attached consent form and returning it in the envelope provided.

We would also like to request you to forward the enclosed teacher information statements and consent forms to your teaching staff. The teachers can then contact us directly. We will send class sets of information statements and consent forms for students and their parents/ guardians. We will also be in touch with you to discuss a suitable time for initial meeting and session. Should you require further information about the project, please contact Ms. Bonita Cabiles (+61-40668-5250 or bcabiles@student.unimelb.edu.au).

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Fax: +61 3 9347 6739 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au. All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project.

With kind regards,

[signature to be inserted]	[signature to be inserted]	[signature to be inserted]
Ms. Bonita Cabiles	Dr Jessica Gerrard	Associate Professor Russell Cross
PhD Candidate	*Supervisor*	*Supervisor, Responsible Researcher*

Ethics ID: 1749542.1; **PLS-Principals Version:** 2; **Date:** 9/09/2020

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APPENDIX B: Consent form for principals

Consent Form for Principals

Melbourne Graduate School of Education

Project: *Language and the field of participation:*
Exploring school experiences for culturally and linguistically diverse students

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Name of school (please print): _____

Name (please print): _____

1. I consent to being a participant in this project, the details of which have been explained to me. I have been provided with a written plain language information statement to keep.
2. In this project, I will be required to participate in individual interviews twice each term for two terms, about policies, practices, understandings, and experiences of teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students.
3. I consent to the researchers seeking the voluntary participation of teachers and students from my school for this project
4. I acknowledge that:
   a. Participation is voluntary, and the school, teachers, students and their parents, and myself can withdraw from the project at any time without explanation or prejudice, and to withdraw any unprocessed data provided.
   b. Participation in this project is solely for the purpose of this research.
   c. Confidentiality of information provided will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements and that due to the small number of participants, complete anonymity may not be guaranteed.
   d. Only pseudonyms will be used in any publications arising from the research.
   e. I have been informed that with my consent, data will be stored at the University of Melbourne for 5 years after any information from the project is published, after which data will be destroyed.
   f. Upon completion of the project, a summary of the research findings will be provided to me.

Principal's signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Please write contact information (email or postal address) where we can send you the summary of findings:

_____

HREC Number: 1749542.1; Date: 9/09/2020; Version: 1

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APPENDIX C: Plain language statement for students

Plain Language Statement for Students
Melbourne Graduate School of Education

Project: Language and the field of participation:
Exploring school experiences for culturally and linguistically diverse students

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Hello, we are Bonita Cabiles, Jessica Gerrard, and Russell Cross. We work at the University of Melbourne. We are doing a project about how students learn in classrooms, and the different ways that language and culture is important in how people learn.

We have permission from your teacher and principal to tell you about the study, if you wish to be part of it.

What will I have to do?
The project will last for two terms. If you want to be part of this project, there are three things we would like you to do during each term:

- **Be part of two group interviews** with other students in your class, for 30 – 45 minutes. We want to find out about your ideas and experiences about what it's like being a student and learning. These interviews will include talking, writing, and drawing. We will sound record what we talk about, and collect the things you write and draw about.
- **You will be observed in the classroom** about twice each week during the terms. We want to look at how everyone interacts with each other when they are learning. We will take notes while we watch.
- **Weekly one-on-one interviews** for about 10 to 30 minutes, if you have anything you want to tell us about any of the lessons we observe. We would like to understand more about how you interact or talk with your teachers and classmates during classroom activities. We'll ask if we can sound record these, or just take short notes.

Do I have to do this?
No, being part of the project is your choice and will not affect your schoolwork or grades. If you do join, but change your mind later, we can remove any information you give us that we have not already used.

Will I hear about the project results?
We will give you a summary of what we have learned after we finish the project by indicating this on the consent form. You can also let us know if you want a copy of the summary of findings later by contacting the researcher directly.

What will happen to information about me?
We will not use anyone's real name or the name of the school when we talk or write about this project. We aim to protect any information you give to us the best way we can. All the information will be stored in password-protected computers for 5 years after the project is finished. Then, it will be securely destroyed.

How can I participate?
If you want to participate, please tell your parents or guardians and give them the attached letter and form. If they agree, please sign the form together and return to your teacher in the envelope provided.

Who can I ask for more information or if I have problem about this project?
If you want more information about the project, please let your teacher, parents, or guardians know. They can contact Bonita Cabiles (+61-40668-5250 or bcabiles@student.unimelb.edu.au).

For concerns or complaints that you do not wish to discuss with the research team, your teacher, parents, or guardians can contact the Manager of Human Research Ethics at the University of Melbourne (Tel: +61-3-8344-2073 or Fax: +61-3-9347-6739or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au.) All complaints to the Manager of Human Ethics will be private.

With kind regards,

[signature to be inserted]	[signature to be inserted]	[signature to be inserted]
Ms. Bonita Cabiles	Dr Jessica Gerrard	A/Prof Russell Cross
PhD candidate	*Supervisor*	*Supervisor, Responsible Researcher*

Ethics ID: 1749542.1; **PLS-Students Version:** 2; **Date:** 9/09/2020

APPENDIX D: Plain language statement for parents and guardians

Plain Language Statement for Parents and Guardians

Melbourne Graduate School of Education

Project: *Language and the field of participation:*
Exploring school experiences for culturally and linguistically diverse students

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Dear Parent/Guardian,

I am Bonita Cabiles, and I am conducting a PhD project at the Melbourne Graduate School of Education. My project supervisors are Dr Jessica Gerrard and Associate Professor Russell Cross. I am researching how students from different language and cultural backgrounds participate in classroom practices in Grades 5-6, and would like to invite your child to participate in this project. The study hopes to gain a better understanding of how culture and language shapes learning in schools. It has been approved by the Victorian Department of Education and the University of Melbourne's Human Research Ethics Committee.

What will my child be asked to do?
The project will last for two terms. There are three ways that we would like your child to be part of the project:

- **Two 30-45 minute group interviews** each term with other students in the class about their ideas and experiences about learning and being a student. During these group interviews, we will ask your child to write and/or draw illustrations. We will sound record interviews and collect student writings/ drawings.
- **Observations of the class** about twice a week, to look at how teachers and learners interact. These will be recorded in a research diary.
- **Weekly individual interviews** for about 10 – 30 minutes each, depending on whether the student has anything they wish to talk about from any of the observation lessons. These discussions will focus on how they interact with teachers and peers during classroom activities. These interviews will either be summarised in a research diary or sound recorded.

Does my child have to take part?
Participation is completely voluntary and will not have any effect on your child's school work or grades. If you or your child decide to take part in this project but change your mind later, we can remove any information they give us that has not yet been processed.

Will I hear about the results of this project?
We will give you a summary of the research findings once it is completed by indicating this on the consent form. You may also request a copy of the summary of findings later by contacting the researcher directly.

What will happen to information about me?
We will not be using the real names of any people and schools in any public information about the project. We aim to protect everyone's anonymity and confidentiality to the fullest possible extent, within the limits of the law. All the information will be stored in password-protected computers for 5 years after any publication from the research study, and then it will be securely destroyed.

How can I allow my child to participate?
If you give permission for your child to participate, please indicate that you have read and understood this information by signing the attached consent form and returning it to your child's teacher in the envelope provided.

Who can I ask for more information or if I have problem about this project?
If you want more information about the project, please contact Ms. Bonita Cabiles (+61-40668-5250 or bcabiles@student.unimelb.edu.au).

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Fax: +61 3 9347 6739 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au. All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project.

With kind regards,

[signature to be inserted]	[signature to be inserted]	[signature to be inserted]
Ms. Bonita Cabiles	Dr Jessica Gerrard	A/Prof Russell Cross
PhD candidate	*Supervisor*	*Supervisor, Responsible Researcher*

Ethics ID: 1749542.1; **PLS-Parents Version:** 2; **Date:** 9/09/2020

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APPENDIX E: Consent form for students and parents/guardians

Consent Form for Students and their Parents/Guardians

Melbourne Graduate School of Education

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Project: *Language and the field of participation:*
Exploring school experiences for culturally and linguistically diverse students

Parent/Guardian's name (please print): _____

Child's name (please print): _____

1. I consent to my child being part of the project named above, as explained in the information letters about the project. A written copy of the letters has been given to us to keep.
2. I understand that my child's participation in the project involves the following: (a) participation in group interviews twice each term for two terms; (b) weekly individual informal interviews; and (c) being observed in class at least twice each week.
3. I acknowledge that:
   a. My child can withdraw from the project at any time without giving any explanation, or withdraw any data given that have not yet been processed. This decision will have no impact on my child's work or grades at school.
   b. Participation in this project is solely for the purpose of this research.
   c. Information provided by my child will be safeguarded in the best possible way, within the limits of the law. However, due to the small number of participants in the study, complete anonymity may not be guaranteed as it might be possible for some people to guess who are involved in the study.
   d. Real names of people or school will not be used in any information from this study.
   e. Information provided by my child will be stored securely by the University of Melbourne for 5 years after any information from the project is published.
   f. A summary of the project findings will be provided to us once the study is completed.

Parent/ Guardian's signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Child's signature: _____ **Date:** _____

If you would like a copy of the summary of findings, please write contact information (email or postal address) where we can send you the summary:

_____

HREC Number: 1749542.1; Date: 9/09/2020; Version: 1

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APPENDIX F: Plain language statement for teachers

Plain Language Information Statement for Teachers
Melbourne Graduate School of Education

Project: Language and the field of participation:
Exploring school experiences for culturally and linguistically diverse students

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Dear Teacher,

We would like to invite you to participate in the above-mentioned project which is a PhD research under the supervision of Dr Jessica Gerrard and Associate Professor Russell Cross. This project has been approved by the Victorian Department of Education and the University of Melbourne's Human Research Ethics Committee. The study investigates the broad impact of languages on classroom participation of students from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds.

Aim of the project
This study is a case study of how students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds participate in classroom practices in the upper primary years of schooling. The study hopes to gather an in-depth and more nuanced understanding of how such students experience and engage in learning in Australian classroom contexts.

What will the project involve?
If you agree to participate, we would like to interview you about your students and how they engage in classroom learning. We want to learn about patterns of interactions between you and the students, and among the students themselves during whole-class and small group activities. We are specifically interested in how languages play a role in these interactions. These interviews will be approximately 30 minutes, audio-recorded, and occur about three times over each term for two terms.

In addition, the project will also involve working with you and your students for two terms in the following ways:

- **Classroom observations** in an upper primary class at least twice each week for each term, on days that are mutually convenient for you and your students. We will maximise opportunities to observe classes on the agreed days for observation. Observations will be recorded through field notes in a research journal.
- **Informal conversations with you** about the classroom observations. These will help inform field notes in the research journal.
- **Focus group and individual interviews with students** from that class. Focus groups will be about 30-45 minutes, audio-recorded, and occur twice each term. The individual interviews will occur weekly, but will be short and relatively informal (i.e., about 10 – 30 minutes on an "as needs" basis when students express a willingness to discuss a lesson that has been observed, and be either audio-recorded or summarised as field notes).

We aim to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of all participants to the fullest possible extent, within the limits of the law. Publications from this research will use pseudonyms to refer to participants and schools. Any information that can possibly identify the participants or the school will be removed. However, as the number of the participants involved in this project is relatively small, you should note that it may still be possible for someone to work out who were involved. All data will be stored in password-protected computers for five years after any publication from the research, after which it will be securely destroyed. On completion of the project a summary of findings will also be sent to you by indicating this on the consent form. You can also request a copy of the summary later by contacting the researcher directly.

Participation is completely voluntary. If you wish to withdraw from the project at any stage, you are free to do so without explanation or prejudice, and any unprocessed data you have provided will also be removed.

If you would like to participate in this project, please indicate that you have read and understood this information by signing the attached consent form and returning it in the envelope provided.

We will then be in touch with you to discuss a suitable time for initial meeting and session. We will also send class sets of information statements and consent forms for students and their parents/ guardians. Should you require further information about the project, please contact Ms. Bonita Cabiles (+61-40668-5250 or bcabiles@student.unimelb.edu.au).

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Fax: +61 3 9347 6739 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au. All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project.

With kind regards,

[signature to be inserted]	[signature to be inserted]	[signature to be inserted]
Ms. Bonita Cabiles	Dr Jessica Gerrard	Associate Professor Russell Cross
PhD Candidate	*Supervisor*	*Supervisor, Responsible Researcher*

Ethics ID: 1749542.1; **PLS-Teachers Version:** 2; **Date:** 9/09/2020

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APPENDIX G: Consent form for teachers

Consent Form for Teachers

Melbourne Graduate School of Education

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Project: *Language and the field of participation:*
Exploring school experiences for culturally and linguistically diverse students

Name (please print): _____

1. I consent to being a participant in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written plain language information statement to keep.
2. I understand that my participation will involve the following: (a) at least two classroom observations per week per term for two terms; (b) at least three individual interviews of approximately 30 minutes; and (c) informal conversations with the researcher.
3. I acknowledge that:
   a. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation, or prejudice, and to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided.
   b. Participation in this project is solely for the purpose of this research.
   c. I have been informed that any information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements and that, due to the small number of participants, complete anonymity may not be guaranteed.
   d. Only pseudonyms will be used in any publications arising from the research.
   e. I have been informed that with my consent, data will be stored at the University of Melbourne for 5 years after any information from the project is published, after which data will be destroyed.
   f. Upon completion of the project, a summary of the research findings will be provided to me.

Teacher's signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Preferred contact details (e.g. phone number, email address, or postal address) to arrange initial meeting and session:

_____

Please write contact information (email or postal address) where we can send you the summary of findings:

_____

HREC Number: 1749542.1; Date: 9/09/2020; Version: 1

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