The Chaldean parent's construction of their involvement in their children's secondary education

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Statement of Authorship and Sources

This thesis contains no material that has been extracted in whole or in part from a thesis that I have submitted towards the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics/Safety Committees.

Signed: Jane Wenlock

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Abstract

Educational institutions regard parental involvement as paramount in the development of a child. The greater the parental involvement, the more impact it will have on the outcome on the student's education. But what exactly is parental involvement, and the type of involvement that is valued by educational institutions? When schools look at parental involvement solely through their own understanding, some parents may be regarded as uninterested or disengaged from their child's learning. Yet, in many families from a background that is of a minority within a school, and often from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds, the parents may be involved in their child's education, but not through activities that are recognised by the school.

This is true of the people who are part of the Chaldean culture, who, due to ongoing conflict in the Middle East, have increasingly sought refuge in Australia, establishing themselves in concentrated communities and enrolling their children in selected schools in increasing numbers. To date, research examining how Chaldean parents are involved in their children's education has not been identified. This study explores Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their children's secondary education at one school that is enrolling ever-increasing numbers of Chaldean adolescents. A qualitative design was used which was underpinned by a hermeneutic approach. Chaldean parents were constructing with the researcher and interpreters their understanding of their involvement in their child's education. Information given by participants was analysed using the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler parental involvement process model and the Funds of Knowledge theory.

Use of the Funds of Knowledge theory was significant, enabling Chaldean parents to express how they were involved in the education of their child. This was primarily through their belief in their role as a parent. This belief also overrode all other motivational aspects to become involved. Additionally, the knowledge parents obtain through their social relationships and the knowledge that they themselves possess impact their level of involvement in their child's education. These findings yield valuable information that could help schools establish practices that encourage Chaldean (and Refugee and CALD) parents' involvement in their children's education.

Keywords

Parental involvement, parent role, academic achievement, cultural diversity, Chaldean, Funds of Knowledge theory, Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler parent participation model, refugee, social relationships, lived experiences

Glossary

CALD	Culturally and linguistically diverse community
Culture	The collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another (Hofstede, 1991, p.4).
English as an Additional Language (EAL)	People who are learning and using English as an additional language to their first language
Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage (ICESA)	A school's educational advantage or disadvantage is based on the student level factors (i.e., parents' occupation, school education and non-school education) and the school level factors (a school's geographical location and the proportion of indigenous students). The lower the ICESA level, the lower the level of educational value. (ACARA, 2015).
Parent behaviour	The behaviour that a parent shows to the child's school through active attendance at school events (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994).
Parental involvement	The activities and experiences that focus on supporting children in their education by parents, family members or communities and the framing of these activities through the parents' orientation of the world.
Parental role	Parents' understanding and beliefs in relation to the role they have in their child's upbringing (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997).
Refugee	As defined in the 1951 Refugee Convention a refugee is 'someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecutes for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion' (UNHCR, n.d.).
School demands	The requests that school staff make of parents with regard to their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997).

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Parental involvement and engagement in a child's education is not only beneficial to the family–school relationship but is also a factor in improving a child's academic performance. Emerson et al., 2012 in their report on parent engagement stated that "positive parental engagement can and does significantly influence student academic attainment" (pg. 8). Likewise, Jeynes, 2016, in their meta-analysis of parental involvement and the academic achievement of African American students found a significant relationship between parental involvement and academic achievement. These two references also highlight the difficulty that exists in this area of defining what parental involvement and parental engagement is. Fan and Chen (2001) state that although people understand what involvement means it has been defined differently in various research papers. This will be further discussed in Section 2.2 and for the purpose of this paper parent involvement will be used. What is known from the research is that parent participation, whether it be involvement or engagement, is important in the education of their child (Jeynes, 2018).

While parental involvement is of benefit for all students, research has shown that what constitutes parental involvement may have different meanings for different cultures (Emerson et al., 2012; Gibson, 2005; Naidoo, 2016). Diverse cultures have varying beliefs and understandings as to how they should engage, why they should engage and their role in engagement within their child's education (Crozier & Davies, 2007; Walker-Dalhouse & Dalhouse, 2009). These can be based on the parents own educational level, financial resources and cultural practices and may not be activities that are recognised by the school (Cardona, Watkins & Noble, 2009; Crozier & Davies, 2007).

This thesis investigated a single cultural group's construction of their involvement within their children's education. Although this type of research has been conducted with regards to various different cultural groups, the specific cultural group with which this study collaborated, the Chaldean community, has not previously been asked about their construction of their role in their children's education. The aim of this study was to listen to the views of people from the Chaldean community who were recent arrivals in Australia and ascertain their views on their involvement in their child's education. Due to being recent or newly arrived refugees to Australia, they had a unique relationship with the Australian school system (Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2021). This uniqueness needs to be understood by the school so that policies and

procedures can be formed at the school level to assist parents in becoming more involved in their child's education. This includes identifying the strengths the parents bring, the supports they already utilise and the challenges that they may face (Deng, 2016; Emerson et al., 2012).

The idea for this thesis began when the researcher first began work at a school with a large proportion of refugee students. She had been teaching for over 30 years and had been heavily involved in working with students from lower SES schools as well as schools that had high proportions of refugee and CALD students. The researcher was employed as the Coordinator of Educational Support, which, at that time, encompassed support for students who had English as an Additional Language (EAL) and those who were newly arrived at the college. Here, she heard staff stating that parents from a particular minority culture were not involved with their child's education, as the staff did not 'see' them completing activities that were regarded as parental involvement. What the teachers were saying did not resonate with the researcher. As the EAL and Educational Support coordinator, she was heavily involved in talking and working with people from that minority culture. In her meetings with parents, she heard them discussing ways that they were already helping their children at home and witnessed them wanting more information so that they could be of further assistance. After moving to a different school, the researcher was again heavily involved in working with parents from a minority cultural background who were also refugees as part of her role. This included having meetings with parents to discuss students' progress at school and ways to assist students in their education. Through discussions with parents the researcher listened to the parents' construction of their involvement in their child's education. As at the previous school, there was a dichotomy between what the researcher was experiencing and what the staff and the school believed was occurring in relation to parental involvement within this cultural group of parents. Staff talked about parents as being disengaged from their child's education and would continually downplay the parents' level of involvement. Thus, the researcher had a stimulus.

Through the researcher's engagement with the two communities at the separate schools, the parents within the minority community did not often refer to themselves as refugees even though it was known at both schools that they had arrived in Australia on refugee visas. Within this study although it was alluded by the participants that they had arrived in Australia as refugees, only two of the participants directly stated that they were refugees (See Table 2), but all identified as being part of the Chaldean CALD community. Therefore, this study will use both the terms refugee and CALD to describe the participants as this is how participants have constructed their own lives, with literature from both terms utilised to inform the study.

The study began with a focus on theoretical constructs derived from a psychological framework – specifically, the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (RHDS) parent

participation model – to better understand parental involvement among a refugee and CALD community of recently arrived Chaldeans. The research design and interview questions were based on key constructs from this model, such as parents' motivational beliefs, parents' perception of invitation to involvement from others and parents' perceived life context.

However, during the early phases of analysis of the interview transcripts it became clear that the richness and diversity of participant responses in relation to parents' decisions to become engaged within their children's education were not captured under the RHDS model. To account for this, a second phase of data analysis was added to the research design and analysis process, guided by a sociological framework and using the Funds of Knowledge theorical approach to better capture what parents were discussing in their interviews. Given the Chaldean community's minority status within both northern Iraq and the Australian community, as well as their experiences as a refugee community and their multilingual capacity, this revised theoretical framing offered a much broader set of constructs to capture the diverse and complex lived experiences in a way the RHDS model could not.

Through using the Funds of Knowledge theory, greater focus was given to the parents' lived stories around what was occurring in their households (Moll et al., 1992). What was elicited from this collective group within the school was a way of knowing that was specific to them and their activities with their children in their involvement in their child's education. Factors that showed how household members used their knowledge to deal with the changing circumstances in which they found themselves, and how they developed skills that led to relationships with others to share resources so that they could be involved with their children's education, were acknowledged. This information generated a much richer understanding of how Chaldean parents engaged with their child's education and how they overcame the barriers they faced.

To obtain the information for this research, semi-structured interviews were used with nine participants to document a group of Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their children's secondary education at a school in outer Melbourne, Victoria. Individual interviews, which were interpreted from English into Chaldean or Arabic and then from Chaldean or Arabic into English, added another layer of complexity. Through these interviews, parents expressed their understanding of their role in their children's education and discussed ways they participated in their children's education. The complexity in generating rich data based on the questions posted and the interpreter's translation led to the conversation being more a question/answer discussion, rather than a dialogue which flowed. It was only once the information was analysed and compared to the model that recurrent themes emerged showing that the RHDS model told only part of the story.

Even with these limitations and changes, the central aim of the study remained. This was to understand, through direct information from the Chaldean parents, how they constructed their involvement in their child's education, and then to use this information to explore how schools could adapt their discourse with parents to enhance parents' involvement in their child's education.

This chapter will introduce the context of the research problem, discussing the individual nature of the refugee experience and the nuances cultures can bring to their understanding of parental involvement. It will then discuss the purpose and impetus of the study and the issues that refugee families face upon entry into Australian schools. The focus then turns to the Chaldean culture, explaining the religion, history of migration, reasons for leaving their country of birth, how the community functions and the difference in education systems between Iraq and Australia. Finally, a review of the chapters contained in the thesis is provided.

1.2 Parents from a refugee background and parental involvement

Within this study the term refugee and 'culturally and linguistic diverse', or CALD, are often used. Both these terms are used as the majority of participants within the study did not self-identify as refugees and respect is being given to them and how they have constructed their own lives. All participants have come from a CALD background.

A refugee, is defined in the Geneva Convention of 1951 as:

> someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. (UNHCR, n.d.).

People from a refugee background, having fled their home country with little time to plan where to go or what to take with them and arrive in Australia with myriad emotions and experiences. After leaving their home country, people from a refugee background have often transitioned through camps in one or more countries before settling in another country. Once they have arrived in a new country, families are required to navigate a new society and way of being (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016).

The term CALD denotes a person who was born overseas or who has parents or grandparents born overseas but who resides in Australia. People from a CALD community are generally described as being 'predominately [sic] from non-English speaking or non-Western countries' (Fung & Macreadie, 2018, p. 7). People from CALD backgrounds can also be either migrants or refugees depending on how they came to Australia. This study focuses on the lived

experiences of one CALD community that has recently arrived in Australia as refugees – the Chaldean community. There are differences between being part of a migrant CALD community and being part of a refugee CALD community, as explained further in Section 1.4. Research has been used from both areas so that a richer picture of the participants' views and experiences can be gained.

Upon arrival in Australia, one of the first tasks facing parents from a refugee background is to enrol their child into the education system. The school is often the principal place where students and parents from a refugee background interact with the wider life of the community, away from their community and support structures (Naidoo, 2009; Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016). However, parents often have expectations placed on them by the school that may be different to their understanding of their role in education (Georgis et al., 2014; Naidoo, 2016). The school often promotes parents and schools working together towards a common socialisation and education of the child, yet this view presupposes that all parents have a similar understanding of parental involvement, no matter their culture or lived experiences (García-Carmona, Evangelou, & Fuentes-Mayorga, 2019; Naidoo, 2016). Parents when they do not become involved with their child's education are then seen by schools as hard to reach or lacking interest in their child's education. This can be due to their own past experiences of schooling, the parents understanding of their role in their child's education and the opportunities that are afforded by schools (Cardona et al., 2009). Parents from refugee backgrounds often do not share the same expectations that are placed on parents by schools and do not volunteer for at-school events such as being part of committees, helping with classroom activities, assisting with the canteen or helping on excursions (Emerson et al., 2012; Naidoo, 2016). Yet at home, these same parents may be involved with their child's education through supervision of homework, taking children to activities or providing external experiences. Schools often have limited awareness of parents' overall involvement in their child's education and should not judge parents based on their participation in in-school activities (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014).

Variation in parents' involvement can be due to the culture of the parents and their past experiences of education (Cardona et al., 2009; Georgis et al., 2014; Naidoo, 2016). Schools need to be aware of the complexities that some parents have experienced due to their cultural background and experiences of migration when asking parents from a refugee background to be involved with the education system (Cardona et al., 2009; Naidoo, 2016). While recognising that past studies can assist in understanding why parents do or do not become involved in their children's education, the experiences of each cultural group must be considered independently

when discussing a cultural groups' expectation of parental involvement (Cardona et al., 2009; Isik-Ercan, 2012; Walker et al., 2005).

Jeynes (2016), reports that there are subtle aspects of parental involvement from African American parents that need to be considered when researching this area. These included parental expectations and parenting style (Jeynes, 2016). Isik-Ercan (2012) studied the effect migration had on the arrival and settlement of Bosnian and Burmese refugees in America. She finds that both these groups arrived under the same refugee category but had very different experiences prearrival, which in turn affected how they settled into communities in the United States. Although they fled a war, the Bosnian refugees were mostly from a middle socio-economic status (SES) background and settled fairly swiftly once in the United States. In contrast, the Burmese, also fleeing a war, had lived in camps in Thailand for many decades, living a semi-nomadic lifestyle with few rights, fearing for their safety and with little opportunity for formal education. The Burmese refugees experienced considerable difficulties settling into communities in the United States in comparison to those from Bosnia. Crozier and Davies (2007), who surveyed Bangladeshi and Pakistani parents, report that Bangladeshi parental expectations of their school involvement were different to the behaviours the school expected. They find that most Bangladeshi parents did not see the need to visit the school for any reason, as was the school's expectation. The parents felt that if there were a problem they would be informed through the school or community. Similarly, Walker-Dalhouse and Dalhouse (2009), in their research on South Sudanese parents, discuss the importance of not assuming all ethnic minorities have the same experience or understandings of parental involvement, even if they are from the same country. South Sudanese parents identify not by the country that they are from but by their ethnic group. There are specific nuances in each ethnic group's views on their involvement within their child's education. These needs should be considered when establishing what constitutes parental involvement for these families. Although these studies can be of some benefit to schools that have students from a refugee background, understanding the nuances each cultural group and each individual brings with them is imperative when discussing parental involvement.

After conducting an extensive search of research literature on this particular group of parents – namely, Chaldean parents – the researcher was unable to gain a clearer understanding of this particular group's perspective on involvement in their child's education. The school recognised that parental involvement improved not only the relationship between the school and the family, but also the students' academic performance but did not fully appreciate parental involvement from a Chaldean perspective. As the researcher was often advocating for parents from this cultural group regarding their involvement in their child's education to staff, and with

the lack of research around the phenomenon, the current study was formulated. For it is through developing a relationship and understanding with the parents in their child's education that the school and the parents establish a partnership that will ultimately assist the child's academic pursuit (Emerson et al., 2012).

1.3 Purpose of the study

Within Australia, there has been a steady increase in arrivals of families from the Middle East over the past twenty years due to geopolitical issues within the region (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2019; UNHCR, 2015). These issues included the Gulf War (1990–1991) the Iraq conflict (2003–present) and the civil war in the Syrian Arab Republic (2011–present) (UNHCR, 2015). As families arrived in Australia under the Special Humanitarian Program, schools experienced an increase in students from refugee backgrounds seeking enrolment (DIAC, 2014, p. 29). Many families from refugee backgrounds had limited knowledge and experience of what was required to navigate the Australian educational system. Often, student's parents had been educated in a foreign system and many did not speak their children's new language of instruction, potentially resulting in feelings of helplessness in relation to assisting their children with their education (Carreón et al., 2005; García-Carmona et al., 2019; Georgis et al., 2014). These parents may well have believed that they did not have a voice that influenced or was listened to adequately within the school system, or that their social views or culture were not recognised within the curriculum (Doucet, 2011; Georgis et al., 2014).

The proposed study examined Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their children's secondary education. It is expected that findings from this study will facilitate the development of preliminary recommendations for ways in which Chaldean parents and school staff can work together to share perspectives and expectations of education, thus enhancing home–school relationships and strengthening student achievement. Findings from the study indicate that greater understanding from schools as to what constitutes parental involvement is required, and that schools need to acknowledge parental involvement that already exists. Accordingly, recommendations are offered to assist educational institutions in understanding Chaldean's parents' construction of involvement within their child's education. Such findings will add to the existing knowledge on how schools can assist Chaldean students. Other schools enrolling students from other cultural groups within the Middle East could also find the research valuable.

The central question of the study is:

1. How do Chaldean parents construct their involvement in their child's education?

The following sub-questions arise from this question:

a) What role do Chaldean parents believe they have in the education of their children?
b) What influence does a Chaldean parent believe they have on the education of their child?
c) What barriers do Chaldean parents perceive exist that prevent them from becoming involved with the education of their child?
d) What role do Chaldean parents believe the school and the wider community have in the education of their child?

1.4 The refugee journey

This study is centred on a group of people who are from a CALD community and a refugee background. The following section unpacks the issues faced by both refugees and migrants. Often, research pertaining to migrants is used to inform how all people from a CALD background should be treated. The following section will emphasise the nuances of which educators need to be aware of when working with students from a refugee CALD background as opposed to working with students from a migrant CALD background.

There are two general descriptors that identify groups of people who move from one country to another: refugees and migrants. Accurate definitions of people as either refugees or migrants are important, as an incorrect label can undermine a person's ability to access the correct legal protection or services (UNHCR, 2019). Although both these groups of people have left one country to settle in another, their journey, experiences and reasons for leaving are very different. These can also impact on the way that education needs to be offered to each group and how parents may view themselves in the education process.

A migrant is a person who is able to move from one place to another freely and without intervention from a compelling external factor (UNESCO, 2017a). This movement could occur because of work or to find better living condition. Migrants, in general, chose where, when and how to move.

As stated in Section 1.2 a refugee is defined under the Geneva Convention of 1951. It denotes specific conditions for a person to be deemed a refugee. The experience of a refugee person is fundamentally of an unexpected disruption of their lives (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2009). Refugees move from one place to another due to compelling

external factors, which could include persecution, wars, conflict or violence (UNHCR, n.d.). They often have to leave their home within a short timeframe, with little ability to prepare. They usually transition as an asylum seeker through another country before being granted refugee status. From here, they are transitioned to a third country for permanent settlement (UNHCR, 2015).

Upon acceptance to a new country, refugees face a number of challenges that migrants may not. They often have had little time to learn the language of the country that they are settling in and need to adjust to a new culture to which they may never have been exposed (Atkinson, 2018; García-Carmona et al., 2019). Additionally, people from a refugee background need to find work to assist in re-establishing themselves financially, and to build social connections (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). As refugee families often view schools as providing hope for the child to assist in the child's and family's future success, they place great importance on the education of the child (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019; Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). These expectations can add to the difficulty that students face upon arrival at school.

Within Australia, the student from a refugee background is often initially enrolled in an English language school where they are instructed in English for two to four terms (Gifford, Correa-Velez & Sampson, 2009). These environments are often nurturing and have smaller staff/student ratios, with the curriculum tailored to the needs of the student learning English (Gifford et al., 2009). These schools are often situated close to areas where refugees settle and provide intensive English education for students in both primary and secondary schools. Students participate in a specialised English program that focuses on them learning English through reading, writing, speaking and listening so that they are then able to enter mainstream schools or other pathways (Collingwood English Language school, 2020; DET, 2020b). Transition from this environment to the mainstream environment can be extremely stressful, as students move to an education setting where the culture and structure are different from those they have experienced in their country of birth, from other schools that they may have transitioned through before arrival in Australia and from the English language school (Thommessen & Todd, 2018). Further, staff in mainstream schools often use strategies that focus on the deficits of the child rather than their achievements (Kirova, 2014), and these deficits can often be labelled behavioural problems, as trauma may impact on refugee students to function within the school (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016). In addition, students may be hypervigilant and have difficulty in concentrating for long periods of time due to past experiences (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016). Staff also need to consider the students need to have time to learn a new language, that they may have anxiety as they try to catch up to their native-born peers and that they may struggle to take risks with their

learning (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016). These can all add to a student feeling that they do not belong and that success at school is beyond them (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007; Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2016).

The education system can also create barriers for families, as schools generally do not adapt to students and parents from refugee backgrounds by changing procedures or infrastructure to assist in the newly arrived student's education. Educational institutions often play catch-up in understanding the historical and cultural background of the communities that are enrolling in their school and do not understand the nuances that each new cultural group brings with them to the school (Matthews, 2008). Schools can have a narrow lens through which they view parental involvement and often apply strategies that may have worked with other cultural groups but are irrelevant to the new group of families (Douchet, 2011; Matthews, 2008). Parents themselves may have had limited access to education in their home country, and with a lack of linguistic skills within the new language of instruction, feel that they are isolated from their child's education (Cardona et al., 2009; Driessen, Smit, & Sleegers, 2005). As their views are not valued or are ignored by the school, they can become disengaged. Yet these parents' knowledge and experience have often shaped the educational, social and emotional wellbeing of the student (Hope, 2011). As Jeynes found in his meta-analysis from 52 studies on parental involvement, parental support from any parent, no matter the cultural background, is influential in a student's academic achievement (2007).

Besides school-based obstacles, families from a refugee background can face hurdles that are set before them by educational organisations. Refugees are often placed under the general heading of students that have English as an additional language (EAL) (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007), with little reference to the specific needs of the student or families from a refugee background. Websites such as the Victorian Education department website have links and references to assist staff with strategies and resources, suggesting an awareness of the different needs of students and families from a refugee background (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007), but lack specificity to individual cultural groups and experiences. While attempts have been made to address this in a general way through publications such as the resource 'Good practice principles: A guide for working with refugee young people' (Department for Victorian Communities, 2005) there is limited information on the individual needs of specific cultural groups. Sidhu and Taylor (2007) go as far as to suggest that educational departments, in not naming students and families from a refugee background as a separate category, are in fact ignoring or marginalising this group in the discourse that occurs around policies. The complex needs of students and families from a refugee background indicate the need for a different funding framework and policy to assist them so that greater assistance targeted at positive outcomes for those students and families is

achieved (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007). Unfortunately, research examining CALD parents' involvement in their children's education from those parents' perspective is limited (Jeynes, 2016). The resources that the family brings to education need to be understood, so that these students and their families are included and engaged in their school and the wider community.

1.5 Background of the Chaldean people

The cultural group forming the focus of this study are Chaldeans. These people identify themselves through their Christian faith and culture, which are intertwined. They are Eastern Rite Catholics and, although in communion with the Roman Catholic church, have distinct rites and rituals that are unique to their faith (Jupp, 2009; Sengstock, 1982). Chaldeans have lived in and around the area historically known as Mesopotamia (Hanish, 2008) in present-day Iraq. More recently, the Chaldean community has fled Iraq due to ongoing wars and the increase in persecution of Christians by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Human Rights Watch, 2014; UNHCR, 2015). Under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) category of refugee, Chaldeans have arrived in Australia under the Australian Government's Refugee and Humanitarian programme (DIAC, n.d.).

1.5.1 The Chaldean religion

The words Chaldea and Assyria have been recorded in documents dating back to before the Common Era (BCE) (Hanish, 2008). Chaldea was area in southern Babylon, within the Assyria Empire that, at one stage, stretched from Babylon to the Mediterranean Sea (O'Mahony, 2018). In 612 BCE, the Chaldeans overthrew the Assyrians and became heir to all their lands (Hanish, 2008). Christianity took root within the area of Mesopotamia during the first century of the Common Era (CE). In the second century CE, St Thomas the Apostle converted members of the Chaldean and Assyrian tribes to Christianity and it became a well-structured Christian community flourishing under the umbrella of the Church of the East (Hanish, 2008; Rassam, 2008). Throughout the ensuing centuries, Christianity either flourished or its people were persecuted depending on the ruler of the time (Rassam, 2008). During the early fifth century CE, the Church of the East severed all ties with Rome and became a separate identity, independent of the Roman church structure (Hanish, 2008; Rassam, 2008). In the seventh century CE, Islam began to flourish in this area and ruled areas where previously the Church of the East had vast membership (Rassam, 2008). Although under Muslim rule, Christians initially held positions of high authority, were trusted and were able to keep their identity (Rassam, 2008). Even though there had been an increase in the number of Christians who were mainly

Aramaic speaking within the area during 847–861 CE, Christians were soon not trusted by those in the Islamic faith to hold high office. Many churches were destroyed, and people were dismissed from their employment purely because they were Christians (Rassam, 2008). Many Christians moved to the north of Iraq due to the violence and set up communities there. By the mid-fifteenth century, under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, a major split in the Eastern Church resulted in a new name, the Chaldean Church (Cyprus), given by Rome to describe those who had converted to Catholicism (Hanish, 2008; Hanoosh, 2016). Those who did not join the Church of Rome remained Nestorians and were later called Assyrians (Hanoosh, 2016).

Under Ottoman rule, Christians were a minority group and treated as second-class citizens (Griffith, 2018). The rules governing them made them subservient and forbade public displays of their religion (Griffith, 2018). After the fall of the Ottoman Empire and post-World War 1, Christian communities assisted in the building of the modern state of Iraq. Christians were often educated and at this time there was a disproportionate ratio of Christians who were qualified professionals (Wirya & Fawaz, 2017). Christians also made significant contributions in the areas of music, arts and literature (Wirya & Fawaz, 2017). In 1932 the modern state of Iraq was established, with the constitution stressing equality for all citizens regardless of race or religion (Rassam, 2008; Wirya & Fawaz, 2017); however, in practice this was rarely adhered to (Wirya & Fawaz, 2017). Christians continued to demand equality within the broader Iraqi society during this time but were often discriminated against and overlooked for positions of leadership (Wirya & Fawaz, 2017). Some acts by Christians were interpreted as defiance by the Muslim rulers and many Christians were evicted from their homes, murdered, raped or forced to convert to Islam (Rassam, 2008). With the First and Second Gulf wars, and the increased conflicts involving the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant (ISIL), Christians began to flee Iraq (Rassam, 2008; Sydney, 2018; Wirya & Fawaz, 2017). This will be further discussed in Sections 1.5.2 and 1.5.3.

Until 2005, Chaldean, Assyrian, Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholics were all regarded as part of the Christian faith as ‘Iraqi Christians’ or ‘Arab Christians’ (Hanish, 2008; Hughes, 2017; Rassam, 2008). People within these communities were identified not by their ethnicity but by their common form of religion – Christianity. After the ousting of Saddam Hussein’s government within Iraq, these religious groups lobbied to be individually recognised within the new constitution as individual ethnic groups (Hughes, 2017). In 2005, the Iraqi constitution recognised Chaldeans as a national minority group in Iraq with rights granted in relation to their religion, language and administration, although there was no provision for these rights to be protected or enforced (Hughes, 2017).

Although being recognised within the Iraqi constitution as Chaldeans, Christians with an Iraqi background are often called Assyrian. Within Iraq and the diasporic communities of Iraq, there is currently discussion about the origin and naming of the ethnic minorities who speak the Syriac language (Hanish, 2008). Some writers believe that those who speak Syriac are a single group while others believe that they are multiple groups who each have their own identity, culture, religion and language (Hanish, 2008).

Intellectuals, both internally and external to Iraq, debate whether Assyrian should be used as an all-encompassing descriptor for those who speak the Syriac language or whether each separate community should be known by its own nomenclature (Hanoosh, 2016). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a consolidated term,' ChaldoAssyrian', has – largely unsuccessfully – been used to denote the Assyrian and Chaldean people (Hanoosh, 2016). The Assyrian title continues to be used to describe those ethnic minorities from Iraq who spoke the Syriac language in both census data and in describing diasporic communities (Hanoosh, 2016). For current day Chaldeans, the importance of the word 'Chaldean' to describe who they are is paramount, as this expresses not only their religion but their culture and their identity.

This section has provided background information that is critical to the study, as the focus of the research is on those people who identify culturally as Chaldean. It is also important in understanding the change that has occurred in their identification within census data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), due to the increased number of people identifying as Chaldeans arriving in Australia (discussed in Sections 1.5.2 and 1.5.4).

1.5.2 History of Migration

Chaldeans have had a long history of migration, be it internal or external (Hanish, 2008). Early persecution of Christians led to their displacement from their hometowns and villages (Hanish, 2008; Rassam, 2008). As transportation options and awareness of other countries grew in the ensuing centuries, people began moving to new countries to begin a new life away from persecution.

It is thought that the first Chaldeans migrated to the United States of America as early as 1889, but the first significant wave was after 1910 when members of the community migrated to Detroit (Ben Hafsa, 2018; Sengstock, 2019). Initially the community consisted of males who were small farmers and labourers and were mainly from northern Iraq. Detroit had a number of positive conditions that attracted the first wave of Chaldean immigrants, who came to the USA initially as temporary residents. These included the hope of finding work in Henry Ford's automobile factories and the established Arab-speaking Lebanese Maronite community within the area (Ben Hafsa, 2018).

Australia's first known arrival of Iraqi's was in 1976 (Museum of Victoria, n.d.). This was the first time people born in Iraq were categorised separately within the Australian census. Up until this time the ABS had categorised them under 'Other Country' (DIAC, n.d.). The ABS included within the Iraq-born population at this time those who identified as Kurds, Assyrians, Armenians, Turks, Turkmens and Jews (DIAC, n.d.). There was no distinct recognition of the Chaldean community.

Over the ensuing censuses, the number of Iraqi-born people arriving in Australia steadily rose (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2019). This was due to wars within the region and the subsequent economic downturn and lack of services in Iraq caused by the financial and trade embargo enforced by the United Nations Security Council (Gallagher, 1999). With the increase in military activity and control of areas of the country by ISIS, there was increased persecution and attacks on Christians (Chapman, 2012). These factors culminated in an increase of 48.1% in the number of people born in Iraq entering Australia in the census period 2007–2011 (DIAC, n.d.). Of those who entered Australia during that time, 13.5% of people surveyed in 2011 spoke the Chaldean language and those of Chaldean ancestry made up 12.4% of the Iraqi-born population in Australia (Australian Government, DIAC, n.d.).

In 2015, the UNHCR reported that the conflicts in the Syrian Arab Republic and Iraq contributed significantly to the increase in the amount of displaced people (UNHCR, 2015). Iraqi people often fled from Iraq into neighbouring Turkey, which in 2015 had the largest number of Iraqi asylum seekers in the world (UNHCR, 2015). The report *Australia's Offshore Humanitarian Program: 2012–13* notes that in 2012–13, Iraq had the highest lodgement for humanitarian visas by country of birth in Australia (DIAC, 2013, p.10). Yet Iraq was not even one of the top five countries by country of lodgement, implying that refugees from Iraq fled to a nearby country – typically Syria, prior to the war there, or Turkey – and then sought asylum in another country such as Australia (DIAC, 2013, p. 11).

During the period 2015–16, 77,026 people lodged an application for an offshore visa in Australia, with 17,555 people granted visas under the Humanitarian Program (Department of Immigration and Border Control (DIBC), 2016). Prior to 2016, only 13,750 places were allotted for humanitarian visas within Australia, with 11,000 allocated for offshore applications. In 2015–16, in recognition of the conflicts in Syria and Iraq, the Australian government increased the number of humanitarian visas from these two countries to 12,000. Priority was given to 'persecuted minorities, women, children and families, with the least prospect of ever returning safely to their homes' (DIBC, 2016, p. 34). Those located in Jordan, Syria and Turkey were also given priority (DIBC, 2016). This allowed 8,619 visas to be granted to people born in Iraq and Syria, and these were mainly issued to those from minority cultural groups in Iraq, such as

the Chaldeans, who were predominantly seeking asylum in a range of countries including Syria, Turkey and Jordan (DIBC, 2016). In the period 2014–2016, Iraq had more people, by country of birth, lodge an application to settle within Australia than any other country (DIBC, 2016).

1.5.3 Reasons for leaving

Within modern day Iraq, Iraqis who identify as Christian are often persecuted due to their religious beliefs. Some scholars believe that 'we may be on the verge of witnessing the erasure of Christianity in Iraq' (Hanoosh, 2016, p. 10). In 2003, following the invasion by US and Coalition forces in Iraq, the civilian population in Iraq suffered great atrocities (Rassam, 2008). The recurrence of sectarian divisions between Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims led to conflict in central and southern Iraq. Christians were targeted by extremists and insurgents within Iraq, as they had worked for the United Nations prior to 2003 and then for the Americans as interpreters, maids and construction workers (Lamassu, 2007). They were also targeted for not wearing the hijab, even though it was not part of their religion, and were deemed un-Islamic (Rassam, 2008). This violence led to a large proportion of people becoming internally displaced, fleeing to the North of Iraq, or fleeing Iraq altogether. With the conflict occurring in the south and central areas of Iraq, the Kurds quietly consolidated their hold on the disputed area of northern Iraq forming the Kurdistan Regional Government (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Fearing that the Kurds would control this area, the Central Arab government consisting of both Shiite and Sunni Muslims united against the Kurds, seeing them as a common threat (Human Rights Watch, 2009). This political tension between the Sunni and Shia Arabs and the Kurds also affected the minority ethnic cultures living in the North as these cultural groups were forced to 'declare their loyalty to one side or the other or face the consequences' (Human Rights Watch, 2009; Rassam, 2008). As the Arab militia moved into the north of Iraq, Christians were made to pay protection money. Such payments were regarded as common during this time and people were threatened with death if they did not pay (Kramer, 2008). This occurred to Archbishop Rahho, the Chaldean Catholic Archeparch of Mosul. In 2008, he stopped paying the extortion money and was subsequently kidnapped and killed, with his body being found later in a shallow grave (Human Rights Watch, 2009; Kramer, 2008). Armed groups, opposed to those communities of different faiths, targeted Christians due to their perceived ties to the Christian West, their apparent support of the Kurdistan Regional Government and the wealth of some Christians (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Priests were kidnapped not for any monetary gains, but rather to encourage them to preach to their followers to leave Iraq. One such occurrence was the abduction of Father Basil Yaldo in 2006 (Rassam, 2008), who, although he was not killed, was beaten so that he would inform his followers, and the Patriarch of Iraq, that all Christians should

leave Iraq (Schiffer, 2015). Other people were killed for no other reason than that they were Christian (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

During the spread of ISIS forces into northern Iraq, further displacement occurred for the Chaldean population. Mosul and surrounding areas, home to many diverse ethnic groups including the Chaldean people, was occupied by ISIS in June 2014 (Minority Rights Group, 2017). During the ISIS occupation, they destroyed many of the cultural and religious heritage sites that were associated with the Chaldean population. Some women were also taken captive and used as sex slaves (Minority Rights Group, 2017). Another tactic of intimidation and persecution used by ISIS was to mark Christian homes with the Arabic letter 'N' (for Nazarene) to denote that Christians lived there. These properties were then deemed property of the Islamic State and were allowed to be looted (Minority Rights Group, 2017).

In 2014, Christians who had remained in Mosul, then an ISIS-controlled city, were given an ultimatum to either convert to Islam, pay money – a *jizya* – or be killed (Evans & al-Rebe'i, 2014). This payment was to be made in gold and people were given two days to leave (Evans & al-Rebe'i, 2014). This threat of violence was one of the major push factors described by participants in a study of Chaldean refugees as to why they left Iraq (Byle, 2017). As well as this ultimatum, participants of Byle's study identified other types of violence. These included fears of abductions, bombings and personal death threats. Participants also stated that the dysfunction of the society after the fall of Saddam was another major factor in them leaving. This dysfunction was categorised by incompetent political leadership, systemic corruption, societal change in the form of sectarianism and oppression of women (Byle, 2017).

1.5.4 Chaldean community in Australia

The Chaldean community in Iraq suffered many persecutions and upheavals. As earlier stated, the Chaldean community in many cases fled to either Syria or Turkey, where they were granted refugee status by the UNHCR. Having received refugee status, the UNHCR then applied, on behalf of the refugee, for resettlement in a third country. The refugee then had to wait for confirmation from the third country that they had been accepted (UNHCR, 2019). Australia is one country that offered resettlement for refugees and upon arrival in Australia many refugees who had Iraqi ancestry settled in the northern areas of Melbourne (Hume City Council, n.d.(c)). In 2016, people born in Iraq made up 5.4% of the total population within these areas, but only 0.4% of the total population within the Greater Melbourne area (Hume City Council, n.d.(c)). In addition, there was an increase of 9,271 people who spoke Assyrian/Aramaic from 2001 to 2016 within the area (Hume City Council, n.d.(a)) When assessing the demographics of this area with regard to religion, the Chaldean religion is not listed as a separate category but, rather,

is included as Other Eastern Catholics. Since 2001, there has been an increase of 3,209 people in this category (Hume City Council, n.d.(b)). In 2015–16, Iraq was the largest source of refugee visa applications by families of more than four people, making up 45.6% of this group. Of all those who lodged an application for a visa, the greatest number were from the age group 18 and under (40.1%). Of these, the 5–8 age group formed the largest group at 12.6% of lodgements (DIBC, 2016, p. 11), meaning that there were a large percentage of people of Iraqi heritage who would be potential students in education facilities within this area.

Thus, due to the increase in the number of people from the Middle East being granted refugee status and being resettled in Australia there has been an increase in students with a refugee background who are from the Middle East (DIBC, 2016, p. 11). These students and their parents, upon enrolment in schools, faced potential challenges to their engagement and participation in schooling, as did the school themselves. Schools that were enrolling students from this refugee background may have had few students from any refugee background attend their school before or have not had students from this background. Thus, they could struggle to address the diverse academic, linguistic and social emotional needs of this new cultural group within the educational setting (Sugarman, 2015). Additionally, schools may not have had adequate personnel that could assist students, as families from a refugee background were settling in areas that had previously not been traditional areas of settlement (Sugarman, 2015), due to economic factors such as housing and job availability in more traditional areas lagging behind demand. The additional support required for students from a refugee background to develop the language and learning skills required to succeed in Australian schools added to the complexity of teaching within the mainstream educational setting (Foundation House, n.d.). From a parental perspective, parents could struggle to understand the culture and expectations of the school and be seen as not engaging in their children's education (Emerson et al., 2012)

To assist in alleviating some of these problems, people from a refugee background could turn to the Church as a place of sanctuary. Historically, Chaldean people, upon arrival in another country, have centred their community around the religious traditions that they have brought from Iraq. These are manifested in the Church, as the Chaldean people are proud of their continued religious community throughout the ages and see it as part of their identity (Gallagher, 1999; Sengstock, 1982).

As well as providing for the spiritual needs of the people, the Church also provides a venue for social gatherings and meetings and even Chaldean people who are non-religious are often drawn to the Church for such events (Sengstock, 1982). Ceremonies performed by the Church therefore serve as a meeting place as well as a spiritual haven (Sengstock, 1982). For those who have left their home country, the Church provides a setting in which their native language is

used, religious customs are familiar and the attitudes and ideas that they hold are similar (Sengstock, 1982). Because of this important role, churches also offer assistance with learning English, help with adjustment to the new country and provide information about business or daily life (Sengstock, 1982).

At the centre of the Chaldean community and Church is the priest (Sengstock, 1982). This is the person the community turns to in times of need, whether it be a family problem, an immigration issue or a financial problem (Sengstock, 1982). Priests may refer a person to a specialist or ask lay personnel to assist those in the congregation who need assistance (Sengstock, 1982). They, as the authority within the Church, become the centre for not only this community's religious beliefs but also its social interactions, and provide a means to assist families and individuals in solving problems (Sengstock, 1982).

Chaldeans are also family-orientated and, like many Middle Eastern cultures, are patrilineal – the father's family lineage is the lineage that is maintained (Gallagher, 1999). Members of the extended family live close by or in the same household (Gallagher, 1999). It is expected that males will look after their parents and that families will provide for their children (Gallagher, 1999). The individual's relationship to society is through the family and members of the family are schooled on correct behaviour in society, as all behaviours are linked directly to the honour of the family (Gallagher, 1999). Like many cultures within Arab societies, the culture is also based around a society that values collectivism (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000; Renzaho, McCabe & Sainsbury, 2011) over the individual (Rudy & Grusec, 2001), which can cause difficulty when living in a society such as Australia that values the rights of the individual over the collective. As the school systems are different in Iraq and Australia, many parents find it difficult to understand the school system their children are engaged in (Konsky et al., 1999).

Due to the timing of the Iran–Iraq wars and the Gulf wars, parents arriving from Iraq in the last decade would have grown up in Iraq in an education system that began before the Iran-Iraq wars and potentially continued their education through the war. Prior to the Gulf wars the objectives of the Iraq education system were to:

> Bring up an enlightened generation, believing in God, loyal to the Homeland, and devoted to the Arab nation, adhering to scientific thinking as well as morality, relying on work and self-education, possessing the will to struggle and the power to confront the crucial challenges of the contemporary world. (United Nation Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, (UNESCO) 2011 p.2).

Prior to 1991, Iraq was regarded as having one of the best educational systems in terms of equity and access within the Middle East (Issa & Jamil, 2010). Education was free and there was a commitment to eradicate illiteracy (Issa & Jamil, 2010). Education deteriorated after 1991 due

to the Gulf wars and sanctions that Iraq experienced (Ranjan & Jain, 2009). Teachers were not paid enough to sustain a living, the course content stagnated and spending on schools plummeted by 90% (Ranjan & Jain, 2009). Enrolments fell, as children needed to work to earn money for their families. Illiteracy among females increased as families had to choose whom in the family they could afford to send to school (usually the male), and scholars who had been able to freely travel to other countries to study were also restricted (Ranjan & Jain, 2009).

Schools within Iraq did not expect parents to be involved in the education of their child. The school and the teacher had the full responsibility of educating the child, and teachers were expected to do everything with regard the education of the child (Sainsbury & Renzaho, 2011). There was no sharing of the role of educator between teachers and parents. Teachers were seen as authoritarian, and education was not based on relationship-building as it is in Australian schools (Sainsbury & Renzaho, 2011).

In contrast, the objectives for students in a Victorian Education setting, which the Chaldean parents' children in this study are enrolled in for 2017–2021, are:

- to ensure Victorians have equitable access to quality education and training
- to work with providers and partners to build an integrated birth to adulthood education and development system
- to support children, young people and adults with well-coordinated universal and targeted services close to where they live
- to activate excellence, innovation and economic growth. (DET, n.d.)

In Victoria, education is seen as a partnership, whereby the education system works 'with providers, employers, not for profits, families, children and young people to develop new approaches and share best practice' (Department of Education and Training, Victoria, n.d.). There is clearly an expectation that parents are partners in the education of their child.

In addition, the Catholic Education Melbourne (CEM) (now Melbourne Archdiocese Catholic Schools, MACS) strategic plan for 2015–2019 states as one of its objectives: 'Improved learning, social, and wellbeing outcomes and ongoing spiritual development for every student' (CEM, 2015, p. 6). This includes the understanding that 'parents have a particularly important part to play in the educating community, since it is to them that primary and natural responsibility for their children's education belongs' (Congregation of Catholic Education, 1997). Within Catholic education, the school exists to assist the parents in their obligation to develop their child's Christian formation and education (CEM, 2015). It also recognises that parents are the first educators of their children and continue to be an integral part of their child's education as partners.

It can be suggested that the objectives of Victorian Education and MACS are outcomes that may be foreign to people brought up within the Iraqi education system. Although schools can be monocultural in their development of programmes, there must be a focus on the local needs and contexts of the community within which the school is situated (Emerson et al., 2012). Parental involvement needs to be understood from the communities' perspective and may not necessarily reflect the expected views and experiences of the school. While schools value parent involvement they find it difficult to engage CALD parents within the structures that the school has established (Emerson et al., 2012). The knowledge and experience of parents need to be understood as a resource so that these adolescents and their families are included and involved in their school and the broader community.

1.6 School context

The college that this study is based upon is situated in the outer northern suburbs of Melbourne. After European settlement of Melbourne, around 1840, pastoralists ran sheep in and around the area where the college is situated, and Craigieburn grew to be a highway stopover on the way to Sydney (Craigieburn Historical Interest group, 2020). In the 1970s, cheap land attracted young families and, anecdotally, migrants from English-speaking cultures. It was regarded as a lower- to middle-class area and was considered a satellite city of Melbourne, as it was 26km from the city and separated from the suburbs of Melbourne (Craigieburn Historical Interest group, 2020).

The cultural makeup of this area began to change around the beginning of this century, with more non-English speaking cultures moving to the area. According to the Census of 2001, 76% of the population within this area were born in Australia, while this declined to 53% in the 2016 census. Between 2001 and 2016, the countries of origin of those settling from overseas within the area also changed. In 2001, 2.5% of the population within this area were born in England, with 2.0% from Italy and Sri Lanka. By 2016 this had changed to 11.35% of the population being born in India and 5.45% being from Iraq (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2019).

This change in demographics has had a large effect on the community as a whole. As shown above and in Section 1.5.4, people fleeing the wars in Iraq and Syria began to arrive in ever-increasing numbers. They were attracted to the area due to cheaper land and the fact that other people from their community had already settled there. Colic-Peisker and Robertson (2015), in their ethnographic study of two Melbourne suburbs, state that when demographic change occurs 'it brings in unfamiliar people, practices, businesses and buildings' (p. 77). This can then potentially unsettle a community and reduce community cohesion (Colic-Peisker &

Robertson, 2015). This occurred within this community, as Arabic businesses and practices began to be built in traditionally Anglo-Saxon areas. This disruption was also fuelled by the wider racism and tensions within the community as a whole, as Syrian and Iraq refugees often faced hostile attitudes (Koc & Anderson, 2018). These included distrust, as refugees from Arabic speaking countries were often portrayed by the media as trying to destabilise and invade Western nations (Esses, Medianu & Lawson, 2013). The media, in stereotyping people from the Middle East, tried to dehumanise refugees which then made it easier for racist views to be expressed and prejudices against people from this area to be held (Esses et al., 2013).

Many people of the Chaldean cultural group are often misidentified as not only Arabic, but also Muslim by the wider community and experience many of the same prejudices and types of racism as those from Muslim cultures. These prejudices are also double-edged: the cultural group with which they were being conflated included those who they themselves associated with holding extreme beliefs on Islam and persecuting the Chaldeans in Iraq.

As a school within this community, some of these tensions have also entered the school grounds between students and parents. The school examined in this study is a Catholic Secondary College under the governance of MACS. It was established as a Year 7–12 co-educational college in 2007 and received its first group of students, Year 7s, at the beginning of 2008. Since then, the school has grown by a year level every year, with its full complement of year levels being achieved in 2013. This Catholic college is located within a low socio-economic area and has an ICESA (Index of Community Social-Educational Value Advantage) of 963 – with the average value being 1000. Figure 1 shows the uneven spread of socio-educational advantage across the college for 2019.

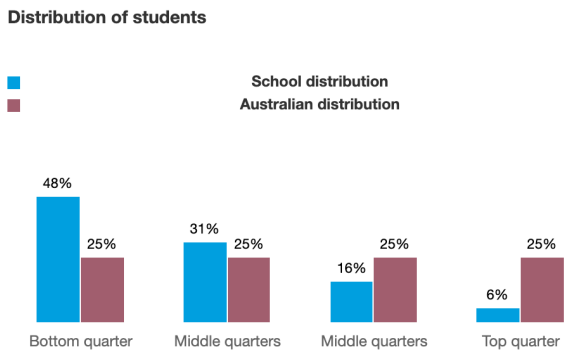

Figure 1: Distribution of students with regard to Socio-Educational advantage. (My School website, 2019).

It is the regional Catholic school for the area, with an enrolment of over 900 students. According to the My School website (2019), 65% of the college's students are from a language background that is not English

As part of the increase in refugees from the Middle East to the area (see Section 1.5.4), over the last six to eight years Chaldean students have arrived in increasing numbers within the college catchment area. As a faith-orientated community, the Chaldean community has sought out Catholic education for their children and currently they constitute approximately a third of the school population. Anecdotal evidence suggests that over the past decade, the school has found it increasingly difficult to involve Chaldean parents in their children's education in ways that the school values.

1.7 Participants

The nine parents for this study were all from the Chaldean community living within a given geographical location and have had more than 12 months contact with the college. The parents were from both genders and had various schooling experience themselves. All parents either stated or implied that they fled Iraq due to the ongoing conflict and arrived in Australian via various routes on refugee visas, though only two explicitly stated that they were refugees. Participants' levels of English proficiency varied and interpreters were offered to all participants. Those who felt more comfortable speaking in Chaldean, Arabic or both utilised the interpreters. Four of the interviews were conducted solely in English, two were conducted in English, Chaldean and Arabic and three were conducted only in Chaldean and Arabic. Four of those interviewed were male and five were female. Regarding their educational status, four had tertiary education and five had attained various levels of high school education. On arrival in Australia, two had gone onto further study. The time they had lived in Australia varied from 22 years to under two years. A more detailed description of the participants is provided in Table 2.

1.8 Thesis overview

This study was developed to explore the Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement within their children's education. Research confirms that parental involvement is of great importance to a child's success at school, yet the notion of parental involvement that schools operate under is often a white middle-class perspective. Parents from CALD and refugee backgrounds often do not fit this mould and are labelled hard to reach. Understanding the parents' construction of parental involvement is paramount for schools to work with families in this important aspect of a child's education.

Chapter 1, the introductory chapter, has discussed the importance of parental involvement for parents from all communities and the impetus for this research. Information on the nuances

between migrants and refugees was given, as this study centres on a minority group of CALD parents from a refugee background, the Chaldean community. Within Australia, the Chaldean community, although not having its own culturally specific school, have enrolled in secondary schools within the area that they reside in, specifically in the metropolitan areas of Sydney and Melbourne (Fairfield City Council, n.d.; Hume City Council, n.d.(a)). Data was provided to show the increased arrival of this cultural group around the research site in the Hume City Council area. The chapter then discussed the Chaldean religion, history of migration, community and reasons for leaving Iraq to aid in understanding who the Chaldean people are and how this informs their construction of involvement within their child's education. The final section of the chapter contrasts the Iraqi education system with the Victorian education system as well as referencing MACS objectives within education.

Chapter 2 discusses literature pertaining to research on parental involvement. The review will define parental involvement and discuss the positive connection it has with a child's education. It will also discuss literature that emphases research on CALD parents' involvement in their child's education. Theories and conceptual frameworks used in parent involvement will also be discussed, with two given greater emphasis – the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler parental involvement process model and the Funds of Knowledge approach. The literature review will then move to an analysis of research around motivational factors that influence parents to be involved in their child's education. There will also be a focus on socio-cultural considerations in parental involvement, with particular emphasis on how CALD and refugee parents are involved in their children's education and the barriers that they face from schools and the wider community.

Chapter 3 informs the reader of the research design. This will include an overview of the research design with an emphasis on the philosophical and the theoretical framing for the research. This project draws upon the hermeneutic tradition and radical constructivism to underpin its philosophical framework. An explanation will be given as to why the RHDS model and Funds of Knowledge theory were used as part of this qualitative study. Finally, the recruitment of participants, the method of collection of data, the interview process, how the data was analysed, the limitations of the study and ethical considerations, including bias, will be discussed.

Chapter 4 discusses the themes that the participants identified as assisting them in becoming involved in their children's education, which mapped to the RHDS model. Each section of the model is defined and analysed separately.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 are the final two data analysis chapter. On further analysis of perceived life contexts and the participants' past education experiences, it was found that they

were more complex than the RHDS model suggested. It was also found that the participants' past education experiences influenced parent involvement more than just within the area of parents' motivational beliefs. These themes were added to the themes not accounted for in the model and were analysed using a Funds of Knowledge theory. Chapter 5 details the knowledge that the participants used to assist them when they believed they were not able to engage in their children's education or when they felt that they were unable to assist their children with their education. This knowledge centres around the social relationships that they have which included: the school, their faith community and their family. Barriers to assisting their child with their education identified by participants will also be discussed within this chapter.

The second Funds of Knowledge chapter, Chapter 6, discusses how the knowledge that the participants have – namely their way of knowing about education, the function of the family unit, their expectations of education and their faith - influences them to be involved in their child's education.

Chapter 7 is the discussion of the findings. Within this chapter the focus will be on the findings of the study and discussing how Chaldean parents construct their involvement in their child's education. Initially a summary of the thesis will be given, then findings from the study discussed. Implications that have arisen from the study will also be discussed.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has established the purpose of the study. Research has shown that parental involvement in a child's education not only assists the family–school relationship but also enhances the child's academic performance. Yet what constitutes involvement can have a different meaning for the various cultural groups within schools. It is often believed by schools that minority cultural groups are often not involved in their child's education, as they are often not 'seen' participating in at school activities. One minority cultural group, the Chaldean people, were described within this chapter. Their history, religion, education system and reasons they had to leave Iraq were discussed as these influenced individuals understanding as to whether they did have a role to play within their child's education and what that role should be.

As stated, the participants for this study have come from a CALD background which constructs their involvement in their children's education based on their own experiences. These experiences inform their notion of what role they have in their child's education and the type of influence that they may have. The following chapter will include a literature review that investigates research on parental involvement and its positive influence on a child's education. The review will then become more nuanced and include literature that pertains to CALD parents

and their understanding of parental involvement and their role in it. The chapter will also include various theories and frameworks used in this area, with a discussion on why the RHDS model and the Funds of Knowledge theory have been used. Finally, the literature review will focus on culture, new migrant aspirations and parental involvement and faith and how each of these impacts' parental involvement.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their children's secondary education. Parental involvement in a child's education has been shown to improve not only the parent–school relationship but also the educational outcomes of students. Jeynes (2007) also found that parental involvement may also reduce the gap between students from a White background and some racial minority groups. Yet what parents regard as involvement, and the motivational factors behind them becoming involved, are often not understood by schools.

Within this literature review the importance of parental involvement and the nuances that individual cultural groups bring when they involve themselves in their child's education will be reviewed. This chapter will firstly offer a definition of parental involvement, as the words engagement and involvement can often be used interchangeably (Emerson et al., 2012). From there, the review will turn its attention to theories and conceptual framings of involvement. An overview of theories used in the field will detail the various framings being utilised and the consequences for research trajectories within the field of parent involvement and engagement. Within research, the theory 'helps to define the phenomenon being studied' (Yamauchi et al., 2017, p. 11), whereas the conceptual framework 'is a system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs and theories that supports and informs research' (Yamauchi et al. 2017, p. 11). Two common theoretical perspectives will be examined in some detail: these are the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (RHDS) model and the Funds of Knowledge Approach.

The review will then focus on the areas within the RHDS model. These include the Parents' Motivational Beliefs, Parents' Perception of Invitations for Involvement from Others and Parents' Perceived Life Contexts. These areas can assist in understanding why parents are involved in their children's education and could inform teachers' efforts to encourage greater participation from the diverse family groups within their school (Walker et al., 2011).

Literature addressing parental culture will also be identified. Given parents within this study are from a CALD background, teachers often do not acknowledge the parents' involvement if it occurs at home and value only involvement that is directly linked to the school (Emerson et al., 2012). Within this area of the review, consideration will be given to four areas that are influenced by the parents' culture – namely, parents' cultural knowledge, proficiency in English, parental trust in the school and teacher attitude. Finally, two other areas that impact

parental involvement in their child's education will be discussed. These are the aspirations new migrants have for their children and the effect of religion on parents' involvement in their child's education. Particular emphasis will be given to studies that focus on the experiences of CALD parents and those that study parents who have a refugee background, as this study involves parents who are from a CALD community and have arrived in Australia as refugees.

2.2 Defining parental involvement

Within most schools, parental involvement is regarded as essential to the education of children. Fan and Chen in their meta-analysis of quantitative literature on the relationship between parental involvement and student achievement found that there was a distinct relationship between the two (Fan & Chen, 2001). It has also been connected to improved academic performance, lower dropout rates, increased positive attitudes towards school and academic perseverance from students (Carreón et al., 2005). Despite the apparent simplicity of the term 'parental involvement', it has come to have a range of different meanings within the research literature. Emerson et al. (2012), in their report on published literature pertaining to parental engagement, state that parental involvement and parental engagement are often used interchangeably. They define parental involvement as the activities that parents conduct or participate in at school – such as parent–teacher nights, volunteering etc. – while parental engagement is broadly defined as 'involving partnerships between families, schools and communities, raising parental awareness about the benefits of becoming engaged in their children's education, and providing them with the skills to do so' (Emerson et al., 2012 p. 26). However, this distinction between involvement and engagement does not often occur in researchers' definitions. Clinton and Hattie (2013) define parental involvement as the engagement parents have with their child's school or school-related activities through purposeful actions. Similarly, Jeynes (2007) defines parental involvement as 'parental participation in the educational processes and experiences of their children' (p. 83). Another definition, by Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994), states that parental involvement is 'the dedication of resources by the parent to the child within a given domain' (p. 238). In their meta-analysis, Fan and Chen (2001) describe parental involvement as being multifaceted because it includes a variety of parenting practices and parenting behaviours. LaPoint et al. further defines parental involvement in the Encyclopedia of Cross-Cultural School Psychology as 'a set of activities generally focused on supporting students' education by students' parents' (2010, p. 707). LaPoint et al. (2010) also state that this general definition of parental involvement has been broadened over time to include family members and community members. Carreón et al. (2005) define involvement as the things parents do, while engagement included 'the parent's

orientations to the world and how those orientations frame the things they do' (p. 469). Ferlazzo and Hammond (2009) use the word parent engagement to define the long-term relationship that occurs between the school and their community. Its goal is to build social capital of the community and therefore improve the communities' academic achievements.

As Naqvi et al., (2015) state in their paper, the term "involvement" and "engagement" are often used interchangeably with the issue being around the "ambiguity of the use of the word engagement itself." (pg. 19). Jeynes further clarifies this in his meta-analysis of parental involvement and engagement and states "… what components of parental participation a given social scientist will define as parental engagement, or parental involvement, or both combined will differ" (2018, pg. 148). While acknowledging that there are many different definitions of parental involvement and parental engagement, for the purpose of this study the term parental involvement will be used. The definition of parental involvement for this study is an amalgamation of the above definitions and involves the activities and experiences that focus on supporting children in their education by parents, family members or communities and the framing of these activities through the parents' orientation to the world. Where individual researchers have used the word engagement, I have used the word "engagement" in deference to their research.

Researchers have long agreed that 'positive parental engagement can and does significantly influence student academic attainment' (Emerson et. al., 2012). In their review of literature, Emerson et. al (2012) state that numerous studies have reported a positive link to improvement in student's academic achievements. Jeynes (2007), in his meta-analysis of parental involvement in urban secondary academic achievement, reports that parental involvement had a positive impact on the academic achievement of students. This involvement revolved around a consistent message about the importance of school being presented to the child by the parents and the school (Epstein, 2011). As well as this consistent message, parents sharing and discussing the high aspirations that they have for their child and discussing the child's learning with them also led to an increase in student's academic achievement (Clinton & Hattie, 2013; Fan & Chen, 2001). This positive impact was consistent across cultural groups (Jeynes, 2007; Wilder, 2013).

Another positive outcome of parental involvement was also identified by Barnard (2004) in her longitudinal study on understanding the impact of parental involvement in a child's education. She notes that students whose parents were recognised by teachers as being involved in their child's elementary years of education had higher rates of retention within high school education and completed more years of education. As well as higher retention rates, Emerson et al. (2012) also report other benefits of parental involvement for student development. These

include better social skills, greater engagement in schoolwork and a stronger belief in the importance of education (Emerson et al., 2012).

Even though meta-analyses and individual researchers have identified that parental involvement is beneficial to student academic achievement, Fan and Chen (2001) and Emerson et al. (2012) identified in their meta-analyses that there were inconsistencies in the research findings. One of the inconsistencies that Fan and Chen (2001) discuss is the notion of exactly what parental involvement is. The lack of a common definition may have led to inconsistencies as to which parent behaviours and practices had a positive influence on their child's education and the measurable effect the behaviour or practice had on a child's education (Fan & Chen, 2001). These inconsistencies can be attributed to a lack of a guiding theoretical framework (Fan & Chen, 2001). Fan and Chen (2001) argue that without a guiding theoretical framework there could be little empirical research conducted. With a guiding framework, researchers would be able to base their research upon a common structure and understanding.

2.3 Theories and conceptual frameworks on parental involvement

Yamauchi et al. (2017), in their study of theoretical frameworks that frame research on family–school partnerships, analyse articles from the period 2007–2011 that describe family–school partnerships. They initially searched relevant databases and found that the Harvard University's Family Involvement Network of Educators had compiled annual bibliographies that included articles within the parameters that they had set for their research. From the bibliographies, 215 articles were reviewed, analysed and coded 'based on whether authors cited, described or applied a framework' (Yamauchi et al., 2017, p. 13). Of these, 153 were found to be empirical but only 82 articles included 'at least one family–school theory or conceptual framework' (Yamauchi et al., 2017, p. 15). Four theories and two conceptual frameworks were found to be consistently used in research on parental involvement. Yamauchi et al. (2017) define a theory as 'a set of interrelated constructs, definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomena' (Yamauchi et al., 2017, p. 11). They stated that the theory assisted researchers in defining what was to be studied. In comparison, a conceptual framework 'explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, concepts, or variables – and the presumed relationships among them' (Yamauchi et al., 2017, p. 11). A conceptual framework is like a map that shows the relationships between variables.

The four theories discussed in the Yamauchi et al. (2017) study were Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological theory, Epstein's Theory of Overlapping Spheres of Influence, Bourdieu's Social Capital theory and the Funds of Knowledge theory. Only the Funds of Knowledge theory

viewed families and communities as contributors to the overall education of the child (Yamauchi et al., 2017). The Bioecological theory did not take into consideration the variability across families, and it was difficult for researchers to put Bronfenbrenner's concepts into practice (Yamauchi et al., 2017). Epstein's theory was specific to school–parent partnerships and limited the voice of parents and their involvement outside the school surrounding, while Bourdieu's theory was abstract and difficult to translate into practical strategies for school–family partnerships (Yamauchi et al., 2017).

Researchers using the Funds of Knowledge theory acknowledged the variety of ways that families and communities pass on knowledge, skills and other resources that assist students with their development as well as acknowledging that this generally occurs outside the school environment (Yamauchi et al., 2017). This theory enabled researchers to value not just the in-school involvement parents participated in, but also the involvement that occurred in the home and the wider community (Yamauchi et al., 2017). Due to this, the Funds of Knowledge theory was used for this research as it acknowledged and utilised the lived experiences of the participants, whether involvement in their child's education occurred at home or at school (see Section 3.3).

Williams et al. (2020) used the Funds of Knowledge theory in their study of how Hispanic families in America support their children in their mathematical studies. It was found that parents were utilising time at home to reinforce mathematical concepts with their children. The families within the study promoted various process skills in everyday activities that the students were involved in. These activities were often not recognised by the teachers, nor by the parents, as mathematical skill reinforcement, yet were influential in the development of mathematical concepts within students and were based around what the parent knew – namely, shopping budgets, financial literacy and developing recipes. The authors of this study conclude that there needs to be more connections between the learning at school and the learning at home. Schools need to expand on the knowledge that was being developed at home by providing activities that linked to learning at home (Williams et al., 2020).

Similarly, Napp-Avelli (2014) in her study of two Latino families in America and their support for their children's mathematical understanding also uses the Funds of Knowledge theory. Like Williams et al. (2020), she also finds that parents used their understanding of mathematics and knowledge of the importance of mathematics to future university prospects to assist in working with their children on mathematical problems in the home. Kiyama (2011), in her study on Mexican-American families and their influence on their children attending college, also uses this theory. She finds that families had a commitment to their children's education but that these were often in non-traditional forms and were not recognised. Through recognition of

these, colleges and schools could assist the families to fill any gaps while recognising what they do possess is also vital to the college process. Another study by Hedges, Cullen and Jordan (2011), on early years curriculum within two early childhood centres in Aotearoa/New Zealand, argues that teachers should use the Funds of Knowledge theory to assist in developing curriculum for children. In using this theory, teachers acknowledge what is occurring in the children's lives and that there is space for collaboration with parents on their children's learning. They conclude that this helped bridge the divide between home and the centres, as teachers who acknowledged the student's lives at home saw the positive influences on the children. It also allowed for a deeper recognition of how home influenced the child's learning.

Yamauchi et al. (2017) report that, apart from the four theories, there were two conceptual frameworks that were consistently used. These were Epstein's types of parental involvement and the RHDS model. They find that 25 of the studies analysed were found to use Epstein's conceptual framework, 13 used the RHDS conceptual framework and 21 used various other theories or conceptual frameworks (Yamauchi et al., 2017).

Epstein developed a framework that accounted for different levels of parental involvement in the child's education. This framework was first written about in 1987 and later developed to its current form. The framework states that there are three overlapping spheres of influence on children's learning: the family, the school and the community (Epstein, 2011). Each sphere's experiences, philosophy and practices impact on the involvement of the parent within the child's education and emphasises the partnership that is required within each of the three spheres to ensure that maximum overlap occurs (Epstein 2011). The framework also defines six types of broad categories that detail the context in which parents are engaged with teachers, students and communities in varied locations (Emerson et. al., 2012; Epstein, 2011). It is based mainly on the school's perspective and addresses how teachers can encourage more active parental involvement (Fan & Chen, 2001), but it does not examine the meaning of involvement for the individual members of the partnership (Yamauchi et al., 2017). A further criticism of this model is that it limits the goals of the partnership to what is best for the child, not what benefits all members of the partnership (Yamauchi et al., 2017).

Within Epstein's framework, researchers focused on parental involvement and its effect on student achievement. They were not focused on why parents were becoming involved (Hoover- Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler developed a theoretical model of parental involvement that examined three essential questions: Why do parents become involved in their child's education? When do parents become involved? and, How do parents choose specific forms of involvement? (Fan & Chen, 2001). This model attempts to explain why parents choose to become involved in their children's education and the mechanisms that

parents use that exert a positive influence on students' learning (Fan & Chen, 2001). The model was further developed in 1997 primarily on the basis of research findings from educational, developmental and social psychology and consisted of five sequential levels (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). The first level detailed the reasons parents initially become involved, while level five addressed the benefit to the student of their parents being involved in their education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Each level was dependent on the one before it and the model was intended to explain the process of parent involvement. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler then conducted a three-year study of parental involvement in primary and middle school children's education to test their model and to develop reliable and valid measures to assess the constructs included in the model (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2005). The study resulted in a revised model that collapses two levels and links relationships within and between the levels (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2005; Walker et al., 2005) (see Figure 2). Three overarching constructs were established at Level One to 'represent the psychological underpinnings of parents' involvement behaviour' (Walker et al., 2005, p. 87). These constructs are defined as psychological motivators (parents' motivational beliefs), contextual motivators (parents' perception of invitations to attend) and life-context variables (parents' perceived life context) (Walker et al., 2005). This framework assists researchers in understanding why parents became involved within their children's activities that were either home or school based. The framework also enables a detailed description of how a family's beliefs and experiences affect their involvement within their child's education (Yamauchi et al., 2017). It reflects the different dynamics that exist within family–school partnerships and the myriad ways families are engaged within their child's education (Yamauchi et al., 2017). As the present study investigates how Chaldean parents construct their involvement in their child's education, motivational beliefs, invitation and life context were deemed important. Therefore, this model was used within the study (see Section 3.3).

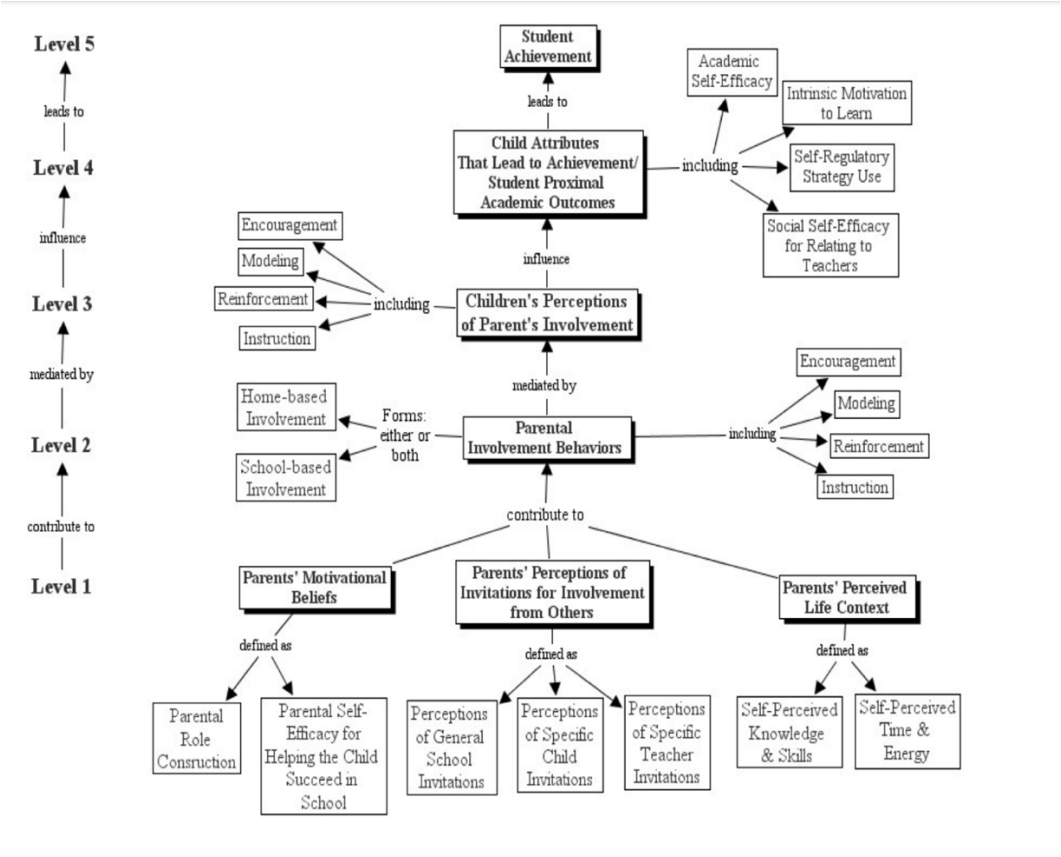

Figure 2: Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler parental involvement process model (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2005).

Although the RHDS model investigates different areas that parents and communities use to be involved in a child's education, the analysis of participants' answers was constrained by the model. This study also used the Funds of Knowledge theory so that value was attributed to all responses obtained and not just those that the model identified. A further elaboration of how this combination was used is provided in Section 3.3.

2.4 Analysis of factors that influence involvement

In this section, a review of literature focusing on why culturally diverse parents become involved with their children's education is presented. The motivational factors used by the RHDS model will be discussed first. Further sections will then focus on culture, cultural influences and new migrant aspirations.

2.4.1 Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler parental involvement process model

The RHDS model developed psychological underpinnings that represented the behaviours parents showed when they made a conscious effort to become involved in their child's education (Walker et al., 2005). Various researchers have used this model to assess which psychological constructs influenced parental involvement in their child's education. Abel

(2012) investigated whether there was a predictive relationship between attitudes and behaviours that influenced African-American fathers' decisions to become involved in their child's school-based lives. She finds that knowledge and energy were a strong influence in the participation of these fathers in school-based activities. Invitations to be involved with their child's education were also influential in fathers' becoming involved in at-home activities with their child. In their study on parental involvement with parents in the southwest of America, Anderson and Minke (2007) examine the relationship between four variables – role construction, sense of efficacy, resources and perception of teacher invitations – and parental decisions to become involved in their child's education. They report that specific invitations from teachers had the greatest effect on parental involvement, whereas parental self-efficacy and level of resources were less influential. Freund et al. (2018) use the same model to study Jewish and Arab parental involvement in Israel and find that both Jewish and Arab parents became involved at home with their children's education when the child invited them to do so. Lavenda (2011) also uses the model to investigate the motivational factors of parental involvement among Jewish and Arab parents who had children in junior and senior school in Israel. The research from these studies supports the original theoretical model's findings that the behaviours can be generalised to parental motivational beliefs, parents' perception of invitation for involvement from others and parents' perceived life context.

Table 1 shows how each of these three areas were further defined.

Table 1: Motivational factors for parental involvement

Motivational factors	**Defined as**
Parents' motivational beliefs	Parental role construction Parent self- efficacy
Parents' perception of invitation for involvement from others	General school invitations Specific school invitations Specific teacher invitations
Parents' perceived life context	Time and energy of parents Skills and knowledge of parents

For the purposes of this literature review, literature investigating the various factors within each area of the model will be addressed separately. It is acknowledged, however, that these factors are not independent of each other.

2.4.1.1 Parents' motivational beliefs

The internal beliefs parents have constructed about their role as a parent influence their motivation in relation to their child's education. Their feelings of confidence or self-efficacy in parenting also affect their level of motivation (Walker et al., 2005). These two internal beliefs of role construction and self-efficacy will be further discussed in following sections.

Parent role construction is dependent on the social identity of a person and the situation they are in, as human beings behave in ways that are either predictable or irregular (Biddle, 1986). Within educational settings, parents construct an understanding about the type of role that they are to play in their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2005). This construct relates the expectations they have not only for their own behaviour but also for the behaviour of others (Biddle, 1986).

This role construction is often influenced by groups to which the parents belong (Walker et al., 2011). Individual groups communicate expectations of schools to parents, and the role parents are to play within the school. These groups could include people within the family, the cultural group, the workplace or the school setting – a diverse range which may cause conflict as competing expectations clash (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). To illustrate, the school may have an afternoon where parents are expected to attend interviews or review student work. This expectation on the part of the school may clash with the parents' work commitments, causing a conflict in the expectations each group has of the parent.

Parental perceptions of the role that they are to play in their child's education can similarly be linked to parents' cultural identity (Reynolds et al., 2014). Garcia Coll et al. (2002) studied parental involvement within three ethnic communities who had recently arrived in the USA – Cambodian, Dominican and Portuguese. Their study shows that although Cambodian parents had high educational expectations of their children, they had low levels of belief that they should be involved in their child's education (Garcia Coll et al., 2002). This was attributed to Cambodian people's beliefs about education, including that education is the domain of the school and it was inappropriate for parents to be a part of their child's formal education (Smith-Hefner, 1993). This was in contrast to parents from Dominican and Portuguese backgrounds, who scored higher in the area of belief that they should be involved in their child's education (Garcia Coll et al., 2002).

In a further study by Clinton and Hattie (2013), Māori parents in New Zealand were found to be less likely to discuss the future of their child's education with their child, and had lower expectations of their child, than Asian parents. Similarly, Crozier and Davis (2007) in a study of Bangladeshi and Pakistani parents in north-east England, report that in their interviews Bangladeshi parents did not see their role as a parent as one that interacted with the school. For these parents, their role was to provide a supportive home and family setting and to be encouraging of their children (Crozier & Davis, 2007). Schools, when engaging parents in their child's education, need not only to be aware of the role that individual parents have constructed about their role in education but should also consider the parents' cultural beliefs about involvement. Not all cultures will hold the same construction of involvement.

The second area of parental motivational beliefs within the RHDS model is parent self-efficacy. This is a parent's belief in their ability to influence their child's education, which can also determine their level of involvement within a child's education (Emerson et al., 2012; Walker et al., 2005). When parents become involved in their children's education, they think through the outcomes that will most likely occur because of the actions they take (Emerson et al., 2012; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). These actions are not necessarily based on the actual skills that the parent possesses, but on the parent's perceived beliefs about their abilities (Bandura, 1986).

If an individual has high self-efficacy, they are likely to approach tasks with a problem-solving attitude and therefore assist their child (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Those parents who have a low level of involvement with their child's education may believe that they are unable to assist their children due to their lack of knowledge, or that they are unlikely to achieve a positive outcome (Abel, 2012; Emerson et al., 2012). Parents from CALD communities can have low self-efficacy with regard to their involvement in their child's education, as they may believe that they do not have the necessary skills to assist their children in an education system with which they are unfamiliar (Peña, 2000; Tang 2015).

These two factors, role construction and self-efficacy, are crucial in a parent's decision to become involved in their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Approaching tasks with a problem-solving attitude usually occurs in individuals who have a high self-efficacy. These parents assist their child in their education as they believe they can help solve any problem the child's education presents. On the other hand, parents with a low self-efficacy are less willing to assist their child as they may believe that they are unable to solve the problem the child presents. This can be problematic for parents from CALD communities, as they may believe that they do not have the necessary skill set – namely, an understanding of English – to assist their child with the problems that are presented.

(Muller, 2009). Parents may also believe that it is not their role to be involved in their child's education based on their cultural understanding of their role (Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Reynolds et al., 2014). In advising parents on how to become more involved in their child's education, schools need to be aware of the cultural views that parents have with regard to parental involvement. Schools need to listen to the specific needs of each CALD community and respond appropriately within the school, tailoring advice to the individual cultural groups. (Emerson et al., 2012).

2.4.1.2 Parents' perceptions of invitations for involvement from others

A parent's decision to become involved in their child's education may also be based on the parent's perception of whether they have been invited to become involved. Whether invitations are given by the school, the child or the teacher, studies suggest that parents need to feel their input is wanted, needed and sought (Walker et al., 2005). These three different types of invitations for involvement are discussed below.

The first form of invitation for involvement is general school invitations. Schools invite parents to attend general events such as assemblies, open days and Parent and Friend meetings. Parents may well choose not to participate in an event unless they feel that they are valued or welcomed (Walker et al., 2005). Schools also make suggestions as to how parents can assist their child at home. Parents might not begin, or may not continue, to assist their children if their help is not valued or welcomed by the school (Walker et al., 2005). Abel (2012) in her study on African-American fathers' involvement in their child's education, stated that one of the factors influencing the fathers was the direct invitation from schools to participate in home-based or school-based activities.

The second form of invitation for involvement is specific child invitations. Within this form of invitation, parents can become involved in their children's education based on the invitations that the children extend to their parents. Not all students are willing to involve their parents in their education or ask their parents for help (Walker et al., 2005). This can be influenced by the age and the characteristics of the child, especially during the adolescent years. During these years, students are becoming more autonomous and want greater independence from their parents (Lohman & Matjasko, 2009). As students enter adolescence, discussion at home may also decline as parents lack understanding of the education their child is undertaking.

The last form of invitation within the RHDS model is specific teacher invitations. Teachers can involve parents in their child's education by explicitly inviting parents to contact them. Parents can provide knowledge about their child's relationship to learning and how they learn at home. This can then assist teachers in understanding the child as a learner (Lazar & Weisberg,

1996). Conversely, teachers can provide information on how parents can assist their child with their education (Walker et al., 2005). Simon (2001), in her analysis of reports of 11,000 parents of high school students and 1,000 high school principals in America, states that when teachers were explicit about the type of parental involvement they were seeking, parents were more likely to become involved. Through developing a planned relationship that involves the parent and the school working together, a supportive educational environment can be created, enabling educational gains for students to occur (Epstein, 2011). Ensuring that there is a warm, welcoming climate for parents, and inviting them to participate increases the level of parental participation within schools (Deslandes & Bertrand, 2005).

Parents want to feel needed and sought after when making decisions about becoming involved in their child's education. Specific invitations from the school, the individual child and the teacher influence the level of parental participation (Anderson & Minke, 2007). Through inviting parents to participate in their child's education, schools use practices that encourage positive growth and high expectations (Stanley, Juhnke & Purkey, 2004).

2.4.1.3 Parents' perceived life context

Parents' life context also affects how parents become involved in their child's education. The time and energy the parents have, as well as the skills and knowledge they possess about education, all influence a parent's ability to be engaged in their child's education (Walker et al., 2005).

Parents have finite time and energy to complete all that must be done within their daily lives. Often, parents are unable to attend the more traditional activities that schools identify as parental involvement due to competing demands on parental time and energy. Parents from a lower socio-economic background have typically been thought of as having lower levels of active involvement in their children's education than those from higher socio-economic backgrounds (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Tang, 2015). They have the least resources available to become engaged in their children's education (Walker et al., 2005) and are often unable to bring the world of the classroom and the outside world closer together (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Jeynes, 2005). But when schools only measure in-school involvement they do not consider the variety of involvement that is occurring within the home. In studies assessing parental involvement in the home, school personnel were found to underestimate the level of involvement (Anderson & Minke, 2007). Schools need to look not only at the in-school involvement but also investigate what involvement is occurring away from the school (Anderson & Minke, 2007).

Walker et. al. (2011), in their study on Latino parents in the USA, report that Latino parents were actively engaged in their children's learning within the home. This contradicts a number of deficit-oriented reports of Latino parents' involvement (Valencia & Black, 2009). The Latino parents were more involved with home-based rather than school-based support activities, suggesting that lower school-based involvement is not necessarily due to a lack of interest in children's education but may instead be due to parental work or family commitments that occur during times when parental involvement activities are offered (Walker, et. al., 2011). This finding is reiterated by Abel (2012) in her study on African-American fathers' involvement in their child's education; the amount of energy the fathers identified they had, influenced whether they were able to participate in activities that centred more around the home or the school. Anderson and Minke (2007), in their quantitative study on parental involvement, report that parents' resources did not influence their decision to become involved in their child's education. They establish that for the group of parents surveyed, involvement in the home environment was greater than involvement within the school environment. This was attributed to the fathers being invited to be involved in their child's education and their belief in the knowledge and energy they had. Harris and Goodall (2008), in their 12-month research project based on 20 schools and 314 respondents within the United Kingdom, state that parental involvement in the home had the greatest effect on student achievement. Schools should not assume that because parents are not present at school that they are not supporting their children's education (Walker, et. al., 2011) nor that involvement in the home does not have any value.

The skills and knowledge a parent bring to education can also impact on parents' level of involvement in their child's education. When parents believe that they have the skills and knowledge to assist their child, they are more inclined to become involved in their education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Abel (2012) finds that African-American fathers' assessment of their knowledge and skill in regard to assisting their child in their education influenced the type of activities that they participated in. Sudanese parents living in the USA also felt that they were unable to support their children in their education, as they did not have the necessary language or education (Tadesse, 2014). Parents' perceived lack of skills and knowledge can be alleviated through teacher guidance of parents in activities to assist their child (Emerson et al., 2012).

Schools often value the more traditional forms of school-based involvement over the involvement that parents conduct in the home (Walker et al., 2011). These forms of involvement may include support through encouragement, guidance and having high expectations of their children. In their study of Pakistani and Bangladeshi parents, Crozier and Davies (2007) report that Bangladeshi parents, especially the male head of the family, did not have a direct role in

their child's education. Instead, they believed their role to be one of support and encouragement, ensuring that their children were upstanding members of the community, which also involved supporting their education. It is important that schools look beyond involvement within the school and value that which occurs within the home environment, which may be non-traditional forms of involvement (Walker et al., 2011).

Parents' life contexts also can influence the type of parental involvement that they give to their child. Parents have finite time and energy to give to their child's education; thus, schools need to recognise all involvement that occurs, not just that which occurs within the school. Parents may also not possess the necessary skills and knowledge to assist their child within education but may give support through non-traditional forms of involvement that need to be valued by schools and seen as significant.

2.4.2 Culture

Culture can also be an influence on parental involvement within a child's education. Culture is defined by Hecht, Baldwin and Faulkner (2005) as 'an empty sign that everyday actors … fill with meaning' (p. 72) and it is understood 'only in the context of its use' (Hecht et al., 2005, p. 72). According to García and Guerra (2005), culture is the 'lens through which we view the world' (p. 105). This lens involves the 'shared values, ideals, and assumptions about life that guide specific behaviour' (Garcia & Guerra, 2005, p. 105). Even though we may modify our worldview due to our own personality and experiences, our values, behaviours and ideals are developed through this shared lens. Swindler, in her analysis of culture's role in shaping actions, states that culture is 'more like a style or set of skills and habits than a set of preferences and wants' (1986, p. 275). She says that, because of this, 'one can hardly pursue success in a world where the accepted skills, style, and informal know-how are unfamiliar. One does better to look for a line of action for which one already has the cultural equipment' (Swindler, 1986, p. 275).

Within educational settings, 'culture influences the shared beliefs each group within the school has as to the view for how education should be taught, who should provide the instruction and what should be taught' (García & Guerra, 2005, p. 106). As these beliefs often reflect the dominant culture's views, parents who do not possess the actual or potential resources that are linked to the educational institution will, potentially, not understand the expectations placed on them to be involved in their child's education. This is often manifested in parents from a CALD community and can lead to a clash between the parents' understanding of education, which is based on their own experiences and understanding, and that of the schools (Naidoo, 2016). Parents from a CALD community may have a different understanding

of what their role in their child's education should be and can, therefore, be thought to be disengaged (Beauregard, Petrakos & Dupont, 2014; Emerson et al., 2012).

Although schools expect parents to be engaged with their child's education, what actually constitutes involvement within education is not homogeneous across cultural groups, as parents with different cultural backgrounds will vary in when, why and how they are involved in their child's education (Lee & Bowen, 2006), which may not correspond to the understanding that the school has (Lareau & Shumar, 1996). Huntsinger and Jose's (2009) research on Chinese-American parental involvement finds this cultural group of parents were not involved in their child's education at school but were heavily involved in teaching at home. They used methods that they had grown up with – such as reprimanding mistakes, drill and practice and using multiple methods of explaining ideas – which were not supported by the child's school system and different to those used within the school system. Ho (2017), in her interviews with Asian parents within Australia who had children at select entry schools, finds that education was valued as the primary mechanism to mobilise their children into a society that their Anglo peers had cultural and social practices in. These parents viewed the more holistic education of Australian schools as insufficiently strict and believed that students were not pushed enough. This led them to source educational avenues after school that conformed to their pedagogical understanding of education (Ho, 2017). Often, these parents were seen at school as not being involved in their child's education, as they did not assist as helpers within classrooms, attend social events or contribute to fundraisers (Ho, 2017). Another study of parents from an immigrant background in Quebec, Canada, found that parents had 'culture shock' when they first attended schools in Quebec, as they had to navigate two school systems – the one they were educated in and the one their child was now being educated in (Beauregard et al., 2014). These parents also had to adapt to the expectation of the role that they were undertaking and the one that they had played before migration (Beauregard et al., 2014). The parents felt that the schools in Quebec were not strict enough and did not give students enough homework. Parents were comparing their understanding of schooling from their country of origin to that which their child was receiving within Quebec (Beauregard et al., 2014). Mau (1997), in a study of parental involvement within Asian cultural groups in America, also finds that the culture of the parent influenced the type of parental involvement that occurred in schools. Immigrant parents from an Asian background were less likely to be involved in their child's education within the school due to their limited English, their culture and their lack of understanding of the school system. This was contrasted with the involvement the parents had at home with their child, in the form of high expectations and the hard work that these parents demanded of their children (Mau, 1997).

As stated earlier, involvement of parents in the child's education is often not viewed by the school from the parents' orientation to the world, nor 'how those orientations frame the things parents do' (Carreón et al., 2005 p. 469; Naidoo, 2016). Schools can often work from a cultural deficit perspective (Naidoo, 2016; Theodorou & Symeou, 2013) with regard to parental involvement. Parents from a CALD community are often seen as not interested in their child's education as they do not participate according to the school's understanding of parental involvement. Emerson et al. (2012) finds that parents from a refugee background often are not aware that they should be assisting their children with their schooling, as within their culture teachers are highly regarded as experts in their field. For some cultures it would be disrespectful for parents to question teachers, and they find their role as a partner within education perplexing (Emerson et al., 2012). Naidoo, in her study conducted on CALD parents and teachers in high CALD enrolment schools, finds that parents and educators had differing views as to the level of involvement that parents had with their child's education (Naidoo, 2016). She stated that the parents' views of what schooling should be were based on their own memories. They largely 'saw their role as supporting their children so that they could succeed academically' (Naidoo, 2016, p. 51). Educators, on the other hand, often saw the parents as neither committed to nor involved in their children's education. Throughout the study, however, there was little acknowledgement by the educators of the funds of knowledge that the parents had which impacted their children's lives and how this could be used within the school environment.

Within education, parents can be viewed as being uninterested in their child's education when there is a clash between the role they do play and the role they are expected to play (Garcia & Guerra, 2005). Yet when schools acknowledge and view involvement from the parents' perspectives, what is found is that there is assistance given which can be based on their understanding of involvement. This way of knowing is influenced by the social, historical and cultural knowledge and skills that the person possesses (Williams et al., 2020).

Four areas of culture emerged within the literature that affected CALD parental involvement in children's education. These were the parents' cultural knowledge of the school and the education system, their English language proficiency, parental trust in the school system and teacher attitude. Parents who have come from a non-dominant cultural background often do not have the cultural knowledge of how to meet the school's expectations of them (Hofstede, 1991; Wan & Chew, 2013). The parents often did not speak the dominant language of the school and may not have trusted the teachers and the educational system. Similarly, teachers might have preconceived attitudes towards the parents, making it difficult for parents to engage with their children in learning (Emerson et al., 2012).

2.4.2.1 Cultural knowledge

Understanding of a dominant culture is impacted upon by individuals' knowledge of the dominant cultural values and the implicit knowledge that the individual has of that culture. The more consistent characteristics an individual has of a culture, the more they are likely to identify with the culture. These characteristics can be shared not only through the people, but also through the social and educational institutions within the culture (Wan & Chew, 2013).

Cultures also have unspoken social rules and behavioural nuances that need to be understood in context. Often, these rules and nuances can only be comprehended once a person is immersed in the culture (Pilhofer, 2011). While these rules and ways of interacting can be learned, they are often not fully appreciated until a person needs to function effectively in the culture. Understanding these challenges is often exceptionally difficult for people from a refugee background because they have typically had few opportunities to learn about the culture they are to be immersed in. On their arrival in their new country, refugees often face multiple practical difficulties. These include not only a language barrier but also trying to understand the culture in which they wish to participate (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2009).

The difficulties that arise for refugees due to the lack of cultural knowledge are even more prominent in educational settings. When beginning school, all families bring to the school a way of thinking that is tied to their cultural experiences (de Wal Pastoor, 2015). However, schools, as a microcosm of the wider community, typically espouse the values of the dominant culture. Parents from a refugee background often struggle to assist their children with the cultural knowledge that is implicit in the curriculum, the subject-specific language and the approaches to teaching and learning that teachers take within their classrooms (Brown, Miller & Mitchell, 2006). Furthermore, parents from a non-dominant culture can struggle to understand the implicit behaviours required from them so that their children can be successful within the school setting (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2009). Parents from a non-dominant cultural background may not necessarily understand the role that they are to play within their children's schooling, nor the expectations placed upon them by the school (Comer & Haynes, 1991; Naidoo, 2016).

Often, those parents who have limited understanding of the dominant culture do not understand the nuances and expectations when discussing issues with school personnel. The school can also struggle to understand the parents' perspective as the parent expresses ideals and behaviours within a school setting that are foreign to the school (Rah, Chol & Nguyen, 2009). This can be seen when parents express their wish for their children to be subject to corporal punishment for misdemeanours, rather than detentions, or when the parents struggle

to understand the importance a school may place on the correct wearing of uniforms. This can then cause conflict between the institution and the parent as each struggle to understand the other's viewpoint.

2.4.2.2 English language proficiency

Loss of identity within the school system can occur when a parent has a lack of understanding in the dominant language. Their lack of comprehension in the dominant language can isolate them within the society to which they are trying to acculturate. Through language, one can articulate concerns, voice opinions, communicate with others and participate in the broader life of the community (Atwell, Gifford & Macdonald-Wilmsen, 2009). When people speak, they do so as part of a 'socially conditioned process' (Fairclough, 2001, p. 19) that stems from the social origins that the person has internalised (Fairclough, 2001). This conditioning can inform the way one interacts with family members and the discourse that is used in the wider community.

Parents' background often informs the way they use language and the discourse in which they participate. When they cannot communicate their views and concerns adequately and must rely on others to interpret and translate for them, they may feel that their power and identity have been taken from them (Naidoo, 2016). This can then lead to stress for the parents (Atwell et al., 2009) as they feel isolated not only from the school community but also from their children, who are more proficient in the dominant language (Peterson & Ladky, 2007). With a lack of understanding of the dominant language, parents can hesitate when participation is required within that language. As parents are not comfortable in the dominant language, they may decide not to attend parental meetings, answer phone calls or communicate an issue the child may have, thus seeming disinterested in their child's education (Githembe, 2009).

2.4.2.3 Parental trust

Due to past experiences, parents from a CALD community may mistrust anyone in authority (Tadesse, 2014). A lack of understanding by the parents of the current school structure and educational protocols can lead to a mistrust of the school in general, as parents believe that their children are not being taught correctly or that the school and other organisations are encouraging their children to challenge the parent's authority (Lewig, Amey & Salveron, 2010; Naidoo, 2016). The school curriculum may be seen as being 'easier' than that which the child has participated in overseas, and parental behavioural expectations can be different to those arising within the school setting (Naidoo, 2016; Weine et al., 2006). A phone call from their child's school is typically associated with their child being in trouble, and parents are often not told positive news when attending meetings with teachers (McBrien, 2011; Naidoo, 2016).

This lack of trust can also be grounded in the school's lack of understanding of the child and their culture. Often, there is a bias towards white middle-class values that ignores the differences children's other cultures bring to the classroom (Hornby & Lafaele, 2011; Naidoo, 2016). Teachers can frequently misinterpret student's actions, make assumptions about a student's capabilities and stereotype the student and parent based on the culture the student is from. As McBrien (2011) stated in their research, often Sudanese students are misunderstood as lying when they are being culturally appropriate and not looking at the teacher in the eye. Within some cultures, parents are reluctant to challenge a school's authority (Rah et al., 2009). Hmong parents believe that the proper role of a parent is to listen and defer to an educator's professional judgement. They believe that the school is best placed to educate the child without interference from the parent (Rah et al, 2009). Similarly, parents from other South-East Asian cultures regard it as disrespectful to make suggestions on how teachers should teach their children (McBrien, 2011). Thus, schools need to be aware of the trust individuals place on teachers and the cultural knowledge that parents possess around their understanding of the teacher.

2.4.2.4 Teacher attitude

Schools can have preconceived ideas as to how a minority group within the school views education and the degree of involvement that the parents wish to have in the education process (Naidoo, 2016). Theodorou and Symeou, in their study of immigrant students' experiences in Cyprus, reported that the vast majority of teachers did not make any systematic effort to 'incorporate cultural elements of immigrant students' backgrounds in class' (2013, p. 361). The teachers attributed lower academic attainment to the students' lack of academic performance and not to the lack of cultural inclusion (Theodorou & Symeou, 2013).

Teachers may also have low expectations for students from a CALD community and stereotype the group based on the past experiences the teacher has had with families from a particular culture (Oller, Vila, & Zufiaurre, 2012). When teachers display negative attitudes towards their child, parents from a CALD community rarely complain. Instead, parents are often more focused on the behaviour of the student and the grades they are getting, as opposed to the way the student is being taught. Students are often blamed for their poor results, rather than the system they are being educated in (Vang, 2006). When culturally sensitive learning experiences that draw on students' cultural understandings are included in the curriculum, students perform at a higher level (Vang, 2006; Walker et. al., 2011). This, married with students having a positive view of their own racial group and teachers not engaging in language that was of a deficit nature, aids students in being successful in education (Hattie, 2009).

As well as this, teachers can misjudge CALD students' and parents' attempts to be part of the school community. Parents and students from CALD backgrounds may not have the understandings nor the knowledge as to how to be part of the community. Teachers need to be aware of the lives of their students within their community so that they can assist students in being the best that they can be. Naidoo, in her study on engaging the refugee community of Greater Sydney (2010), states that it is paramount that teachers engage with the community when working with students from a refugee background. She states that currently the emphasis within education is on partnerships between those who have an interest in education. It is through these partnerships that the student not only succeeds but will also 'improve those communities' (Naidoo, 2010, p. 48).

2.4.3 New Migrant Aspirations and Parental Involvement

Another aspect of culture which is quite unique to new migrants, including those who have arrived as refugees, is the level of aspirations for their child's education and career expectations in comparison to native-born parents (Raleigh & Kao, 2010). This also affects the parental construct of their role in their child's education. Migrants upon arrival in a new society often have extremely high aspirations as to future prospects for their family (Salikutluk, 2013; van Heelsum, 2017). These aspirations are often centred on the child as educational prospects and/or career expectations, as older migrants often deem that they are too old to begin education or learn new skills in their new country of residence. As they do not have the level of education or skills required, these older migrants are then inhibited in their ability to move from their current social standing, which is often quite low, within their new community (van Heelsum, 2017). In aspiring for their children to obtain a good education, migrant parents are stating that they believe that their child's future will be upwardly mobile from their current standing (Salikutluk, 2013; Raleigh & Kao, 2010). Through these aspirations, parents have a belief that there will be intergenerational change in the experiences the family has within society, as well as the family's social mobility. This can be seen as an exchange for parents' migration and loss of status within the new country (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019; Raleigh & Kao, 2010).

Within this study the Chaldean people are from a refugee background, but, as new arrivals to Australia, often have the same aspirations described above. Their culture is a collectivist culture, with families often desiring to increase their social standing and therefore their respectability with the community (see 1.5.4). The child's educational achievement can be seen as the means to achieve this for parents from a migrant background (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019). Often, parents feel frustration due to their diminished class status after migration (Naidoo, 2016). Their child's educational success is seen not only as a way to move the family into the

social standing that they believe they merit, but also as a direct link to the parent's effort and achievements (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019). The educational success of the child is a form of currency that shows others in the community that their family is successful and respectable (Skeggs, 2002). Parents can regain the social class status they previously held and become part of the mainstream society that they have joined, through the next generation (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019; Skeggs, 2002).

Jamal Al-Deen (2019), in her interviews of Iraqi Muslim mothers in Australia, finds that education for these mothers was extremely important and that they had high aspirations for their children's future. They believed that through having a good education, their children would have better career prospects and would then have a respectable identity within the society, an important component that showed the success of the family as a whole. In Iraq, education was valued. People respected those with a good education, as it led to a good career, such as a doctor, lawyer or engineer. These careers were what the mothers within this study wished for their children. Their children attaining these high academic achievements would also signify that they were a good mother. Similar to Jamal Al-Deen's study, Cun (2019) interviewed Burmese parents on their perspective on their child's education in American schools. She reports that these parents also had high aspirations for their child's education. They believed that through education their children could obtain 'good' jobs – for example, teacher, engineer, pilot or doctor. These parents, like those in Jamal Al-Deen's study (2019), emphasised to their children the importance of a good education. A further study by Koo (2012) shows that Chinese parents from rural areas migrating to the city similarly had high aspirations for their children and that education was the vehicle that they believed could elevate their family to a higher economic and social standing. This, like the other studies, shows that a child's educational achievements provided the family with respectability and status within the society (Koo, 2012).

2.4.4 Faith

As well as the new migrants' aspirations, religion can also influence parental involvement. Religion, through its customs and values, can play a significant part in the lives of people (Abbas, 2003). Through religion, people can develop a way of being and thinking about the world and their interactions within it. This is true for the Chaldean people, as their faith is integral part of who they are (see 1.5.4). These beliefs can also permeate through to the parents' constructs of their involvement within their child's education and to their expectations of their children within education.

On arrival in a new country, migrants often turn to the Church as a place that is familiar to them and, in some way, to invent some sense of continuity with the place they have left

(Watson, 2009; Wuthnow, 2002). Often, migrants come from a country where religion helps shape their self-identity, society, social life and level of religiosity (Buber–Ennser et al., 2018). Within the Church community there is familiarity, friendship and support for them as they adjust to the foreign society they have moved into (Buber–Ennser et al., 2018). In an analysis comparing the religiosity of migrants and native-born people in Europe, it was found that migrants had a higher religiosity than their native-born counterparts across three distinct areas – self-assessed religiosity, frequency of praying and church attendance (Aleksynska & Chiswick, 2013).

The religiousness within the family can also influence the development of relationships between parents and children. Through their religion, values can be established and behaviours that are unacceptable are prevented (Krok, 2018). From a social perspective, activities can be facilitated for the family to be engaged in through their religion, and people can find companionship and discover purpose and meaning (Krok, 2018). Yet for some religions, their beliefs and religiosity of individuals can add to the pressure on the individual, especially within education. In a study conducted within the United Kingdom on South-East Asian girls' educational attitudes, perspectives and experiences, it was found that religion was a significant factor within their education (Abbas, 2003). Of the girls that were interviewed there were three distinct religions – Muslim, Hindu and Sikh. Findings showed that for the Muslim girls there were distinct community expectations, patriarchal beliefs, religious-cultural norms and values that impeded their education. These impediments included who they could visit or study with, at what age they had to be married by and the views and assumptions that the wider society had of them. In contrast, those from the Hindu and Sikh religions deemed that their religion did not affect their education. Sikh students often had their mothers as role models, as the mothers were educated and in professional employment. Hindu and Sikh parents allowed their children to mix with other students, allowing cultural biases to be diminished and greater acceptance by the wider community (Abbas, 2003).

Religion has also been shown to affect parental attitudes towards involvement with their children's education. Goodall (2013), in her analysis of parental engagement and religious belief, states that those individuals who have a faith which expresses values, attitudes and behaviours are religiously socialised, which, in turn, leads to better educational outcomes for children. Goodall reports that investment of time, effort and interest in education is greater for those from the Jewish religion than those from Protestant backgrounds (2013). She also surmises that those who support their child's move to independence, while showing they value education and have high aspirations of their children, provide the best support for the child's learning (Goodall, 2013). These traits are seen in less authoritative religions such as the liberal

Christian and Jewish religions, as opposed to those religions who are authoritarian and conservative such as the Conservative Protestant religion (Goodall, 2013).

Through this literature review, the importance of the various aspects of the RHDS model, family culture, aspirations of parents and the influence of religion to parental involvement have been established. This study seeks to investigate Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their children's education. Focusing on this cultural group enables the research to specifically identify the needs of this newly arrived and rapidly growing refugee group in Australia. The Chaldean family experiences with the school, their understanding of their role in their children's education, the information and skills they may need to be involved in their child's education and the influences that bear on their decision-making will be factors that are explored (Walker et al., 2011).

2.5 Conclusion

Parental involvement in a child's education can have a positive impact on the child. For this to be achieved, parents need to believe that they can have an influence on the educational outcomes of their child. They also need to be invited to participate in their child's education and be able to spend the time and energy and have the knowledge and skill required to assist with their child on educational matters.

Although these factors apply for all parents, Emerson et al. (2012) state that parents from a refugee background and CALD community may have other challenges in becoming involved in their child's education. As CALD communities are not homogeneous, these challenges can be individual to the cultural group (Clinton and Hattie, 2013). Understanding the motivational beliefs for a select group of parents within the school community is imperative to ensure that meaningful programmes can be productively employed (Kendall et al., 2008). Through understanding a cultural group's perspective of involvement, as well as their aspirations for their children and the effect of religion on their decision-making process, schools can work with parents to enhance the involvement that may already exist. When parents from a refugee background and CALD community are informed that they need to take an active role in their child's education, their understanding of what this entails may not fit with the expectations that the school has (Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture, 2007). Accordingly, many parents are left with little knowledge on how to engage with their child in an education system that is foreign to them and in a language that they do not understand. Schools need to recognise common ideas and values so that they can modify the way in which opportunities can exist for parents to become involved in their child's education (Lee & Bowen, 2006). Research needs to focus on how parents understand their role in their child's education within their orientation to

the world, rather than emphasising the deficits of parental involvement (Walker et al., 2011). Schools need to understand and acknowledge all parental involvement in a child's education, no matter where it occurs, so that partnerships with parents can become more productive (Lee & Bowen, 2006).

The literature review did not identify any research that specifically examines the reasons Chaldean parents become involved in their child's education. As there was no specific research on this, the present study has been designed to investigate the Chaldean parents' construct of their involvement in their child's education. To allow for the participants of the study to inform the researcher about their lived experiences with regard their involvement within their child's education, the RHDS model was used as the conceptual framework so that information given by the participants could be analysed using a common structure. A Funds of Knowledge theory was employed to ensure that the construction of the participants' involvement in their child's education was expressed and that there was no preconceived view of what is. This then assisted in determining the nuances that this group of Chaldean parents brought to their involvement with their child's education. This included the role that they believed they had within their child's education and the influence that they believed they had on their child's education.

The literature review also did not clarify a definition for parental involvement and parental engagement. In recent years academics have moved to delineate between parental involvement and engagement, with some academics seeing parental involvement as being at school activities and parental engagement encompassing parental support for learning at home, school and in the context of the parent's community (Emerson, et al., 2012). Other researchers such as Goodall and Montgomery (2014), describe it as a continuum. For the purpose of this research the words parental involvement has been used to describe both the school-based and home-based participation that parents have in their child's education. This encompasses all activities parents participate in, including working in school classrooms, attending meetings at school, supervising homework, listening to students read at home, supporting student learning at home and other activities.

Chapter 3 will focus on the research design and methods undertaken within the research. The first section of the chapter will focus on an explanation of the philosophical foundations of the study and the conceptual framework. The philosophical foundations describe the hermeneutic tradition that this qualitative design of the research has drawn upon and radical constructivism which this research has been drawn from. These allowed for the participants within the research to reflect, based on their experiences within the world around them, on their understanding of parental involvement with the researcher. The conceptual framework was based on the RHDS model and the Funds of Knowledge theory which is then explained. In

using these the researcher was able to compare information given to a known framework whilst also acknowledging that families and communities have a variety of ways that they can pass on their knowledge, skills and resources. The second part of the chapter will discuss the method used, the analysis used, possible limitations of the study, ethical consideration and trustworthiness of the study. These areas will include a description of the participants, methods and process for collecting information, the use of interpreters and the position of the researcher.

Chapter 3: Research design

3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter will be on the research design utilised to explore Chaldean parents' construction of their engagement in their children's education. Within this research, it was important to incorporate a research design that allowed the lived stories of the participants to be described. The initial section of this chapter focuses on the philosophical framework underpinning the study's research design. The second section discusses the specificities of the research design, including participant selection, methods and procedures used for collecting and analysing the interviews. The final section outlines the possible limitations and the ethical requirements of the study.

3.2 The philosophical foundations of the study: Grounding meaning and understanding in the research project

Within the research undertaken, parents were asked to comment on their own construction of their involvement within their child's education. The reality for each individual was dependent on their subjective understanding and interaction with the construct, which for this study was Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their children's education (Kalof, Don & Dietz, 2008). As parents were reporting on their interpretation of their lived experience, the researcher's knowledge within the study was gained through how the participants 'interpreted' their experiences (Houghton, Hunter & Meskell, 2012; Kalof et al, 2008). Thus, the study used a qualitative design with the hermeneutic tradition and radical constructivism used as philosophical frameworks to guide the research.

3.2.1 Philosophical framework

This research was based on the participants' construction of their understanding of parental involvement, which was expressed to the researcher directly or through an interpreter. Parents were asked to comment on their own understanding of their involvement in their child's education, with each parent having an understanding of the notion of parental involvement. What this actually meant to the individual was based on their own subjective construction of parental involvement (Goldkuhl, 2012). Through the meaning that the participants ascribed to the central question, the researcher was able to explore and understand it in greater detail. This information that was given was an interpretation of the individuals' lived experiences by them,

thus a qualitative design was used by the researcher that was informed by the hermeneutic tradition.

Hermeneutics is said to have its beginnings in Ancient Greece with Plato and Aristotle (Benaroyo, 2016). During the Middle Ages, scholars used hermeneutics to interpret biblical texts to decipher the message of God (Packer, 1985) and there was much debate around whether individuals had to have a particular ability, inspiration or authority to do this or 'whether interpretation was something that anybody could do' (Bender, 2000, p. 49). Hermeneutics then evolved to mean a method of interpretation of all texts, not just Biblical. In the nineteenth century, the German philosophers Friedrich Schleiermacher and Wilhelm Dilthey developed the theory of hermeneutics to include the interpretation of all 'human action' (Packer, 1985, p. 1081). In the early twentieth century, Martin Heidegger argued that the researcher existed as part of and could not be detached from the phenomena being researched, and that their views were an integral part of the research (Packer, 1985; Sloan & Bowe, 2014). Hans-Georg Gadamer, a student of Heidegger's, took this further, arguing that 'understanding can only come through language' (Sloan & Bowe, 2014, p. 1294) and that 'language is not independent of the world; the world is represented by language and language is only real because the world is represented in it' (Sloan & Bowe, 2014, p. 1294). More recently, Max van Manen has again developed the hermeneutic approach stating that phenomena can be understood by the language that the participant and researcher shares within some historical and cultural context (Sloan & Bowe, 2014). Thus, in using a hermeneutic approach the researcher's and participants' focus is on interpreting 'meaningful entities' (Katsafanas, 2019, p. 158). These entities can be anything that informs the interpretation of the human experience – artwork, texts, conversations etc. (Katsafanas, 2019).

Within research, the researcher elicits the author's intentions and meanings from the texts that are presented to them and are given within the individual's cultural context (Bender, 2000; McCaffrey, Raffub-Bouchal & Moules, 2012; Sarantakos, 2005). Within hermeneutics, the researcher must want to see the different perspectives presented and not be guided by their own understanding of a concept (Katsafanas, 2019). Through having hermeneutics informing the design of the qualitative study, a contextual awareness and perspective of the information being interpreted is obtained, which leads to a deeper understanding of the information being analysed (Bender, 2000).

Research that is informed by a hermeneutics tradition allows the participants within the research to reflect on the world around them and their lived experiences and relay their understanding of the world through their discussions with the researcher (Bender, 2000; Walters, 2020). Through these discussions, the researcher gains meaning and understanding

based on their interpretations of the participants' narrations of the phenomena within the study (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). Through these interactions, the researcher listens without judgement and is free to consider what the central themes may be that can be viewed as lived experiences (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004; Sloan & Bowe, 2014). All members of the research team (including, in the present research, the interpreters) are part of the process and become part of the phenomena that are being investigated (Sloan & Bowe, 2014).

In the case of this research project, the meaning and understanding that parents had developed of the world through their everyday interactions with the world around them were expressed to the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). As each person experienced reality from their own point of view, there were no absolute truths of the construct; instead, the reality expressed was ultimately subjective and was informed by the individual's social, cultural, and historical experiences within a given space and time (Clarke, 2019; Creswell, 2014). This does not mean that understandings of concepts could not be shared with others but, rather, that one individual's understanding of the concepts may differ from that of another person (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Krauss, 2005). In viewing a social problem holistically, the researcher enters the phenomenon through the realities of the participants and interprets their understandings (Leitch, Hill & Harrison, 2010). These realities could be as varied, as there were a number of participants, and included the reality of the researcher and the interpreters, who had their own interpretation of the concept (Clarke, 2019; Robson, 2011). Ultimately, the researcher's role in the process was to attempt to understand and record the multiple meanings and knowledge that participants gave to the social construct being studied, while acknowledging that they too were a participant in the study (Clarke, 2019; Robson, 2011). In adopting hermeneutics as a philosophical framework that informed the research design, the interpretation that individuals gave to meaningful entities within a given context or lived experience, and where each interpretation was individual to the participant, was valued (Bender, 2000; Katsafanas, 2019; Walters, 2020).

Complementing the hermeneutic tradition informing this study, a radical constructivist epistemological framing was used. This theory states that knowledge 'is exclusively an ordering and organisation of a world constituted by our experience' (von Glasersfeld, 1984, p. 5). Individuals continually adapt what they subjectively know to best fit new experiences (von Glasersfeld, 1984). It is not a model that depicts an absolute reality; instead, it is a model of possible knowledge wherein people construct their knowledge of a 'more or less reliable' (von Glasersfeld, 1984, p. 14) world from the experiences that they have (von Glasersfeld, 1984). The researcher does not seek to have a singular or universal explanation but, instead, allows for multiple realities of an idea (Patton, 2015).

This study thus had no preordained notion of what was; instead, the individual, through the relationships they had with the phenomena (in this instance, the parents' construction of their involvement in education), developed an understanding of a reality for the researcher (Toma, 2006). Parents' historical and social constructions informed their understanding of their role in being involved in their child's education (Creswell, 2014). Their construction was in constant revision as new information on, and interactions with, the phenomena emerged (Bryman, 2012).

Within the current research project, the researcher was investigating a specific group of people's interpretations on their involvement in their child's education. Parents from a Chaldean background who had arrived and settled in Australia (see Section 1.5.2) were likely to be reassessing the beliefs and understandings they had of their involvement in their children's education, based on their current interactions, relationships and experiences. These new interactions of living in an Australian community shaped and moulded the identity and understanding that they developed in their new country of residence (Marcu, 2015). As three of the nine participants within the study spoke only Chaldean and/or Arabic, and two of the interviews were conducted in a hybrid of English, Chaldean and Arabic, interpreters were required (see Section 3.6.2). Thus, meaning for the researcher was derived from the interaction of purposeful language that occurred between the researcher, the interpreter and the participants, on their interpretations of the reality of their experiences of the phenomena (Krauss, 2005; von Glasersfeld, 1984).

As this research was based on the participants' interpretation and experience with the phenomena, the conceptual framework needed to allow for the participants' lived realities to inform the research, as opposed to a theory or framework being imposed on the participants by the researcher that dictated what the researcher expected to find. To assist the researcher in their understanding of information, a model was used to compare information against so that there could be limited misunderstandings of the information given. This was achieved through a combination of the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (RHDS) parental involvement process model and the Funds of Knowledge theory. This will be discussed in the following section.

3.3 Conceptual Framework

Emerson et al. (2012) suggests that early research in the area of parental involvement did not take into consideration the diverse cultural, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds of families and that activities that parents were involved in at home were not considered. As this research was investigating the constructs of parents from a Chaldean background regarding

their involvement within their child's education, it was deemed that the parental voice was essential to the understanding of this concept. To enable this to occur a combination of the RHDS model and the Funds of Knowledge theory was employed.

As previously outlined in Section 2.3, the RHDS model was used for this research. Fan and Chen (2001) and Emerson et al. (2012) note that there were inconsistencies in research findings when a conceptual framework was not used. By using a framework, the researcher is able to compare information within an overarching structure, which assists them in understanding the information (Yamauchi et al., 2017). Through using the framework, information that may have seemed insignificant or unconnected can be 'identified, explained, or related to other data in meaningful ways' (Yamauchi et al., 2017, p. 11).

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler initially developed their model as they believed that past models had only looked at what parents were doing when they became involved in their children's education and the effect of this involvement on their children's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). They stated that previous models assumed that parental involvement was often influenced by a set of selected factors that were related to either the parent or the school (see Figure 3).

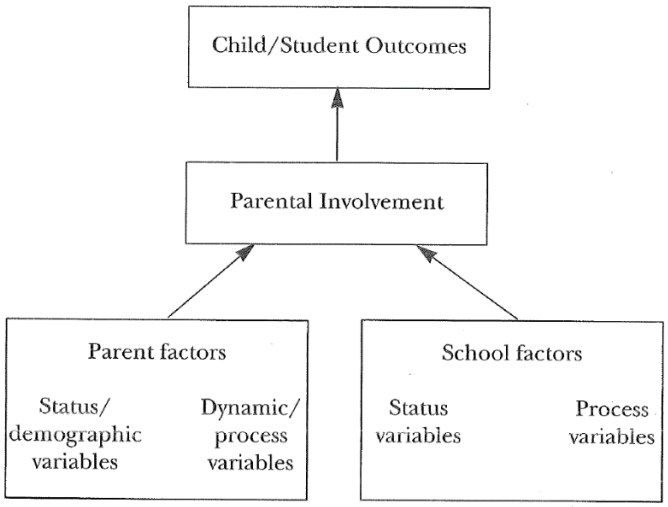

Figure 3: Past models of parental involvement commonly held in literature (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995).

Instead, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler believed that models should address why parents became involved in their children's education and how the involvement benefited the child's educational outcomes (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). While this model was seen to have value for understanding the processes and mechanisms of parental involvement, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) acknowledge that the model was limited in considering contextual issues, such as the historical context of the school–parent relationship and political, economic or social events that may have impacted on the family–school relationship. These need to be

investigated to understand how parents construct their involvement in their children's education (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler viewed the model as being 'limited to the individual and to selected elements of the individual's environment' (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997, p.5) and not a model that drew on multiple disciplines or factors within the environment. As the authors stated, such models 'offer one window on the full range of issues influencing parental involvement in child and adolescent education' (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997, p. 5).

To date, much of the research conducted using the RHDS model has centred on the validity of the scales used to measure the predictability of the model and has not included parent interviews or observations. One study that did not centre its research on the scales was conducted by Griffin and Galassi (2010). They conducted an exploratory study that investigated parents' construction of factors that parents believed were central to the academic success of students. The parents within the study were from a rural middle school in America and had children who were regarded as either academically successful or academically at risk of failure. The researchers examined the barriers to academic success that parents believed students faced and what resources were available to overcome these barriers. This research employed a qualitative action research approach and used a constructivist paradigm, as the goal of the research was to understand the phenomena from the parents' constructions (Griffin & Galassi, 2010). This allowed there to be no preconceived notion of what was the case (Toma, 2006). Instead, the individual, through the relationship they had with their child's education, discussed their understanding of their reality in relation to the phenomena – namely, the factors that were central to the academic success of their children (Griffin & Galassi, 2010). This current research uses the work of Griffin and Galassi to inform its research, as the researcher constructed knowledge from the information that was provided by the participants with no preconceived notions.

In addition to the RHDS model, the Funds of Knowledge theory was also used. This is one of the few theories used by researchers that acknowledges the variety of ways that families and communities pass on their knowledge, skills and resources (see Section 2.3) (Yamauchi et al., 2017). This theory acknowledges the community's values and knowledge and considered the lived experiences and the construction of knowledge of the individual (González, 2005). It allows for people who may be a minority within their community to be heard and valued (González, 2005).

Through using this theory, the participants' knowledge and experiences informed the researcher as to the involvement that they had with their child's education (Sebolt, 2018). Further, this theory recognises the influence of the participant's culture and family structure on

parental involvement (Sebolt, 2018). It moves from seeing the participant's culture as a deficit to seeing it as part of the motivational beliefs parents have for parental involvement. As González, Moll & Amanti (2005, p. ix) state, '[p]eople are competent, they have knowledge and their life experiences have given them that knowledge'. In using this theory, the researcher learned what parental involvement meant to the participant and what motivated them to be involved, rather than forcing the participant into any preconceived notion.

This research combines the RHDS model with the Funds of Knowledge theory. This allowed participants to discuss their own personal constructs of why they become involved with their child's education. The conceptual framework enabled the researcher to centre an investigation on a subjective exploration of the participant's views and addressed the questions of why, when and how these participants became involved in their child's education. It also provided the researcher a base to analyse the participants' answers against. Information that had more impact on involvement than the model suggested, and information not mapped to the framework, was then analysed using a Funds of Knowledge theory. This allowed for the researcher to understand the subtle differences in the participants' construction of their involvement within their child's education.

3.4 Method

As discussed above, this research was informed by the hermeneutic tradition and radical constructivism, whereby meaning is developed through the everyday interactions people have (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This allowed for the participants lived experiences to inform the research. Interviews were held between the participants, the interpreters and the researcher to gain insight into the participants understanding of their involvement in their children's education. The interview then became a site in which knowledge was constructed (Kvale, 2007). Information was generated through the interviews and a co-construction of meaning between the researcher, the interpreter and the participant was established (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006).

Participants in this study were chosen through a set number of selection criteria – namely, that they were Chaldean and had at least one child at a designated Catholic Secondary College for a year or more. This is known as purposive sampling, as the selection of the participants assists the researcher in understanding the research question (Creswell, 2014). Semi-structured interviews were used to collect information that was then analysed. This form of interviewing allowed the participants to have space to express their opinion on the phenomenon in detail and not be limited by the questions presented, allowing for interesting and unexpected information to emerge (O'Leary, 2017). Interpreters were used as part of the recruitment and interview stage

of the study for those participants who wished to speak in their first and/or second language, which was Chaldean and/or Arabic.

3.4.1 Participants

Participants were recruited for the study using a site-based recruitment procedure (Arcury & Quandt, 1999). A site-based recruitment procedure involves, first, identifying the characteristics relevant to the study that reflect the research objectives. The researcher then identified sites where people matching these characteristics were likely to gather. To assist in understanding the composition of people within this site and recruiting participants, the researcher used a 'gate keeper', the local Chaldean priest, who was able to inform the researcher of the characteristics of the overall group, so that the researcher had a general understanding of the people within the site. The 'gate keeper' was also able to promote the research by sanctioning the study and building community support for the study (Arcury & Quandt, 1999).

This study recruited participants from the general population of parents from a Chaldean background who had a child at the case study school for more than one year, in a large metropolitan city in Australia. The constraint on length of enrolment was included to ensure that the parents had had time to develop an informed perspective on their involvement in their children's secondary schooling at the designated college. The parish priest of the local Chaldean church where the recruitment of participants occurred and the principal at the college where the students attended gave their written consent for the study to be conducted (Appendices F and G).

Recruitment occurred at two sites. The first was at the local Chaldean Church, which many of the potential participants attended. The Church was chosen as the site for recruitment as it is a place many Chaldean people attend regularly where the potential participants felt comfortable. The Chaldean priest was presented with the objectives of the study and was asked to assist in the recruitment of participants. The priest became the 'gate keeper' for the study. He was chosen as he is familiar with both the community as a whole and was able to explain the research to the community in their first language, as well as approaching potential participants based on the power of the 'gate keeper' (Arcury & Quandt, 1999). One of the limitations of using the priest as a 'gate keeper' was the potential for bias towards individual potential participants (Arcury & Quandt, 1999). Further, people's motive for volunteering for the study may not have been wholly alturistic, as the volunteers may have wished to please the priest by volunteering. These limitations of motivation are discussed further in Section 3.6.5.

The recruitment process began with the researcher and interpreters attending mass at the local Chaldean Church, where a discussion on the research project was held and recruitment of

prospective participants occurred. Interpreters were available at this time for those people who wished to speak in Chaldean and/or Arabic. Invitations were given to the general population of Chaldean parents through the Church newsletter (see Appendix D) and by the parish priest as a direct invitation during Mass, with male and female participants equally encouraged to self-select to participate in the research study. The gender balance was important within the study, as both male and female interaction with their children is regarded as important in parental involvement (Flouri & Buchanan, 2004). Letters explaining the research were then given to potential participants and consent forms were distributed to those interested in participating in the study (see Appendices B, C and E). As participants came from an English as an Additional Language (EAL) background, two interpreters – who were employees at the case study school – were utilised to assist in the translation of information. The role of the interpreters in this cross-cultural study will be discussed in Sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3, with the possible limitations of using interpreters considered in Section 3.6.2. Six participants volunteered through this site. All consent forms were then handed back to either the researcher or interpreters and were stored in a locked filing cupboard with all other information collected. By attending the Church service, the researcher was also able to immerse herself within a part of the Chaldean culture and learn invaluable information about the community, which was then applied when analysing the information given (Arcury & Quandt, 1999).

The college was used as a second site for recruitment. The same two interpreters were also used as 'gate keepers' to recruit potential participants at this site. They discussed being part of the study with three parents with whom they had established relationships. Again, letters were given to those who were interested in the study, explaining the research and consent forms.

In total nine parents selected to attend interviews – four males and five females. Table 2 has a breakdown of participants and the language in which the interviews were conducted.

Table 2: Participant information

	Reason for leaving Iraq	Date left Iraq	Year of arrival in Australia and transition history	Level of education in Iraq	Why ceased education in Iraq?	Education in Australia	Gender	Interview language
Participant 1	Stated they were a refugee	No date given	2016 via Turkey	Ceased education at age 15	Worked in family shop to assist in earning money	Studying English	Male	Both English and Chaldean/ Arabic
Participant 2	Economic situation was not good – couldn't find a job	1998	1999	Degree in Engineering	Fled Iraq after finished degree	Masters in Translating and Interpreting	Male	English
Participant 3	The 'circumstances' in Iraq: father had died, and uncle said for the family to come to Australia. Were accepted as Women at Risk	Not stated	1994 – through Turkey	Electrical Engineer	Fled Iraq after finished degree	Graduate Certificate of Micro Electronics. Partial study of Masters in Electronics	Female	English
Participant 4	Implied that it was the 'circumstances' in Iraq	1995	1998 – through Greece	Ceased education at the end of Year 7	Fled Iraq	No further study	Female	English and Chaldean/ Arabic
Participant 5	Implied that it was 'dangerous' in Iraq	1991	1993 – through Turkey	Ceased education at 15 years of age	Fled Iraq	No further study	Female	English
Participant 6	Implied that it was due to the circumstances in Iraq	Not stated	2016	Degree in Computer Analysis	Fled Iraq after finished degree	No further study	Female	Chaldean and Arabic
Participant 7	Left with husband	1998	Via Turkey, then Greece	Ceased education at 12 years of age	Assisted mother at home, was married at 18 – then fled Iraq	No further study	Female	Chaldean and Arabic
Participant 8	Completed compulsory military service and fled due to war and there was no work. Fled when the American invasion occurred	2003	2008 via Syria – 15 days, Turkey – 6 years	Diploma of Agriculture	Compulsory military service – then fled Iraq	No further study	Male	Chaldean and Arabic
Participant 9	Due to war and had to commence compulsory military service	1991	1996 via Turkey – 2 years, Canada – 3 years	Ceased education at 17 years of age (at the end of the equivalent of high school)	Due to commence compulsory military service – Fled Iraq	No further study	Male	English

3.4.2 Methods for collecting information – individual semi-structured interviews.

As meaning and understanding of the phenomenon was to be established from the participant's construction of their involvement in their children's education, the method for collection of information was through individual semi-structured interviews. A semi-structured interview uses predetermined questions to initiate a conversation with the participant, while also allowing the respondents to introduce new topics or issues that are important to them (Wilson, 2016). A strength of semi-structured interviews is that participants' responses during the interview may well stimulate further questioning and discussion so that more detail from the participant is achieved and/or responses are clarified (Gray, 2009). Using this approach, a deeper understanding of the research issue was provided through the meanings and concepts expressed (Hennink, 2008). Extended questioning also allowed for questions to be asked that may not have been part of the original intent of the conversation yet help meet the objectives of the research (Gray, 2009). This interactive process is paramount in developing understanding of the issue being researched and the social context of the participants (Hennink, 2008).

The interviews were conducted in the language that each participant chose – English, Chaldean and/or Arabic – with interpreters for discussions in Chaldean or Arabic as required. While the contribution of interpreters in this study was carefully planned, it is noted in Section 3.6.2 that the involvement of interpreters can be regarded as a possible limitation.

Within Victoria, there were only nine Chaldean interpreters accredited with the National Accredited Authority for Translators and Interpreters Ltd (NAATL) as of December 2018. People of a Chaldean background often use Arabic when translating or interpreting services are required (Hlavac, 2011). This is due to the forced closure of ethnic and parochial schools in Iraq and the Arabisation policies of the Iraqi Government in the 1970s, forcing Chaldeans to learn how to read/and or write Arabic rather than their first language, Chaldean (Hlavac, 2011). Today's Chaldeans often speak Chaldean but read and/or write Arabic (Hlavac, 2011). The school at the centre of this research employs interpreters to assist parents from a Chaldean background. Due to the lack of Chaldean interpreters, both interpreters used for this research were also employees of the college. Each received their Secondary School Certificate in Iraq. One interpreter was also educated to the level of bachelor degree in Arabic, the other to the level of Masters in Italian. These interpreters were asked to sign a confidentiality agreement and the issue of confidentiality was reinforced with them on a continual basis.

The participants were invited to participate in individual semi-structured interviews, which took between 45 minutes and an hour. The questions for the semi-structured interviews were developed from scales used by Walker et al. (2005), that 'operationalized a theoretical model of the parental involvement process' (Walker et al., 2005, p. 99). The scales within the survey

related to the three distinct areas within level one of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's theoretical model of the parent involvement process – Parents' motivational beliefs, Parents' perceptions of invitations for involvement from others and Parents' perceived life context. Parents completing the RHDS survey rated each statement against a Likert scale of 1 through to 6. As the model was being used as a framework for this research, questions were derived from the scales that related to why and how parents were involved in their child's education. All questions were open-ended and did not have preconceived ideas embedded in them. There was also a final question which asked participants for any other information they deemed important that had not been discussed and that influenced their involvement within their child's education – see Appendix A. Through this interview process, insight into aspects of parental involvement that were important to the participants were established.

One weakness of conducted semi-structured interviews was that the interviewer and/or interpreter may have given cues to participants to guide them to a particular answer. Respondents may also have tried to include information that was off-topic or not relevant to the study (Wilson, 2016). In conducting the interviews, the researcher was aware of these weaknesses and addressed them if they surfaced during the interview process through redirecting the interview back to the topic.

All interviews were audio-recorded. The recordings were transcribed by a professional transcription company and assigned an identifier code. The list of participants and their identifier code were stored in a separate locked cabinet to the files (Bryman, 2012). Audio-recordings were used as a continuous reference for the research and to assist in minimising researcher bias (O'Leary, 2017). As the research was audio-recorded, it helped in correcting memories the researcher had of the interview and any ambiguity that may have resulted because of natural limitations of memory. Primarily, the recordings permitted a more thorough analysis, as they could be re-examined and where necessary translated. The interviews could then be evaluated by other researchers, allowing for a secondary analysis to counter any accusations that the researcher's values or biases may have influenced the answers given (Walliman, 2006).

3.4.3 Interview process

Interviews were held at a time that suited participants, the researcher and the interpreters. All participants came from a background where English was their second language and all were offered the assistance of an interpreter, as the researcher had no knowledge of Chaldean or Arabic. Of those interviewed, three participants relied entirely on the interpreter to translate the conversation, two relied on partial translation – the interview was held mainly in English but reverted to Arabic and/or Chaldean when the participant did not have the language for a

particular point they were making – and four were conducted entirely in English (see Table 2). Each of the interpreters had a good working relationship with the researcher and had been involved in discussions around the research since its inception. They both understood the aim of the research and that the researcher was concerned with the individual thoughts of the participants and not a preconceived idea.

Using an interpreter can create issues for research, as the researcher is reliant on them to convey not only their meaning to the participant, but also the participants' meaning to the researcher (Squires, 2008). Interpreters can also face a dilemma in deciding whether to translate verbatim what was said, which may actually change the intended meaning, or be the conduit whereby meaning is achieved through summarising, explaining or even responding to questions asked by the respondent without referring back to the initial informant (Ingvarsdotter, Johnsdotter & Ostman, 2012). In a discussion with the interpreters used in this study, it was decided that the meaning of the interpretation was more important than a verbatim translation. It must, therefore, be noted that this resulted in the interpreters becoming part of the production of information, as they sought to interpret the meaning of the participants' responses, not just their words (Squires, 2008). To address this issue, it was decided that throughout the interview process participant, interpreter and researcher should all seek feedback from each other when the meaning of what was stated was not clear or if further clarification was needed to ensure that the meaning of what was said was as accurate as possible. Notes were also taken throughout each interview by the researcher, and it was noted by the researcher that each interview did not seem to get tied up in discussions of meaning.

A constraint in using interpreters was that the conversation did not 'flow', as the researcher lost the ability to respond to and direct the conversation in a timely manner. Unlike a conversation in one language, the fluid process of the conversation was interrupted due to the interpretation (Squires, 2009). The conversation became stilted as comments between the researcher and the participant were interpreted, which did not allow for long discussions on a given point or for long quotes (Esposito, 2001). Often the conversation was monosyllabic or punctuated with short answers, which resulted in more limited elaboration and interview data.

3.5 Analysis

Information was analysed using a two-tiered approach that allowed for the interpretation of the raw interviews by the researcher to drive concepts, themes or a model (O'Leary, 2017; Thomas & James, 2006). The researcher initially analysed the interviews by assigning all information in the interviews equal value – known as the Epoché process (Moustakas, 1994). While researchers analyse information supposedly without having a preconceived idea on the

phenomenon, researchers must acknowledge and describe their own experiences with the object that is being studied, so that personal prejudices and biases are identified and do not affect the analysis process – see Section 3.7.3 (Padilla-Díaz, 2015).

After the initial analysis, open coding of individuals responses was undertaken. These codes were then compared to other participants' responses to develop common themes between participants – see Section 3.5.1. The information provided by the participants was divided into three distinct areas that have formed the three analysis chapters, Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 was based on participant responses that could be mapped to the RHDS model. Using this model was important as it provided the researcher a framework to base their investigation on (Fan & Chen, 2001). A Funds of Knowledge theory was then used to guide the analysis of the responses that did not map to this model or that impacted parent involvement in more complex and nuanced ways than the model suggested. In using this theory, the researcher looked at all areas of family interaction and valued all of these interactions equally. Value was given to the work that the parents applied in becoming involved in their child's education (Williams et al., 2020). Through using a Funds of Knowledge theory to analyse the information, two overarching themes were identified. The first, discussed in Chapter 5, was the social relationships that participants used when they believed they were not able to be involved in their child's education. The second area discussed was the knowledge that participants had gained through their lived experiences that they used to become involved in their children's education and is discussed in Chapter 6.

3.5.1 Development of codes

The development of codes was established through the constant comparison method, which allowed for coding and comparing of themes and then the establishment of relationships between the themes (Fernandez & Lehmann, 2011). After the initial transcription of the interviews, the researcher analysed the information on a line-by-line basis, so that the researcher developed a thorough understanding of the information and ensured that the interpretation reflected as closely as possible each participant's response and not the perspective of the researcher (Bryman, 2012). From this analysis the researcher identified themes through a process called 'cutting' (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). 'Cutting', in this context, is the process whereby the information generated is cut into meaningful segments and initial open codes given to the information (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2012; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Using these initial codes, the researcher then continually compared further passages to already coded information to find information that was consistent or different (Bryman, 2012; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Once this initial coding was complete, information was analysed for patterns

or consistencies between codes to establish themes (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). This was continued until no new themes were identified – the point known as 'saturation' (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). From these categories, the researcher then determined which were the axial themes – those that were the central foci – and these formed the core themes (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013) that explained how the parents constructed the phenomena (Cho & Trent, 2006). Using 'thick description', the researcher described the 'unique, idiosyncratic meanings and perspectives constructed by individuals, groups, or both who live/act in a particular context' (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 328).

Using these themes, the researcher then looked at the themes generated through the lens of the RHDS model. This was to ascertain whether the Chaldean parents' construct of their involvement in their child's education reflected the themes in the model. During this process, further refinement of some themes occurred as separate themes identified by the researcher were joined to become part of the overarching themes used within the RHDS model.

Phase two involved analysing the responses given using the Funds of Knowledge theory. Information that had been analysed against the RHDS model but was more nuanced than just impacting motivational beliefs and the perceived life contexts of the participants was reanalysed with comments that had not been mapped to the RHDS model. In using this method, the researcher did not attempt to draw grand conclusions that could be applied to other contexts; instead, they were interested in the meanings constructed by those within the research to the given phenomenon (Cho & Trent, 2006). The researcher was seeking to understand the nuances of a specific group's construct of their involvement in their children's education. This form of analysis was similar to the work of Griffin and Galassi (2010), who first analysed their interviews and then compared the information to the RHDS model – see Section 3.3.

Using a Funds of Knowledge theory allowed for the participants' constructs to be heard and valued. Additionally, the researcher became part of the process (Creswell, 2014) as meanings were assigned to the information derived from the interviews by the researcher and not through a predetermined existing external theory (Clarke, 2019; Creswell, 2014). In using a Funds of Knowledge theory, the researcher sought to understand the cultural knowledge and experiences that the participants possessed which influenced their involvement in their child's education (Sebolt, 2018). Use of this theory acknowledged the wealth of knowledge and skills parents possess and utilise when assisting their child with their education (Yamauchi et al., 2017). It also acknowledged that participants construct their own reality around the phenomenon, which was the individual's construction of their involvement within their child's education (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

Within this second phase of analysis, the researcher was able to discover and connect different themes that were established from the participants' discussions. These themes were compared to each other to establish any interrelationships between them and to determine whether there were any overarching themes. Two overarching themes were formed. The first was the social relationships that the participants used to assist them in their involvement in their child's education, and the second was based on knowledge that the participants already possessed that informed them as to how to be involved in their child's education. These themes were influenced by a study by Moll et al. (1992), who used the Funds of Knowledge theory to understand how households provide experiences for their children. These experiences stemmed from how the household used their knowledge to develop social relationships and the knowledge that the participants already had that would be of benefit to the child and their education. For this research the researcher used an emic approach, as they were seeking to understand the phenomenon through a specific lens, in this instance a cultural lens (Yeganeh, Su & Chrysostome, 2004). Once the interrelationship between the initial themes was established, the explanation of the phenomenon under investigation was then constructed directly from the analysis of the responses obtained from the participants (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). This enabled a deeper understanding of the participants' construction of their involvement in their child's education and an understanding of how an individual culture influences parental involvement, rather than relying on predictions made from theory (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

A limitation of this approach is that the researcher cannot totally suspend their own beliefs and understanding around the phenomenon. They may incorporate their beliefs and preconceived ideas and theories into the analysis and collection of the information and present a view that may be biased by the researchers understanding of the phenomenon; this will be further discussed in Sections 3.6.4 and 3.7.3 (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Kelle, 2014; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Another limitation of this approach is that participants in the research may unintentionally or intentionally filter elements from their answers due to a perceived power imbalance (Padilla-Díaz, 2015), thus not allowing for a true or full understanding of the phenomenon; this is discussed further in Section 3.6.3.

Finally, the level of theory that was generated from the interviews is another limitation of this approach. Using this approach, it is questionable whether what is produced actually constitutes theory (Thomas & James, 2006). Thomas and James (2006) argue that a theory is a generalisation that occurs after systematic and extensive data collection occurs, with the generalisation then tested for verification or falsification. Using a Funds of Knowledge theory, generalisations that are formed cannot be verified as these generalisations can only account for

those participant's views within the study at that moment in time and in relation to the situation being investigated (Clarke, 2019; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). As this is a qualitative approach, it can be argued that all that can be achieved is a deeper insight into a particular phenomenon within a given moment (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

3.5.2 Member checking

As this research was based on interviews, the meaning of what was said was in continual negotiation (Ellingson, 2011). During the interview phase, the researcher, the interpreters and the participants were in an interactive process. As the interviews flowed from participant to interpreter to researcher, there was no ability to reassess the interpretation given as the researcher built on the information from the interpreter to develop the interview. Instead, member checking was conducted by the continual rephrasing of participants' words by the researcher and interpreters back to the participants. Continual discussion also occurred around the meaning of the translation, with the researcher believing at the end of each interview that the participant's views had been presented accurately (Cho & Trent, 2006).

Member checking can also occur when interpretations and transcripts are presented to those interviewed to verify what has been recorded is accurate (Koelsch, 2013; Robson & McCarten, 2016). This can diminish researcher bias (Robson & McCarten, 2016), as well as being a reflective exercise for both the researcher and participant (Koelsch, 2013). As the transcripts were transcribed to English, member checking of the transcripts was not possible for this research project as many of the participants did not communicate in English, nor could they read English to verify what had been translated.

3.6 Possible limitations of the study

Although the proposed study had a number of significant strengths, including the investigation of parents from a relatively new and rapidly growing cultural group in Australia, the design of the study had several inherent limitations that must be recognised. In planning the proposed study, a number of possible limitations were identified. These included: (1) the study only considered the constructs of parents and not their children; (2) the assistance of an interpreter was required during the interviews, distancing the researcher from the participants; (3) the power imbalance between all participants at the various stages of the research project; (4) a possibility that preconceived views held by the researcher, the interpreter and the participants might intrude into the researcher's interpretation of findings and (5) there may have been unknown reasons for the participants to self-select (or not) to participate in the study. Each of these five important limitations is unpacked in more detail in the following subsections.

3.6.1 Parental views only

The purpose of the study was to investigate Chaldean parents' constructs of their involvement in the education of their children. As a consequence, the constructs of the students were not a focus of the study. This limitation was deemed acceptable for two reasons. Firstly, the review of the literature established that parents in general were proven to directly impact student achievement through their involvement in their child's education (Emerson et al., 2012). When this was applied to CALD families, identifiable impediments were found to exist that directly obstructed parents assisting their children in their education (Emerson et al., 2012; Kendall et al., 2008). Secondly, research on this particular increasing cultural group of parents is underrepresented (see Section 1.2). It is important for this school to understand Chaldean parents' construct of their role in their children's education, so that positive home-school relationships and parent support programs can be established.

3.6.2 Use of interpreters

Culture is constructed through its language, power relations and discourse (Wong & Poon, 2010). For this research, interpreters who are bi- or trilingual (English, Chaldean and/or Arabic) were invited to assist in conducting the study. This could have been problematic, as the interpreter becomes the conduit through which the participant's words and meaning form the knowledge expressed to the researcher (Hennink, 2008). The initial underlying meaning may not be conveyed, as words or phrases are omitted, or emphasis placed on different words by the interpreter (Wong & Poon, 2010). This could influence the researcher's comprehension of the participant's responses and narrative, as well as their meaning and the representation of the contributor's reality (Wong & Poon, 2010). Further, words that are commonly used in one language may not have a similar meaning across different cultures (Silverman, 2014). Where there is no direct translation, the World Health Organization (WHO) states that translation 'should be on conceptual and cultural equivalence and not linguistic equivalence' (WHO, 2017).

Furthermore, in some instances there may be no direct translation of what was said. The interpreter is then required to interpret the meaning of what the participant had stated and not what was literally said. This may mean that the initial underlying meaning was not conveyed (Wong & Poon, 2010).

This research was also limited by the level to which the interpreters understood the researcher's epistemology and methodology (Wong & Poon, 2010). If interpreters did not understand the philosophical underpinnings of the research question, they may influence the

gathering of information as they reinterpret the question incorrectly, based on their lack of understanding of epistemology and methodology (Threadgold, 2000).

Meetings were held with interpreters before research commenced so that there was a common understanding in relation to their role. It was decided that where there was no direct interpretation, the interpreters would convey the meaning of what the participant said. This would be achieved through rephrasing what was stated with the participants to establish accurate meaning. Interpreters were also informed of the philosophical underpinnings of the research.

3.6.3 Power imbalance

Within research projects, the researcher and the participant are uniquely linked. Researchers are involved due to their aspiration to understand the participants' point of view on a chosen topic, while participants are involved as they are providing the personal experiences to the researcher (Karnieli-Miller, Strier & Pessach, 2009). While the relationship between the researcher and the participant is interdependent, there may have also been an imbalance of power between all those who were part of this research project. This research project involved thirteen participants – nine people interviewed, two interpreters, the researcher and a parish priest. Each participant may have experienced an imbalance of power due to their social positions (Wong & Poon, 2010).

The perceived power or social standing of the interpreters, who were multicultural aides employed by the educational jurisdiction in which the parents had enrolled their children, may have influenced what each of the participants said. Participants may not have spoken freely to the interpreters for fear of consequences within the school or the Chaldean community.

As a teacher at the school the participants' children attended, the researcher had a good relationship with many Chaldean parents. Even though there was a good relationship, however, there may still have been a power imbalance. The research did not stem from a need within the Chaldean community, but from a phenomenon perceived by the researcher. This personal motivation of the researcher could lead to a power imbalance as the participants may not believe there was a need for this research and may see the research as an imposed activity rather than one that is significant to them (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). Participants may also have felt that they could not talk freely with the researcher as the researcher was a member of the teaching community at the school their children attend. Participants might not have expressed their true thoughts as they may fear reprisal from the school or the researcher (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009).

The feeling of obligation to be part of the research might have led to a power imbalance as the researcher has the title of teacher, which is valued by the Chaldean community, and participants may have felt that they had little scope to refuse a request to participate in the research (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). As the researcher had a good relationship with members of the community, this hopefully alleviated any power imbalance that may have been perceived by parents, as parents already viewed the researcher as someone they could confide in. Participants were also informed that they were able to withdraw from the study at any time and the researcher was mindful of the message behind the discussions held.

The involvement of the parish priest, who was supportive of this project, may also have caused a power imbalance with the participants. Priests are highly regarded within the Chaldean community, and are central to the Chaldean people, as they often are the person to whom an individual will turn in time of need (Sengstock, 1982). As the priest was one of the 'gatekeepers' for this research, people may have agreed to the research as they believed it was important to do so in his eyes (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009; Peel et al., 2006). Participants may have felt that the priest was demanding people participate, even though he was 'asking' them to participate.

3.6.4 Bias

Preconceived views held by the researchers, interpreter and participants within the study may have skewed the information collected. Researchers must be aware of how their views influence the study (Torrance, 2017). This researcher does not come from a Middle Eastern background or have any proficiency in Arabic or Chaldean, nor has she experienced any of the kinds of difficulties that the participants may have faced. The researcher brought to the conversation her views, which influenced her ability to listen and understand what was being said (Charmaz, 2006). She was not a passive participant in interviews and, as such, may have influenced the responses given by those participating in the study (see also Section 3.7.3). During the analysis, the researcher continually scrutinised her decisions and interpretations with regards to the information presented. Care was also taken that preconceptions were not imposed upon the data (Charmaz, 2014).

Interpreters, like the researcher, brought to the research their own view of the world, which influenced their construction of the research (Hennink, 2008). As active producers of knowledge, their interpretations added another layer of subjectivity, especially during the interviews (Hennink, 2008). Thus, the interpreters influenced the information that was gained during the research study.

Participants also brought to the research their preconceived ideas and opinions. These beliefs related to their view of the researcher or of the interpreter. As the participants in the

study were from an Arabic-speaking culture, many may have encountered racism on a daily basis. These encounters may have made the participants suspicious of disclosing information to an Anglo-Saxon researcher and, therefore, may have influenced the answers that were given (Crozier, 2003).

3.6.5 Parental motivation to participate in the study

Parents who agreed to participate in the study essentially self-selected. Parents may have been motivated to participate in the study to enhance their standing with the researcher or those who were supporting the research (Hallowell et al., 2010). Others who self-selected to be part of the research may have done so because of altruism, personal framing, familial framing or social framing.

Altruism is where one does something for the good of society and not for personal gain. This is one reason participants often give for choosing to participate in a research study (Hallowell et al., 2010). Nonetheless, altruism is clearly not the only reason people participate in studies (Canvin & Jacoby, 2006). Hallowell et al, (2010), in their study on why patients were motivated to participate in genetics-related research, find that people citing altruistic motives also tempered this with other motives. These other motives were personal framing, familial framing and social framing (Hallowell et al, 2010).

Personal framing is where the individual believes that they can obtain something from the study (Hallowell et al., 2010). Within the present study, parents may have participated to enhance their standing with the researcher or those supporting the research. They may have also participated in this study as they may have believed that they could acquire greater knowledge of the college that may then assist them or their children in some way.

Familial framing may also be a reason people participate in the research. Familial framing is when the participant believes that a member of their family will directly benefit from the research (Hallowell et al., 2010). Within this study, participants might have believed that their children would benefit from their participation. This could be in the form of extra attention at the college or being given privileges not afforded to others.

Although participants had stated in Hallowell et al.'s study (2010) that they were participating in the research for the good of society, this was often mixed with other motives, such as being able to gain something from it or paying back others. This was then termed social framing in Hallowell et al.'s study or 'weak altruism' by Canvin and Jacoby (2006). For this study, participants may have deemed they could gain some benefit for themselves while also helping their community.

As part of the consent to participate in the research (see Appendix E), it was expressly stated that the research would be written without reference to individuals and that people reading the research will not have access to participants' names. Through this anonymity the reasons for participating in the research may have become more altruistic.

3.7 Ethical considerations

This study investigated Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their children's education. While there was a need to develop an understanding of parents' involvement within their children's education, ethical issues needed to be considered when developing the research. The researcher also had to consider the vulnerability of the participants within the study and the effect of the position of the researcher on the study. These three ethical considerations will be addressed in more detail in the following sections.

3.7.1 Organisational ethical considerations

Prior to collection of information, the study received ethics approval from the Australian Catholic University (ACU) HREC – Registered number 2018-87E. Before applying for ethical approval from ACU, this researcher examined two critically important documents; namely, the *Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research* (National Health and Medical Research Council, (NHMRC), 2007a) and the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (National Health and Medical Research Council, (NHRMC), 2007b, updated May 2015). These documents provided direction with regards to a number of important considerations, including particular emphasis on key values such as integrity and respect, as well as the rights and interests of the participants. Specifically, this researcher continued to consider the risks inherent in the research, potential benefits of the research, the need for the informed written consent of participants, and the need for confidentiality agreements with the interpreters assisting the researcher to conduct the study.

3.7.2 Vulnerability of the participants

Refugees, as a collective, are often regarded as being a vulnerable group when research is conducted (Pittaway, Bartolomei & Hugman, 2010). From anecdotal information, the researcher understood that the participants of this study were from a refugee background. Coleman, in his paper on vulnerability, states that 'a person must be vulnerable to something' (2009, p. 14), and not just part of a collective group that has been labelled vulnerable. In using the term 'vulnerable' about the participants who are from a refugee background, there should be a determination as to why the participants were vulnerable. Coleman (2009) argues that there

are three distinct types of vulnerability – consent-based vulnerability, risk-based vulnerability and justice-based vulnerability.

Consent-based vulnerability is when there are barriers to obtaining informed consent. Consent is often difficult to achieve when there are cultural and language barriers. In giving consent, people may not understand the full implications or ramifications (Gillam, 2013). To mitigate this risk for this research, the written consent forms were translated into Arabic and interpreters were provided to answer any questions (see Appendix C). However, explanation and understanding of consent was dependent on the knowledge the interpreter had of the research study and reliant on the interpretation given to the participant by the interpreter (Wong & Poon, 2010). Thus, the researcher ensured that all interpreters had a detailed understanding of the theory behind the study so that interpretations were aligned with the methodology and epistemology of the study (Wong & Poon, 2010). Another issue was that participants could underestimate the risks or overestimate the benefits to them of participating in the study (Gillam, 2013). Where unrealistic expectations of benefits are expressed, the researcher must reinforce that these expectations are not realistic. If these expectations continue, then the research with that participant must stop (Gillam, 2013).

Participants within a study must also be able to give consent freely (Gillam, 2013). This may not happen where there is a perceived power imbalance between the researcher and the participant. Participants may believe that they must participate in the research due to fear of ramifications or the feeling that they are compelled to contribute (see Section 3.6.3). The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (NHRMC, 2007b), while acknowledging this factor, does not make consent invalid if this occurs. Instead, it suggests that people be appointed who can support participants in their decision; for this study, this was the parish priest of the community.

Risk-based vulnerability is where there is an increased risk of harm to the participant through being part of the study. The risks of the study to the participants must be reasonable in relation to the benefits of the total study. One risk within this study was the emotional memories that may have been elicited through questions asked of participants. Care was taken to provide support for the contributors. Support for the researcher, as well as the interpreters, was also provided in case they became disturbed by any information disclosed (Bryman, 2012). Information regarding access to counselling services through Foundation House was provided to participants, the researcher and the interpreters. Other suggestions for counselling services, such as the Chaldean priests and the participants' local general practitioner, were also made to the participants. In assessing the overall risk to the participants, the researcher deemed that the risk was reasonable in relation to the benefit of the study.

The final vulnerability defined by Coleman (2009) is justice-based vulnerability. This type of vulnerability is where the study has no direct benefit to the participants nor the community that they are a part of (Coleman, 2009). As the proposed research was about a distinct group within a school community, the findings of the study would directly relate to recommendations on how Chaldean parents are involved within their child's education and how this could be enhanced.

Thus, although this group of people could be regarded as being vulnerable, practices were put in place to ensure that the risks were mitigated. All forms were translated into Arabic and interpreters were provided to engage with participants who wished to speak in Chaldean and/or Arabic. As the discussion centred around the parents' construct of their involvement in their children's education, the risk of harm to the participant was regarded as minimal. Finally, as the report aimed to assist the parents and children of the Chaldean community, the community is achieving a benefit from the study.

3.7.3 Position of the researcher

This research began as an issue that the researcher identified from their point of view. In cross-cultural research, the issue under investigation may not be a pressing issue with the cultural group; thus, the research could be seen as colonialist. That is, a member of the dominant culture has determined what is to be researched, how it is researched and why it is researched (Henderson, 1998). The subjectivity on the part of the researcher needs to be acknowledged in this study to ensure that those reading the study understand the perspective on the interpretation of interviews.

The researcher is an Anglo-Saxon, middle-class, middle-aged female teacher at the school the participants' children attend. As a person who was born, educated and worked in Australia and Australian schools, the researcher did not share any of the experiences or challenges that the participants had endured. Through her teaching career, she has worked closely with people from a refugee background, namely those from South Sudan and now people from Iraq. She has always had an interest in the journey of those from a refugee background and has been told by those she works with in this field that she has compassion and understanding for the difficulties that they face upon arrival in Australia.

Through her role, and the work she has done as Coordinator of Educational support at the college, she believes that she has gained a reputation within the Chaldean community as someone who cares about the community. This then enabled her to be accepted by the participants as someone who was trustworthy. At the start of each interview, she reiterated the research topic and all participants expressed enthusiasm for the topic, showing their willingness

to be part of the research. During the interviews, she was very aware of listening to all respondents' answers and asking for further information where it was relevant. Participants were given the choice as to where the interviews were to be held and the majority (seven of the nine participants) chose to have the meetings at the college at a time that suited them, again showing a willingness to be interviewed. Throughout the interviews, the researcher continually checked in with her internal biases to adjust questions for clarification of answers, to be a more productive active listener and to allow the participant to construct the information as they viewed it.

Another consideration of the proposed study is the issue of 'voice'. Often research is conducted with cultural groups so that their 'voice' can be heard on a specific issue. However, the participants' 'voice' is often not heard in its entirety because a researcher's analysis of the data is filtered through the researcher's lens. Through their analysis, the researcher controls the 'voices' that are heard and the messages that are conveyed (Crozier, 2003). This presents an ethical issue as to whether the end product can ever be a true reflection of the 'voice' of the participants or is, instead, the researcher speaking on behalf of those researched (Crozier, 2003). Within this research, the researcher was conscious of maintaining the participants' voice. This was achieved through using the respondents' quotes as they were transcribed and not changing them to standard English, which could sanitise and negate what the participant had said (Crozier, 2003). 'Voice' was also maintained by allowing the information from interviews to develop the themes that were used and not have preconceived themes.

As well as these issues, when discussing and relating another person's point of view the researcher is exposing participants in the study to judgment (Crozier, 2003). People have the right to be acknowledged as to who they are (Taylor et al., 1994), yet, in doing so, stereotypes and criticism of the culture can be fostered through the results that the researcher presents (Crozier, 2003). The information within this study was presented factually with direct reference to the interviews. Points of view that were presented were those taken from the interviews and reported as accurately as possible so that myths or stereotypes about cultures were not perpetuated.

3.8 Trustworthiness of the study

Researchers who are conducting qualitative research need to be aware that an analytical bias does not weaken the trustworthiness or validity of the qualitative research undertaken (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014). The research must be able to answer a number of questions including that the findings are credible and transferable to another setting or relevant to the group within the study. Concerns over whether the study can be replicated, and whether the

research accurately describes the findings from the point of view of the participants and not the bias of the researcher, must also be addressed (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

Three areas – validity, generalisability and triangulation – are discussed below to contextualise the trustworthiness of the study.

3.8.1 Validity

The debate on validity within qualitative research is ongoing (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Truth for this research was obtained through the participants' construction of reality (Koelsch, 2013). As stated in Section 3.5.1, the purpose of the qualitative research, was 'thick description' with the overarching question for the research being 'How do the people under the study interpret the phenomena?' (Cho & Trent, 2006, p.326). Within this research the data that was gathered from the participants was compared to the RHDS model. Some participant responses aligned with the model. Other responses that were unique to the participants were used to construct conclusions about parental participation by parents from a Chaldean background.

As well as having a 'thick description' of the information gathered, the validity of the research is bolstered further where the researcher uses techniques to adjust misunderstandings (Cho & Trent, 2006). These adjustments included re-asking questions, seeking clarification of what had been said or rephrasing questions. Cho and Trent (2006) define this as transactional validity, that being where meaning is established through the discourse that exists between people and through member checking within interviews. Constant revision of the discussion had within the interviews was completed so that a common understanding of the information was established between the researcher and the participants. This then diminished researcher bias (Robson & McCarten, 2016), as well as being a reflective exercise for both the researcher and participant (Koelsch, 2013). Through this, any potential bias was alleviated from the researcher to ensure the participants voice was authentic.

3.8.2 Generalisability

Data gathered from research are often relayed as generalisations. These generalisations are often regarded as fixed and able to be applied to a wider population than the sample (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Within the hermeneutic tradition, generalisations are based on personal and vicarious experiences that each participant discusses. The context and the local conditions of the research influence the ability to make generalisations, as context changes from situation to situation and over time (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Within this study, the generalisations are limited and contextualised to the group of parents who participated in this study and to their interpretation of parental involvement within the research site at the time of the interviews. The generalisations cannot be extrapolated to the community group as a whole, as within the

Chaldean community there are many variables that may impact their construction of their involvement in their child's education. These variables could include the education level of the parents, their financial resources, the impact their journey from Iraq may have had on them and the length of time they have resided in Australia. As well as this, thought needs to be given to the many views of those parents who did not participate in the research and who may have brought a different perspective. Instead, the generalisations that are formed from this research add to the growing body of knowledge on parental participation and need to be carefully considered before they can be applied directly to another situation (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). The burden of transferability of the generalisations made from this study to other studies rests with the researcher of the new study and not that of the original researcher (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

3.8.3 Triangulation

Triangulation is another strategy that was used to increase the trustworthiness of the research. Triangulation is when more than one source of data is used to discuss a single point (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) and a finding is supported through the multiple independent sources of data (Miles et al., 2014). Triangulation for this research occurred through the information source. Different participants' responses were analysed to form a common understanding of a single point or assumption (Miles et al., 2014). This form of analysis may be biased due to poorly articulated questions and/or response bias (Yin, 2009). Through continual member checking within the interviews and having open ended fluid questions, bias was negated.

Triangulation also occurred through the comparison of information generated from the participants with the RHDS model. Each participant had their own construction of parental participation in education, but in comparing and analysing their answers to the model, common themes arose. These common themes, when compared to the conceptual framework of the RHDS model, provided a triangulation which recorded the reality that the participants constructed (Golafshani, 2003).

3.9 Conclusion

Information from the proposed study was drawn from the constructs a group of Chaldean parents had of their involvement with their children's education at one Catholic secondary college in Australia. Each parent had a different construct that informed their understanding of what participation in their child's education in Australia meant. In using a qualitative study that was informed by the hermeneutic tradition and radical constructivism, the researcher was able to understand each participant's construct while also developing a common understanding of

the challenges that Chaldean parents face in the participation of the education of their children. Figure 4 shows a brief description of the philosophical and conceptual framework.

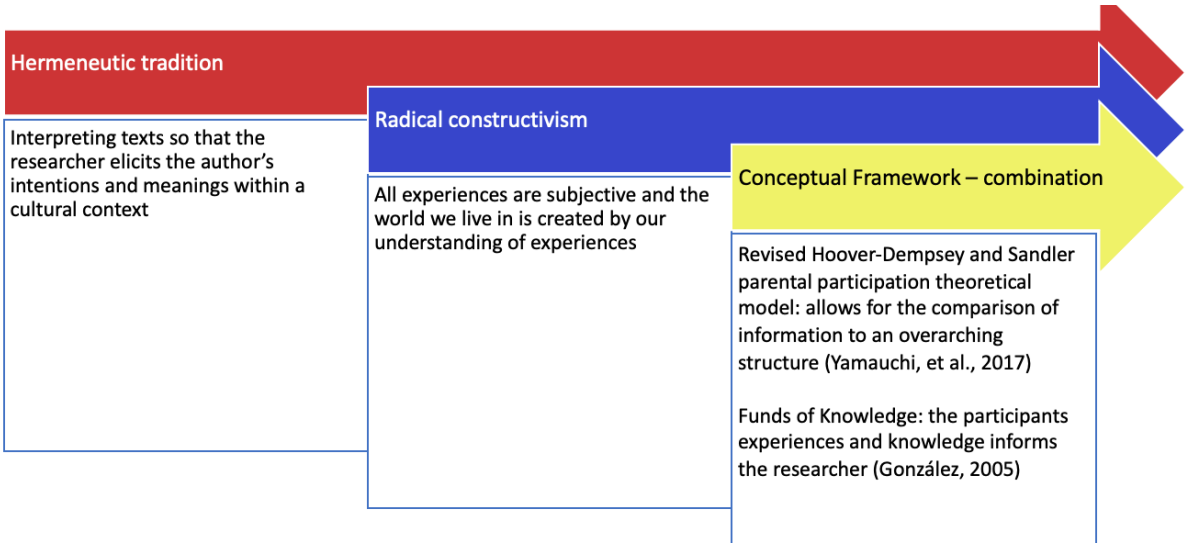

Figure 4: Brief description of the philosophical and conceptual framework

While giving voice to the participants is important, researching a cultural group can also have its limitations. The greatest limitation in terms of this study was that of language and understanding. As interpreters were used, they added another layer to the study as they brought their own constructs and views to the study and to the interpretation.

As this study is of individual experiences of their construction to become involved in their child's education, it should be noted that any common understandings described are specific to these individuals and the college their children attend. While recommendations can be used within other school settings, there should always be caution in making absolute statements.

Chapter 4 will discuss the similarities between the themes arising from this research and those from the RHDS parental involvement process model. There are three main areas within the RHDS model – parents' motivational beliefs, parents' perceptions of invitations to involvement from others and parents' perceived life context. Each of the areas from the model will be discussed and compared to responses from the participants to determine whether parent's contextual factors impacted on them becoming involved in their children's education.

Chapter 4: Why Chaldean parents become involved in their child's education

4.1 Introduction

Parental involvement has been shown to be of benefit not only to the relationship between families and schools, but also to the academic achievements of the child (Carreón, et al, 2005; Clinton & Hattie, 2013; DET, 2020a). In researching family school partnerships, it was found that there were mainly two conceptual frameworks used (see Section 2.3). Epstein's model focuses on partnerships where the school stated what the partnership comprised and, according to Yamauchi et al. (2017), limits the partnership to what is beneficial for the child only. In contrast, the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (RHDS) model is guided by psychological research, with the focus on 'learning more about the individual' (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997, p. 5) and their environment. This leads to an understanding of why parents are involved within their children's education and how they construct their involvement in their child's education. Yamauchi et al. (2017) also state that the framework reflects the myriad ways families are involved in their child's education and the complexity of their partnership with the school. These two areas were important to the researcher in obtaining a more detailed picture of parental involvement. Yet the RHDS model acknowledges that it is limited in considering contextual issues – including culture, economic and social factors – that may impact on why and how parents become involved with their child's education (see Section 3.3). Even with this limitation, however, it was important to have a guiding framework as this provided a starting point for the research that allowed for a common understanding and structure (Fan & Chen, 2001). What this research sought to then understand was how this group of individuals constructed their involvement in their child's education and how their construction was nuanced to them.

In order to address why a particular cultural group becomes involved in their child's education, the researcher conducted interviews with one cultural group, parents from a Chaldean background, to ascertain why and how they became involved in their children's education. Once initial coding had been established, the themes that were generated were analysed against the headings of level one of the RHDS model (Figure 5) (Walker et al., 2005). This level was chosen to analyse as it directly discussed the issue of why parents became involved in their child's education. After the intital analysis against the RHDS model it was

found that there were a number of themes that were not accounted for within the model. Additionally, some of the information that matched the themes within the model – namely, the participants' perceived life contexts and motivational beliefs – were more nuanced than the model allowed. Participants stated that their life contexts often precluded them from assisting their child. When this occurred, they indicated that they often turned to their social relationships to assist them. Although perceived life contexts were part of the model, the model focused on how parents used their time, effort, knowledge and skills to assist their child and not on what the participant was able to do if they believed they were unable to access any of these four areas. How the participants used social relationships to assist them in this area will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. As well as this, motivational beliefs, while impacted by the participants' past education experiences, were found on further analyis to be more complex than initially thought and impacted more than just motivation. This additional impact will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6.

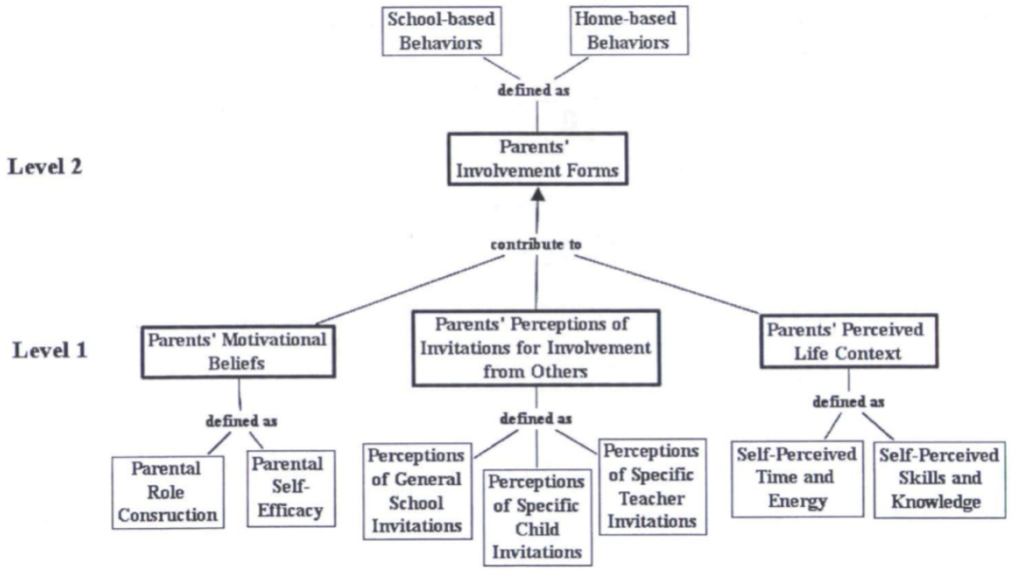

Figure 5: Level 1 and 2 of Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (2005) revised model of the parental involvement process (Walker et al., 2005).

4.2 Analysis of the participants data to the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler model

4.2.1 Parents' motivational beliefs

One of the three main premises that indicates parental involvement in their child's education, within the RHDS model is the beliefs parents hold that motivate them to become involved in their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Walker et al., 2005). This motivation is underpinned by two belief systems – namely, the parent's belief in their role in the involvement

of their child's education and the sense of efficacy that they have in helping the child succeed within the school (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

4.2.1.1 Parental role construct.

The RHDS model defines the parent role construct as the beliefs around what the parents view they are to do with regard to their child's education. These beliefs have been developed through the parent's personal perspectives on schooling, their prior experiences of parental involvement within schools and ongoing expectations of involvement within their social community that they experience. Within the model, it is expected that those with a poorly defined role construct would be less engaged within their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005)

Parenting in general is influenced by culture, and what constitutes a parent's role has been shown to be culturally influenced (Super & Harkness, 2002). Parents receive advice on how to rear their children based on books or modelling from others within their culture based on their culture's understanding of how to raise children (Super & Harkness, 2002). Therefore, although Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler provide a definition of parental role construct, this definition may have little meaning across cultures. Tang (2015), in her analysis of information taken from the immigrant sample of the Child Development Supplement of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics from the United States, states that immigrant families that retain and adhere to their native culture are more likely to show involvement patterns within education that are different from those of members of the dominant culture. This was seen in traditional Mexican families, where parents did not ask questions of the teacher as they believed that education was the teacher's domain (Tang, 2015). Parents instead believed that their role was to support the children's moral development (Tang, 2015). Jeynes (2016), in his meta-analysis of research on African-American parents' involvement in their children's education, also states that African-American parents showed nuanced understandings on the role of parents within their children's education. Results from his study found that African-American parents' involvement continues into students' secondary schooling, which was not the finding of other meta-analysis studies on White and Asian-American families (Jeynes, 2016). Jeynes (2016) states that this may be due to the parents being more persistent, parental involvement being subtler among Black and other Coloured parents or African-American parents being less likely to be involved in their children's education when they are younger.

Parents within this study were asked to state what they believed their role in their child's education was. For the majority of parents, the word 'role' in relation to education was unclear, and participants asked for clarification of the word. Participants expressed that when they were educated in Iraq, parents did not have a role in their education; thus, this word was not familiar

to the participants within an educational context. Within these participants' lived experiences, education in Iraq was the school's and teacher's responsibility. Parents in Iraq had the role of instilling values within the child but not being part of the education of the child. One participant expressed the difference between Australian schools and Iraq schools, stating:

> It's [Australian education] not like in Iraq, in Iraq [school] was four hours only, so they be with the mother and father most hours. But here is all the children away from parents. (Participant 5)

The interviewer clarified this response by asking who had more influence – schools in Iraq or parents – with the participants' answers implying it was the parents that had more influence.

To minimise leading the participants in their answers, there was much discussion of the word 'role' by both the interviewer and the interpreter with participants. Through the discussion, a common understanding of the word was obtained by all members. This was achieved without the interpretation of the word being given by the interviewer or the interpreter. As interviews were conducted over a number of weeks there was no common explanation given to each participant of the word 'role'. Each explanation that was given to individual participants had variations of the explanation and was elaborated upon depending on the participant's knowledge of the word.

Once the meaning of the word 'role' was established, a common thread throughout all the interviews was that participants believed that they did have a role in their child's education. Answers that were initially given about the role they had within their child's education centred around providing for the basic needs of their children while at school. Participants stated that their role:

> [I]s just to provide them with what they need economically, to be able to enrol in school and everything related to their expenses. (Participant 6)

> To provide whatever is needed to complete tasks that are required from school. (Participant 4)

> So, they can continue studying and not being forced to do any work at this stage. She want to give them more time to look after themselves and study… (Participant 6)

As the interviews continued, participants began to speak about their role as being more detailed than just providing the essential items. Some participants spoke of a partnership with the school in the education of their child: 'it's actually cooperation between family and school. It's not one side work only' (Participant 1). Others viewed the school's role as one to educate the child and the participants' role as to instil values into the child: 'my role is providing guidance in general, [the school's role is] to provide the students with academic skills and knowledge' (Participant 8).

A number of participants discussed how they showed interest in their children's education and viewed this as part of their role within their child's education. Participants reflected that they would question their children on the events of the day at school or if they had attended camps or excursions:

> He asks his children for feedback when they come back from a camp or an excursion, what did you learn, where have you been, what was the excursion about? (Participant 8)

> So, first of all, the conversation starts from the car, when he picks them up, by asking them how was your day. And this question is not like one-word answer, he does not accept that. He wants more explanation about the day, how it went. (Participant 1)

> But the conversation happens, and we do ask about how the day went and they both are always happy to share. I mean even the young one here now at the moment, always happy to share and to discuss and to give more about their school day. (Participant 7)

Through questioning and conversing with their children about their education, participants felt that they were able to be more aware of what was occurring in school, and provide assistance or resources as required. This approach by these parents is consistent with the RHDS model. Within the model, parents are thought to be motivated to be involved with their child's education when they believe that they have a role to play in their child's education. The parents within this study believed that they should be involved and had developed a pattern of behaviour that followed that belief (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

Assisting with homework was another common element that the participants identified as part of their role in their child's education. Homework was mentioned by all participants and was seen as an important activity that the students should be engaged in:

> When I ask them about their homework for tonight, what you have to do? What you have due tomorrow? They give him an idea about what subjects they have to be completing homework for, and he makes sure when they get some dinner and get some rest, first thing to do after that, is not to touch any game playing or any entertainment, unless they're actually on their books, doing some work. (Participant 8)

> After school there is food always ready. Make them to eat lunch. That's what we call [dinner] in Iraq. And then I made them to watch TV a little bit and six o'clock it's homework time. (Participant 3)

> I say, first do homework, because I want him to do the homework first. (Participant 5)

> My major struggle is with S not liking much the schoolwork, so I try my best sometimes just to force him to complete his homework and not to leave it like halfway through or not even ignore it. By giving him some consequences like you're not getting out with your friends, you're not buying markers today, you are just having to stay home. Whatever is the consequence that could be worth making him to do the effort to finish the assessment task in his end. (Participant 6)

Although participants identified that they were often unable to cognitively assist their children with homework, they regarded homework as something tangible they could be involved in. The participants identified their role as being one of direct supervision to ensure homework completion, setting boundaries around completion of homework, as well as questioning the child as to what needed to be completed. When completion of homework was a struggle for the child, a participant indicated that it was their role to ensure that the homework was completed.

Naidoo (2016) reports similar results in her study on CALD parents' involvement in their child's education. Within that study, parents believed their role to be one of support for their children so that they could achieve academically. The parents that Naidoo interviewed highlighted that supervision of homework was an activity that they had a role in, whether they were able to be of assistance or not.

Another aspect of the parental role that participants discussed was to take their children to activities that were outside the school. These activities ranged from attending sporting events: 'I take him to soccer, a lot of things' (Participant 5) to dropping them at friend's houses: 'we go to Q's house for example, to study' (Participant 3). A further activity was to ensure that the students attended the Chaldean church: 'they are in the progress of becoming liturgical – getting a liturgical role in the Church as well, not only attendance, passive attendance, but actively attending' (Participant 1).

These extracurricular activities were deemed important to not only their education but also to their spiritual development and socialisation:

> Giving them the opportunity of getting involved in the community and learn things by being with new people and learning some social skills, which is important for them. That's what I want them to learn as well. (Participant 8)

These activities would be regarded by schools as at-home parental involvement, rather than activities that are regarded as at-school involvement. At-school involvement for these parents was limited to their attendance at parent–teacher interviews and information nights (which will be discussed in Section 4.2.2.1). These results are similar to studies by Green et al. (2007), FitzGerald (2013) and Munroe (2009), which found parents' beliefs about their role influenced the involvement they had with at-home activities more than at-school activities. Green et al. (2007) in their study of ethnically diverse parents of children from Grades 1 through 6 in the mid-southern USA, found that parents' beliefs about their role in their children's education were a significant predictor of at-home involvement. FitzGerald (2013) confirms these results with Latino parents of a community middle school on the south side of a small industrial town in the north-eastern USA, stating that of the parents that she interviewed all were engaged in their children's education at-home and believed that it was part of their role. This was also

established in Munroe's (2009) study of a large selection of families from primary and secondary educational settings in Jamaica. Munroe reports that there was strong role belief by parents no matter the level of their child's education. Anderson and Minke (2007), in their study involving three elementary schools from a large, urban southwestern American school district, found that role-construction was positively related to parents' involvement behaviours. Interestingly they also state that specific invitations mediated the relationship between role construct and involvement at school, involvement in school events and involvement at home (Anderson & Minke, 2007) but the effect was more limited than they had expected. This was also found within this research and will be discussed further in Section 4.2.2.3.

The at-home activity that most participants spoke about was the discussions that they had with their children around their education. The participants' description of this aligns with the results of meta-analyses by Jeynes (2007) and Hill and Tyson (2009). In these meta-analyses it was found that parental involvement in the middle school years was significant to student achievement and that the biggest influence was academic socialisation, across all cultures. Through discussing expectations for achievement and stating the value of education, parents had more influence over their adolescent than if they set rules about homework or checked that homework was completed. Participants stated that the discussions they had with their children on a daily basis about education were important: 'He thinks that following up – it's very important' (Participant 1). They believed it was their role to talk about the child's day with them, to learn what had occurred at school with them and through this to instil in them the value of education: 'So he wants them to focus on education, and he always asks them about education, because it's number one for him for future' (Participant 1). These parents' beliefs about their role in their children's education motivated them to be involved in their children's education.

4.2.1.2 Parents' self-efficacy.

Self-efficacy, the belief in one's ability to have an effect on an outcome (Bandura, 1977), is the second area that influences parental motivation according to the RHDS model. The model suggests parents with a high self-efficacy will make positive decisions about active involvement in their child's education, while those with weak self-efficacy will have relatively low persistence when faced with challenges and lower expectations with regard their effort to assist their children to succeed at school (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

Having confidence to assist their child is one characteristic that Eccles and Harold (1993) define as having an influence on parents' self-efficacy beliefs. The lower a parent's confidence level, the less self-efficacy the parent has to assist their child with a specific outcome.

When asked to think about the difficulties that they faced in becoming involved in their child's education most parents were self-deprecating in their assessment of their English proficiency and knowledge of the curriculum. They saw these two areas as a challenge that hindered them in being involved:

> Number one is the language, but also the curriculum and the content is quite different than the way that we used to study in Iraq. (Participant 8)

Participants felt that their limited English proficiency and knowledge of the curriculum prohibited them from assisting their children with their homework, yet their belief in their role as parents prevailed over their lack of confidence in assisting their child. As one participant acknowledged:

> If ever they need some help, it depends on… I'm not fluent in… Because the subjects here, it's different in Iraq what I studied before. So, I do my best to help them, if they need sometimes, or I encourage them usually to do their homework, or encourage them to read. (Participant 2)

The participants' ability in English and knowledge of the subject were identified as hindering their participation, but this did not stop them from ensuring that the work was completed.

According to the RHDS model, the participants of the research study could theoretically be regarded as having low self-efficacy, as they acknowledged that they had low English proficiency and knowledge of the curriculum taught. According to the model, this would lead the participants to have lower persistence and lower expectations with regards to their effort to assist their children in their education. Yet, the results of this research found that the participants' involvement in their child's education within the home context was not diminished according to their self-assessment of their English proficiency or understanding of the curriculum. Participants were able to engage in types of involvement that overcame the obstacles that they reported and showed a high level of resourcefulness. This included participants driving their children to other houses where students could collectively work together: 'She went to my cousin's house, she got friends in same class, they help each other' (Participant 4) or enlisting the help of older family members who may or may not live with them: 'his sister mainly is the one who follows up with children' (Participant 1), 'I've got my sister, young one, she can help her out. Or she come over or she go to her house and they do the homework together' (Participant 9). A further strategy was to take their children to the Church tutoring classes: 'Yes they [the Church] provide tutoring. Sometimes P will go to there' (Participant 3). This use of the participants' social relationships to assist them when they believed they were unable to help their children with their education will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, as the participants showed a resourcefulness that is not accounted for within the model.

These results suggest that parents may engage in their children's education in ways that are not visible to schools or that schools do not recognise. This was similar to FitzGerald's (2013) research, which finds that parents' self-efficacy did not prevent them from being involved in their children's education, whether it be through at-school or at-home activities. The Latino participants interviewed in her study were also able to provide solutions to barriers that they perceived were due to their English proficiency or knowledge of the curriculum. They reported that they accessed information through Google search, used a dictionary, found someone in the extended family to assist the child or went to the local library (FitzGerald, 2013). In sourcing these alternatives, participants showed that self-efficacy was not a factor in their motivation for involvement in their child's education at home.

4.2.2 Parents' perceptions of invitations to involvement from others

Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2005) identify that parental motivation to become involved in their child's education is also influenced by the parents' perception of being invited to be involved with their children's education. These invitations are divided into three areas – general school invitations, specific child invitations and specific teacher invitations.

4.2.2.1 Parents' perception of school invitation

A. General school invitation

General school invitation is considered to be a climate within the school that is welcoming to parents, but also one that informs parents of their child's progress and that school personnel respect them and their concerns (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). While the model states that this area is a strong indicator for parental involvement in their children's education, it is more suited to at-school involvement for parents of students in elementary and middle schools (Abel, 2012; Freund et al., 2018; Green et al., 2007). Those studies conducted on adolescents found, as this study did, that there was little opportunity for parents to be involved within the actual school. General parental invitations in this study were centred around interactions that position parents as receivers of information, such as receiving general information given out by the school and student's school reports (Barton et al., 2004).

Participants commented on the general information that is communicated between the school and the parents. Participants valued the bilingual translator available at the school and the information that was sent home, but felt that more information was needed to be translated so that they did not rely on their children to inform them of the content in information sent home in English: 'The child won't read… So, translation. They still [need] translation' (Participant 3). These issues are also identified by Reynolds et al. (2014) who note the timing

of meetings and the lack of bilingual material as issues that were contextual motivators for parents being involved in their child's education.

B. Specific school invitation

In contrast to general invitations, specific school invitations are those events where parents are invited to attend assemblies, meetings or specific parent information events or to volunteer for school events (FitzGerald, 2013).

Participants expressed that they were involved with their child's education at school, especially when the school invited them to attend parent–teacher meetings, meetings around their child's education and/or assemblies: 'I try attend all the meetings. Especially information night, and if there's information night about curriculum or about anything, I usually attend those' (Participant 2). One participant expressed that these forms of communication were of value as they informed parents as to how they could become more involved in their children's education: 'Of course, when we come to the assembly and thinks all this speech and things like- it will affect us, like it will give us – what do you call it – we will be aware of how we have to be involved' (Participant 4). Although these encounters were valued, participants also viewed their English proficiency as a barrier to attending or understanding what was being said, due to the lack of interpreting that occurred within the meeting: 'Yeah, she just sits in the middle and just try to grasp whatever it was that's possible to understand, and the rest well that maybe you just let go' (Participant 7).

Of all the forms of communication that the school offered, the participants spoke about the parent–teacher interviews as the form of communication that they valued most and attended on a regular basis. This form of communication was viewed as an opportunity for the participant to discuss their child's progress with the teacher. Participants in the study were concerned that the formal parent–teacher interviews were held too sporadically and came too late if there were issues of low attainment or behaviour:

> If a student who doesn't do his homework to call our parents. Your son hasn't done homework. They don't wait to the meeting, the parent teacher meeting to say, after like 2 months or 3 months. That's period of time very important. But if they tell the parents straight away by calling them or send them an email or other way, that's going to be more beneficial for students. (Participant 2)

> So, he wants that conversation to be at a longer time, not very short, like a parent–teacher system and more often, that's what he wants. (Participant 1)

They valued a more informal chat with one teacher on a more constant basis, rather than speaking to all teachers in a one-off conversation. This was also found in Naidoo's study (2016). Within that study, participants stated that the time allotted for parent–teacher interviews was

too short and they wished for more ‘tailored, regular and appropriate information’ (Naidoo, 2016, p. 47).

4.2.2.2 Parents’ perception of specific child invitation.

Parents receiving specific invitations from their child is another motivational factor for parents to participate in their child’s education, according to the model (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). Children’s invitations may be either implicit or explicit and are important as they activate a need within parents to be active in their children’s developmental progress and educational success (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). These invitations are not as frequent with adolescents as they are in younger children, as adolescents become more autonomous and independent of their parents throughout high school (Kreider et al., 2007).

Participants within this study indicated that their child rarely asked for their assistance with their education. The students were mainly autonomous in the work that was to be completed at home and it was only in times of great need that the child would ask for assistance: ‘She asked me question on what she need to know about. Most of the time to be honest, no [she doesn’t ask for assistance]. Because she done all her homework’ (Participant 9). When this occurred, parents, if they were able, assisted the child with their problem or were able to engage external help such as family members or friends to assist them: ‘he have his friends at different school, they sit together and do their work. They help each other’ (Participant 5).

Interestingly, parents spoke more of the child’s need to speak to them about the day’s events, and be given assistance for educational, friendship or social issues, rather than explicit assistance with work:

> She is open to any kind of help that the girls may need in their education. Related education strictly or in their life generally, so she is always open to have a chat and talk about their needs and try to fulfil them if they are possible. (Participant 7)

Participants reported that this discussion would be instigated by the child: ‘They are good in starting conversation themselves’ (Participant 1) and ‘She thinks that the openness of the conversation is helping a lot. It’s showing that they are actually interested in making me part’ (Participant 7). This enabled the conversation to flow quite naturally. Participants valued these conversations, as they felt that they were able to understand more about what occurred at school during the day, and how these incidents impacted on their child. One participant described how their children would come to them to discuss results that they achieved in different subjects:

> Last night had his – was explaining to that, how he went with his math – his math test, and he was saying that, ‘I didn’t do my best, I wish I could do better.’ And I think the test was from 27 grades, I stop. So, dad ask him, ‘Will you be getting 20 out of 27?’ He said, ‘Yeah, I will, but I could do better.’ (Participant 1)

They also stated how they would assist their children in planning to do better next time or discussing with them the meaning of the result:

> Or maybe if he is not getting the grade that he was aiming for, from a specific test or exam, and he express his disappointment to dad. His dad tell him, this mark is only a trial, it's not an indication of you, it's not going to define you, you are not this mark. You can do better, and we trust next time you will do better. (Participant 8)

Another parent stated that sometimes her husband would help with a specific project:

> Yeah last year she was doing a science project, her husband helped her to perform better by collecting information and getting involved in the project building. That's why she thinks she got a better grade, because of their involvement. (Participant 4)

4.2.2.3 Parents' perception of specific teacher invitation.

Specific invitations from teachers to parents is another motivational factor in the RHDS model. These invitations are particularly important as they often respond to parents' need to know how to assist their child with their education (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). Parents valued these forms of communication when they felt that their views were valued, the teacher cared about their child and they were comfortable with the teacher (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

Although contact from individual teachers with information about how to assist their children with their education was valued by the participants, most participants indicated that contact was only made if the child had an issue with their education or behaviour. The one form of contact that was seen as initiated by the teachers was the formal parent–teacher interviews. There was variation in the value participants placed on these interviews, which were conducted at the college. Some were happy with the information that teachers gave them on ways to assist their child, while others believed that the interviews were not a forum that allowed them to be part of the decision-making process around their child's learning: 'the parent teacher interviews are not enough, and he wants to be more – getting more involved by being asked his opinion about things that they are vital to his children' (Participant 1). Participants discussed how education was a partnership between the teachers and the school: 'She thinks it's a partnership with the school, and the role of school should be equal with the parent's role in their education' (Participant 4) and 'It's actually cooperation between family and school' (Participant 1). These participants wished to be better informed so that they could assist their children in their education: 'Well, if they let me know… If they send like a diary with the students, your son has to do this, this is homework. In Maths, Science, Chemistry, anything. We have to sign something' (Participant 2).

Of the participants interviewed, only two expressed that they had either contacted the teacher directly to discuss their child's education or had experienced constant contact with

teachers for one of their children. Through the initial email contact that the first participant had with the teacher, the teacher was able to provide extra assistance to the child and to provide the parent with guidance as to how to help their child: 'Yeah wherever she is weak or needs more attention, she gets in contact with that specific teacher [and the teacher] was able to provide strategies' (Participant 4). This was reiterated by the second parent, who had continual interviews with a specific teacher about one of their children and expressed that without this constant follow-up from this teacher, their child would not be achieving or completing work at the level that they are: 'And he appreciates the follow up and the feedback, taking him step by step to show that M is having the achievements that she has been able to do. And he is really happy – well he thinks that without this constant follow up, M would be lost in the school' (Participant 7). This level of interaction allowed for the parent to have a personal space with a specific teacher, within the more formal space of the education system (Barton et al., 2004). This is similar to the results of Seitsinger et al.'s (2008) study, which finds that when a teacher reaches out or interacts with a parent, the parent will then engage more with the school. Through having a positive experience, where the teacher is of assistance to the participant, the participant is more likely to continue asking for assistance. Due to this interaction and the response given, the participant was comfortable to question the teacher and to be informed as to how they then could assist their child at home. Both these participants' actions ensured that they were able to have a space that they could engage in with the teacher, to be informed about ways to assist their child (Barton et al., 2004).

This study found that invitations from school, teachers or children enhanced parents' involvement within their child's education. This was similar to Anderson and Minke's study (2007), which reports that specific invitations were a significant factor in influencing parental involvement.

4.2.3 Parents' perceived life context

The final area that Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2005) define as a motivational factor in parents' decision to become involved in their children's education is parents' perceived life context. They further divide this motivating factor into two subheadings: the perceived time and energy parents have to assist their child, and the skills and knowledge parents believe they have in assisting their children with their education (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

4.2.3.1 Self-perceived time and energy.

According to Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2005), parents' beliefs around the demands on their time from work, family and other responsibilities and commitments are motivational factors for whether parents become involved in their children's education. Parents whose jobs are

inflexible, place heavy demands on them or are unstable are generally less involved in at-school activities than others (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). Additionally, other parents who have responsibilities for child-care, or for sick and/or elderly relatives are also generally less involved in at-school activities (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

Parents were asked questions to elicit information that related to the participants' perception of the time and energy that they had available to be involved in their child's education. All participants expressed that they had multiple responsibilities such as working, running a household or looking after small children, but would find time to be involved in their children's education. Participants expressed how they made time to discuss the child's day with them, as discussed in Section 4.2.1.1. During this time, conversations were had around homework that was to be completed, results of tests or assignments and the occurrences of the day. Parents viewed this as not only part of their role in their child's education, but also as a means of being kept informed as to what was happening with their child's education as well as maintaining a relationship with their child.

On further discussion, two parents expressed that occasionally they were precluded from being involved with their child's education due to the available time and energy. One participant reported that she needed to ensure her house was kept clean: 'Most of us [Chaldean women] – it's just a culture, we do clean a lot' (Participant 3) and, as a working mother, she was occasionally too tired to assist her children with their schoolwork. In response to a question as to whether cleaning precluded her from assisting her children with their education she answered 'Yes. Of course' (Participant 3). This participant then went on to explain that this was why some Chaldean women were not involved in their children's education: 'That's why some of them mums, they don't [become involved in their child's education]' (Participant 3). Another participant also expressed that she was often too tired to assist her son with his schoolwork. As she was an older mother with a young child, she often had to take the young son to playgroup and read to him: 'Yeah, reading, I take him to playgroup' (Participant 5) and that she did not have the energy to complete things with her older children as she had in the past: 'And then when Z come I am tired' (Participant 5).

In general, participants stated that they used a variety of strategies to ensure that they were involved with their child's education. Often if one parent was unavailable to attend an event, the other would attend the event, or an elder sibling would attend: 'I come teacher interview, but now I have my son I can't leave him, so B or C, they coming' (Participant 5).

Those who were working were able to use a flexible arrangement with their employer or, if self-employed, made themselves available for meetings or events: 'Well my wife goes sometimes which is I can't – I'm trying to avoid work altogether working last for half an hour,

when I've already got a meeting' (Participant 9). One participant spoke about her husband's inability, due to time, to be involved with their child's education but expressed that it was her role within the household to be there for her children:

> No, he [her husband] doesn't have enough time to see him [the child]. All day working… Most time he at work. He go 4 in the morning, comes home sometimes 7, sometimes 8. He work a lot… I do everything. I am mother and father … It's a lot of pressure for me. (Participant 5)

4.2.3.2 Self-perceived knowledge and skills.

Parents' perception of their knowledge and skill base in relation to assisting their child with their education is also identified by the model as a motivational factor in parents participating in their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). The level of knowledge a parent has in relation to a topic influences their ability to assist their child in their education. As the child progresses through the later years of education, parents often believe that they do not have the knowledge to enable them to offer assistance (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). As well as beliefs regarding whether or not they have the knowledge to assist their child, parents' perception of the adequacy of their skills to assist their child also motivated them to become involved in their child's education. If parents deemed that their skills were adequate, they were more inclined to assist their children with their education. If they believed that they were inadequate, parents would often seek out others to assist (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

Participants in this study expressed that they believed that they often did not have the knowledge or skills to adequately assist their child in their education, although for one participant maths was an area in which they felt they could be of assistance. Multiple reasons were given by participants as to why they did not have adequate knowledge or skills.

> Well, if I had the knowledge, have a study and all that and I'd had experience I would have been more involved on it because I would have known exactly what's going on. (Participant 9)

> The main thing is a language barrier, which is not helping me much to follow as much as I wanted to… And we feel if we knew more or better, we could have been more influential in helping in a positive way, their academic and social. (Participant 7)

> I can't do that, because the language. (Participant 1)

> I always do my best to help them, but if they don't ask for help, how can you? (Participant 2)

> She recognises the limits of not having finished high school. (Participant 4)

> Generally, in maths because it's numbers more and there's less words she still can help. (Participant 6)

Yet participants, while believing that they did not have the necessary knowledge or skills to assist their children, used an array of strategies to find the assistance that their children required.

This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 as participants were able to counter the perceived deficit in knowledge or skills through the use of their social relationships. These included asking older siblings: 'my children learn more from their elder sister because she graduated and she knows more about the curriculum here' (Participant 7) or using friends: 'They help each other, maybe Z, he know something, and maybe they help him' (Participant 5). Another strategy was to use extended family: 'She [an aunt] can actually teach them sometimes when they are struggling with a certain topic, because she — her English is good, and she finished a certain level of education' (Participant 1) or attend designated homework groups at the Church: 'Monday, church homework club' (Participant 4).

These life-context variables, although reasons as to why parents could not become involved in their child's education, provided a weak indicator as to whether parents did become involved. Participants were aware of the barriers that they had with regard, time, energy, knowledge and skills but had in place resources to overcome these so that their child was assisted in their education. As one parent expressed: 'she is planning how to do that [provide assistance to her child] when she is not capable, like the church homework club, the school's help, and maybe private tutoring if it's possible and if it's needed' (Participant 4).

This is in line with findings from a number of other studies based on the RHDS model. FitzGerald's study (2013) of Latino parents finds that parents were able to find the time and energy to become involved in their child's education and provided an array of strategies for their children to complete their homework when they believed that they did not have the knowledge or skill to do so. These strategies included showing enthusiasm for a subject area, referring problems with homework to other members of the family and encouraging children to be more independent before asking for help. Anderson and Minke's (2007) research also indicates that time and energy are weak indicators of parental involvement.

4.3 Discussion

This chapter has focused on the involvement of participants in their child's education, both at school and at home, by utilising constructs from a commonly used parental involvement model – the RHDS model. At-school involvement can include assisting in the classroom, being part of a committee, or attending school events and meetings. At-home involvement can include supervising homework, discussing academic goals and providing extra-curricular activities (Emerson et al., 2012).

Participants indicated within this study that they had little contact with the school except through formal arrangements but discussed how they were actively involved in their child's education at home. This was similar to FitzGerald's study of Latino family's involvement in

their child's education. She found that parents were more involved with at home activities than activities at school (2013) which is common for low SES families, immigrant families and those from non-English speaking backgrounds. Often schools do not recognise these at-home activities and therefore deem the parents to not be involved or to be hard to reach (Crozier & Davies, 2007).

Information obtained from the interviews with the Chaldean participants in this chapter was analysed using the headings of level one of the RHDS model. There were four significant findings. The first was that participants believed that they had a role in their child's education. Second, the participants' self-efficacy did not influence their motivation in relation to involvement. Third, the parents responded to all forms of invitation to be involved in their child's education. Fourth, participants reported that when they did not have the required time, energy, knowledge or skills, strategies were in place to alleviate these circumstances.

Parents' understanding of their role is often constructed socially from the activities that the parents have participated in or are participating in. Their experiences over time with various individuals and groups related to schooling shape their understanding of what a parent's role in education is. These personal experiences can also include parents' own experiences of schooling and the ongoing experience that they have with their child's school (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). Thus, those with positive lived experiences of schooling and parental involvement will most likely be involved with their child's education. For some participants within this study, this was not the case. Some participants had not had a positive experience or, in some cases, had had very limited experience of education. Participants spoke of a very autocratic education system in Iraq: 'They used to hit us 10, 15 times' (Participant 9), while other participants discussed how their education was stopped as it was too dangerous to go to school or they needed to flee Iraq: 'I was up to Year 7. I finish and then I come [due to the war]' (Participant 5). Participants also recounted how this role of parents in education is a new experience for the Chaldean community, as previous personal experiences within Iraq did not match the expectations that Victorian schools have of parents in their involvement in the education of their children (see Sections 1.5.4 for a further discussion on the difference in education systems). Another participant spoke of how they married at a certain age and were therefore unable to continue with their studies: 'I learnt the language six month, and then after that I went to Year 10 at Brunswick Secondary College. And 11. And then I stop, I get married' (Participant 5).

Despite these circumstances, all participants valued the education that their child was receiving and believed that they had a role to play in assisting their children in their education. FitzGerald's (2013) research on Latino parents also shows this, with participants in the study

stating that some had not had positive experiences with their own education yet turned this into a learning experience for their children by encouraging them through conversations at home.

According to Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2005), parents' self-efficacy in their role is also socially constructed as it is grounded in personal experiences that are influenced by schools and significant others. The RHDS model theorises that the higher the level of self-efficacy, the more likely the parent was to be involved in the children's educational development. Responses in this study indicated that participants were often not confident in their understanding of the content that their children were studying or felt that they did not have the required English skills to assist their children. Despite this, parents reported a high level of involvement in their child's education and showed resourcefulness in facilitating their child's education. The reported low levels of self-efficacy may have decreased the parent's assistance but did not prevent parents being involved within their child's education.

This was similar to results in Anderson and Minke's (2007) research, which discusses the complex nature of efficacy. They find that self-efficacy was not a strong indicator of parental involvement for at-school activities, but there was a direct effect on parental involvement in the home. As with this analysis, the participants' data supports the idea that efficacy may be more nuanced than the RHDS model suggests and does not operate the same way as the role construct (Anderson & Minke, 2007). As Anderson and Minke (2007) suggest, the RHDS model has role construction and self-efficacy as two aspects of parental motivational beliefs that act the same way on parental involvement. They argue that these variables instead appear to operate differently, as this analysis has also shown, and that they need to be treated and analysed separately.

The third significant finding from this research is that parents do respond to invitations from school, teachers and their children. Within the RHDS model it is implied that parents will be involved with their child's education if they are invited to do so. Abel (2012), in her study of African American fathers in the mid-Atlantic region of the USA, finds that invitations from others significantly affected fathers' involvement in their children's education. Brown (2013), in a study on parental motivational beliefs and involvement based on responses from parents attending the WONDERtorium museum in Stillwater, Oklahoma, also reports that invitations from a child's teacher significantly impacted parents' involvement in the child's education. Walker et al. (2011), in their study of Latino students in an urban public-school district in the south-eastern USA, find that the child's invitation had a significant effect on the parents becoming involved in their children's education.

These results are also confirmed by the participants within this qualitative study. Participants stated that they responded to requests for involvement when the school, teachers

or their children asked. The participants commented on the need for more bilingual information, and this was a factor in parents responding to the invitations. Those parents who did find that their English proficiency prohibited them from attending information nights or parent–teacher interviews were able to put in place structures to overcome this barrier when asked to attend these events at the school.

Participants also indicated that as the child's age increased the number of specific invitations from the child for assistance changed. This is in line with Deslandes and Bertrand's (2005) findings in their study of secondary students; they report that as the children's age increased, their reliance on their parents for assistance with homework diminished. They found that in Year 7 parents were involved due to specific invitations that the child gave about academic topics. This changed when students were in Year 8, as parents were involved within the social domain, such as discussing television shows, current affairs or when children interviewed the parent about various topics. Lastly, when students were in Year 9, parents waited for invitations for involvement to be given by their child. Some participants in this current study stated that the children not inviting them to be of assistance with their homework could be because the participants did not understand the concepts that were taught, while others acknowledged that the students were fairly autonomous in their learning.

The last significant finding from this analysis in relation to the RHDS model was that parents, despite their lack of time, energy, knowledge and skills, were able to find solutions for students when they required assistance.

Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2005) theorise that parental involvement is impacted upon by parents' perception of their life contexts: namely the time and energy, knowledge and skills that parents perceive they have to be involved in their children's education. Findings from this analysis indicate that the Chaldean parents within this study found the time and energy to be involved within their children's education and are able to find solutions to assist their children when they believed they did not have the knowledge or skills to do so.

All of the participants who were interviewed reported that they had busy lives. Some identified that they worked long hours or were busy ensuring that the family home was maintained, and children looked after. Despite these demands on their time, participants stated that they were generally able to provide the time that their children needed so that they could assist them with their education. Participants spoke about having more at-home involvement than at-school involvement, and often this involvement was in the form of a discussion about the day. Participants stated that if they were unable to be of assistance to their children's education then other strategies were put in place to help the child. This included older siblings assisting with questions around curriculum or attending parent–teacher interviews.

These results indicate that time and energy are weak predictors of parents becoming involved in their children's education. FitzGerald (2013) makes a similar finding in her study of Latino parents of middle-school students; although the parents were busy with work and family commitments, they 'made the time' (FitzGerald, 2013, p.139) to be involved, albeit in activities that were more at-home based than at-school based. These results are also reflected by Anderson and Minke (2007) in their study of Latino parents; they find that parental lack of time and energy did not relate negatively to their involvement with their child's education in at-home activities.

Similarly, parents' perceived knowledge and skills in the area that the child was studying were also weak predictors of parental involvement. The participants interviewed had varying levels of education in their first language and understanding of English. All were self-deprecating in their assessment of their ability to help their children with the work that they were completing. Each participant gave various reasons they would not be able to assist their child, but each was able to state a strategy that they could use to assist their child if needed.

As with Abel's (2012) study of African-American fathers and Green et al.'s (2007) study of parents of students enrolled in an ethnically diverse metropolitan school system, the Chaldean participants' level of direct involvement with their children's education was predicated on their assessment of their own ability. Yet what this analysis shows is that participants were able to mitigate their lack of knowledge and skill and find a solution to assist their child when required.

4.4 Conclusion

This analysis data has shown that, for these Chaldean participants, the main factor for parental involvement is the participants' belief that they have a role in their children's education. This role was constructed around activities such as the participants asking their children about their day, facilitating the completion of homework and responding to invitations from the school, individual teachers and the child. Even though some had little experience of Secondary education and others had negative experiences, each participant believed that they had an influence on their child's education. Participants were able to identify barriers such as their ability in English, their knowledge of the subject area, and time and energy that they had could preclude them in assisting their child. These were mitigated through the participants use of other family and community members who were used to assist their children with their education where required. Interestingly this analysis data does not support the RHDS model having all factors within the model as equal predictors of parents becoming involved in their child's education. Invitations from the school, teachers and their children, although acted upon when

offered, were not the main reason these participants became involved in their child's education. Similarly, self-efficacy, time, energy, knowledge and skills, although factors in parental involvement, were weak indicators. The strongest indicator to be involved in their child's education was their belief that they had a role in their child's education.

Yet these factors were not the only ones that influenced these participants to be involved in their child's education. Other themes were also found to impact on the participants' involvement in their child's education – namely the social relationships that the participants had established and the knowledge that they had gained through their own lived experiences. Some themes already discussed in this chapter when looked at using the Funds of Knowledge theory were also found to be more influential than the RHDS model allowed for. These themes were then reanalysed with the initial themes that did not match the RHDS model. This combined information was then analysed using a Funds of Knowledge theory with the findings discussed in the following two chapters. Chapter 5 discusses the first of these themes, namely how participants use their social relationships to assist them to become involved in their child's education and to assist their children when they felt that they were unable to. These social relationships included the school that their child attended, their faith community and their family members. As well as this, barriers that participants encountered which made it difficult to be involved within their child's education will also be discussed.

Chapter 5: Social relationships

5.1 Introduction

It became clear, as the information from interviews was analysed, that many factors that the participants discussed as influencing their involvement in their child's education did not align well with the constructs of the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (RHDS) parental involvement process model. The expectation of parents to be involved in their child's education is usually seen through the lens of the majority demographic within the school system, which often does not allow for variations reflected by diverse cultural groups (Doucet, 2011; Hauser-Cram, Sirin and Stipek, 2003; Osman & Mansson, 2015). It was also evident that some of the factors within the RHDS model were more nuanced for the Chaldean people and more detailed and influential than the model indicated. These included their use of their social relationships to assist them when they felt they did not have the knowledge or skills required and the effect of their own knowledge gained through lived experiences on their construction of their role. Thus, information that was obtained was also analysed using the Funds of Knowledge theoretical approach. Through this analysis, it was found that the participants were not just passive bystanders who used their knowledge to conform to the ideals of what the school implied parent involvement should be. Instead, they used their knowledge to construct for themselves what being involved in their child's education within their household and the wider community meant.

Using a Funds of Knowledge theory, the detailed and rich source of information given was analysed to form two overarching themes. These themes relied on the experiences of the participants, rather than a static model, to determine the themes. The first theme was that social relationships played a significant role in parental involvement. Participants used their social relationships with the school, their wider community, their faith community and their family to assist them in understanding and being engaged in their child's education. The second overarching theme was that individuals used their own knowledge of education, expectations, and values to become engaged in their child's education (Moll et al., 1992).

In this chapter, analysis will be presented that relates to the participants' development of their social relationships and how they used these connections to be informed as to how to be involved with their child's education. The chapter will also discuss how participants have used their social relationships to assist them where they were not able to engage in their child's

education and how they used their connections to assist their child with their education (Moll et al., 1992).

5.2 School

Participants within this study were very open about feeling unsure about the Australian society that they now lived in. They stated that the school was crucial not only in educating their child academically, but also in assisting them in educating their child in the norms of the society. Participants reflected that engaging the school to assist them in this role was crucial for their children to be able to function in the society they were now living in. Through their social relationship with the college, they were provided with an opportunity to enable their children to be educated in an aspect of their child's life they regarded as being important but felt they had little knowledge of.

The guidelines set by the Victorian Department of Education and Training recommend that parents should be involved in their child's education to improve the child's 'learning, health and wellbeing' (Department of Education and Training, Victoria, 2018). The Department goes further, stating that 'effective schools have high levels of parent and carer engagement and involvement', and that 'this involvement is strongly related to improved student learning, attendance and behaviour.' (Department of Education and Training, Victoria, 2018). As parents are expected to have a high level of involvement in their child's education, students are dependent not only on the educational institution for their education but also on the engagement of their parents/carers. While this is the department's expectation, it may be an expectation the parent is not comfortable with, or one they have had no experience within their own education (Antony-Newman, 2019). Although education is viewed as a 'shared responsibility' built on 'effective communication, mutual trust and respect' (Department of Education and Training, Victoria, 2018), the policy does not allow for the myriad circumstances that exist for individual families that may prohibit or enhance their ability to participate in their child's education (Blackmore & Hutchison, 2010).

One group often regarded by schools as having limited involvement in their child's education is people from a CALD background (Crozier & Davies, 2007). When parents from a CALD background arrive in a new country there is often a 'culture shock' (Beauregard et al, 2014, p. 189). This culture shock is felt in a variety of social settings in which parents find themselves, including schools, as there are potentially different cultural practices and norms to those the parents are used to. Parents may question their beliefs, as their sense of what is right can be challenged by the values and practices of the new culture (Beauregard et al., 2014; Carreón et al., 2005). Meanwhile, their children are forging a new cultural identity as they

connect with the new culture that they are experiencing at school, while also living their parents' culture at home (Devine, 2009; Wan & Chew, 2013).

Society sees school as a setting that fosters social cohesion and associated values and attitudes. It is through the school that children from a CALD background begin to acquire a shared understanding of the symbolic meanings considered central to the main culture (Oller et al., 2012; Wan & Chew, 2013). These values can be in conflict with those of the parents, and parents may feel powerless to pass on their values as the child engages with the values of the society through the school (Beauregard et al., 2014). Parents may then believe that schools are the best place to educate their children on the values of the new society they now live in. Within this analysis project, participants spoke of how they valued the school developing their child's knowledge of the local culture. The following answers were given to the question, 'What is the role of the school?'

While participants stated that the role of the school was to be in partnership with them to educate their child – 'it's a partnership with the school, and the role of school should be equal with the parents' role in their education' (Participant 4) – they also believed that the school had a role in the development of the child and their values:

> More than an education I think… to teach them respect. (Participant 9)
>
> Open to any kind of help that the girls may need in their education. Related education strictly or in their life generally… it's building the actual person. (Participant 7)
>
> [N]ot just teach, but also culture. (Participant 6)
>
> [T]o make him man of future. (Participant 5)

Participants acknowledged that what they were experiencing on a day-to-day basis with regards to their experiences and expectations in society was different to what they were used to – 'It is hard for us because we are not used to these things, but the multicultural, we have to accept it' (Participant 8) – and that their children were in a new society that they needed to understand:

> She thinks that the role of the school, it's crucial, it's quite significant, especially being in a new society where everything is new. (Participant 6)
>
> That without school, they will be lost. (Participant 8)

Through the immersion of the students in the school day, participants felt that the school was better placed to teach their children the nuances of the new culture: 'Yeah, because he has most time with the school, most hours. From 9 to 3.30, when he come home only two hours he spend with us, the most time is with the school' (Participant 5).

Although they may not have understood the society, they were now a part of its totality, and participants acknowledged that their children needed to be educated in this culture and to

understand it. Through participants engaging the school to assist them in this, they were enabling their child to gain knowledge of their new society, while the participants themselves were also still developing their understanding of the school and wider community.

Schools were not only discussed as a place of social learning but also as the best place for educating the child:

> But generally his main aim to send them to school is to gain academic skills… he believes that without school, they will be lost, that's the best way to provide them with future. (Participant 8)

Although schools are primarily set up for the education of students, parents are also expected to be part of the education process as they involve themselves in the activities that students are completing. Some of the participants found this difficult as their lack of understanding of the Australian education system and the limits of their own education limited their ability to assist their children in their education:

> She recognises the limits of not having finished high school. (Participant 4)

> Because the subjects here, it's different in Iraq what I studied before. (Participant 2)

> Here I find it really difficult because even the topics they might seem the same as title, but the content is completely different what were used back in Iraq. (Participant 6)

> So back home I know, because I was 17 I was in probably High School, grade 8 or 9. So I had the knowledge which is I learn from my uncles, or from my cousins or from my neighbours, so we had the knowledge but here I don't know much about the knowledge of the school, because I've never been to school. (Participant 9)

When this occurred, the participants used their social relationship with the school to assist them in helping their children with their education as they believed the school was best equipped to assist the child:

> She thinks the school is more equipped and ready, because it's an education institution. (Participant 4)

> Because what they're learning in school, is different. (Participant 9)

Participants recognised that they had difficulty in understanding their new society, as well as the curriculum that their children were engaging with at school. To help their children become successful participants in society and within academia, the participants acknowledged that the school was a resource that they used to support them in helping their children. Through the relationship they had with the college they felt that the college was better suited to assisting the students in these areas.

5.3 Faith community

Schools were not the only relationship that participants indicated influenced them, nor the only institution to which they turned to assist them in their involvement in their child's education. They also relied on their relationship with their faith community, whom they often met at the Chaldean Church they attended. This relationship was twofold as the Church, through the faith community, provided a means of education for the participants on the expectations of parents within their child's education, as well as being a site to assist their children with their education. The faith community provided reinforcement of the participants' values and expectations, which then influenced their construction of their involvement in their child's education (Krok, 2018); this is discussed in more detail in Section 6.5. Through this familiar relationship with the Church, they were able to gain knowledge of how to assist their children in their education, which was provided by a trusted alternative institution to the school. That institution also provided their children with not only knowledge on education but also the values and expectations of the faith community.

Upon arrival in a new country, migrants can feel besieged and unsure of social norms and behaviour. In a familiar religious environment, individuals can feel secure and seek comfort knowing that within this institution the understanding that they have of their society is common to participants and that their ethnic identity and language of their members can be sustained (Cadge & Eckland, 2007; Shoeb, Weinstein & Halpern, 2007). For some people who identify as Chaldean, it can be argued that dimensions of their identity are formed through the interweaving of their Christian religion and their culture (Nydell, 2006), with many aspects of their life looked at through a faith perspective (Danis, 2006; Nona, 2017) and some problems constructed and resolved through a religious lens (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000). For many Chaldeans, their religion helps explain who they are and how they should conduct themselves within society.

Individuals expressed that the centre of this support was found with the priest and the Church. The Church can become a place where new migrants are able to celebrate their ethnicity (Danis, 2006) and develop social groups (Krok, 2018; Sengstock, 1982). The priest can also have a unifying role within the external community, drawing together people from the wider community and those within the congregation (Danis, 2006). Priests are also often involved in assisting people with all manner of personal issues, including family issues, matters of law and financial issues (Danis, 2006; Sengstock, 1982). Although over time other organisations, such as newspapers and radio stations, can be established, these do not replace or replicate the importance of the Church to the community (Sengstock, 1982).

Through the security of the religious institution, individuals can seek and be given guidance as to the expectations of the new society, including understanding the expectations that are placed on parents within their child's education. School culture can often be foreign to the migrant, as they may have different beliefs as to how schools should operate and the level of involvement that they should have within their child's education (Emerson et al., 2012; Gibson, 2005). Religious institutions can provide a haven for parents to discuss the expectations they have of schools and that schools have of them, within their first language and with people who understand their perspective (Eppsteiner & Haggan, 2016). The priest and the Church have a role in educating the parents on these social expectations, while also providing comfort and security to the parent. Individuals' religious establishments provide the congregation a bridge between the culture from the country they have left and the one that they are now in. The centrality of the role of the Church was summarised by one parent, who stated:

> It's actually for him as a Catholic family, is a triangle, not a circle. It's between school, home and Church. So he believes very well in the Church input in his children's education, and in general. (Participant 1)

Another participant also acknowledged the Church as a positive influence on their child's education: 'The church is having some positive impact by following up all children in the school from a different perspective from family and parents' (Participant 8).

Through the Church, these participants felt that their children were being positively impacted upon, as the church emphasised education. This can also occur when the priest, as the head of the church, discusses expectations within the school community. He can become a conduit between parents and the school community as he seeks to create clarity around the expectations parents should have of their child and their education. Unfortunately, for some parents this can lead to mixed messages between what the priest is saying should occur and what their child is saying they have to complete:

> Last week Fr T mentioned in his homily that 60% of the work is done at home, not at school. But when I ask my son, when I go to interviews sometimes, I ask them my son, he doesn't [do homework] because he's finished his work. But why they say to Fr T that 60% of work…? (Participant 2)

This participant was looking for clarity with regards to homework, having stated earlier in the interview that they did not believe that their child was completing enough homework. In hearing from an authority, the priest, about the amount of homework the school was stating had to be completed, there was misunderstanding when the child stated that they did not have homework. These mixed messages could cause confusion and conflict at home, with the participant questioning the validity of what the child was saying due to the message that was coming from the priest.

The Church can also play a role by providing educational facilities for students. At the Chaldean Church, tutoring is offered to students during some evenings. Through the use of volunteer tutors, who are members of the community, a service is provided to tutor those students in a curriculum that their parents may find foreign. This was utilised by some of the participants' children, although the participants themselves did not participate in the tutoring:

> Just the church homework. (Participant 4)
>
> They provide tutoring. Sometimes P will go to there – I think it's for everyone. So everyone is there. There's volunteer tutors. I don't go, to be honest. I don't have time, but I know P will go sometimes. She will take her books and we will drive her to there. (Participant 3)

This is similar to the services provided by the Korean church in America, surveyed by Min (1992). Both in Min's study and the current analysis, the individual churches provided a homework study night where students could come and gain help from volunteer tutors to understand the curriculum being taught in the school. Within this study it is interesting to note that participants used the Church homework club rather than the one offered by the college, which is on at the same time. Participant 3, was asked whether their child used the school homework club, and replied 'No'. This was not elaborated on and no reason given as to why the Church homework club was preferred over the school homework club. It might be surmised that the Church provided assistance in an environment with which the parent felt comfortable, and which maintained their identity and cultural traditions (Min, 1992).

Yet not all the participants were of the same opinion. One participant felt that the Church did not care nor get involved with the congregation. Instead, they felt that 'They're too busy with other things' (Participant 9). Other participants stated that there was no one else who had assisted them in being involved in their child's education. While they recognised the Church and their faith as being important, they did not mention or recognise the Church-organised activities as helping their child with their education.

Some of the participants in this study were able to engage the social relationship they had within their faith community to give them guidance and assistance on the role parents should play in their child's education (Goodall & Ghent, 2014). This relationship went further as the Church emphasised the expectations that the community had of those who were at school. The Church also provided a service to educate the participants' children, which they valued. For these participants, their relationship with the Church was as important in assisting them with their child's education as that with the school the students attended.

Another facet of the participants' relationship with their faith was the reestablishment of their social standing within the Church. Many of the participants, like many migrants before them, faced a loss of social status and experienced downward social mobility in their new

country of residence (Eppsteiner & Haggan, 2016). Through their relationship with and roles in the Church, they were able to regain some of their social standing. The awards and educational attainments of their children, which were recognised by the greater Church community, further enhanced their social status within the community.

The participants' feelings of complexity regarding their social status and identity could be due to a lack of recognition of previous qualifications and/or lack of understanding of the language. Due to this, the participants, as migrants, may feel that they have lost the status and power that they may have enjoyed in their country of origin (Min, 1992). The Church can provide an avenue for increased self-worth and identity as individuals fulfil lay roles within the Church (Eppsteiner & Haggan, 2016). This, in turn, can impact on their involvement in their child's education, as they increase the expectations that they have of their children based on their social environment, their social standing, and their own self-esteem.

Valuing individuals' positions within the Church is one area that can build individuals' self-esteem and social standing within the community. During the course of the interviews, it was explained to me, by one of the interpreters who was also a member of the Chaldean church, that Participants 1 and 2 were subdeacons of the Chaldean Church. This interpreter was emphasising the importance of these two participants to the Church and their community for the benefit of the researcher, who did not know the hierarchical levels of the Church. Within the Chaldean Church there are three levels of deacon – reader, subdeacon and deacon (Catholic Education Office, Melbourne, 2020). Subdeacons are regarded as minor clerics and participate in the liturgical celebrations of the Church. Their role is to read the letters of St Paul. These roles are prestigious within the church and are respected by the community. This role can provide dignity and respect for the individual (Eppsteiner & Haggan, 2016), which, in turn, can lead to lower rates of depression and greater indicators of life satisfaction (Min, 1992). Through their faith, the individual's sense of identity and social organisation can be maintained and enhanced (Danis, 2006). This sense of who these individuals are and the respect that they have in the community can then be passed onto their children through the roles that the children have at Church and by attending Church. This, in turn, may influence parental involvement and expectations of their child.

Participants also emphasised the role that their children were undertaking by becoming part of the liturgical life of the Church:

> [T]hey are in the progress of becoming liturgical – getting a liturgical role in the Church as well, not only attendance— passive attendance, but actively attending. (Participant 1)

> Z is specifically more involved in church life, he likes to be an altar boy and things like that. (Participant 8)

Both these comments may have been unintentionally informing the researcher of the individual importance of each participant within the Church and that there was more to the individuals and their families than just being refugees. These roles are similar to those within Fuzhounese religious communities, whose congregation in America consists of migrants from China and their descendants. Guest (2003), in his study of the Fuzhounese community in America, finds that the hierarchical positions within the Church reflected the hierarchy within the society they had left, and enabled individuals to regain the dignity and respect they had lost within mainstream American society – a similar situation to that of some of the participants in this study.

Parents can also gain self-worth and identity through their children's achievements, which can be recognised and validated through their social connections, and which bring honour to the family. The notion of honour is based around the maintaining of a good reputation (Mosquera, Manstead & Fischer, 2002) and is often based on the judgements made by external people regarding the behaviour exhibited or action completed, rather than how the individual perceives the behaviour or action (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000). These judgements usually come from other people within the culture and, by extension, within the Church group the participants attend. The family's honour becomes part of the identity of the family, with the honour of the group outweighing the individual (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000). Through recognition from their social relationships, individuals value the importance of their children's education and achievements. This then informs them as to ways to be involved with their children as they discuss with or imply to their children the importance of awards.

Awards achieved at school can be an important marker of a family's standing within the community (Nydell, 2006). An individual's achievement reflects the honour and the social standing of the family (Nydell, 2006). As one participant reported their child had said: 'I know you want everyone, especially Iraqi people, they want their child to be graduated from Uni' (Participant 3).

One participant, when asked about the children that had attended the college, stated 'T was School Captain' (Participant 3), stressing the importance of this role within their family. Another introduced one of their children by saying: 'And he have an award at award night a few days ago. He good with PC, really quite smart' (Participant 7). Interestingly, the interpreter who was interpreting at the time and a member of the Chaldean community commented 'Yeah that was really good', showing the value of such awards to the community

Other participants also expressed the importance of achieving such awards to the family: 'Last year he got academic award, I think for all the subjects, and got another award for, I think sport… Yeah, because they show, it's like a certificate that my son is good in academic or in

any kind of sport' (Participant 2). Another participant spoke about how he encouraged his other children to achieve an award when one of his children received one:

> [W]hen one of his children got an award here at the college last week or before, when they had the college assembly, he encouraged the other one – or said, 'Why you are not like your brother? What you are missing? You're having the same food, the same house, we are all like the same thing. So you should be doing similar, or if not better', he encouraged him to achieve and start achieving and showing that through – even by recognition from the school. (Participant 1)

The importance of the awards was also implied in the following comment, even though the student had not received an award: 'Not even won award. She did fantastic in Maths, she improved but she never get any award' (Participant 3). One participant went further and stated how the score that the child receives in their exams or assessment pieces reflected on the family: 'I told you, that shows how much effort they done. Because if they get like 90% that mean he's done effort' (Participant 2). To a further question, the participant answered that this then reflects on the family.

Comparison between families also occurred whereby children were told of other children's scores: 'I say, look my friend's son, he's got like 99 at X school or 98' (Participant 2). These scores, the participant stated, were important to the parents, as the scores and the award were confirmation that the parents had a student who was studying hard. This is similar to the findings in Jamel Al-Deen's (2019) study, that mothers within the study valued their child's attainments and regarded them as an indicator of their children's career prospects and a reflection on the family honour.

Further education that their children undertook was also an indicator of a family's honour. Often, parents' frustrations at their own diminished class status can lead to an increased dependence on the value that the community places on their child's overall education (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019). Due to these societal values, parents then inform and discuss with their children the expectations they have of them. Often, people from the Chaldean culture, arriving as refugees, have been educated to a high standard (Sengstock, 2019), with the level of education of a person determining a family's reputation and how the family's honour is judged (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019). Those who have an education are respected and valued within the community (Nydell, 2006). As one participant stated, 'education very important. Because you are, we said like education is a weapon with us. Not to fight, but to discuss with anybody' (Participant 2).

Of those people who were interviewed for this study, four of the nine had degrees from a university in Iraq and one was working in a successful family business (See Table 2). Some participants, in discussing their past, identified the level of their education and that of their

partners and families: 'I did degree, my wife did degree… she has career in chemist' (Participant 2) and 'She [the participant] got diploma in Iraq. In computer analysis department' (Participant 6).

Another discussed the degree their sister was completing in Australia and what degree the participant would like to achieve – identifying how the family is educated: 'She's actually [my sister] doing Master degree now here in Australia' (Participant 1). This participant went further and discussed how they would like to study a 'course of business management' (Participant 1). Yet another stated the further study the extended family had achieved: 'I did graduate from Iraq 1993, yes as electrical engineer… Dad is an Engineer as well and he graduate from RMIT as well' (Participant 3). This participant went on to describe the careers of their family:

> My mum she always encourage [study], because my Dad was a Doctor… She always make us to study. That's why we all graduated, like me and my sisters. My other sister is a vet. (Participant 3)

This participant also discussed the degree her daughter was hopefully going to do in the medical field: 'She's set for GAMSAT [Graduate Medical School Admissions Test], so hopefully she'll get in dermatologist' (Participant 3).

Each participant in this study was directly asked what level of education they would like their child to attain. The majority of participants aspired for their children to attain a degree from a university. One person specified the type of degree, while others commented that any degree from a university would be acceptable. The following sample of quotes represents comments made:

> I will be happy for any higher level that she could achieve, whatever it is. University, beyond university. (Participant 7)

> She always— she knows that's it. She should have a degree and she likes it. I'm sure she's going to get a degree, that one. (Participant 3)

> I want him to finish and to go to uni… But he don't know what he to do. I tell him first think what you want to do, and he said mechanic. I say whatever you want, just do study and do whatever you want. You finish Year 12 and go to uni, and you have a good career. (Participant 5)

> I always encourage him to have a degree, minimum like bachelor degree. Minimum bachelor degree. (Participant 2)

> Up to me, I'd want her to go to university better, but she don't want to go to university when she get TAFE, she can do that as well… I want her to be something. (Participant 9)

> He's happy for them to finish not only high school, but even university. So for him, a degree from university would be my expectation as father… I'm happy for them even to go further and be Professors.' (Participant 1)

> I wish they can finish university and get a degree that gives them a decent job. (Participant 6)

> I would be proud with anything they achieve which is good for their future. But as you know, as parents we would be more proud if our child has achieved a good university, a good course, to become a lawyer, doctor, engineer. (Participant 8)

Another expressed that even though their child was a good soccer player with aspirations to play at a high level, they told him to go to university first and then pursue soccer: 'He want soccer, but I tell him finish uni, then do soccer' (Participant 5). In discussing another child in the family, Participant 3 stated: 'You have to do it for me. That's it. I educated you for 12 years, you have to do this, three years as well.' This participant stated that they needed 'a Uni degree and then they do whatever' (Participant 3).

As can be seen from the above comments, attaining a university degree was regarded as very important. This was similar to Cun's study (2019), in which Burmese parents also had high expectations for their children's education.

Another marker of a successful family is the career path that the children are on. One participant continually referred to a 'good' job that their child could do when discussing another child in the family who had graduated from the college. They repeatedly stated that the child could do what they liked, but mentioned doctor or lawyer as a profession that they potentially may be able to do. 'I've given her brother the same thing, he doesn't know what he wants to do. He wants to be a lawyer, doctor, whatever' (Participant 9). They then stated that the child was in his second year as an apprentice carpenter but was investigating whether to go to university: 'Whatever he is thinking, if he's going to start working now or if he's going to go to university and work to be a doctor or lawyer whatever' (Participant 9).

This emphasis on being a doctor or lawyer shows the importance this participant placed on these jobs, above the one that the child was already in. Similar career aspirations were spoken about in Jamal Al-Deen's study (2019), whereby a 'good' job would mean that you would gain respect from your community. Cun (2019) also reports participants referencing 'good' jobs that were 'highly valued' as an aspiration they had for their children.

Often, due to lack of self-identity and loss of social standing within the wider community, parents who have arrived as refugees can see education as a way to move people through society's social standings (Nydell, 2006) and as a route out of poverty to a better life (Koo, 2012). Often, too, people who arrive in another country as migrants are relegated to lower-paid jobs and jobs that are not regarded as socially influential (van Meeteren, 2014). Through the attainment of education, parents can aim for their child to have a future that will be upwardly mobile and better than the life they are leading (Raleigh & Kao, 2010). Their relationships with others in their community, which includes their faith community, assist them in defining what these jobs and social standings are.

Participants were able to be involved in their children's education through placing high expectations on them for their education. There was also an expectation within the wider faith community that students should attain good marks and enter prestigious jobs. Discussions around attaining awards, entrance to university and being successful in well-regarded jobs can form the origin of their children's educational pathway. These conversations around the expectations participants had of their children ensured that the child understood what their role was within the family – namely, to do well in education. Parents who have well-educated children are judged to have good parenting skills (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019). Thus, the attainment of awards, good marks or a respected career will form the reputation of a child within the family and, ultimately, of the family itself (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019). These values were reinforced within the Church community, as the priest discussed the importance of education with the congregation, reinforcing acceptable behaviours at school and reiterating notices from the local school communities. These participants' relationship within their faith community provided them with the clarity they required to inform their children of the expectations that they had for them, which, in turn, engaged them with their child's education.

5.4 Family members

For some of the participants within this study, immediate family members were also a source of social relationships. Family members either assisted and informed the participants as to how they should be involved in their child's education or were directly involved in assisting the child when the participants felt that they could not.

One participant stated that a relative who had arrived in Australia at an earlier date was of great assistance to them:

> Yeah, first to start with, it was his brother who had been here earlier than him. And he gave him lots of instructions, lots of guidance of how to get involved and be part of the school life. (Participant 1)

Another participant stated that their older children would attend parent teacher meetings or information nights, as the older children believed that they knew the teacher and, by implication, the school system: 'Yeah, B or C, they coming all the time. I ask them, you stay or I go, they say, no they should go because they know the teacher' (Participant 5). Another asked their children to come with them to meetings to inform them of what was happening: 'she might try a different like bringing, asking the children to come to the information night so they can at least pass few words so she knows what's happening' (Participant 6). Other participants spoke of how their immediate family, who had been educated in Australia, would help their children if need be or would take them to friend's houses to assist them with their study:

> So probably her brother help her or I've got my sister, young one, she can help her out… Well, she wasn't born here. She was here when she was 40 days anyway so she's in Australia. (Participant 9)

> She went to my cousin's house, she got friends in same class, they help each other. (Participant 4)

> He have his friends at different school, they sit together and do their work. (Participant 5)

> She says mum can we go to Q's house for example, to study. Of course, I'll take her. (Participant 3)

> Sometimes, like for the little one A, if he needs help I ask my daughter D or E or F to help him. (Participant 2)

> His sister mainly is the one who follows up with children, and she can actually teach them sometimes when they are struggling with a certain topic, because she— her English is good, and she finished a certain level of education. (Participant 1)

The finding that family members were used to assist the children in their education is similar to Moguérou and Santelli's study of immigrant parents in France (2015). In that study, older siblings were found to engage in helping their younger siblings with their homework. Their help would also involve motivating their younger siblings to do better within their education, being role models and monitoring their marks. In Fibbi and Truong's study (2015) of parental involvement in Kosovar families in Switzerland, it was also found that both internal and external family resources were utilised when necessary to assist the child in their education. Through the relationships the participants in the recent study had with their extended family members and friends of their children, they were able to engage individuals to assist them when they felt that they were unable to do so themselves.

5.5 Barriers

No matter the social relationships the participants were able to draw upon, these were often not enough to overcome the barriers they faced. Through the interviews, participants identified a number of barriers that made it difficult for them to be involved with their child's education or even prevented them doing so.

Schools can often have a cultural bias towards the dominant social group through the curriculum that is taught and the expectations that are placed on the parents (Brown & Brown, 2015; Erdreich & Golden, 2017). Through the inclusion or exclusion of topics and activities within the curriculum, the perpetuation of power and dominance of a majority culture is continued (Mansouri & Jenkins, 2010). Individually, the knowledge that is brought to the school by a CALD group is often not valued, as it does not fit the accepted way of 'doing' school or being involved in school (Erdreich & Golden, 2017; Naidoo, 2016). Parents' knowledge is then

shaped to fit in with the local philosophy through the models of good parenting to which schools believe parents should adhere (Erdreich & Golden, 2017). These models are often based on white middle-class values and ignore the diversity and difference within a school, often placing students from CALD backgrounds at a disadvantage (Brown & Brown, 2015; Yu, 2018). Due to this, schools often have a one-size-fits-all approach that masks the needs of the CALD parent, the role they already play and the constraints that may impede their involvement in their child's education (Crozier, 2010). This bias can be a factor as to why parental involvement within their child's education is not recognised nor valued by the school.

Students from CALD backgrounds can also be regarded by teachers and administrators of schools as challenging the resources of the school, slowing others' learning or preventing the school from meeting the standards set by external authorities (Arzubiaga, Nogueron & Sullivan, 2009). Often, they are scapegoated and are seen as outsiders to the society (Arzubiaga et al., 2009). Due to their beliefs about given cultures, teachers may have preconceived ideas about students from a particular background and the role that their parents play in their education. This can be based on past experiences (Oller et al., 2012), societal bias towards a given culture (Kenny, Mansour & Spratt, 2005) or a covert bias against parents based on teachers' negative views of a given cultural group and a belief that they, as teachers, are superior to the parents (Verberk, Scheepers & Felling, 2002). This bias can manifest itself in several ways, including the teacher forming opinions about parents' ability to work in partnership with teachers to assist students in their education (Schofield et al., 2006). As well as this, teachers' preconceptions of parents based on the parents' culture can lead teachers to be paternalistic in providing parents with information on what the teacher believes the parent needs to assist their child, without allowing the parent the freedom of choice (Verberk et al., 2002).

Information about bias and racism experienced by the participants was elicited when participants were asked questions about the role of the college. Other information came at the end of the interview, when participants were asked if they had anything else they would like to say. The participants within this study came from a cultural background that was Arabic-speaking. Although not Muslims, coming from Iraq they are often assumed to be Muslim. The participants often faced attitudes within the wider community that stigmatised and marginalised them (Kenny et al., 2005). Participants stated that generally in society they were not treated well: 'They [society in general] feel like people when they don't come from English background, they know nothing' (Participant 2). Another participant spoke of how the Iraqi people are smart but do not have the opportunities to do things: 'I'm not saying the Iraqi people they're dumb, but they are very smart people, educated people too, but they don't have that opportunity to do things' (Participant 9), implying that society does not recognise their abilities.

This marginalisation was felt by the respondents, not just within society in general, but also within the school environment. Participants stated that they felt that they were being degraded by teachers: 'Most of the teachers— a lot of them, but most of them think we are— because we came from third-world country, they start— that's what I experience, like I experienced. They start to degrade us' (Participant 3). Another participant felt that they were not asked to be involved in the decision-making process for their children's education: 'The parent teacher interviews are not enough, and he wants to be more – getting more involved by being asked his opinion about things that they are vital to his children' (Participant 1).

This finding is similar to those studies conducted by Fazily (2012) and Tadesse (2014). In Fazily's study, on the perception of teacher and refugee parents regarding refugee children's education in a large upstate New York school district, she finds that many of the refugee parents were discriminated against and looked down upon by teachers due to their ethnicity. Tadesse (2014), in their study of four African mothers and three Head Start teachers in America, similarly finds that the participants mentioned stereotyping of their children and themselves by teachers, based on teachers' preconceptions of the educational levels of parents from that culture.

Participants also stated that they felt a bias against them when they attended parent–teacher interviews. Parent–teacher evenings can be seen as an occasion for teachers to tell parents about the student, rather than having a discussion with the parents about their child (Walker, 1998). The evenings are set for a one-way flow of information, with little input or questioning to reflect parents' points of view (Goodall & Montgomery, 2014). Although not directly criticising the teachers or the information received at parent–teacher interviews, one participant wished for a less formal type of meeting, where they could be involved in a decision-making discussion on what was best for their child. They also wished parent–teacher interviews occurred at shorter intervals: 'He thinks that the system of contact with parent/teacher interviews, should be changed and be smaller amount of time' (Participant 1). Through having more frequent interviews, the participant felt that there would be more 'cooperation between family and the school. It's not one side work only' (Participant 1).

Other issues with regards to parent–teacher interviews were the timing of the interviews and that information from the school was not frequent or detailed enough. Participants wished to be better informed as to what their child was doing in class and did not want to hear about it after the event:

> So for example, if a student who doesn't do his homework to call our parents. Your son hasn't done homework. They don't wait to the meeting, the parent teacher meeting to say, after like 2 months or 3 months. That's period of time very important. But if they tell the parents straight away by calling

> them or send them an email or other way, that's going to be more beneficial for students. Call straight away, not to wait to the parents after 6 months or first semester or second semester, by that time the year gone, already gone, and without… But if they're straight away, if you call me, Y is doing this, this, I can come straight over to the school. We do our best to solve the issue. (Participant 2)

> More constant feedback, preferably on day-to-day basis… more feedback on regular basis. (Participant 4)

When parents are not listened to by teachers and school administrators, their needs are not met and neither are they given the knowledge to be able to assist their children within an education system that can be foreign to them. Their knowledge and experiences are not valued, which can be attributed to underlying racism and prejudice towards the cultural community (Walker, Shafer & Liams, 2004). As one participant stated, 'they have to look at us like we are human being, and we know a lot' (Participant 3).

Teacher discussions with parents can also show racism and bias due to their views on the cultural background of the parents. This can be in the form of (usually brief) microaggressions (Carter et al., 2017). These microaggressions may be a demeaning message or subtle reminder about stereotypes through gestures, tones, indifferent looks or words that could be paternalistic or patronising (Carter et al., 2017). As one participant stated:

> I was educated, I know what education is. I value the education… Because you don't think, you were born in Australia, you understand more than us. We do understand. We do study. We do read. Maybe I read more than you but why would you putting us— don't put us down. (Participant 3)

This participant believed that teachers were of the belief that the Chaldean parents were often uneducated and held negative views of their ability to understand the education system or education in general. Of the nine people interviewed, four had been to university and one owned their own business (See Table 2). Of the others, all but one had left formal education either directly post-secondary school or during their secondary school years. The final participant had left at the age of 12 after primary school. This provided a great deal of diversity with regards to the educational experiences of the participants.

Educational institutes, although espousing anti-discrimination views and programme development, have often preserved the value of the majority culture by undervaluing the cultures of others (Brown & Brown, 2015; Seriki, Brown & Fasching-Varner, 2015). Teachers, being part of the society, tend to reflect the norms and values of the larger society and the educational institution they work in (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002). If society does not embrace students from CALD backgrounds then it is likely that the teachers will also not embrace them, leading to a deficit view of the student's ability (Walker et al., 2004). Teachers can often have higher expectations of students from a dominant background than of those from other cultures

(Kozlowski, 2016; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Their values are often embraced over those of the students from a CALD background (Carter et al., 2017), with teachers' microaggressions towards students unconsciously delivering a subtle reminder about racial stereotypes (Carter et al., 2017; Sue, 2010).

Within Australia, Arab Muslims have been marginalised within society, as they are cast as 'the other' (Mansouri & Trembath, 2005). When teachers regard a social group as 'the other', dehumanisation and social marginalisation can occur (Carter et al., 2017). Staff in schools with students from an Arabic culture can have preconceived views and adopt a deficit attitude in their expectations of these students. This can impede the student's educational progress (Mansouri & Trembath, 2005; Walker et al., 2004). As stated earlier, although not Muslim, the participants within this study have come from an Arabic-speaking background and often face marginalisation within society. As one participant stated, 'and even with a new arrival they give them sometimes very hard time' (Participant 3).

One participant spoke of how teachers did not raise the bar high enough for their students, potentially showing an unconscious bias towards the child. They believed that this occurred not only in teachers' expectations of the child's educational ability but also in expectations of students' behaviour: 'Not only education, attitude, behaviour, everything' (Participant 3). This participant spoke of how in one class a student can behave and complete work to a high standard, yet in another class the student has a behavioural issue and is completing work at a low level:

> You will find the child, if he's in this grade… You will find him very naughty, doesn't listen, doesn't want to come to school. While if he goes to other… this child will blossom. (Participant 3)

The participant believed that the child misbehaved because the teacher had a deficit attitude towards the student, due to the student's cultural background.

Another participant equated this to the teachers viewing their students as customers. They believed that the teacher did not demand anything from them as they were looking after them as they would a customer in a shop:

> I feel like some teachers they deal with the students as a customer. To just… Like you would deal, like you have a shop and you've got customers, you deal with them. You look after them but not very strict with them. (Participant 2)

Yet another participant stated that schools were passing students not because they were competent but because the parents paid school fees to the school:

> When their report comes, not 100%, 60, 70, 80 they pass which is I don't know, no one fail anyone at school… I think because you get payment for them. So my daughter can fail but you fail (Participant 9).

Participants within this study believed that there was cultural bias against their children and themselves among the wider society, the school and staff. This could have a negative effect on parental involvement, as parents do not feel valued or come to believe that they do not have a role in their child's education. Understanding education from the parents' point of view and the cultural knowledge that the parents bring to the education of their children would thus lead to improved partnerships between parents and teachers (Naidoo, 2016). As Walker-Dalhouse and Dalhouse (2009) state in their paper on reading achievement and academic challenges of Sudanese children in the USA, teachers need to have a commitment to valuing and understanding the culture of their students. Additionally, they argue there needs to be support from both teachers and parents for refugee children to achieve academic proficiency. Participants felt that there was no way to redress these and that, unfortunately, within the relationship that they had with the wider community they did not have avenues for redress.

5.6 Discussion

Although the participants were able to construct their understanding of their role in their child's education (see Chapter 4), they also were very aware of and forthcoming as to what they believed prevented them becoming more involved in their children's education. Participants discussed the interactions within their social relationships that helped them to improve the knowledge, skills, and information they needed to be engaged with their child's education (Moll, 2014). For these participants, this included using the school that their children attended, engaging with their Church and the wider faith community and using family members to assist their children and their family.

Participants acknowledged that at times they were unable to assist their child due to their limited understanding of the dominant society within the school. Participants saw the relationship with the school as an avenue for teaching their children about the social norms of their new society. Through the discussions, participants were very aware that the societal norms that they had arrived with from Iraq were different to those of the Australian society they and their children were now a part of. They believed that the school, in partnership with them, was paramount in teaching their children the values and way of being of the new society. Individuals also identified that their understanding of the school curriculum was limited and that they had difficulty in understanding the content of the subjects their children were being taught, even though they had studied similar subjects themselves in Iraq. As a result of not understanding the concepts or methods taught within the subject area, parents felt that they did not have the knowledge or skills to assist their children in that area and relied on the school to assist their

children with academic progress. Through this relationship with the school, participants identified that their children became the people that they were.

The Church also provided a social relationship that informed the participants about how to be involved in their child's education. It became a bridge between the society the participants had come from and the one they were now living in. This was achieved through the priest informing the congregation of the rules of and acceptable behaviours within the new society. The relationship the participants had with their Church enabled the Church to educate not only their children but also the participants themselves. This education comprised not only providing academic assistance but also education on how to live one's life.

The wider Chaldean community, within the Church, was also an important social relationship the participants used to assist them in their involvement in their children's education. As a collective culture, the importance of honour and standing within the community is important to many Chaldean people. Often, the individual's self-worth was based on the position they held within their faith community at the Chaldean Church. Their self-worth was predicated on not only how their community saw them but also how they valued their children's attainments. The honour of the family was also established through the acknowledgment within the Chaldean community of the achievements of the children. Many of the participants in this study were either studying or working in what were regarded as prestigious jobs, or owned their own businesses, in Iraq. Upon arrival in Australia their qualifications were not recognised, and participants had to either requalify in their previous area or work in a different area. This could diminish the individual's and the family's reputation. Participants spoke of how the family's good reputation and status within the community were influenced by the child's grades and awards at school. They often discussed with their children the importance of good grades and of going to university to obtain a degree in a prestigious job, thus ensuring that the child was aware of the expectation of them. These values were also reinforced at Church services, as priests and Church notices reiterated the importance of a good education. The relationship that individuals had through the Chaldean community and Church reinforced to the participants that their social standing within the community was aided by their children's achievements. This then informed their expectations and the discussions they would have with their children on education.

Other family members comprised another social relationship that was used by the participants to assist them in becoming involved in their children's education. Through their family members, individuals were able to engage others to assist them in understanding their children's new education system. These relationships enabled the participants to benefit from the knowledge family members had acquired through their own engagement over time in the

education system and in the wider society. Their mistakes and lessons learned were passed on as new knowledge to the participants' families. Drawing upon family members who had experience of the education system in Australia enabled families to understand that system and obtain guidance and help in attaining goals (Moguérou & Santelli, 2015).

Participants also identified barriers based on other people's perceptions of their culture, which their social relationships could not combat. These included teachers exhibiting racism towards them and the way in which staff teaching their children would often use a deficit model of education. Participants felt that as they were from a country regarded as third world, staff would often degrade and speak down to them and that they were often left out of the conversation with regard what was best for their child, with their opinion not valued. Parents saw this as a lack of care and interest in the child's performance by the school and the teacher.

Additionally, participants believed that teachers would often use a model of education that either passed the student's work without the student actually achieving the acceptable level or accept what the student could do without challenging them to do better. Participants discussed how raising the bar for students from the Chaldean culture was not only necessary for the child's academic education but also in relation to expectations of children's behaviour within the classroom and their attitude to school. They believed that children from their culture were allowed to misbehave based on a preconceived idea of the culture and through not having high expectations of the children. Participants unfortunately felt they had little control over this, yet it impacted their ability to assist their children in their education. For when teachers do not listen and respect the parents' point of view, or when parents are treated as minor participants in their child's education, students may not value their parents' input or ask their parents for assistance. Likewise, if parents are demanding a higher level of attainment from students than is reflected in the educational setting, students may not wish to engage their parents in conversations around their education. This may then negate any assistance that parents are willing to give, as students may be unwilling to accept assistance or ask for it.

Social relationships were important to the participants when individuals needed to develop knowledge and skills to enhance their understanding of involvement in their child's education or to gain assistance with their child's education when they felt that they could not provide it. Unfortunately for the participants, there were barriers they felt prevented them becoming involved in their children's education. But, as stated in Chapter 4, the participants' overarching belief that their role was to be involved in their child's education overrode any barrier that they faced, and they were able to engage their social relationships to assist them in achieving this. Through their social relationships they were able to construct how they were to be involved in their child's education.

5.7 Conclusion

Moll et al. (1992), in their paper on using the Funds of Knowledge to connect homes and classrooms using a qualitative approach, identify two areas in which parents used their Funds of Knowledge. One was the knowledge of their social relationships, which assisted parents in understanding how to be involved in their child's education. The other was the parents' knowledge that has been gained through their lived experiences. This chapter has sought to discuss how participants utilised their social relationships to assist them in developing the knowledge and skills required to involve themselves in their child's education. As one participant stated: 'It takes a village to raise a child' (Participant 3). Through the use of their village – their social relationships – participants were able to find ways to assist their children's education when they believed they did not have the knowledge or skills required. These social relationships included the school, the parent's faith community and family members who had more knowledge or understanding of the school system or English language. All these assisted each of the participants to have a deeper understanding of their role in their involvement in their child's education.

The other area that was identified from the analysis using the Funds of Knowledge theory was how parents used their own knowledge to assist them in becoming involved in their child's education. Chapter 6 will discuss how parents use their own experiences of education, the dynamics within the family, the participants understanding of how to be successful in education and their influence of their faith to construct their involvement within their child's education.

Chapter 6: Knowledge gained through lived experiences

6.1 Introduction

While the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (RHDS) model is a predictor of how parents become involved with their child's education (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005), it does not acknowledge the differences in knowledge that the parents have that may influence parents' decision to become involved in their children's education (Lee & Bowen, 2006). In analysing the themes from the RHDS model, it was found that some themes used within the model impacted the involvement of the participants in their children's education in a way that was more significant than the model indicated. This included how participants used their relationships with others to assist them when they believed they were unable to do so and participants' past experiences. After analysis of the information, two overarching themes were identified. The first was the use of the participants' social relationships (See Chapter 5). The second overarching theme that emerged from the analysis was that participants used their own knowledge to assist them in becoming involved in their children's education. This included their knowledge of education, how children should function within the family unit, expectations of how education should be provided and the participant's faith. Although participants had this knowledge, it was often based on practices and viewpoints that were dissimilar to those their children were experiencing (Garcia & Guerra, 2005) and was not recognised or noticed by the school.

6.2 Education

One area of which participants had knowledge that assisted them in their involvement in their child' education was the area of schooling. Of the nine participants within this study, all had had various levels of education in Iraq (See Table 2) and had an understanding of what school was like based on their own experiences. This area of past experiences of education is part of the motivational belief of the role construct section within the RHDS model. Further analysis of the participants' responses using a Funds of Knowledge theory indicated that this sub-theme not only impacted the participants' motivations regarding their role in their children's education, but also informed the participants on what they believed the academic level and rigour of education should be.

Of the participants, four expressed that they believed that the Australian education system was not as rigorous or as intensive as the system that they had been educated in:

> It was really good education. Rough and strict. Which is we have, for example, a lot of homeworks, a lot of stuff to do. (Participant 9)

> We have to sit for hours and study and study and study. Study until we pass the exam. If we don't pass it, then you're in big trouble, from the school and from home as well. (Participant 9)

> The curriculum and the content is quite different than the way we used to study in Iraq. It's [in Iraq] more of a monologue, teacher gives you the topic and you do copy from the board and memorise way of learning. (Participant 8)

> The criteria for assessing the children or students are different from here. When we, like my Daddy, how much he got in Maths, he got like 95… so we can have an idea. (Participant 2)

Participants said that students often stated that they had no homework, or that they had completed it at school: 'Most of the time they said we do our homework at school, we finished, so we don't have homework to do' (Participant 2). As discussed in Section 4.2.1.1, supervision of homework was seen by the participants as part of their role. Participants placed structures around their students for homework (see Section 6.4) but these were to no avail if there was no homework to be completed. Two participants stated that the level of homework and study that they saw being completed at home was inadequate and therefore inferior to the education that they had received:

> I would like school, like especially teachers, to be more strict with the students. Especially in terms of homework. (Participant 2)

> Oh to be strict with them, tough with them, let them do more homework… Fill up their brains with some education, not just go there waste your time for six hours, laugh, joke, whatever and come home. (Participant 9)

The importance of homework was also an area reported by Naidoo (2016). As in this study, Naidoo's participants wished for their children to have more homework. Homework was seen as a marker of academic rigour and was a way for their children to progress academically. Homework was also seen as a tangible way they could be involved, as they could supervise completion. As homework was one area parents perceived they were able to be actively involved in, the perceived lack of homework their children were completing at home could potentially constrain the participants from being of assistance to their children. It could also be seen as restricting their children's future educational prospects.

Discipline was another point of difference between the Iraqi and the Australian education systems. Gershoff (2017) reports that 48% of teachers in Iraq use corporal punishment as a form of discipline. This was also described by one of the participants:

> They used to hit us 10, 15 times and they'd wait at times, so we used to cry. You can't cry, because if you cry, we'll hit you more. (Participant 9)

The lack of discipline was a contentious issue among participants, as they believed that Australian schools were not strict enough: 'Or their behaviour in class or in school. More strict' (Participant 2). Having themselves experienced corporal punishment, they believed the Victorian school system should be disciplining their children in ways that were not occurring. Strict discipline could also be seen as a way of ensuring academic rigour. In Naidoo's study (2016), parents were concerned that a lack of discipline could result in poor academic grades and lead to development of a negative attitude to school. This could also be inferred from the following comment, in which a participant, comparing the two education systems, acknowledged that Australian schools were not allowed to use corporal punishment, yet believed this was necessary for the student's safety and should be allowed in schools:

> If you saw my daughter has done something wrong, and you smack her, then you're going to get in trouble. But if I know you've done that for her own safety, I will come and support you. Well done, thank you very much. You've done that for her own safety. (Participant 9)

This gap between the parents' views on punishment and what the law within Australia allows could cause conflict between the parents and the school, as the core values of the two cultures did not align (Liu, 2015). Thus, participants may make demands of schools that they are not able to deliver, causing participants to doubt the value of the education their child is receiving and blame the college for teaching the students disrespectful views. The views expressed by Participant 9 are similar to those reported by McBrien (2011), with parents from Iran believing that the lack of discipline in US schools was problematic as it could lead to their children developing disrespectful habits.

All participants, having been part of an education system, had an understanding of education, but being from a different cultural background, they brought with them a distinct set of expectations that often did not match those of the educational institution (Antony-Newman, 2019). These expectations were based on their own experiences and understandings of education (Antony-Newman, 2019).

6.3 Family dynamics

A further theme that emerged from the participants concerned their knowledge about bringing up their children. Immigrants often have to redefine their understanding of society upon arrival in a new country, based on the values espoused by the new culture they find themselves in. Sometimes family dynamics change, as the child must become the conduit for the family to

understand the new culture. For some migrants there can also be a loss of social networks and cultural identity (Renzaho et al., 2011). Due to this, there can be not only cultural conflict between the parents and the society to which they are acculturating (Beauregard et al., 2014) but also a generational acculturation gap between parents and the children in migrant families (Renzaho et al., 2011).

The Chaldean culture in Iraq operates in a society that values collectivism (see Section 1.5.4) (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000; Renzaho et al., 2011). As a collectivist society, the interests of the family supersede the interests of the individual, and cooperation is valued over independent thought (Rudy & Grusec, 2001). As well as this, parents in Arabic cultures often use an authoritarian parenting style (Dwairy, 2004) whereby the oldest male, often the grandfather, is the head of the house and has ultimate authority within the household (Hadfield, Ostrowski & Ungar, 2017) – 'See I'm 42 and I can't tell my dad now [what to do]' (Participant 9). This style of parenting is often accepted by adolescents who live in an authoritarian society (Dwairy, 2004; Tejel, 2012). In contrast, Australia, as a Western society, is considered a more individualistic society (Hadfield et al., 2017) that values the rights of the individual over the group (Konsky et al., 1999). Often, individualistic societies have a non-authoritative parenting style, with the child encouraged to express their individuality, and are seen as more democratic (Dwairy et al., 2016). This becomes an issue for families when there is discordance between the style of parenting that occurs in the home and the value system of the society the family lives in (Dwairy, 2004; Naidoo, 2007).

Conflict within the home can be exacerbated when parental and adolescent understandings and views of the rights of the adolescent differ. This can occur as the adolescent becomes more aware of their individual rights in a Western culture (Lewig et al., 2010; Renzaho et al., 2011). All the participants in this study had grown up in households in Iraq and during the Gulf Wars. Their knowledge of how to bring up children, and views on the rights their children should have, stemmed from their own experiences of being part of a family and the society in which they were brought up in.

One participant spoke about how they tried to teach their children the right behaviour: 'We can teach them the right ways, which is we're doing as much as we can' (Participant 9). But the participant felt that often parents got the blame when children were influenced by their friends: 'But whatever they teach them at home, with their friends and when they get out it's completely different. Who get the blame at the end? Parents' (Participant 9). They believed that it was not fair to blame parents as they were unable to discipline the child how they wished – 'You didn't give them the right to spank' (Participant 9) – which could then be a factor in children doing the wrong thing.

This participant continued: ‘Freedom will destroy them. Let them learn the right way and when they grow up then they can make their own choices’ (Participant 9). The participant was cautious in blaming the college directly for a shift in values that the adolescents were showing. Through the use of the word ‘you’ – directing the remark to the interviewer, who is an employee at the college the participant’s child attended – the interviewer could infer that the participant believed that what students were being taught and the freedoms afforded to them at the college were detrimental to the children. This view was replicated in Dumbrill’s (2009) study of immigrant parents’ views on child welfare in Canada. Parents in that study discussed how discipline was seen as a way to keep their children safe and that their whole vision of Canada and their belief in their children’s safety was shattered, as they were not able to use their traditional forms of parenting (Dumbrill, 2009).

Further, parents within the Chaldean culture expect to be obeyed and respected (Renzaho et al., 2011; Yaman et al., 2010) and there is often tighter control over what individuals can do and who they can associate with. In an individualistic culture, like Australia, the emphasis from parents is on exploration of the environment, independence and self-reliance, with not as much emphasis on obedience and sociability (Yaman et al., 2010). The participants, having fled a war-torn country, had come to Australia with hopes and dreams for their children (see Section 1.5.2). They instilled in their children a sense of the need for a good education and to respect others, yet they could also see the negative influences within the society they were now living in, which may divert the children from their education. This, the participants believed, could be exacerbated by their children’s friends:

> But whatever they teach them at home, with their friends and when they get out it’s completely different. (Participant 2)

> They are influenced by their peers and that’s more important to them than what we say as parents. (Participant 6)

To assist the participants in negating the influences of others, participants spoke about how they followed up with their children:

> He thinks that following up – it’s very important, because – especially at critical age of high school, where they actually change from children to be young adults, where lots of temptation is around by – being offered other alternatives by friends or by someone who’s getting better results or making some money in a different way. (Participant 1)

> Otherwise, if we just leave them do whatever they want, I don’t know, they like – that’s a worry in Australia. That’s a worry, when we leave them, they will get into the society, and they will just dissolve and that’s what we don’t want. (Participant 3)

Although participants tried to negate the influence of the wider society, participants were still wary as to how friends could influence the individual. Again, this is similar to Dumbrill's findings (2009), as parents believed their children were growing up to learn ways that showed little respect and that could lead the children to have a negative or 'bad' experience in society (Dumbrill 2009). Further to this, Lewig et al. (2010), in their study of challenges parents faced in a new culture, also report that parents stated their frustration with the government and school as they believed that both encouraged young adults to challenge their parents' points of view. As participants feel frustrated with the school system, this could lead to confusion over the participants' role in their child's education and how this role could be played out. Their knowledge of how to parent could be seen as being undermined, which could then cause conflict with their children. This could lead to the children not asking their parents for assistance with their education as the children do not respect the parents' views or opinions.

Participants' knowledge concerning family and the interconnectedness of the extensive family was also important (Georgas et al., 1997). As well as being a collectivist culture, the Chaldean culture is also very social and features visits to relatives on an almost nightly basis: 'Because you're a very social people. We have to visit my mother-in-law every day. Not every day but most of the time. My mum is there, my auntie's there' (Participant 3). These visits are highly regarded, and children are expected to sit and be part of the visit, whether through direct discussion or observation: 'I ask him to stay with them to involve in this. Even if you don't talk, just listen. Just listen. To be part of family' (Participant 2). Through these encounters, children were being educated in the ways of the community and how to behave.

Yet intergenerational conflict could also occur during these social visits, as children were not as involved as participants wished: 'When parents come to my house or my in-laws come out, they just come say hello' (Participant 2). They stated that the children were often away from the parents playing on electronic devices and not being involved in the conversation: 'I feel that most of the time when everyone's sitting in his room, like doing iPad or, you know… It's very dangerous. For family, for social life' (Participant 2).

Another participant commented on the difference between the influence parents in Iraq had to the influence they have in Australia:

> Yeah other times you're home with the parents [in Iraq]. But maybe Iraq was different, we don't have the PlayStations, we don't have the phones, maybe that's why. (Participant 5)

This participant felt that they had little control over the devices that their children used and believed that they were detrimental to the family unit. ICT is an integral part of contemporary society (Carvalho, Francisco & Relvas, 2017), and through the multiple ways ICT devices are being used, family interactions and functioning are changing (Carvalho et al., 2017; Stafford &

Hillyer, 2012). For these participants, the rapid uptake of ICT by adolescents could be seen as a threat to family cohesion, as the devices decrease face-to-face interaction and participatory engagement with family members (Akyil, Bacigalupe & Üstünel, 2017). These participants are not alone in their thoughts on the use of ICT and family dynamics. Research conducted by Carvalho et al. (2017) on ICT usage and family functioning finds that families with adolescents reported that they spent more time in their rooms on ICT and that this impacted the family dynamics.

Participants in this study expressed the knowledge they had around how their children should behave and how educational institutes should support the participants. Often, the participants felt that they had little support from the school, as their children were being afforded rights that were unfamiliar to the participants. Within a collective culture, children are expected to follow the parents' wishes, yet the participants' children, within the educational institute, were being educated in an individualistic culture. This could generate tensions within the family as what was expected of the children was not adhered to. The knowledge that the participants had within this area, although relevant to the household's functioning, may be questioned by the child, leading to disharmony within the family unit.

6.4 Success in education

Another area participants had knowledge of was their understanding of what individuals had to do to become successful in education. These understandings led the participants to hold expectations regarding what their children needed to do to succeed in education. Although Section 5.3 has already discussed expectations, the expectations discussed in that section concerned the career their children should have and the types of marks they wanted them to attain. These expectations were often intertwined with the participant's own identity and their social standing within the community. The expectations that the participants had around success in education related to their knowledge of what was required to be successful in education and how their children should behave towards educators, as discussed below.

As noted previously (see Table 2), all the participants had had an education at least up to the age of 12. Through their educational experiences they had acquired knowledge of the importance of education and what was required by an individual to be educated. This included the level of study required, the mindset required of the person and the effort that was needed. This could then influence the level of involvement that the participants had within their children's education, as they would have expectations of what their children were doing based on their own educational background. As one participant emphasised about the Chaldean people, 'we believe in education' (Participant 3).

Other participants discussed how they used their knowledge of study as well as their disappointment at not attaining a higher education to assist them in being involved in their child's education:

> I used to do more [involvement] when I was in Iraq because the language obviously was helping me and my study background. (Participant 6)

> He's actually regretting that he actually missed education himself, because of war – situation in Iraq, and he had to work at a very young age and continue working. So he stopped school because he needed to make some money for family. (Participant 1)

Participants used their personal knowledge of what good education looked like to create a routine for students at home. These routines became part of the social processes of the family and were passed onto the children as the accepted way of doing things. These routines centred around the importance of completing homework and having a good study habit.

> I ask them about their homework for tonight, what you have to do? What you have due tomorrow? They give him an idea about what subjects they have to be completing homework for, and he makes sure when they get some dinner and get some rest, first thing to do after that, is not to touch any game playing or any entertainment, unless they're actually on their books, doing some work. (Participant 1)

> It was the consistency of making them study and there was time for everything. Like I still remember six o'clock evening I have to make them all sit and there was a routine at home. (Participant 3)

> From primary school he knows, do homework, then he can watch [TV]. And this time, same. He do homework, then play PlayStation or soccer or go out with the friends, playing soccer out front door. (Participant 5)

> At home I encourage my children when they come from school, straight away to do their homework. (Participant 2)

Routine was not the only form of assistance that the participants understood as being important. Participants also discussed the importance of the discussions that they had with their children. These included the close monitoring of their children through discussions around their academic results:

> So he follows them closely, and he wants to see and compare even their results from time to time, and how they are progressing, by comparing like first term report to with the second. (Participant 1)

Or discussing the effort that the student had exerted to be ready for an assessment:

> [Her daughter] was preparing for [the exam] and she was worried and mum said, 'You have to get ready, just do your best, don't get overwhelmed'. And apparently F was not happy from the exam because she said, 'Mum, I did not have enough time to do it', so mum thinks that in the conversation and saying, 'Maybe you didn't prepare enough, maybe you should have asked help from teachers. Either before the exam to get you to understand things or even during the exams if it is possible to finish what is left in some other time.' (Participant 7)

Other discussions included talking about the events of the school day and the homework that was to be completed:

> I would follow them up like, 'Ok, what was your— what did you talk about today? What's your homework?' (Participant 3)

> They all like to sit on the dining table and she says the books are everywhere, you can't place more plates… she can watch them thoroughly. (Participant 6)

When further questioned this participant also stated that they questioned their children on the work that they were doing.

> He follows up with him, why he's not sleeping, and he shows us that I still have this bit to finish, then I'll be in bed. (Participant 7)

Participants also spoke about how they set goals for their children to achieve:

> Based on the achievement and the performance that his children are asked to do in school, by giving them some goals: if you achieve this, we are going to give you this thing as an award. (Participant 8)

> [H]e tries to set them some goals as much as he can. (Participant 1)

These interactions and discussions would not be seen by schools as parental involvement as they occur at home, away from the knowledge teachers have of parental involvement. Yet parents believed that these interactions had a positive influence on their children's education. In answering a question on whether these events had a positive influence on their children's education, participants answered:

> She thinks it's definitely impacting positively on their education, that conversation. (Participant 7)

> Of course. (Participant 3)

> Yeah. (Participant 1)

> So she thinks her involvement is crucial to make them perform better. (Participant 4)

> I think yeah. (Participant 5)

> Of course. Yeah, of course. (Participant 2)

Participants also spoke of how it was important to have respect for teachers within the school environment. They used their knowledge of how the respect they had for teachers during their own education should be applied by their children to their teachers. They stated that they spoke to their children about this:

> Family values to respect parents, to respect friends, respect teachers, to respect, that's main. (Participant 2)

> How to be respectful towards teachers, and to treat them as they treat their parents, because there's no greater power beyond parents on the child, apart from teacher. (Participant 7)

Participants used the knowledge they had obtained from their own schooling and practices within their own education journey to inform them as to how to be involved in their child's education. These results are similar to those of a study by Auerbach (2007) of working-class families of colour and their role in their child's education. Although they had differing levels of involvement in their child's education, the participants in Auerbach's study all used their knowledge of values to teach their children respect and instil in them the importance of study. They used their own experience of education as a cautionary tale to motivate their children. Similarly, the participants of this study also used their knowledge of their own experiences of the importance of study and respect to be involved with their children's education.

6.5 Faith

The Chaldean people are a faith-filled community. Their knowledge of their faith and how that assisted them in being involved in their child's education was discussed with the researcher by the participants. Upon fleeing Iraq, due to persecution, war and violence, the Chaldean religion provided individuals with strength, stability, coping strategies and support as they moved from their original country of residence to their new country of settlement (Eppsteiner & Hagan, 2016). Often the priest and the Church became the centre of this support for the new migrant (Sengstock, 1982; Shoeb et al., 2007) and a place where they celebrated their ethnicity (see Section 1.5.4). The Chaldean Church in Melbourne has two parishes, both in the northern suburbs of Melbourne, in close proximity to each other. Before 2005, when the first church, Our Lady Guardian of Plants, was opened, the Chaldean people first celebrated Mass in Coburg and then moved to a number of different locations before settling at the present site, which was partially funded by donations from the parishioners (The Age, 29 March 2005). As increasing numbers of Chaldean people arrived in the area after 2005 (see Section 1.5.4), a second church – St George church and parish – was established in 2019. For this analysis project, people from the St George parish were asked to participate, as this parish has closer ties to the college.

In a response to a general question about what was important to the individual, participants stated that their faith was important. Their knowledge of their faith, which is seen in their practice of it and their belief in it, assists them in understanding how they should live their life, and this was passed onto their children:

> My one, family value first, Faith the catholic. (Participant 2)

> Through what they learn from the Gospels, he thinks that this is the way that they have to conduct themselves through the teaching of Jesus in their lives. (Participant 1)

> You just follow Jesus, that's it. (Participant 5)

Their faith was reinforced through celebrations at Church. One participant described how family members were expected to sacrifice work and other activities to attend services – especially for significant events like sacraments. Another emphasised the importance of attending Mass on a regular basis:

> For any event we have to go all together. We can't leave someone at home. It was Communion and all my kid's cousins, not all of them but five of them get Communion. J have to leave her work; she doesn't work that day. We said, 'No, no working.' K worked only for three hours and he came back. L we took the— L attend the Church. (Participant 3)

> Yeah, they come to church every Sunday. 6 o'clock. (Participant 2)

> Happy that my children are liking going to church as well. (Participant 8)

The faith community, through the observance and attendance at Church, provides a context in which the migrant can have their understanding of their beliefs reinforced and where the next generation can be educated in their beliefs and values through the interactions the Church has with the families. Church services can be seen as one of the few occasions migrants can feel at home and a time when people can connect with those from their culture (Nona, 2017; Williams, 1998). For those arriving in a new country that may have values and social mores differing from that of the migrant, the Church can be seen as a place of sanctuary, where the individual's identity is understood and where common customs and values are expressed (Eppsteiner & Haggan, 2016; Kurien, 1998). When attending Church, families hear discussions around the Gospels and Jesus's teachings. Children are then immersed in this discussion and are taught the values that the adults may hold. The priest, who is regarded as the centre of the religion and one who upholds the values and attitudes held by the religion and maintains communal bonds, reinforces these through their sermons (Danis, 2006). Min (1992), in a study on the role of Korean immigrant churches in the United States, finds that the Church provided a means to support cultural traditions as well as to teach traditional values. That study reports that not only did the Church assist in the retention of culture and language but that pastors would often emphasise Korean values in their sermons (Min, 1992). During the two visits to discuss and recruit participants to this study, the researcher attended the Chaldean Sunday Mass. Here, the priest spoke of current events in Australia and dissected what this meant for the congregation in their everyday life. Through his sermons, he reinforced what was important to the collective and emphasised the morals that would not only assist the individual but also support cohesion within the group (Kurien, 1998). As one participant stated:

> Through what they learn from the Gospels, he thinks that this is the way that they have to conduct themselves through the teaching of Jesus in their lives. (Participant 1)

This knowledge that the participants held about their faith and how to live their lives was passed on to their children not just at home but within the faith community of which they were a part.

Although participants viewed these interactions as positive, they could be viewed by the younger generation as a means of control. Those who have recently arrived in a new country may choose to hold onto communal values from their initial country of residence. These norms and attitudes can cause conflict with the younger generation, who are operating in the new society (Danis, 2006). Participants used the Church as a reference to assist in countering the perceived negative effects of the Australian society on their children, by emphasising the importance of learning how to live their life through the values spoken about in the Gospels. These would then hopefully negate any influences their children might encounter within the wider society. These events included sermons, discussions in Church and events held by the faith community, which reiterated what was valuable to the family and reinforced the behaviour expected of the children:

> Camps helped a lot with the family connections and teaching so we'll go to Church camp every year. (Participant 3)

Participants' knowledge of their religious practices also influenced their involvement with their children. Within the Chaldean faith, being involved in the liturgical life of the community is an important factor (Ennis, 2011).

> Getting a liturgical role in the Church as well, not only attendance— passive attendance, but actively attending. (Participant 1)

> D is specifically more involved in church life. He likes to be an altar boy and things like that. (Participant 8)

Praying is also an important practice for those of the Chaldean faith. Prayer is a ritual from which people can draw comfort as it can create a sense of safety (Ennis, 2011). Ennis (2011), in her study of religion, spirituality and the refugee experience, describes a number of different rituals that refugees used to assist them in coping within Australia – with prayer being one of them. Coming from a religious life and from an Arabic culture, prayer can also form part of a fatalistic attitude towards life events (Nydell, 2006). Having a successful life or having good fortune is often seen as God rewarding the person or giving a blessing for a life well lived (Hakim-Larson et al., 2007). The opposite is also believed, in that those who have difficulties in their life may view this as the result of God punishing them or testing their faith (Hakim-Larson et al., 2007). Participants in this study indicated that they believed it is God's will or luck that a child attains something of benefit, and not the hard work that the child puts into achieving the outcome:

> He want something and it doesn't happen, I ask him, please pray and ask God. Whatever is good for you is going to happen. Sometimes we ask for something and it's not happening, maybe God knows. (Participant 5)

> So, even by luck, sometimes when one of his children got an award. (Participant 1)

> I tell him always, ask God to help you, and before you sleep you pray, and in the morning we pray. (Participant 5)

For some participants the connection between their knowledge of their faith and students' educational outcomes were established through God's will, which was manifested in the individual asking for the outcome through prayer. They became involved in their child's education through praying with and for them and saw this as a positive interaction. Even though this can be seen as a fatalistic attitude, it formed another layer of interaction with their child and set expectations of how they were to live their lives. Guzmán, Santiago-Rivra and Hasse (2005), in their study of Mexican-origin youth in the USA and their academic attitudes and achievements, find that students who were more fatalistic exhibited fewer positive attitudes to education than those who were less fatalistic. Yet even though these students had an attitude that was less positive, it did not impact their end scores. As the students were not interviewed for the present study, comparisons to this section of the study cannot be drawn. But Guzmán et al. went on to state that the lack of correlation with final scores did not mean that the values and cultural understanding were incorrect, but rather that they may not match the understanding that educational settings have of forward planning, goal setting and taking charge of one's own achievements (Guzmán et al., 2005). Thus, the school setting may need to understand the fatalistic outlook presented by the parents as they work with students to set goals and make plans. Interestingly, although these comments show a fatalistic attitude, in other comments throughout the interviews participants stated that they expected their child to have an understanding of where their education would take them (see Section 5.3). This included that they needed to complete their homework and succeed in their education to a high standard:

> I say, first do homework, because I want him to do the homework first… if he left it [education] behind, he's going to get left behind a lot. (Participant 5)

> He makes sure when they get some dinner and get some rest, first thing to do after that, is not to touch any game playing or any entertainment, unless they're actually on their books, doing some work. (Participant 1)

Participants' involvement in their child's education was also reflected in their choice of school. Again, participants' knowledge of their faith influenced their choice of school. Often parents will choose a school that is based around their faith so that the values that they espouse as a family are reinforced (Valins, 2003). In response to the question of the participants' role in

their child's education one participant stated: 'Actually, we prefer to keep our faith, because we put them in Catholic College to keep our faith as a Catholic. That the main goal' (Participant 2). This parent's choice of a school based on faith is similar to participant responses in a study by Taub and Ronen (1999) on parental considerations on choosing a secondary school in Israel. They find that it was important for those parents who had a greater religious affiliation that their children attend a religious school. These parents favoured the educational institution based on their beliefs, as the parents believed that it maintained the identity and traditions expressed within the religion (Taub & Ronen, 1999). Similarly, in Bosetti's (2004) study of the determinants of school choice for parents in Alberta, Canada, it was found that 62% of parents in religious schools chose the school because of its shared values and beliefs. This ensured that their children were able to have an education that respected and taught their faith and maintained the participants' beliefs.

6.6 Discussion

Participants within this study had knowledge that they were able to utilise to assist them in becoming involved within their children's education. Through the information given by the participants, and using the Funds of Knowledge theory to analyse the interview responses, the researcher was led to understand the knowledge that the participants already had and that they used to become involved in their children's education. The participants' individual ways of knowing were used to navigate often challenging situations that they faced with their children as they used their knowledge and experiences to understand a new and often foreign society (Moll et al., 1992), while also maintaining the wellbeing and functionality of the family unit (Jovés, Siqués & Exteban-Guitart, 2015). This knowledge involved participants' memories of their past life in Iraq, which they used to maintain their culture and values (Naidoo, 2007; Naidoo, 2016). These participants described the exchanges that existed between themselves and their children that sought to maintain the relations between generations. For some participants, this proved to be difficult as their understandings were challenged by their children and the school in which their children were being educated. The parents' knowledge was, however, provided to the child through many differing sources including discussions, expectations and their faith. Through these sources the child was able to imitate the acceptable adult behaviour while also investigating new skills enabling the family to function within a socio-cultural setting (Esteban-Guitart et al., 2019; Kiyama, 2011).

The participants, having been educated in Iraq, all had an understanding and knowledge of what education was for them. This knowledge was then used to assist them in becoming involved in their child's education; however, coming from a different cultural background to

that new majority society, their knowledge and their expectations of what the child should be doing might not match. Participants spoke about how there was not enough homework and stated that the rigour of the school was less than that which they had experienced in Iraq. Discipline was also an issue, as participants wished their children to be strictly disciplined so that they learned the difference between right and wrong. This could then cause generational conflict between the participants and their children, as the parents' way of knowing and that of the child were different. This could lead to the children disregarding their parents' views and not seeking assistance from them.

A number of participants also spoke about how they were worried about the society to which their children were being exposed and how it influenced their children and was different to what they knew. Often, people who arrive in a new country have to redefine their understanding of society and how they and their children are to interact within that society (Beauregard et al., 2014). Participants expressed that part of the conflict they felt was due to the understandings of the freedoms that the new culture afforded their children and those which the participants understood through growing up in Iraq. As well as this, sometimes the participants' core values, such as commitment to family, did not align with the values that the children were experiencing within their school community – namely, that the individual is important. Participants were worried that, as they could not parent their children as they themselves had been parented, their children could be influenced to do the wrong thing. This could then lead to interactions between parents and their children becoming strained due to conflict around values and understanding of rights. As the relationships could become strained, so parental involvement in their children's education could be negated, as students rarely turned to their parents for assistance and viewed them as irrelevant.

Participants' expectations of their children's education were also drawn from their own experiences. Having experienced education, they knew what was required to be academically successful and how their children should behave towards educators. Participants used their success or lack of success to inform them as to how to be a part of their children's education. Setting up good routines for their children to complete homework and having good study habits were important for the participants. These expectations had been established in the early years of their child's education and were part of the way things were done within the family by the time the children reached their secondary education. Participants also valued the discussions that they had with their children. Through these discussions, specifically on homework to be completed and ensuring that they knew about their child's achievements, participants would then set goals for their children or offer suggestions on how to improve. Respect for teachers was also an area that the participants believed was important and that they had knowledge of.

In most Arabic cultures, teachers are seen as the expert and should be shown respect (Jamal Al-Deen, 2019). Participants stated that they had held discussions with their children about respecting teachers.

As a culture that is intertwined with its faith, Chaldean parents often looked to their Church and faith community as they had a shared knowledge of values. These values are reinforced in activities that the Church organises, the rituals that it follows and the sermons that are given as part of Mass. Participants expressed that prayer and attendance at Church services were important. These events were often used as a means of assisting students to achieve educational goals, as children were told to pray for good grades or goals that they wanted. This was also seen as a means to pass on the values of the family through listening to the word of Jesus and applying it to their own lives. Through these, children were being taught a way to live their life, which included the expectations their family had of them. The participants' faith also influenced the type of school they sent their children to, as they wished to have their faith reinforced through their child's school.

This perspective of participants challenges the notion that schools, and teachers, are the expert knowledge-holders of education (Kozak, 2019). Instead, schools should see the parents as a resource to be interacted with and used to improve student outcomes (Llopart & Esteban-Guitart, 2018).

6.7 Conclusion

Through the use of the Funds of Knowledge theory, two key themes were identified as assisting participants in their involvement within their child's education. One area was the use of social networks, which was discussed in Chapter 5. This chapter, chapter 6, has sought to outline the knowledge the participants had from their own experiences that related to being involved in their child's education, and how they used this knowledge. Participants within this study possessed and utilised ways of knowing to assist them in becoming involved and influential within their child's education, that often went unnoticed by schools. From their own experiences, these participants were experts in what they believed education should be, the values their children should have, knowledge of how to undertake education and the influence of their faith. Participants information on the difficulties they faced when their knowledge did not align with what their children were experiencing and the tension that could cause was also discussed.

Chapter 7 concludes this thesis with a summary of the analysis project. It will also include findings from the study, namely that the participants used their social relationships and their own knowledge to assist them in constructing their involvement in their child's education. The

use of the RHDS model with CALD parents will be discussed and implications and recommendations arising from the study for schools will also be included.

Chapter 7: Discussion of findings

7.1 Introduction

Emerson et al., (2012) in their synopsis of parental engagement indicates that the way some CALD communities define parental involvement, and the level of parental involvement they engage in, can differ from what is expected by educational institutions. Schools often state that parents and the educational institution need to work together to develop the child both socially and academically, yet this presupposes that all CALD communities view parental involvement from the same perspective as the school (García-Carmona et al., 2019). For some CALD communities, the types of parental involvement in which they do participate in may not be recognised or valued by the educational institution their children attend, as these activities may not corelate with the types of activities the educational institute recognises as being involved in their child's education (Georgis et al., 2014; Walker et al., 2005). By failing to work with parents from CALD communities to understand parental involvement from their perspective, schools are under-utilising a valuable resource that can further assist a child with their education. They are also not working in true partnership with a section of their parent cohort.

This thesis investigated a single cultural group's construction of their involvement within their children's education. Although this type of research has been conducted with regards to various different cultural groups, the specific cultural group with which this study collaborated, the Chaldean community, has not previously been asked about their construction of their role in their children's education. The aim of this study was to listen to the views of people from the Chaldean community who were recent arrivals in Australia and ascertain their views on their involvement in their child's education. Due to being recent or newly arrived refugees to Australia, they had a unique relationship with the Australian school system (Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2021). This uniqueness needs to be understood by the school so that policies and procedures can be formed at the school level to assist parents in becoming more involved in their child's education. This includes identifying the strengths the parents bring, the supports they already utilise and the challenges that they may face (Deng, 2016; Emerson et al., 2012).

As the researcher was not from the Chaldean culture, a stronger understanding of the culture and its practices and beliefs, and their impact on the participants' involvement in their child's education, needed to be developed. To do this, the researcher engaged with the local Chaldean church and priest. Prior to the study beginning, the researcher developed a relationship over several years with the priest to better understand how to assist students and

parents from the Chaldean community. This relationship was developed further by discussing the study with the priest and ensuring that he was in support of and saw the benefit of it. As the parents were not often seen at the college, the researcher needed to recruit participants at the local Church. To enable this to occur, two translators, who were very supportive of the project, and members of the Chaldean Church community were also asked to attend Church services and assist with translation for those participants who required it. These factors added layers to the uniqueness of the information that was obtained, as the information that was analysed often came through the translations of the participants' answers and not as a direct dialogue with the researcher (See Section 3.6.2).

Drawing from the hermeneutic tradition and radical constructivism, this qualitative study has sought to understand the Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their child's education. Within the individual discussions held with participants around parental involvement and the factors motivating their involvement in their child's education, the participants stated that they believed it is part of their role as a parent to be involved. Yet what that role was, and where the motivational factors came from, was shown to come from a way of knowing and understanding of parent participation that did not precisely align with a theoretical model. This way of knowing included drawing on the social relationships that they had to assist them in understanding how to be involved in their child's education. They also drew from their own schooling experience and their expectations of their child, their religion and their own sense of self. What became apparent from the information analysed was that the participants were involved in activities that were mainly conducted at home and were often not seen nor recognised by the school, but that were nonetheless valued by and important to the participants.

Through this information, this study sought to add to educational institutions' understanding of parental involvement among CALD families by emphasising the importance of valuing the parents' fund of knowledge, upon which they draw when becoming involved in their child's education. It also seeks to suggest how educational institutions can work with and understand the parent cohort's way of knowing to assist schools in working with parents to enhance student learning – specifically parents from the Chaldean community, but more broadly parents who have a refugee and/or CALD background.

As has been found in other research studies on various families from a CALD background (Carreón et al., 2005; Walker et al., 2011), the Chaldean parents do have a significant involvement in their children's education. What is unique to this group of parents is the fund of knowledge that they use to construct and support their involvement.

7.2 Thesis summary

Within this thesis, Chapter 1 introduced the Chaldean people and the history of persecution that they faced in their initial country of residence, Iraq. It described their distinct religion which intertwines with their culture, their history of migration and their reason for fleeing Iraq. The educational experiences of the respondents, which inform their understanding of how education should be for their children and how they should be involved in their child's education, were also discussed. Chapter 2 then detailed literature that centred around parental involvement and the motivational factors that influence parents to be involved in their child's education. An overview of theories used in the field was given together with an explanation of why the two theoretical perspectives used in this thesis were chosen. Literature informing the influence of culture on parental motivation and how parental aspirations and religion influence parental involvement was also discussed. Emphasis was given to literature that examined CALD communities' and refugee parents' participation, as the participants in this study were from a CALD community and had arrived in Australia as refugees.

Chapter 3 detailed the amalgamation of the theoretical framework, the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (RHDS) model and the Funds of Knowledge approach. These were used to obtain a greater understanding of the participants' view of their involvement in their child's education. Combining this conceptual framework and theory was important as it initially provided a framework for the researcher to base their investigation upon (Fan & Chen, 2001) while valuing the view of the world that the parents applied to parental involvement (Williams et al., 2020). This allowed the participants' information to have equal weight with the theoretical framework and to establish nuances the Chaldean parents brought to their construction of their involvement within their child's education.

Information obtained from the interviews was initially analysed using the Epoché process wherein all information was assigned equal value. Coding of responses was then undertaken to establish common themes between the individual participant responses. These themes then formed the three analysis chapters. Themes established by the participants' responses were first compared to the RHDS model as a starting point. Those that could be mapped to the RHDS model formed the first analysis chapter, Chapter 4. On further analysis of two of the areas, it was found that they were more complex and nuanced than the model suggested. Firstly, the perceived life contexts of the parents did not account for the social relationships that parents had established to assist them in this area. Secondly, the participants past educational experience impacted more than just their motivation to be involved. Thus, these two areas were reanalysed using a Funds of Knowledge theory with the information that had not been mapped

to the model. Two overarching themes were then identified. Chapter 5 explored the first theme, which was how the participants used their social relationships to assist them in being involved within their child's education. These relationships included those with the school, their faith community and their family. Chapter 6 discussed the second theme, which was how the participants used their own knowledge of education, family dynamics, expectations of the education system and faith to construct their involvement in their child's education. Through using the Funds of Knowledge theory, individuals within the study were able to offer insight into their values and beliefs and how these impacted the ways they were involved in their child's education. These would have remained invisible were only the RHDS model used.

7.3 Discussion

This study set out to understand Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement within their child's education. Anecdotal evidence from the college where the researcher worked indicated that staff at the college believed that Chaldean parents were not involved in their child's education. This belief was often formulated based on what staff could see parents do, rather than what was actually occurring.

This study initially used the RHDS model as a framework against which to assess all information. It was found that the motivational factors that the model described did not correlate with all the information that the participants gave, nor did all aspects of the model contribute equally to the motivation for parents to be involved within their child's education. The overarching reason that participants gave as to why they became involved with their child's education was their understanding that, as a parent, they had a role to play in their child's education. This belief overrode all other areas of the model.

What became evident through the analysis of the data using a Funds of Knowledge lens was that the participants constructed their role around ways of knowing. This knowledge came from the social relationships they drew upon when they were unsure or unable to assist, and from their own beliefs. Their involvement was seen not just as a role that they had to play but was based on a desire for their children to be successful. Using the Funds of Knowledge theory, what became clear was that there was a rich tapestry of knowledge that assisted parents in being involved in their child's education and that determined how their role was constructed.

This way of knowing was not just a set amount of quantifiable knowledge that the participants had, which they would then apply to a given situation. Rather, it was a dynamic way of knowing that was forever shifting and developing as they interacted and experienced new things. It was also a way of knowing that was influenced by past experiences, individual values and, in this community, the participants' faith. Thus, the knowledge that has been

discussed within this thesis is what the participants discussed at that moment in time – in the future this may change due to their experiences within the school system, increased understanding or change of values.

From the information given by the participants, two overarching funds of knowledge themes were established. The first was the knowledge the participants had of how to use social relationships to assist them in becoming involved in their child's education. Participants discussed how they used the relationships they had with the school, their faith community and their family as a way to engage in their child's education, or how these were to be used if the participants were unable to be of assistance. The second theme was the knowledge that they had that informed their understanding of their role, which was acquired from their own experiences. This theme was further divided into subthemes around the participants' own experience of schooling, family dynamics, their expectations of the education system and their faith

Social relationships were an important resource upon which individuals drew to assist them in their role of being involved in their child's education. These included the school, the faith community and the family. Participants were very clear in stating that they felt they could not help their child with their studies as they had been educated in a different curriculum. They viewed the school as the place for this to happen, but also viewed the school as being somewhat racist as they believed that their children were not being pushed or having demands made of them within their education. They also felt that some teachers had formed views about them as parents due to their limited ability to speak English and believed that they were uneducated. This attitude from teachers, participants believed, came from the wider community's beliefs about people from Arabic cultures. As a consequence of these beliefs, they felt that teachers did not have high expectations of their children and were prepared to accept low standard work and behaviour from them. This was the opposite of what the parents wanted, as they wished their children to gain high grades and to behave within the classroom. Participants also wanted greater involvement with the school. They did not wish to be silent partners in their child's education. Instead, they wished to be consulted as to what they believed should be done and informed about what they could do to assist their children in their education.

Schools were also seen as an institution that could inform the child about the wider society and the expectations within it. Participants were aware of their limited understanding of the social skills required within the wider society. They believed that schools were well situated to teach and instruct their children in this area – especially Catholic schools, which participants believed based their teachings on the same beliefs and values that they held. This also came with some criticism from the participants, as they were worried what could happen to their

children with this knowledge of society. Some saw this knowledge as an erosion of values and respect that the participants regarded as important values implicit in the Chaldean way of life. The Church and the faith community were seen as one way to mitigate this erosion. Participants discussed how their children formed part of the faith community through attendance at Church services, gatherings and playing a role in the liturgical services. Expectations of how to live their life based on Gospel values were passed onto their children during events and Church services. Participation in these events was seen as a way to instil in their children the values and way of life that the participants respected, and which could then reduce the harm that may be caused through the new society that their children were a part of.

The faith community was also a resource that the participants drew upon to assist them in their role of being involved in their child's education. As stated, the community assisted in reiterating the values and beliefs of the Chaldean community, which the participants regarded as important. The community was also an avenue through which the individual's social standing could be reinstated and self-esteem increase (Naidoo, 2007). Migrants and refugees often experience a loss of social standing, and the family may look to their children to move them up the social network. Participants explained that they had high expectations of their children, not just at school but also in attending university and attaining a 'good' career. These achievements from the children were explained by one participant as a way of showing how good the family was, and that the parents were good parents in the eyes of their community. For the participants, working hard and reaping the benefits of education is as an important social marker for the whole family and one that they influenced through discussions with their children, which they believed benefited their children's overall academic achievement.

The faith community, especially the Church and the priests, were also seen as a conduit between the wider community and the Chaldean community. Through the Church, opportunities were provided to educate parents about their new society. Participants reported that the priest would discuss the expectations of the local Catholic schools, including completion of homework, attendance at parent information nights and parent–teacher conferences. However, this could also cause conflict as what the parents were being told did not necessarily accord with what the children were telling their parents.

Family members were also used to assist participants in their understanding of their role in their child's education. Participants used family members who had lived in Australia for a period of time to assist them in understanding the education system and the wider community. Once older children or extended family members had been through the education system, they were also used to assist in attending and informing the participants about information nights, parent–teacher interviews and other expectations.

Participants used their knowledge of how to engage their social relationships as one way to inform themselves. They also had their own knowledge, which was built upon their own past experiences, to construct their role as to how to be involved in their children's education. The participants had been educated in Iraq, where parents were expected to be at arm's length from the school but ensure that work at home was completed. Comparisons were made between the education that participants had received and that which their children were experiencing. Participants viewed homework and study as paramount to a child's success at school and established routines so that these were achieved. They were also quite critical of the school as they felt that the education that their children were afforded was not as rigorous or strenuous as that which they had completed in Iraq. Homework was seen as an important marker of whether students were studying, and participants often expressed concern over the lack of homework being completed by their children. This led to criticism of the education system, as they believed it was not sufficiently rigorous.

Discussion of the day's events were another way parents engaged with their child which they believed to be influential. Participants had detailed conversations with their children on their day. They enquired about the work that had been undertaken, the day's events at school and the homework that was to be completed. These discussions were valued by the participants, and they believed that they influenced the individual child to succeed with their education. Instilling in children how they were to behave at school was also influenced by the parents' own experiences, in which corporal punishment was a routine form of discipline. Participants questioned why this was not allowed in schools and felt as a result that Australian schools were not as strict as they expected. This, they believed, was a factor that led their children to problematic behaviour within the wider society.

Participants in this study also understood how they were to raise their own children based on their experiences. As a collectivist culture, the Chaldean community had a set of behaviours that they believed were paramount within the family unit. They also had beliefs about ways of disciplining their child if they did not abide by those behaviours. This could be a barrier as often these behaviours clashed with the more individualistic outlook their children were being taught and exposed to in their education. The participants felt that the community did not allow them to discipline their children as they wished, which could lead to their child exhibiting behaviour that could place them in harm's way, or to question what the participants required the child to do.

Family dynamics and children's interactions within the family were also an area of which the participants had knowledge. They wished their children to be part of the social life of the family, as they had been when they were younger. Sitting and listening to adults talk, according

to the participants, was how children should engage with the family. Through these interactions, children learned the values, beliefs and expectations of the family. Instead, participants reported how children said 'hello' and then disappeared into their rooms or sat and played on devices. This was felt to be detrimental to the family dynamics and could potentially be a barrier to them influencing their child within their education.

These ways of knowing that the participants had – namely, their own knowledge of education, expectations of the education system, family dynamics and their faith – all informed the participants about how they were to be involved in their child's education. Through these, participants believed that they were able to influence their children to succeed in education.

Even though the participants had a fund of knowledge that they were able to access to support them in being involved within their child's education, they also identified barriers that they believed hindered their involvement. Initially, parents described barriers such as the language of instruction and their limited understanding of the school curriculum. But participants also spoke of greater barriers that they believed were present within the educational institution and, for some, the wider community. Schools often espouse the values of the wider community and the participants felt that they were often left out of decisions that impacted their child. This was due to the school not valuing the parents' views or seeking them when decisions were made about their child's education. Often, the way their children were taught and the expectations around their child's education did not reflect what they knew of education and caused conflict with their children. As discussed earlier, participants also believed that some of these attitudes stemmed from racist attitudes that teachers had towards them and their children.

7.4 Using the Revised Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler model with CALD parents

The RHDS model was used as a starting point for this study. By using this guiding conceptual framework, information could be assessed against a common understanding and structure to assist in determining the individual features the Chaldean parents constructed around their involvement in their child's education (Fan & Chen, 2001). As this analysis concerns a social phenomenon that is changing with the participants' construction of their involvement within their children's education, a static model can conceal the variety of influences that bear on parents' being involved within their child's education (Jabareen, 2009). A model, such as this one, may be used to see what aspects from the model parents use when constructing their involvement, but it should not be used as a replacement for the knowledge parents bring to their role, nor as a predictor of involvement. For 'conceptual frameworks aim to help us understand

phenomena rather than to predict them' (Jabareen, 2009, p. 58). Thus, using the model to predict for parental involvement should be done with caution, whether for Chaldean parents or any other CALD groups. As other studies have indicated (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2005; Green et al., 2007; Walker et al., 2005), there needs to be further investigation of the predictive powers of the model when used across various cultures.

7.5 Implications of the study

Through the participants' responses it was established that these participants from the Chaldean community did believe that they had a significant role to play in their child's education. Emerson et al., (2012), in their synopsis of published literature on parental engagement, state that parents are able to encourage their children's learning both in and outside school. They can assist in setting goals with their child, supporting the school in its goals and direction and direct their child's attitude to education. Parents want their children to be successful in school, to have better opportunities than they did and hopefully a better life (Naidoo, 2016). What emerged from this analysis was that schools were not engaging with the knowledge that parents from the CALD community had in regard to how they believed they should be involved in their child's education. Often, barriers were placed in front of parents by the school and schools did not account for, nor value, the work that parents did to be involved in their children's education.

What emerged from the interviews was that the structures that schools work under, namely their procedures and policies, often worked against parental involvement. These included parent–teacher interviews that were conducted in large gymnasiums that echoed and did not allow parents to hear and speak to teachers with clarity; parent–teacher interviews with short time limits that did not take into account the time needed for interpretations; information being sent out to parents in English only; and expectations of parents to be co-learners with their students and the school but not being informed as to how to do this. Additionally, often there is no written school policy on parental involvement with the school. In Hornby and Witte's (2010) study of parental involvement in middle years education in New Zealand, it is suggested all schools should have a parental involvement policy that is available to staff and parents that documents the myriad ways parents, including those from CALD communities, can be involved in their child's education. This policy could also include the various ways that the school could assist the parents in achieving this, as well as recognising how parents are already engaging in parental involvement. This policy would need to ensure that it was not paternalistic and should be developed in consultation with the various parental communities.

School values and ideals, found within policies, are often based on what the dominant culture values and believes is important, but these may not reflect the perspectives of all cohorts

of parents within the school setting. Added to this, educational institutes often hold unconscious beliefs about different communities and apply knowledge as to how the parent and student cohort behave and learn based on stereotypes and cultural biases that they hold (Antony-Newman, 2019). This affects not only the interactions between teacher and student, but also the partnerships between parents, students and the school. Guo-Brennan and Guo-Brennan (2020), in their article on global citizenship education and social justice for immigrant students, state that leaders within schools, especially those with 'newcomer' student populations, need to be culturally responsive. This includes 'being aware of one's own values, beliefs and dispositions' (p. 2213). This involves the leaders and staff of the school understanding their own biases, own beliefs and knowledge of the communities within their school. Providing dedicated time to educate staff on the ways different cultures are involved in their children's learning and to shift internal biases or stereotypes about cultural groups should be a priority within the school (Naidoo, 2016). Having designated CALD positions on the school board – in this case, for Chaldean community members – so that their views can inform school policies and procedures could also assist in making the school more inclusive and welcoming.

Education for teachers about CALD communities needs to start earlier than when teachers are out teaching in their school communities. Pre-service teachers need to be educated on interacting with parents from CALD communities as part of their degree. They need to be given the skills to understand how to engage with parents from a CALD background and to be aware of their own inbuilt bias or racism (Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2020). Through this, pre-service teachers can hopefully begin to develop ways of interacting with parents from CALD communities they may be working with, so that there is a combination of knowledge that then benefits the child. Naidoo, in her paper on pre-service teacher professional development, describes a subject that pre-service teachers undertake at the University of Western Sydney. Within this subject they are encouraged to think 'about marginalized, disadvantaged or unfamiliar groups' (Naidoo, 2009, p. 35) while 'examining their own values and beliefs about the role of education' (Naidoo, 2009, p. 35). All teaching courses would be well advised to have such a unit.

School communities should also have multiple entrance points for parental involvement based on the complexity of the needs of the community. This includes valuing all parental involvement, whether it occurs at home, at school or through the wider community (Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2020). Policy documents should reflect the diversity within the community and ensure that procedures are not driven by the need for sameness and uniformity (Naidoo, 2016). Schools should also show, through their actions, that there is an acceptance and understanding of the differences that parents bring to the educational setting, and acceptance of

parents as equals. Furthermore, schools must also provide education to parents on how the school environment is different from that which the parent has known (Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2021; Naidoo, 2016).

To achieve this, schools should look to learn from and listen to the diverse parent groups within their parent community (Naidoo, 2016). This will allow teachers to better understand what the parents are already doing, what the parents' needs are and the expectations that each can have of parental involvement, without any preconceived ideas. Schools can develop models of parent engagement that gather information from parents to assist schools in understanding, from the parents' perspective, what is happening at home that is of benefit to the child and their education. This allows for influences of the parental way of knowing to be valued and understood. Ultimately, schools should not dictate what is acceptable, nor apply a one-size-fits-all mentality to parental involvement (Sebolt, 2018).

Parental involvement that occurs within the house should have equal weight with that which occurs in the school buildings. This can be achieved through schools having a team of designated people employed by the school to work as community liaisons, so that there can be a bridge between the school and the parent. Through this team, time can be given to develop relationships with parents and to listen to their understanding of parental involvement and the role they have in it. Parents should become an intellectual resource that can then inform programs based on the needs identified by the parents to improve parental involvement (Llopart & Esteban-Guitart, 2018; Naidoo, 2016). This will enable a true partnership between the school and the parent, while also recognising the diversity within cultural groups.

Schools should also come to an understanding of the knowledge that parents bring with them (Antony-Newman, 2019). Acknowledging that parents may have been educated in a different educational system and have different values to schools is important. From this, schools can then establish expectations of parents based on their knowledge. Within this cohort of participants, homework was an area that was regarded as important as it was a tangible thing that parents had experienced and felt was important to their child's education. This school should work with parents to establish ways and means to communicate the expectations around homework so that all parties have a common understanding of what is expected.

Within the Chaldean community, the faith community has a large impact on reinforcing behaviour, values and beliefs. Having open communication, where priests, deacons and other faith leaders are engaged in dialogue that explains how the faith community assist parents in understanding and developing their interactions with their child's education, is paramount. Connecting with the faith community can become another avenue to educating the staff and

wider school community about the Chaldean culture and potentially breaking down stereotypes and preconceived views (Guo-Brennan & Guo-Brennan, 2021).

Understanding parents' use of their social relationships is also another area that needs to be understood by the schools (Antony-Newman, 2019). Through understanding how parents use their social relationships to assist them, schools can then work with the wider community to assist parents in their involvement in their child's education. This could include invitations to the wider community to work in partnership with the school to understand the concepts and skills required within the curriculum. Within this partnership, schools could also be educated on the needs of the parent body through what the wider community sees as a need.

Within this study, participants stated that they believed they had a role to play in their child's education and that this role was influential. As can be seen in Figure 6, the belief in this role was constructed through two main themes – that parents have knowledge that they can tap into which is based on social relationships when they are unsure or feel that they cannot assist their child in their education, and that they have gained knowledge through their lived experiences of how things are to be done. Each of these were informed through sub-themes. The first, their knowledge of social relationships, included the relationship they had with their school, faith community and family members. The second, their lived experiences, is influenced by their own knowledge of education, family dynamics, expectations of the education system and their faith. All these culminated in the participants' construction of their role in their child's education.

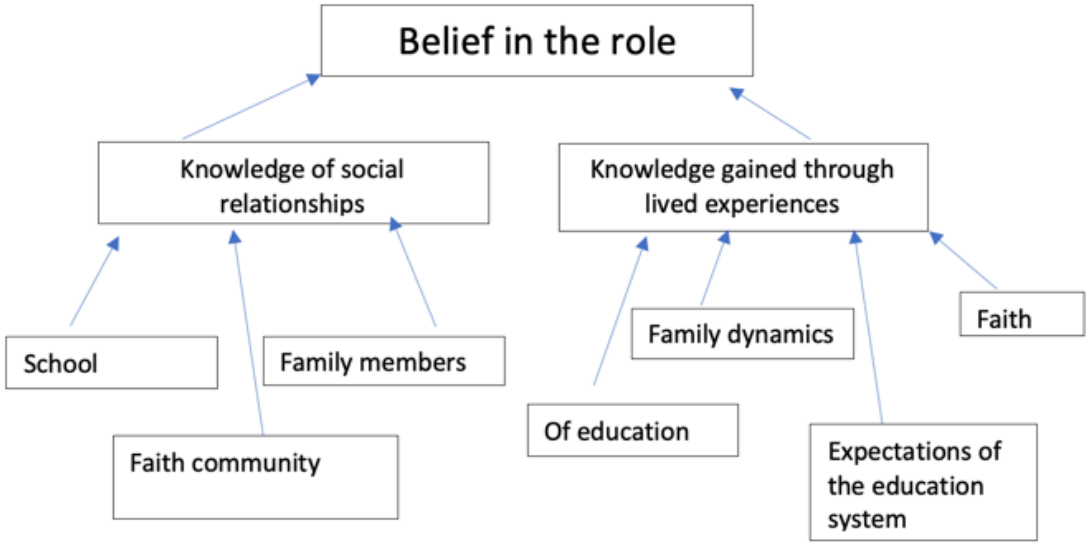

Figure 6: Influence on the Chaldean parents' construction of their involvement in their child's education.

7.5 Conclusion

Chaldean parents construct their role in their children's education through their belief that they are a part of their child's education. They value education as important and aspire to work with schools in providing the best education possible for their children. The parents' way of knowing, which includes knowledge of the relationships they have within their society and their own knowledge, informs them about how to be involved in their child's education. Yet this is not often seen at schools or valued by those schools.

Through using a Funds of Knowledge theory to analyse the data obtained through this study, information was gained directly from the participants and not from a given theory. This then allowed information that was important to the participants to surface, rather than having the participants fit into a theory. This process showed me that I had not been considering the parents' understanding of parental involvement and its impact on them when I was working with parents from this culture. The parents' way of knowing, which includes their knowledge of the society that they have relationships with and their own knowledge, are part of what informs them as to how to be involved in their child's education.

This analysis also showed me how resourceful these participants are. Barriers that were placed before them – not just because of their personal experiences in moving from one country to another, but also those that arise as part of transitioning to a new life in a new country – were overcome through resourcefulness and use of the wider community. This wider community included the Church, which for many of the participants is an important institution which aids in the development of the child and the family. As a school we need to involve the Church more in our discussion and understanding of parent involvement. We also need to understand the nuances of the culture, as an individual's culture impacts on their involvement in their child's education. The education of a child cannot be seen as being completed within one set of cultural values. It must be seen as a partnership between the school and family incorporating the culture that the child brings to the school as part of who they are. As one participant said:

> If you understand the culture, of any community, you understand how they are raising their kids. (Participant 3)

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview schedule

Initial questions to be used in the semi-structured interviews (adapted from items from the Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997, 2005) process model of the parental involvement process.

Opening: Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study. The purpose of this study is to understand how schools can best support students and their families from the Chaldean community, in achieving greater success at school. For schools to achieve this, I am interested in understanding how you support your child in their education.	
1.	Could you please tell me…how long have you lived in Australia now? Could you tell me a little about yourself before you came to Australia – your occupation, countries you lived in before arriving in Australia Could you tell me about your family – age of children, your occupation in Australia, your age if you are comfortable with telling me.
2.	How many children do you have at Kolbe Catholic College? How long have you been associated with Kolbe Catholic College? What year level are your children in at Kolbe Catholic College?
Now I'd like to ask you about ways that you have been involved in your child's education, at Kolbe College…	
3.	Could you please describe ways at home that you've been involved in X's education?
4.	Now could you please tell me how you have been involved in X's education at the College?
5.	Has anyone else been involved in X's education? Perhaps a member of the family or community? How have they been involved?
Now I'd like to ask you about who has a role in the education of your child…	
6.	What do you believe is your role in X's education?
7.	And what do you believe is the role of the school in X's education?

8.	Do you believe that anyone else has a role to play in your child's education? Please tell me about this…
Next, I'd like to ask you about ways that you've been encouraged to become involved in X's education….	
9.	How has X encouraged you to become involved in their education?
10.	Tell me how the school has encouraged you to participate in X's education?
11.	Tell me how individual teachers have encouraged you to participate in X's education?
11.	Has anyone else encouraged you to become involved in X's education? Please tell me about this…
Next I'd like you to think about some of the difficulties that you have faced in becoming involved in X's education…	
12.	What are some of the challenges that have hindered your involvement in X's education?
13.	Tell me… are there ways that you could be supported to overcome these challenges? Who could help you?
Now thinking about your child's education up until now, what are your overall thoughts on how you have been involved in X's education?	
14.	Would you say that your involvement has had a positive impact on your child? Can you describe to me an example of this?
15.	Finally, could you please tell me what level of education have you attained? And your husband/wife? In Iraq? And in Australia? Have you had any opportunities to further your education? Please tell me about this…
16	And what level of education do you hope your child will attain here in Australia?
17.	Anything else you would like to add

Appendix B: Consent form – English

CONSENT FORM

Copy for Researcher / Copy for Participant to Keep

TITLE OF PROJECT: An investigation of Chaldean parents' perspectives on their involvement in their children's Catholic secondary school education.

APPLICATION NUMBER: ……(2017-XXX)…….

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Dr Louise Mercer

STUDENT RESEARCHER: Jane Wenlock

I ..... *(the participant)* have read (*or, where appropriate, have had read to me)* and understood the information provided in the Letter to Participants. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research project that will involve being interviewed. I understand the interviews will be recorded. I realise that I can withdraw my consent at any time. I agree that research data collected for the study may be published or may be provided to other researchers in a form that does not identify me in any way.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT: .....

SIGNATURE: .....DATE: .....

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL
INVESTIGATOR (or SUPERVISOR): .....DATE: .....

(and, if applicable)

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT RESEARCHER:.....DATE: .....……

Appendix C: Consent form – Arabic

استمارة موافقة

نسخة منه للباحث/ نسخة منه للشخص المشارك

عنوان المشروع البحثي: تحقيق في وجهة نظر العوائل الكلدانية لدورهم في التعليم الثانوي لأولادهم في المدارس الكاثوليكية.

رقم الطلب: .....

مدير الرئيسي للبحث: د. لويز ميرسير Dr Louise Mercer

اسم الطالب الباحث: جاين وينلوك Jane Wenlock

اني الموقع ادناه ..... قد أطلعتُ (او قد تم اطلاعي) وفهمت المعلومات الموجودة في رسالة المشارك في هذا البحث. كل الأسئلة التي طرحتُها قد أجيبت بشكل وافي ومُرضي. واني أوافق على المشاركة في هذا البحث الميداني، والذي يشمل مقابلة شخصية معي. اعلم ان المقابلات سيتم تسجيلها صوتياً. اعلم ان بإمكاني الانسحاب في أي وقت. أوافق على ان يتم نشر وتداول كل البيانات التي تجمع لهذا البحث في مطبوعات او لباحثين آخرين بطريقة لا تبين شخصيتي الحقيقية بأي شكل من الاشكال.

اسم المشترك: .....

التوقيع: ..... التاريخ: / /

توقيع المدير الرئيسي للبحث: ..... التاريخ: / /

(في حالة الضرورة)

توقيع الباحث: ..... التاريخ: / /

Appendix D: Advertisement for participation posted in Church Bulletin

Mrs Jane Wenlock is conducting research into Chaldean parent's perspective on their involvement in their child's education for her Doctorate in Education.

To assist her in this research she is requesting parents who have or have had children at Kolbe Catholic college for over a year, to partake in an individual interview with her and an interpreter if required.

The interview will be conducted at St George parish at a mutually convenient time. The interviews should take no more than 45 minutes.

The results from this research will contribute to the College in being able to further assist parents and students to improve the education of students.

If you are willing to be part of this research there are consent forms to be completed in the Church foyer and to be placed in the box provided.

Jane will be available after Mass if people have any further questions.

Appendix E: Participant letter

Information letter with regard participating in research on Chaldean parent's perspective on involvement in their child's education.

Title of Research: An investigation of Chaldean parents' perspectives on their involvement in their children's Catholic secondary school education.

Staff Supervisor: Dr. Louise Mercer

Student Researcher: Jane Wenlock

Degree: Doctor of Education

Dear Parent/Guardian,

You are invited to participate in research that is investigating the perspectives of Chaldean parents on their involvement in their children's education. If you agree to participate in the research, you will be asked to give your informed written consent (see attached form).

The aim of the research is to understand the involvement of Chaldean parents within their child's education. Through this research it is envisaged that teachers will come to a better understanding of what Chaldean parents regard as involvement with their child's education and how Chaldean parents are involved in their child's education. This information will then be used by teachers so they can then work in partnership with parents to improve the educational opportunities for students.

This research is being conducted by Mrs Jane Wenlock and will form the basis for the degree of Doctor of Education at Australian Catholic University under the supervision of Dr. Louise Mercer.

Your participation in the research will involve you meeting with the researcher, Jane Wenlock, at a mutually convenient time at St George's Parish Hall, Campbellfield, Victoria. Jane will meet with you individually and ask you questions on your involvement in your child's education. The interview will be conducted in the language that you are most comfortable with, and interpreters will be provided if you require them. It is envisaged that the interview will take no more than 45 minutes. Your interview will be audio recorded and then transcribed for analysis, but your name will not be linked to the recording. Your anonymity will be protected.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You are not under any obligation to participate. If you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the research at any time without adverse consequences. Confidentiality within the research will be maintained by de-identifying data (using numbers and not names) and storing data in locked filing cabinets. Nonetheless, use of the word 'Chaldean' to describe parent participants may result in you being identified as a possible contributor to the research.

The findings from the research will be included in my Doctorate of Education thesis and may also be included in any articles that I publish in peer-reviewed journals. Your identity will not be revealed in the thesis or in any published journal articles . You will be able to access a digital copy of my thesis once it has been examined and accepted by the ACU Library.

Any questions regarding the research should be directed to:

Research supervisor:
Dr Louise Mercer,
Senior Lecturer,
Faculty of Education & Arts National School of Education (QLD)
Australian Catholic University
louise.mercer@acu.edu.au

If there are difficulties arising from the research, participants are advised to speak to their own doctor.

The research has been reviewed by the Human Research Ethics Committee at Australian Catholic University (review number 2017-XXX). If you have any complaints or concerns about the conduct of the research, you may write to the Manager of the Human Research Ethics Committee care of the Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research).

Manager, Ethics
c/o Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research)
Australian Catholic University
North Sydney Campus
PO Box 968
NORTH SYDNEY, NSW 2059
Ph.: 02 9739 2519
Fax: 02 9739 2870
Email: resethics.manager@acu.edu.au

Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated. You will be informed of the outcome.

If you would like to participate in the research please contact Jane after Mass. You will be required to sign two copies of the consent form and place the form in the box provided.

Yours sincerely

Jane Wenlock
EdD Candidate [redacted]@myacu.edu.au

Appendix F: Approval from St George Parish

Human Research Ethics Committee
Australian Catholic University
Melbourne Campus
Locked Bag 4115 Fitzroy VIC 3065
res.ethics@acu.edu.au

29/3/18

Re. PROVISIONAL APPROVAL TO CONDUCT DOCTORAL RESEARCH STUDY

PROJECT TITLE: An investigation of Chaldean parents' perspectives on their involvement in their children's Catholic secondary school education
APPLICATION NUMBER: (2018-XXX) *to be confirmed*
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Dr Louise Mercer (louise.mercer@acu.edu.au)
STUDENT RESEARCHER: Ms Jane Wenlock
STUDENT'S DEGREE: Doctor of Education

Dear Committee Members,

St George Chaldean Church is willing to support doctoral candidate, JANE WENLOCK, to conduct her doctoral research study examining the perspectives of Chaldean parents *subject to receipt of written evidence of approval by ACU's Human Research Ethics Committee.*

It is understood that parents from Kolbe Catholic College will be invited to participate in the study and the interviews with these participants will occur at St George Church Chaldean Catholic Church. It is also understood that the anonymity of the participants will be protected and the confidentiality of their responses will maintained by all members of the research team.

Yours sincerely

[redacted]

Father Maher Gurges
St George Chaldean Church

Appendix G: Approval letter from Principal at Kolbe Catholic College

Human Research Ethics Committee
Australian Catholic University
Melbourne Campus
Locked Bag 4115 Fitzroy VIC 3065
res.ethics@acu.edu.au
29/3/18

Re. PROVISIONAL APPROVAL TO CONDUCT DOCTORAL RESEARCH STUDY

PROJECT TITLE: **An investigation of Chaldean parents' perspectives on their involvement in their children's Catholic secondary school education**

APPLICATION NUMBER: (2018-XXX) *to be confirmed*

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Dr Louise Mercer (louise.mercer@acu.edu.au)

STUDENT RESEARCHER: Ms Jane Wenlock

STUDENT'S DEGREE: Doctor of Education

Dear Committee Members,

Kolbec Catholic College is willing to support teacher and doctoral candidate, JANE WENLOCK, to conduct her doctoral research study examining the perspectives of Chaldean parents *subject to receipt of written evidence of approval by ACU's Human Research Ethics Committee.*

It is understood that although the parents who will be invited to participate in the study, will be parents of students who currently attend Kolbe Catholic College, the interviews with these participants will occur at St George Church Chaldean Catholic Church. It is also understood that the anonymity of the participants will be protected and the confidentiality of their responses will maintained by all members of the research team.

Yours sincerely

Nick Scully
Principal
Kolbe Catholic College

Appendix H: Participant 1 responses annotated

I could do better." And I think the test was from 27 grades, I stop. So dad ask him, "Will you be getting 20 out of 27?" He said, "Yeah, I will, but I could do better." But then again, like this kind of conversation is happening and ...

Speaker 1: Great. And is there anything else that you - how you involve? Do you help them with their homework or do you - anything else like that?

Speaker 2: [foreign language 00:06:54].

Speaker 3: [foreign language 00:06:55].

Speaker 2: [foreign language 00:07:11].

Speaker 3: [foreign language 00:07:22].

Speaker 2: Okay, so mainly when - he's saying, when I ask them about their homework for tonight, what you have to do? What you have due tomorrow? They give him an idea about what subjects they have to be completing homework for, and he makes sure when they get some dinner and get some rest, first thing to do after that, is not to touch any game playing or any entertainment, unless they're actually on their books, doing some work.

language

And I asked if he actually give them instruction or follow step by step. He said, "I can't do that, because the language. And most likely I just try to make sure they have been doing some schoolwork, by monitoring them while they are doing it, but I don't know, details of their work."

Speaker 1: Okay, yeah. Great. Have you been involved in their education actually at the college? So have you ever been involved by coming to the college?

Speaker 2: For events or for?

Speaker 1: Whenever.

Speaker 2: Yeah.

Speaker 3: [foreign language 00:08:57].

Speaker 2: Parent/teacher interviews, yeah.

Speaker 3: [foreign language 00:09:44].

Speaker 2: Yeah, he is showing his availability, and he is happy to be here at school whenever the school asks for him to discuss children's education and their

So, even by luck, sometimes when one of his children got an award here at the college last week or before, when they had the college assembly, he encouraged the other one - or said, "Why you are not like your brother? What you are missing? You're having the same food, the same house, we are all like the same thing. So you should be doing similar, or if not better," he encouraged him to achieve and start achieving and showing that through - even by recognition from the school.

competition between siblings

Speaker 1: Yeah, so your - do you believe your role is to encourage your children to get - to do better in their education?

Speaker 2: [foreign language 00:16:07].

Speaker 3: [foreign language 00:16:12].

Speaker 2: Yeah. He thinks that following up - it's very important, because - especially at critical age of high school, where they actually change from children to be young adults, where lots of temptation is around by - being offered other alternatives by friends or by someone who's getting better results or making some money in a different way. So he wants them to focus on education, and he always asks them about education, because it's number one for him for future.

following up

others influence

Speaker 3: [foreign language 00:17:11].

Speaker 2: Yeah, and he's actually regretting that he actually missed education himself, because of what - situation in Iraq, and he had to work at a very young age, and continue working. So he stopped school because he needed to make some money for [inaudible 00:17:38].

regret of not having educ

Speaker 1: So at what age did you stop education?

Speaker 3: Like Blair, 15 year.

Speaker 1: 15, yeah.

Speaker 3: Yeah, I was in year nine. Yeah, because it's not compulsory there for education, yeah.

circumstances that stopped edn

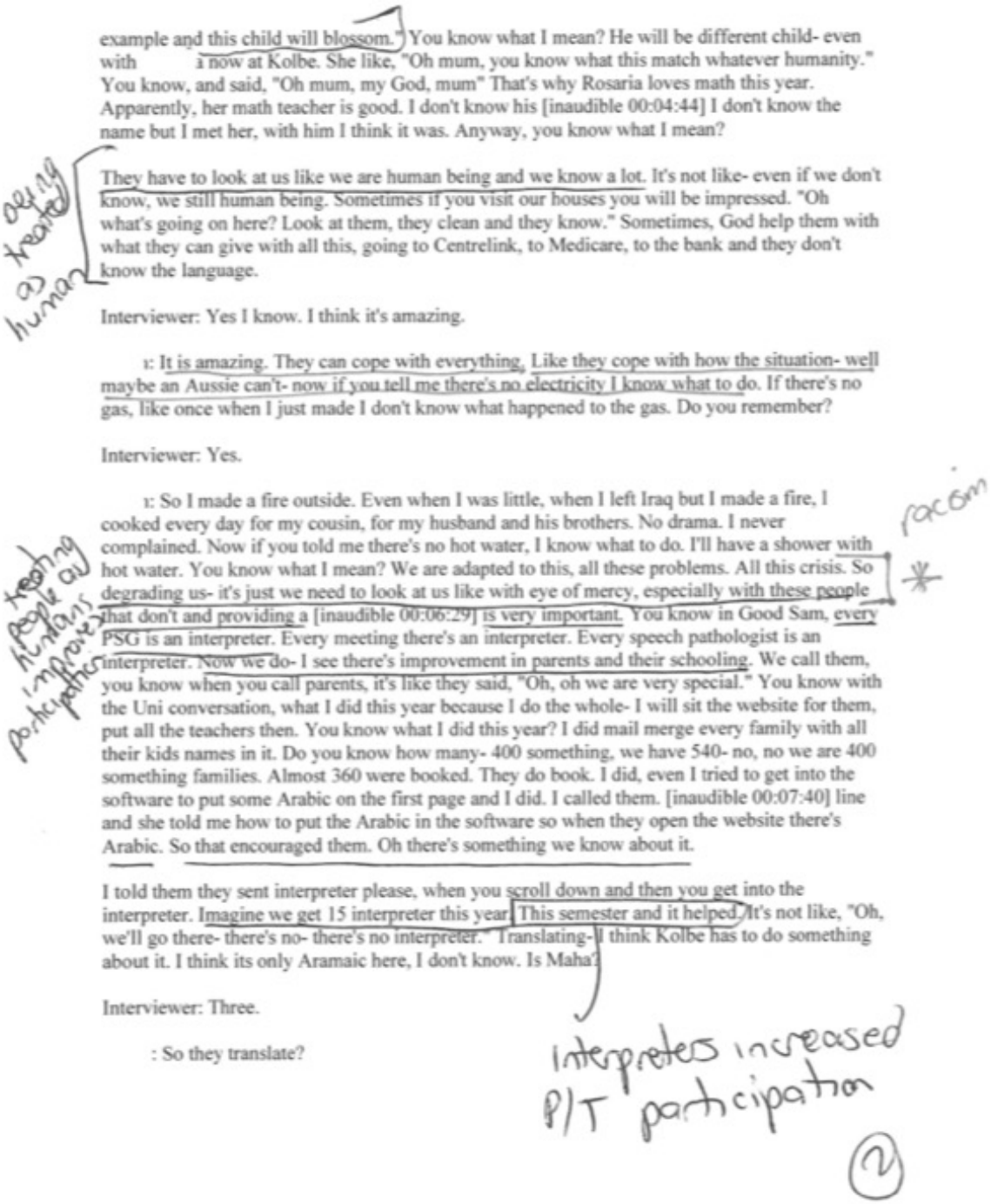
Speaker 1: Right. You had to earn money to survive. Right, so what do you believe the school's role is in your child's education?

wishes chn to to better bc not have edn himself

Speaker 2: [foreign language 00:18:03].

Speaker 3: Yeah, [foreign language 00:18:11].

Appendix I: Participant 3 responses annotated



example and this child will blossom." You know what I mean? He will be different child- even with [redacted] now at Kolbe. She like, "Oh mum, you know what this match whatever humanity." You know, and said, "Oh mum, my God, mum" That's why Rosaria loves math this year. Apparently, her math teacher is good. I don't know his [inaudible 00:04:44] I don't know the name but I met her, with him I think it was. Anyway, you know what I mean?

They have to look at us like we are human being and we know a lot. It's not like- even if we don't know, we still human being. Sometimes if you visit our houses you will be impressed. "Oh what's going on here? Look at them, they clean and they know." Sometimes, God help them with what they can give with all this, going to Centrelink, to Medicare, to the bank and they don't know the language.

Interviewer: Yes I know. I think it's amazing.

: It is amazing. They can cope with everything. Like they cope with how the situation- well maybe an Aussie can't- now if you tell me there's no electricity I know what to do. If there's no gas, like once when I just made I don't know what happened to the gas. Do you remember?

Interviewer: Yes.

: So I made a fire outside. Even when I was little, when I left Iraq but I made a fire, I cooked every day for my cousin, for my husband and his brothers. No drama. I never complained. Now if you told me there's no hot water, I know what to do. I'll have a shower with hot water. You know what I mean? We are adapted to this, all these problems. All this crisis. So degrading us- it's just we need to look at us like with eye of mercy, especially with these people that don't and providing a [inaudible 00:06:29] is very important. You know in Good Sam, every PSG is an interpreter. Every meeting there's an interpreter. Every speech pathologist is an interpreter. Now we do- I see there's improvement in parents and their schooling. We call them, you know when you call parents, it's like they said, "Oh, oh we are very special." You know with the Uni conversation, what I did this year because I do the whole- I will sit the website for them, put all the teachers then. You know what I did this year? I did mail merge every family with all their kids names in it. Do you know how many- 400 something, we have 540- no, no we are 400 something families. Almost 360 were booked. They do book. I did, even I tried to get into the software to put some Arabic on the first page and I did. I called them. [inaudible 00:07:40] line and she told me how to put the Arabic in the software so when they open the website there's Arabic. So that encouraged them. Oh there's something we know about it.

I told them they sent interpreter please, when you scroll down and then you get into the interpreter. Imagine we get 15 interpreter this year. This semester and it helped. It's not like, "Oh, we'll go there- there's no- there's no interpreter." Translating- I think Kolbe has to do something about it. I think its only Aramaic here, I don't know. Is Maha?

Interviewer: Three.

: So they translate?