A case study of the responses of two mainstream primary teachers in a non-metropolitan area to the refugee English Language Learners in their classes.

Submitted by

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements

of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Education

Faculty of Education

Australian Catholic University

2010

Statement of Authorship and Sources

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No parts of this thesis have been 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 acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

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

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10 December 2010

Abstract

Internationally, research indicates that in primary schools English language learners (ELLs) receive the majority of their instruction from mainstream, rather than ESL specialist trained teachers. ELLs and their distinct language based learning needs present significant challenges to mainstream teachers who may have received no additional training to assist them to open up curricular access for these children. Nonetheless, the reality is that the mainstream teacher and her pedagogical and pastoral responses to these students are pivotal influences on their chances of achieving academic success. This study investigates the responses of two mainstream primary teachers in a non-metropolitan area in Australia to ELLs of refugee background in their classes. It seeks to identify the nature of the teachers' responses and the attitudes and knowledge of SLA research that they may draw on in formulating those responses. The study was designed within the theoretical framework of interpretivism. Consistent with this foundation, qualitative methodology and data gathering strategies were employed. The principal methodology was that of a case study (Yin, 2009) in which two teachers, Margot and Susanna, comprised the main unit of analysis (Merriam, 1998). Data gathering strategies included direct classroom observations in which field notes were taken, scores assigned for elements of the New South Wales Quality Teaching Framework (QTF) and evidence of implementation of the Curriculum Cycle (Derewianka, 1991) recorded. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted. The data revealed that these teachers' principal response to their refugee ELLs was one characterised by the provision of pastoral care and the promotion of their social inclusion. Although both teachers identified the refugee ELLs' learning challenges as being language knowledge-based, they enacted minimal pedagogical differentiation to address this and thus to support these children's access to curricular content. Consequently, refugee ELLs were not visible as a distinct group of learners in either classroom. These findings are considered in the last part of this thesis in terms of their implications for local education authorities and for teachers' professional learning.

Dedication

The achievement of any important goal in life always involves a team effort. Completing this thesis has been no exception. So, I take the opportunity here to acknowledge and thank the members of my thesis team.

Firstly, I wish to express my sincere and boundless thanks to my supervisors, Dr Lorraine McDonald and Professor Maureen Walsh, for their expertise, guidance and unfailing, good-humoured support throughout all phases of this project.

I acknowledge with gratitude the generosity of all the teachers who participated in this study, especially the two women known in the thesis as Margot and Susanna, who welcomed me into their classrooms and lives for a school term.

I thank Ratna Baldeo and Gillian Rowlands, from the School of Education at the Australian Catholic University, for their willing and supportive assistance with operating binding machines, IT and other logistical matters.

Lastly, I acknowledge and thank with profound love, the most indispensable members of my thesis team, my husband Stephen and our children Marianela and Danilo.

Terminology

The literature pertaining to English language learners in school settings is vast and derived from studies carried out in numerous distinct populations, districts and countries. Consequently, there are a number of different terms used to describe these learners which will be encountered in different citations throughout this study. The term EAL (English as an Additional Language) is employed in Great Britain (Creese, 2005; Creese & Leung, 2003; Gregory, 1996, 2004; Leung, 2001). In the United States of America (USA) some scholars (Thomas & Collier, 2002; Verplaetse, 2000) use the term LEP (Limited English Proficient), while others (Black, 2006; Callahan, 2006; Cummins, 1997, 2000; Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007; Curran, 2003; de Jong & Harper, 2005; Harper & de Jong, 2004; Jimenez, 2005; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; Layzer, 2000; Reeves, 2002, 2004, 2006; Verdugo & Flores, 2007) use ELL (English Language Learners). In Australia, terms such as ESL (English as a Second Language) and LBOTE (Linguistic Background Other Than English) have been in common use both in curriculum documents, such as the *ESL Scales* (Curriculum Corporation, 1994), and by teachers. More recently, however, the draft of the new national *Australian Curriculum: English* (www.acara.edu.au), to be mandatory from 2011, has employed the term EAL/D (English as an Additional Language or Dialect) to refer to English learners in school settings. While acknowledging that it is not currently in common usage in Australia, of the aforementioned terms the researcher prefers, and will employ, the term ELLs (English Language Learners) in this study because of its inclusiveness of a broad range of learners (Gerston & Baker, 2000).

In contrast to some of the main sites in which the cited research has been carried out, such as the USA and Canada, in Australia, ELLs are not a linguistically and culturally homogeneous group (P. Gibbons, 2002) and come into schools with a wide range of prior life and educational experiences. According to Freeman and Freeman (2007) school aged ELLs in English-medium instruction schools can be categorised into three broad groups. These include: newly arrived students (within the previous five years) with adequate schooling and some development of academic skills in their first languages (L1s), newly arrived students with limited formal schooling, such as Humanitarian entrants who may lack basic academic concepts and be unable to read or write in their L1s, and long-term learners who have been living in an English-speaking environment for some time. This last group may have adequate conversational English, but lack development of academic concepts in English. It includes children who were born in an English speaking country but have not been exposed to English prior to commencing formal schooling.

In Australia ELLs are classified according to three Phases of English proficiency. First Phase learners are those "whose understanding and production of spoken or written English is obviously limited in all social and educational situations" (New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Multicultural Programs Unit, 2004, p. 6). Second Phase learners are those "whose understanding and production of spoken and written English is progressing, but is still limited to a range of familiar social and educational situations" (New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Multicultural Programs Unit, 2004, p. 6). The last group, Third Phase learners, are those "who generally function fluently and competently in English, but who occasionally need assistance in meeting the particular language and literacy demands of English in specific social and educational situations" (New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Multicultural Programs Unit, 2004, p. 6).

The majority of the refugee ELLs in this study are Second Phase learners who have had all their schooling in Australian schools. However, the term ELLs is employed throughout the study to name students from any of these Phases found in Australian schools and has particular reference to those from a Sudanese refugee background.

List of acronyms used in the study

BICS-Basic Personal Intercommunication Skill

CALP-Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency

ELL-English Language Learner

ESL-English as a Second Language (used in this thesis to refer to teaching programmes for ELLs and to teachers of English to ELLs).This reflects common usage in Australia.

KLA-Key Learning Area

L1-First language

L2-Second Language

NAPLAN-National Assessment Program-Literacy and Numeracy

QTF-Quality Teaching Framework

SLA-Second Language Acquisition

List of Figures

List of Tables

Table of Contents

18

Chapter One: Context of the proposed study

1.1 Introduction

A variety of governmental and educational policies in Australia and internationally, have seen the responsibility for meeting the learning needs of primary aged ELLs increasingly devolved to mainstream teachers. It is in this context that this study, which focuses on mainstream primary teachers of ELLs, has been conceptualised and will be implemented. This chapter provides a brief overview of some of the factors which contribute to the study's international, national and local context. It begins with a brief description of what Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research indicates would be ideal instruction for meeting the learning needs of ELLs. It then moves on to examine the impact that policy and the nature of the teaching force may have on the ways the learning needs of ELLs are currently conceptualised and catered for in mainstream primary classes in Australia. The last part of the chapter is a description of the specific site in which the proposed study will take place.

1.2 The learning needs of ELLs

There is a widely accepted body of SLA research which has shown that maintaining and building a child's first language, conceptualised as 'linguistic capital' (Olneck, 2000), is the best way in which to help that child to acquire a second or additional language (Cummins, 1981, 2000; Gerston & Baker, 2000; Hammond, 1999; Hammond & Derewianka, 1999; Krashen, 1982, 1997; McKay, 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979). Given this, the ideal model of educational provision for ELLs would be additive bilingual programmes (Cummins, 1981, 2000) incorporating explicit English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction, 'sheltered' or modified teaching of curriculum content and instruction in their L1 (Krashen, 1997). Such techniques would activate the learning potential inherent in what McKay (1999) terms "the bilingual interface" or "the enriching and enabling knowledge, skills and experiences that ESL learners bring to their learning at school, and to the coming together of these with their experiences at school" (p. 123). In this way, the child would acquire the additional, socially dominant language (L2) while maintaining and concurrently developing his or her first language as an academic resource for doing so. The value of the 'bilingual interface' is recognized locally and internationally as policies for working with linguistically diverse children reflect an understanding, at the level of the policy makers, of SLA research (Leung, 2001; Stritikus & Garcia, 2003). For example, the New South Wales Department of Education and Training's *English as a Second Language Guidelines for Schools* (2004) describes the L1 of ELLs as "a valuable resource for knowledge and skills transfer to the English speaking context" (p. 7).

Implementation of educational programmes worldwide, however, is influenced by a myriad of factors, amongst which is demographics. Australia has historically not had the large concentrations of linguistically homogenous ELLs as the USA has, and consequently there has been "no system wide large scale initiative in bilingual education in Australia" (J. Gibbons, 1997). However, some bilingual primary programmes have been funded by state governments and implemented in some metropolitan centres. For example, in Melbourne in the 1980's the state government funded bilingual primary school programmes in languages including French, Macedonian and Greek. The Victorian government currently funds and supports a Vietnamese primary bilingual programme (https://fuse.education.vic.gov.au/pages/ View.aspx?pin=W6UP5L). In Sydney bilingual programmes have been conducted in a number of languages. Prominent amongst these was one conducted in Arabic at St Mel's Catholic Primary school (J. Gibbons, White & P. Gibbons, 1994). Nonetheless, in contrast to these small scale programmes, provision for the learning needs of the majority of ELLs here has mostly been in varying models of ESL programmes in which all instruction takes place in English (L2). Recent changes in both policy and demographics, however, have intersected to impact on provision for the learning needs of ELLs in Australia in general, and the site of this study, particularly. These changes are discussed briefly below.

1.3 Linguistically diverse mainstream primary classrooms: a growing phenomenon worldwide

Mainstream primary classrooms in pluralist societies such as Australia, the USA and the United Kingdom (UK), where English has historically been the dominant language, are becoming increasingly linguistically diverse sites due to the phenomena of immigration and government equity in education policies (A. Burns, 2003; Leung, 2005). These policies have emerged since the late 1980's in response to the identification of specific groups, such as Indigenous and linguistically diverse students as being educationally disadvantaged (Creese & Leung, 2003; Teese & Polesel, 2003). The move toward integrating these groups into the "underdefined but unproblematically imagined mainstream educational process" (Creese & Leung, 2003, p. 3) is posited in policy as an attempt to provide these students with greater access to equitable educational outcomes. However, it can be argued that the identification of linguistically diverse children as an 'equity group' is in itself problematic, as it places emphasis on what these students are as yet unable to do in the dominant language, rather than on the knowledge, skills and academic resources they already possess in their existing language or languages (Hammond, 1999).

1.4 English Literacy Policy and Accountability in Australia

The moves toward mainstreaming ELLs as an equity group have intersected with a worldwide movement emphasising English literacy levels as an index of national success in response to an increasingly globalised and information oriented world (Early, Potts & Mohan, 2005). Concurrently, accountability and reporting through standardised testing and benchmarking, which have their roots in economic rationalism, began to be applied to education (McKay, 2000). This saw the implementation of the Basis Skills Tests and then the National Assessment Program-Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) in Years Three and Five in New South Wales primary schools.

It was in this context in Australia in the late 1990's that ESL instruction, previously provided by specialist ESL teachers and receiving discrete funding, was 'mainstreamed' and subsumed into the *Literacy for All Plan* (Hammond, 1999; Ministerial Commission for Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 2000). Currently in Australia there are Intensive ESL Programmes for New Arrivals for high school aged children, and in some primary schools, specialist-delivered ESL classes. However, under the *Literacy for All Plan*, the use of government funding (provided on the basis of enrolment) and the organisation of provision of ESL assistance is decided (in competition with all other site-specific priorities) at the school level in government and non-government schools (New South Wales Department of Education and Training. Multicultural Programs Unit, 2004). For example, in Catholic primary schools in New South Wales in 2005 there were 40,772 children classified as LBOTE and only 17,024 of these children were receiving some type of ESL assistance (New South Wales Catholic Education Commission, 2008). Therefore, the English language learning needs of a significant number of ELLs, including those from refugee backgrounds, in Catholic systemic schools are being addressed in mainstream classes, by mainstream teachers, in a climate of statutory requirements and accountability (McKay, 2000).

The New South Wales Department of Education and Training's *English as a Second Language Guidelines for Schools* (2004) states that "all teachers have responsibility for the English language learning of ESL students in their classes" (p. 3) and that "class teachers are responsible for developing and implementing teaching programs, practices and strategies that address the English language and literacy needs of ESL students in the key learning areas" (2004, p. 7). However, while devolving this responsibility to mainstream teachers, the *Guidelines* do not make explicit what these "English language and literacy needs" are. Nor do they explain in any detail how teachers are to operationalise an appropriate educational response to the needs of ELLs, and specifically of refugee ELLs, which differ in some significant ways from those of their English native-

speaking peers. Similarly the draft of the new national *Australian Curriculum: English* states that "Those learning English as an additional language need time, support, targeted and explicit teaching and exposure to English before reaching the expectations outlined in the Australian Curriculum: English" (www.acara.edu.au, 2010, p. 4). Yet the document provides no specific guidance or examples of how this is to be achieved within a mainstream classroom. (These issues will be taken up further in Chapter Two: Literature Review).

Given this educational context for ELLs, it thus becomes necessary to consider the composition of the mainstream primary teaching force and its readiness, on a number of levels, to take up the challenge of meeting the learning needs of ELLs in the face of the numerous competing priorities of contemporary mainstream primary classrooms.

1.5 Mainstream teachers and knowledge of SLA research

The lack of information and support provided to teachers in The New South Wales Department of Education and Training's *English as a Second Language Guidelines for Schools* (2004) and in the draft of the national *Australian Curriculum: English* is of concern given that many researchers report a lack of knowledge of many of the key findings of SLA research among mainstream teachers internationally (Cummins, 1997; Harper & de Jong, 2004; Hite & Evans, 2006; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; Layzer, 2000; McKay, 1999; Oliver, Haig & Grote, 2009; Reeves, 2006; Souto-Manning, 2006; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000). This lack of knowledge of SLA research may lead teachers to problematise linguistically diverse students as having a deficit in that they lack proficiency in English, rather than a transferable resource in the language skills they already have in their L1 (Black, 2006; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Mc Laughlin, 1992; Wallace, 2005). Other researchers also comment on ESL needs being redefined as 'literacy needs' when the language learning needs of ELLs are addressed in the mainstream class by mainstream teachers (Callahan, 2006; Langman, 2003; Leung, 2001). Indeed, Lo Bianco (1998) contends that in the current context of mainstreaming and the subsuming of ESL under the *Literacy for All Plan*, "literacy frames all understandings of ESL support" (p. 2) in Australian schools. Such 'understandings' may act to reduce teachers' awareness of the need for SLA research-informed, specific ESL pedagogies to maximise the learning outcomes of ELLs in mainstream classes.

Of relevance to the proposed study is an Australian study where Rohl (1999) found that some of the ways that mainstream teachers constructed ELLs "demeaned and undermined their emergent bilingualism" (p. 5). This finding may reflect a lack of knowledge of SLA research, particularly in relation to the learning pathways of children

who are becoming bi or multilingual. It may also be a reflection of the impact on teachers of what Meacham (2000) terms the contemporary international "realm of mainstream literacy politics and policy" in which "cultural diversity is seen as marginal, and even detrimental, to effective literacy conception and practice" (p. 181). In such a context the mono or multilingualism of teaching staff may influence teachers' classroom responses to cultural and linguistic diversity. This is considered next.

1.6 Mainstream teachers and English Monolingualism

In addition to lack of knowledge of SLA research, there exists a 'monoglot ethos' (Nieto, 2000) amongst teaching staff worldwide in English dominant, pluralist nations such as Australia. In recent years, while students in Australia have become more linguistically diverse, teachers have not. According to Allard (2006) the teaching profession in Australia "remains overwhelmingly Anglo-Australian, mono-lingual and of middle class status" (p. 321). For example, in all Australian primary schools in 2007, 86% of the teaching staff was born in Australia. However, in Catholic systemic schools (such as those in this study site) the percentage was 91%. Of those teachers not born in Australia, the largest group was composed of those born in England (Australian Government. Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations, 2008).

Due to the linguistic background of current teaching staff and the unassailed dominance of English in a society such as Australia, Corson (1997) argues that English is 'taken for granted' in both public and educational contexts as the only valuable linguistic capital. Many teachers, therefore, do not interrogate the privilege their language and culture enjoy (Nieto, 2000). Gogolin (2002) hypothesises that many monolingual mainstream teachers unconsciously operate within what she terms a "monolingual habitus" (p. 132) constructed and maintained by the education system itself. Within this 'habitus' part of a teacher's professional role is to "traditionalize monolingualism in the official national language" (p. 133). Consistent with this hypothesis, in a study carried out in the USA, Youngs and Youngs (2001) found that monolingual teachers were less likely to have a positive attitude to ELLs than were those who spoke another language or had taken foreign language courses. This finding is of significance to this study because of the link research has established between attitudes and teacher efficacy (Karabenick & Clemens-Noda, 2004).

1.7 Mainstream teachers and training for working with ELLs, including those of refugee background

Internationally, mainstream teachers have reported feeling they have inadequate pedagogical preparation and professional learning opportunities to address the learning needs of ELLs in their classes (Borzellino, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 1995; Reeves, 2006;

Watts-Taffe & Truscott, 2000; Wright & Choi, 2006). Similarly, in a national survey to investigate how well prepared beginning teachers felt to teach literacy, Louden and Rohl (2006) reported that of all the demographic groups present in Australian mainstream classrooms, these teachers felt least prepared to teach Indigenous students and ELLs. Similarly, in a study conducted amongst mainstream teachers of African refugee ELLs in a Melbourne high school, teachers reported feeling inadequately prepared to have these children in their discipline content classes (Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005). In addition, more recently, in a survey of Sydney mainstream primary teachers with ELLs in their classes 88% said that they "required professional learning to be more effective in teaching their ESL students" (Grogan, Reid & Sandal, 2010, p. 1). Feelings similar to these were reported by Oliver, et al. (2009) in a study of teachers of such students in Western Australia. Consistent with these Australian findings, various studies in the USA have found that linguistically diverse students present significant challenges for mainstream teachers who must attempt to meet their distinct learning needs while negotiating the numerous priorities within their classrooms in a climate of accountability (Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; Reeves, 2002; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). Nevertheless, other studies (Milner, 2005; Reeves, 2006) have reported ambivalence on the part of mainstream teachers in relation to receiving more pedagogical training for working with ELLs.

1.8 Mainstreaming as Equity for ELLs?

While some of the motives behind the integration of ELLs into mainstream classes may be laudable, mainstreaming in itself obviously is not sufficient to stimulate effective English language learning in the absence of appropriate pedagogies (Langman, 2003; Leung, 2005). As discussed earlier, to maximise their learning outcomes in mainstream settings, ELLs require explicit SLA research-informed ESL instruction (Cummins, 1981; Krashen, 1997; Leung, 2005; McKay, 2000). Adams and Jones (2005) contend that placing the responsibility for addressing the learning needs of ELLs on mainstream teachers is unrealistic in terms of the teachers' expertise and that it also constitutes a denial of the educational rights of these students. The result of mainstreaming, they claim, is that the majority of bilingual or multilingual children have to accommodate to their teachers' monolingualism and lack of training. Consistent with this claim, a number of scholars (Leung, 2005; Verplaetse, 2000; Walters, 2007) contend that mainstreaming often represents a 'sink or swim' (Black, 2006) conception of education which in practice tends to place the responsibility for learning solely on the ELL. Mainstreaming alone without specialist intervention and ESL specific pedagogies also reflects the 'common sense' myth that young children 'pick up languages quickly' and that placing ELLs with

English native speaking peers speeds up the English acquisition process (Mc Laughlin, 1992). It also makes opaque the distinctions (and different acquisition time-frames) between the language required for social communication and that required for academic success (The BICS/ CALP distinction will be taken up in Chapter Two: Literature Review).

The preceding sections of this chapter have very briefly sketched the broad international and national context for this study by considering policies which have devolved the responsibility for the education of ELLs, including those of refugee background, to mainstream teachers, and by examining the nature of the mainstream teaching force. Attention will now turn to a discussion of the proposed study site.

1.9 Description of the proposed study site

This study took place in two Catholic primary schools in a non-metropolitan diocese in New South Wales, Australia. This diocese has 44 primary schools, some in a large, coastal city and others in smaller inland towns, including in rural, farming areas. In 2008 the area recorded a population of 632,851 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Historically, this geographical region has had a much lower level of linguistic and cultural diversity than other areas in New South Wales, such as Sydney. For example, in the most recent Australian National Census (conducted in 2006), only 9.7% of the population in this region was recorded as born overseas (and the majority of these in English-speaking countries such as England, New Zealand and Scotland). In comparison, state wide in New South Wales according to the 2006 National Census, 22.2% of the population was born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008).

Recent changes to immigration patterns, however, have begun to alter the cultural and linguistic diversity of this area (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Until recently, the larger proportion of immigrants, including refugees, to Australia has settled in large cities, such as Sydney and Melbourne. Increasingly, in New South Wales new arrivals are settling outside the greater Sydney area and children are attending mainstream primary schools that previously had very low enrolments or 'low-incidence' (Walker, Shafer & Iiams, 2004) of ELLs from any of Freeman and Freeman's (2007) categories noted above. For example, the enrolment of ELLs in Catholic schools in the diocese which is the site of this proposed study rose from 1146 to 1502 (an increase of approximately 42%) between 2004 and 2005 (New South Wales Catholic Education Commission, 2008). Consequently, this area can be classified as one of 'rapid influx' (Walker, et al., 2004) in which monolingual, dominant culture teachers accustomed to teaching relatively culturally and linguistically homogenous classes now need to address the learning needs of a quickly changing student demographic profile.

Research in 'rapid influx' schools in the USA has shown that teachers may consider having ELLs in their classes a burden (Valdes, 2001) and overwhelming (Walker, et al., 2004). At present, the largest groups comprising the 'rapid influx' in this study site are refugee and humanitarian entrants from Southern Sudan and other African countries, such as Sierra Leone and Liberia (Northern Settlement Services, 2008). Many of the school-aged children of these communities have had interrupted or little formal schooling before entering Australian mainstream classrooms and as such present new and complex pedagogical challenges to mainstream teachers. However, at a number of schools in the area, including the two schools at which this study was undertaken, the enrolment of ELLs now includes children who arrived from Sudan as infants in the early stages of this period of 'rapid influx'. These children thus fit within Freeman and Freeman's (2007) categorisation as long-term English learners, or within the New South Wales categorisation of Second Phase English learners (New South Wales Department of Education and Training. Multicultural Programs Unit, 2004, p. 5).

1.9.i Family background of ELL participants

The ELLs who are the participants in this study are Sudanese by birth. Background information about their family situations was provided to the researcher by participating teachers, as parental interviews were outside the parameters of this study. Many, but not all, of the families to which the participating ELLs belong, are headed by women who were widowed in the conflict in Southern Sudan, before coming to Australia with their children as refugees. Many of these parents and guardians have experienced significant trauma during the conflict and during their refugee journey, including the process of settlement in Australia. Given these experiences, it is plausible that some of them may suffer post traumatic stress disorder. While the study in no way seeks to investigate the existence or otherwise of this condition amongst the Sudanese adults, it is reasonable to consider post traumatic stress disorder, and its impact on family dynamics, as an issue of relevance in understanding the family reality of the ELL participants in this study. Parental post traumatic stress disorder may affect the dynamics of family units by engendering 'transgenerational' trauma. That is, the impact of the trauma experienced directly by parents and older siblings may be transmitted to family members (such as the ELLs in this study) who did not experience it directly (Daud, af Klinteberg & Rydelius, 2008; Daud, Skoglund & Rydelius, 2004; Fraine & Mc Dade, 2009; Hosin, 2001; Kira, 2004; Payne, 2008; Youth Action and Policy Association NSW, 2004). Such transgenerational trauma would obviously have impacts on the education of children experiencing it. (see Section 2.3.4.ii in Literature Review for a discussion of transgenerational trauma and Section 2.3.4.iii for a discussion of the impact of transgenerational trauma in classrooms).

All the families of the participating ELLs have four or more children. Across the families the children range in age from senior high school to pre-school. A number of studies of the experiences of the older children of this emerging community in Australian schools have been conducted (see Dooley, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Mickan, Lucas, Davis and Lim, 2007; Miller, 2007; Miller, Mitchell & Brown, 2005). Most of the parents and guardians are bi or multilingual, speaking tribal languages such as Dinka, as well as Juba Arabic. While they come from a culture with rich oral literacy, their level of formal education and written literacy is generally low. A significant number of these adults have studied, or are currently studying, English at Technical and Further Education (TAFE) colleges. As a group, according to their children's teachers, the Sudanese parents and guardians highly value the educational opportunities available to their children in Australia.

1.9.1 Community Responses

The arrival of Sudanese refugees in non-metropolitan areas in New South Wales occurred in a period in which, according to Christie and Sidhu (2006), the ruling federal government encouraged a "unitary, culturally homogeneous national identity" (p. 454). In that political context there developed a social climate in which "public common sense has been reluctant to concede rights to refugees and asylum seekers" (Christie & Sidhu, 2004, p. 34). Consequently there was, and continues to be, under a new government, resistance by some sectors of the community in non-metropolitan areas to the settlement and integration of Sudanese refugees into those areas. Those who oppose Sudanese settlement claim to do so on the basis of the Sudaneses' perceived cultural differences, or 'otherness', which makes their social integration problematic. For example, the council in one regional city voted in 2006 against accepting Sudanese families as part of a government resettlement programme in their area (http://silverbullet.newcastle.edu.au /cmns 2280/2010 /06/03/ facing-prejudice). In the site of this study there has been distribution of anti-Sudanese racist material by a far right group and false claims made by the same group that Sudanese youths were involved in drug dealing and violent assaults in the area (http://www.abc.net.au/news/ newsitems/200501/s1285299.htm). Although these claims were roundly rejected by an Inspector from the local police command (http://www.abc.net.au/news/ newsitems/200501/s1285299.htm), they continue to affect the attitudes of some community members in the study site toward the Sudanese. (It should be noted, however, that in the study site and in other non-metropolitan areas, there have also been strong public mobilisations of support for Sudanese refugees in response to attempts to vilify them).

Given this context, the researcher is sensitive to the possible interpretations of her use of the term 'Sudanese refugee ELLs' in this thesis. She acknowledges that use of non-Australian nationality to describe members of a minority group in the Australian community, such as these ELL children, may potentially "reinforce their identities as singular subjectivities … or constitute them as powerless" (Ferfolja, 2009, p. 397) or 'other'. However, she justifies use of the term on the basis that it makes these children visible as a distinct group of learners with distinct needs, and as children who require appropriate educational responses if their full integration and participation in all aspects of Australian community life is to be realised.

1.10 Research Purpose

Hence, in light of the preceding discussion, the purpose of the proposed study is conceptualised as follows. In the diocese in which this study will take place there were 1502 primary aged children "requiring" ESL and only 589 "receiving" some sort of ESL assistance in diocesan systemic schools in 2005 (New South Wales Catholic Education Commission, 2008). Therefore, the learning of a significant number of ELLs in the diocese, including those of a refugee background, are being provided for in mainstream classes in the context of English Literacy programmes, and in schools in which this group of students has historically been very small. To the researcher's knowledge there has been little, if any, research into how the mostly monolingual, dominant-culture mainstream primary teachers respond to the presence of this distinct group of ELLs in their classes. The purpose of this study, then, is to investigate what those responses might be and what teacher attitudes and knowledge of SLA research may inform them. It is hoped that the findings of this study will provide knowledge which contributes to a better understanding of how the learning experiences of refugee ELLs in mainstream classes may be maximised. The following chapter presents a review of the literature pertinent to this study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1.1 Introduction

This literature review establishes a framework and justification for this study. It is informed principally by second language acquisition (SLA) research and theory (Cummins, 1981, 1983, 1991; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007; R. Ellis, 1985, 1994; Krashen, 1981,1982; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, 1981; Swain,1979, 1985, 2000), sociocultural theory of learning (Vygotsky, 1978) and the theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977). It is divided into three broad sections. The first section is a review of SLA research which provides theories that inform pedagogies aimed at optimising the learning opportunities of ELLs. The second section is a review of research from a variety of sites into factors which have been found to impact on the educational opportunities of ELLs in mainstream classes. The third section provides an overview of the particular learning needs of ELLs of refugee background.

Section one draws on the literature to examine a framework for supporting what the optimal instruction of ELLs, including those from a refugee background, in mainstream settings, might look like. While recognising the breadth of second language acquisition research, it focuses only on the research and theories which have the most direct relevance to the teaching of ELLs in mainstream settings. Drawing heavily on the seminal work of Cummins, research pertaining to L1-L2 transfer of knowledge and skills (the Interdependence hypothesis), the BICS/CALP distinction and skills transfer between proficiency dimensions in the L2 are reviewed, as is teacher knowledge of these. Sociocultural theory of learning and the theory of cultural capital are then drawn on to link this SLA research to effective pedagogies for the optimal instruction of ELLs, such as scaffolding and culturally relevant pedagogies. The dimensions of supportive school climates for ELLs are also considered.

In the second section the literature pertaining to factors which have been shown to impact on the actual educational experiences of ELLs in mainstream classrooms in a variety of sites, principally in the USA, is reviewed. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital (1977) and to a lesser extent, Gogolin's (2002) theory of monolingual habitus inform the analysis of this literature. Consideration is given to a number of areas: the positioning of English as a Second Language (ESL) within Literacy policy internationally as a 'subset' of English (McKay, 1999; Lo Bianco, 1998, 2002); the nature of the teaching force; teacher attitudes to aspects of ELL inclusion; teacher efficacy for working with ELLs; the effects of high-stakes testing on curriculum and teacher classroom practice; teacher training and professional learning; and the ways in which these impact on the actual classroom

learning experiences of ELLs. Contrast is made between actual classroom learning experiences and the instructional ideal established in section one. The literature indicates that there is considerable dissonance between the theoretical ideal of instruction of ELLs in mainstream settings and the reality of the instruction they are currently receiving. While recognising the distinct sociocultural environment of each school, the findings of this review establish the relevance of this study of the experiences of mainstream teachers of ELLs of refugee backgrounds in a non-metropolitan area in New South Wales.

Section three contains two subsections dealing with different subgroups within the group of refugee ELLs found in this study's research setting. The first subsection, the learning needs of refugee ELLs, draws on education research conducted internationally, and in Australia. It describes the nature of the particular learning needs of these students in the light of i) their refugee experiences, and ii) the findings of Second Language Acquisition research, discussed in section one of this Literature Review. This subsection identifies how New Arrival refugee students' experiences of trauma, disrupted schooling and possible limited literacy in the L1 combine to make them a distinct group, with distinct learning needs, within the broader body of ELLs. The review also sketches the nature of an adequate whole school response to these children. The second subsection, Second Phase refugee ELLs, considers the nature of this group of learners, often the younger siblings of previous New Arrivals, and their learning needs. Drawing on research mainly from the area of psychology, it describes the phenomenon of transgenerational trauma, in which the traumatic experiences of family members may be transmitted to others, and the ways in which this may impact on these Second Phase refugee ELLs children as classroom learners.

Section One: Second Language Acquisition Research

2.1.2 Introduction

The seminal works of scholars such as Cummins (1979, 1981, 1983), Krashen (1981, 1982), Skutnabb-Kangas (1979) and Swain (1979) form the base of a widely accepted body of empirical research which has shown that maintaining and developing a child's L1 is the most beneficial way in which to help that child to acquire an additional language. Use of the L1 provides what McKay (1999) calls the "bilingual interface" (p. 123) where skills and knowledge from the primary language can be transferred to learning the new language. The transferability of language mastery and cognitive development in the L1 to academic work in a second or additional language provides the strong basis of the case for bilingual education (Gerston & Baker, 2000; Hammond, 1999; Hammond & Derewianka, 1999; Krashen, 1997; Miller, et al., 2005).

2.1.3 SLA research relevant to the teaching of ELLs in the mainstream

Investigation of bilingual education programmes has provided empirical support for the validity of developing a learner's L1 concurrently with, and as an academic tool for, the acquisition of the usually socially dominant L2 (Gerston & Baker, 2000). This research has been carried out in sites with homogenous groups of ELLs such as in the USA where approximately 80% of all ELLs in schools are of Spanish speaking background (Freeman & Freeman, 2007); in Canada with the Francophone population (Cummins, 1983; Swain, 1979); and in Scandinavia with Finnish immigrants (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, 1981). However, some of the findings from this research are of relevance to attempts to maximise the learning opportunities of heterogeneous groups of ELLs in mainstream primary classes in regional New South Wales and will be considered in this review.

2.1.4 L1 to L2 transfer of knowledge and skills

The theory of positive transfer of knowledge and skills from an L1 to an L2 (Bialystok, 1991; Collier & Thomas, 1989; Cummins & Swain, 1986; R. Ellis, 1985) is of relevance to attempts to educate ELLs within mainstream primary classes. Cummins has proposed a hypothesis referred to variously in the literature as CUP (Common Underlying Proficiency) (Cummins,1981) and the Interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1992, 2000) to account for anecdotal observations that children who are literate in an L1 "make stronger progress in acquiring literacy in L2" (Cummins, 2000, p. 173). The hypothesis contends that literacy and cognitive skills such as concept formation, analysis, synthesis, language learning strategies and subject knowledge developed in the L1 are transferred to the L2. There appears to be a cognitive proficiency or "central processing system" (Cummins, 2000, p. 191) which underpins academic performance in both languages which is formed through experiences and learning in the L1. Thus, according to Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders and Christian (2005), ELLs "can bootstrap themselves into L2 literacy by drawing on L1 language and metacognitive resources" (p. 371).

There is significant empirical support for the positive transfer of knowledge and skills from L1 to L2. It comes from research related to relationships between L1 and L2 academic proficiency and from bilingual education programmes which have demonstrated that academic knowledge and skills can transfer between languages (Cummins, 2000). Thomas and Collier (2002) conducted a longitudinal, nation-wide study in the USA of effective practices for fostering academic achievement amongst ELLs. They found that a learner's years of schooling in an L1 is the strongest predictor of academic success in an L2. Also in the USA, Umbel and Oller (1995) found a positive relationship between receptive vocabulary in Spanish and English in bilingual students while in Canada, Swain,

Lapkin, Rowan and Hart (1991) reported that biliterate children acquired a third language more rapidly, and with greater proficiency, than did bilingual children who were not biliterate.

Some transfer has also been shown to occur between dissimilar languages. A study of children whose L1 was Arabic or Berber found a strong relationship between their L1 literacy and French literacy (Wagner, 1998). Evidence exists of transfer between other dissimilar languages such as Turkish and Dutch (Verhoeven, 1991b) and Japanese and English (Cummins, Swain, Nakajima, Handscombe, Green & Tran, 1984). However, it appears that between such languages, transfer occurs to a lesser extent than between more similar languages (Genesee, 1979). Cummins (2000) contends that for dissimilar languages interdependence may then be based principally upon the "cognitive and personality attributes of the individual" (p. 184) whereas with more similar languages, like Spanish and English, these "underlying attributes" (p. 184) interact with linguistic factors such as cognates and orthography.

While positive transfer of academic knowledge and skills from L1 to L2, and in some cases, possibly from L2 to L1 (Verhoeven, 1991a) is supported by the literature, positive transfer between L1 and L2 at the pragmatic and discourse level where sociocultural norms such as politeness and appropriateness are involved, is not (Tran, 2002; Kasanga, 1998; Hinkel, 1996). In fact, there is some evidence that indicates that the higher the proficiency level in the L2 the more likely the ELL is to employ his or her L1 sociocultural norms in communicative situations (Takahashi, 1999). These findings are of significance to this study in two ways. Firstly, they indicate the importance of teachers' understanding that language proficiency is multidimensional and context dependent, a point that will be taken up later in this chapter. Secondly, they imply the need for explicit, ongoing instruction of both linguistic and sociocultural norms for ELLs who are acquiring a second or additional language in mainstream class settings. This aspect will also be examined in a later section of this chapter.

While widely accepted amongst researchers, there has been some criticism of Cummins' interdependence hypothesis based on the 'time on task' hypothesis. The criticism is that devoting time to developing an L1 in an educational context is done at the expense of L2 development. However, a study amongst Vietnamese children learning English in the USA found "no evidence that the development of the L1 was a "barrier" " (Nyugen, Shin & Krashen, 2001, p. 159) to English development. Noting that the empirical evidence supporting the Interdependence hypothesis is principally correlational, Genesee, et al. (2005) also contend that there exists no evidence within the literature to support the "time on task" hypothesis. The relevance of the Interdependence hypothesis to educating ELLs

in mainstream classes is found in its implications for pedagogy. Cummins (2000) stresses the need for "formal instruction in the target language to realize the benefits of cross-linguistic transfer" (2000, p. 39). This position is supported by other scholars such as Crawford, 2004; Genesee, et al., 2005; P. Gibbons, 2002; Lo Bianco, 1998.

Hence, teachers need to conceptualise the L1 as an academic instrument which can be activated to support the development of the L2 in appropriate instructional environments. They should not expect L2 acquisition to occur through "osmotic processes and blind faith" (Lo Bianco, 1998, p. 2). This point will be taken up in the later section of this chapter dealing with pedagogies. The Interdependence hypothesis implies that monolingual mainstream teachers can support the continued development of students' L1s when they do not know the child's language, simply by valuing it. When teachers express interest in a child's language and treat it as a resource this approach has positive academic outcomes (Franquiz & de la Luz Reyes, 1998). By encouraging parents, for example, to involve their children in community language classes outside school hours and to continue to use the L1 in their family and community life, teachers can support the transfer of skills from L1 to L2 for ELLs in mainstream classes. For example, a study conducted in the USA amongst Hispanic students found that English L2 literacy development was positively influenced by emergent literacy in the L1 and by children being read to in the L1 at home (Reese, Garnier, Gallimore & Goldenburg, 2001).

Despite the strong evidence supporting L1 to L2 transfer of academic skills, some mainstream teachers have been found to support only an instrumental or subtractive view of the use of ELLs' first languages (Creese & Leung, 2003). That is, these teachers viewed L1 use only as a transitional phase toward all English instruction. The L1 was not considered an important ongoing tool and resource for learning processes. Such an instrumental perspective positions ELLs and their L1s as problems to be solved rather than as skilled individuals possessing resources for the acquisition of additional languages (Cummins & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, 2000).

2.1.5 The BICS/ CALP distinction

The distinction between two types of language development is the most relevant and critical of the theories derived from SLA research which may inform attempts to improve instruction for ELLs in mainstream classes. The first type of language is Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) which Cummins (1979, 1981) conceptualised and claimed could be achieved usually within two to three years. These claims are generally supported by other scholars (August & Hakuta, 1998; Hakuta, Butler & Witt, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 2002). The second type is Cognitive Academic Language

Proficiency (CALP). Also conceptualised by Cummins (1979, 1981), it is widely accepted to take around seven years to develop (Cummins, 2000; Collier, 1987; Hakuta, et al., 2000; Klesmer, 1987; McKay, 1999; Thomas & Collier, 2002). BICS, or conversational fluency, "represents the ability to carry on a conversation in familiar face-to-face situations" (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007, p. 799). However, Cummins and Yee-Fun (2007) also contend that some registers of writing, such as Internet chat rooms, "have as much in common with conversational language as they do with written language" (p. 800). CALP is described by Cummins (2000) "not as any absolute notion of expertise" (p. 66) but rather as "the degree to which an individual has access to and expertise in understanding and using the specific kind of language that is employed in educational contexts and is required to complete academic tasks" (2000, p. 66). Thus, it is CALP which provides ELLs with the linguistic tools needed to access, interpret and respond successfully to the curriculum content in a mainstream class setting. An understanding amongst teachers of these distinctions and their developmental time frames is essential to attempts to support the academic development of ELLs in mainstream classes.

There has been some critique of Cummins' distinction between these types of language proficiency at the theoretical level (Edelsky, 1990; Romaine, 1989; Wiley, 1996). Nonetheless, it is broadly accepted amongst scholars and has informed the development of effective pedagogies for ELLs which will be discussed later in this chapter. Cummins (2000) has stressed that the educational relevance of the BICS/CALP model is that it "highlight[s] the fact that educators' conflating of these aspects of proficiency was a major factor in the creation of academic difficulties for bilingual students" (p. 59). Hence, the critiques that are of relevance to this review are those that have addressed the nexus between the theory and the information it contains to facilitate its classroom application. For example, Scarcella (2003) has criticised Cummins' lack of operationalising tasks related to BICS and CALP in a way that makes it easy for teachers to use an understanding of the distinction in planning for ELLs in the mainstream. She argues that the model "does not provide teachers with sufficient information about Academic English to help their students to acquire it" (p. 6). Scarcella (2003) and Butler and Stevens (2001) point to the need for further development of age and grade descriptions of the skills and language features in mainstream classes which ELLs need to acquire in order to achieve school success. Butler and Stevens (2001) also stress the "urgent need" (p. 424) for "translating that information into academic assessments and guidelines for teachers" (p. 424). Similarly, Leung (2007) critiques the BICS/CALP distinction on the basis that the categories "do not yield precise linguistic descriptions nor do they map on to any specific area of the curriculum directly" (p. 252).

However, it should be noted that in Australia, the *ESL Scales* (Curriculum Corporation, 1994), while not employing Cummins' terminology of BICS/CALP, acknowledges the difference between "conversational uses of English" (p. 3) and English "which enables them [ELLs] to perform academic tasks equivalent to those of their English-speaking age-grade peers" (p. 3). The *ESL Scales* provides detailed descriptions of the progressive performance of ELLs at various levels in the different language modes, which are defined in the document as Oral Interaction (listening and speaking), Reading and Responding, and Writing. In so doing, it seeks to act as a bridge to "ensure the access of ESL learners to outcomes" (p. 9) in the Key Learning Areas (KLAs) of the mainstream curriculum.

The theory of BICs and CALP (Cummins, 1979) are also reflected in the concept of the Mode Continuum derived from the seminal work of Martin (1985). Prominent in Australian literacy and language education, the Mode Continuum posits language use as constituting a continuum from more 'spoken-like' context-embedded forms to more 'written-like' decontextualised forms (Martin, 1985). Gibbons (2002) contends that a conceptualisation of language as a continuum supports the pedagogical approaches in which teachers develop students' use of decontextualised oral language as a bridge into the development of written CALP-like language. The conception of language use as a continuum is reflected within the strands of the *ESL Scales.*

It is relevant to this study, then, not just to explore teachers' knowledge of SLA research and theory. It is also appropriate to explore their knowledge of the *ESL Scales* which reflect that research and theory, and the ways in which it may inform teachers' classroom practices with ELLs.

2.1.6 Transfer between dimensions of language proficiency in the L2

Recently Cummins and Fun-Yee (2007) have built upon the BICS/CALP model proposing a three-part distinction: conversational fluency, academic language proficiency and discrete language skills. Discrete language skills are "the rule governed aspects of language" (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007, p. 800) such as grammar, spelling and phonology where "acquisition of the general case permits generalization to other instances governed by that particular rule" (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007, p. 800). These researchers argue that the three dimensions become differentiated from each other as the child's language development progresses. They justify the distinctions between dimensions on the basis that each aspect of proficiency has a different developmental pathway for first and additional language students and that each aspect "responds differently to particular kinds of instructional practices in school" (2007, p. 799).

Lack of understanding of these distinct proficiencies, and the differentiation between them that occurs as language development progresses, can have significant consequences for ELLs in mainstream classes (Cummins, 2000; Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007; Mantero, 2003). These consequences are manifested when an ELL's proficiency in one skill component is interpreted as indicative of an equivalent level of proficiency in another (Cummins, 2000). Cummins and Yee-Fun (2007) however, report that "minimal direct transfer is observed between the acquisition of conversational fluency and discrete language skills, on the one hand, and the development of academic language proficiency on the other" (p. 799). Other scholars (Callahan, 2006; Scarcella, 2003) contend that to avoid this "conflating" of proficiency components (Cummins, 2000, p. 59) ELLs should be taught reading, writing, speaking and listening in the L2 in an integrated manner supported by a sociocultural framework.

The consequences for ELLs if they are taught via a model which "divorces language from its interactive and communicative functions" (p. 2) are reported by Callahan (2006). She contends that increasingly in the USA English Language Development (ELD) programmes, which provided integrated reading, writing, listening and speaking instruction for ELLs, have been replaced with reading intervention programmes only. The result of such reading programmes for ELLs is that they may be able to "test out" (Callahan, 2006, p.15) of them and consequently lose their access to ESL support, yet still be "unable to succeed in the mainstream curriculum" (Callahan, 2006, p. 15). Placing ELLs in reading intervention programmes, rather than integrated ELD programmes, and interpreting reading proficiency as academic achievement, according to Callahan (2006) is "ill-advised at best and pedagogical malpractice at the worst" (p. 16). Consistent with this reported trend toward conflating reading proficiency with proficiency in all aspects of English, Mantero (2005), in a survey of USA elementary school teachers of ELLs, found that the only ESL-related strategies which the teachers knew were related to the teaching of reading. These findings, although from a different sociocultural environment in the USA, are of relevance to this study, because within primary schools in this study site, ELLs are increasingly being provided for in reading-based literacy intervention programmes.

Lack of transfer between proficiency components, specifically the discrete language skill of decoding and the development of reading comprehension, considered an element of academic language proficiency, has been demonstrated in other international studies. For example, a study in New Zealand of Pasifika (Pacific Islander) immigrant children and their early reading processes found evidence to support the existence of different developmental pathways for decoding and reading comprehension (Phillips, McNaughton

& MacDonald, 2004). In a similar study, Verhoeven (2000) investigated the early reading and spelling processes of Dutch primary school aged children learning to read in their L1 and those of immigrant children learning to read in an L2. He found that those learning in the L2 kept pace with the L1 learners in decoding and blending, but not in spelling and reading comprehension.

In Australia, a study of the pedagogical implications of the inclusion of Sudanese ELLs in high school classes found that teachers might expect oral fluency to transfer to academic language skills without specific pedagogical intervention (Miller, et al., 2005). However, as discussed earlier, the empirical literature does not support this expectation. This finding is particularly serious given that these students represent a group which has become more numerically significant in Australian schools, that is, a group with interrupted schooling who will need extra time to gain academic skills, and will not achieve them at all without targeted formal instructional intervention (Cummins, 2000). This demographic change presents a great challenge to teachers who may be inadequately trained to deal with such learners, especially if these learners may have been exited from intensive on-arrival programs on the basis of their assessed level in other dimensions of language proficiency (Callahan, 2006). These learners, and their younger siblings, who are 'long term English language learners' (Freeman & Freeman, 2007) are found in schools in this study site. As such, the findings of this Australian study support the relevance of examining teachers' understandings of the L2 skills distinction and the ways in which it may inform their practice and responses to refugee ELLs in their classes.

The theory of minimal transfer between proficiency components in the L2 and the existence of different learning pathways for ELLs and native speakers, has relevance for the instruction of ELLs in mainstream classes, in that knowledge of these research outcomes provides teachers with a tool for conceptualising the differences between becoming literate in an L1 and in an L2 or L3. Many seminal researchers (Cummins, 1979; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Wong Fillmore, 1991) and more recently (Dufficy, 2004; Gregory, 1996; Hammond & Derewianka, 1999; Kenner, 2000a) stress that the context of an ELL developing English literacy is very different from that of a native-speaking child. Crawford (2004) points out that "To succeed in school, ELLs must master academic knowledge and skills at the same time they are acquiring a second language" (p. 2).

The literature related to minimal transfer between dimensions of language proficiency in the L2 indicates that in order to support ELLs in developing academic proficiency, different pedagogies from those used with monolingual children must be employed. Such pedagogies, however, should not assume transfer between skill components (Cummins, 2000; Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007) or present the components of language proficiency as

"hollow, inane, decontextualised sub skills" (Delpit, 1988, p. 292). Instead, the various components should be addressed "within the context of meaningful communicative endeavors" (Delpit, 1988, p. 292). The current approaches for students termed 'at-risk' such as ELLs, under the *Literacy for All Plan* in the schools in this study are largely based upon de-contextualised withdrawal programmes concentrating on literacy skills development. This suggests that pedagogies assuming transfer between proficiency dimensions in the L2, which are not empirically supported, currently form the basis of approaches to the education of ELLs in mainstream settings in this study site.

2.1.7 The Comprehensible Output Hypothesis

Another outcome of SLA research which is of relevance to attempts to educate ELLs in mainstream classes is the Comprehensible Output hypothesis put forward by Swain (1985, 2000) and Swain and Lapkin (1995). This hypothesis contends that a learner's production of output in a target language constitutes an integral part of the process of learning that language. That is, it views speaking and writing in the target language as cognitive tools for the further development of language proficiency. Swain (1985, 2000) identifies three functions of the hypothesis: the noticing/triggering function, the hypothesis testing function and the metalinguistic, or internalising, function. Accordingly, by producing language in meaningful contexts, that is, the hypothesis testing function, a learner can receive feedback on his/her performance from interlocutors or readers, and in the classroom context, peers and teachers. This feedback can assist the learner to focus on, or 'notice' form in the context of meaningful language use. These experiences contribute to learner internalisation of improved form, the metalinguistic function, and thus, improved language proficiency. Hence, the Comprehensible Output hypothesis offers significant theoretical and practical, operational support to mainstream teachers of ELLs in that it foreshadows the types of pedagogies that they may employ to support the language development of these students in the course of general KLA content teaching. It should, however, be noted that Swain's hypothesis has been criticised by Krashen (1998) who contends that learner language output is a product of previous language learning, rather than a component of language learning.

The SLA theories which have been discussed in this section of the Literature Review; Cummins' (1992) Interdependence Hypothesis; the theory of BICS/CALP distinctions (Cummins, 1979, 1981); and Swain's (1985) Comprehensible Output Hypothesis, complement each other to provide a pedagogical framework for approaching the teaching and assessment of ELLs. Attention will turn shortly, in Section Two of this chapter, to an examination of pedagogical best practice consistent with these theories. Prior to that, the

next section will briefly consider the literature in relation to teacher knowledge of SLA theories.

2.1.8 Teacher knowledge of SLA research

A lack of knowledge of the key findings and theories of SLA research amongst teachers is reported by many scholars (Harper & de Jong, 2005; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; Layzer, 2000; McKay, 1999; Reeves, 2006; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000). For example, a study in the USA of teachers' language attitudes and their implications for teacher preparation, found that 52% of elementary teachers believed that use of L1 at home interferes with L2 acquisition. It also found that these teachers did not understand the relationship between L1 and L2 in the mastery of academic content (Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004). Similarly, in a study of mainstream elementary teachers' practices which may encourage the maintenance of heritage languages (L1s) Lee and Oxelson (2006) found that if teachers recognise the value of such languages at all, they are "reduced to the function of a "cultural thing" with little, if any, understanding of cognitive benefits" (p. 463).

The provision of bilingual support in mainstream primary classes in Britain was studied by Bourne (2001). She noted the tendency for languages other than English in such classes to be reduced to a cultural phenomenon "drawn on for occasional stories and songs, but remaining outside or incidental to the learning process" (p. 250). In Australia, Allard (2006) refers to this tendency as the "stomp and chomp approach to diversity" (p. 328). Given that such lack of knowledge has been found amongst teachers in sites with large, visible, homogeneous groups of ELLs, these findings speak to the relevance of examining the SLA knowledge of teachers in non-metropolitan Australia where ELL enrolment has historically been low. It is, then, of critical importance to the chances for academic success of ELLs in the mainstream that teacher knowledge of SLA theories should inform best pedagogical practices. These practices would assist children to develop literacy in a second or third language via the appropriate utilisation of their existing linguistic resources (Creese, 2005). Such SLA informed pedagogies would provide these students with real, rather than theoretical, access to the curriculum. Having reviewed in this section of the chapter relevant SLA research findings, the following section will consider the literature dealing with best pedagogical practice for the teaching of ELLs which is informed by these theories.

Section Two: Pedagogies consistent with SLA Research

2. 2.1 Introduction

Theories derived from SLA research are generally accepted as a reliable basis on which to begin the conceptualisation of appropriate pedagogies for ELLs. As Cummins (2000) points out, "It is the *theory* rather than the individual research findings that permits the generation of predictions about program outcomes under different conditions. Research findings themselves cannot be applied across contexts" (p. 204) [Italics in original].. Hence, it is appropriate to review the theory-based literature relating to effective pedagogies for ELLs as a means of trying to conceptualise what ideal instruction for these students may look like in this study site.

2.2.1.i Key Principles of effective instruction for ELLs

While the teaching of ELLs is affected by context variables particular to each school site (Clair, 1995; Reeves, 2006), Freeman and Freeman (2007) contend that there is "widespread agreement on the principles that underlie successful programs" (p. 349) for ELLs. They name four elements for academic success: engaging students in challenging; theme-based curriculum to foster the development of academic concepts; drawing on students' cultural and linguistic experiences and backgrounds; organising collaborative activities and scaffolding instruction; and creating confident students who value both school and themselves as learners. Other prominent sources support these principles. For example, five "standards" derived from a synthesis of research with learners from a variety of cultural, language and racial backgrounds which "articulate both philosophical and pragmatic guidelines for effective pedagogies" (www.crede.berkeley.edu/standards) are posited by the Centre for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (CREDE) in the USA. They are: teachers and students working together, developing language and literacy skills across the curriculum, connecting lessons to students' lives, engaging students with challenging lessons and emphasising dialogue over lectures (www.crede.berkeley.edu/standards). These standards have been found to be effective across curricula and with both minority and majority students.

Similar lists of instructional variables are named by Gandara, Maxwell-Jolly and Driscoll (2005) as the result of extensive surveying of Californian teachers and Gerston and Baker (2000) as the result of a multivocal study of effective practices with ELLs. Collier and Thomas (2007) have recently developed a "Prism model" for predicting the academic success of ELLs. It is comprised of four parts: sociocultural processes, language development, academic development and cognitive development. Each of these parts has

an L1 and L2 dimension. While Collier and Thomas (2007) claim their model can only be fully operationalised by simultaneous L1 and L2 developmental and instructional models, its categories are consistent with the components named by Freeman and Freeman (2007), Gandara, et. al, (2005), Gerston and Baker (2000) and CREDE as underlying successful English medium instruction of ELLs. In Australia, the Australian Council of TESOL Associations (ACTA) has developed nine key "ESL-in-the Mainstream Standards" for the teaching of ELLs by non-TESOL specialists. These are grouped in three categories: Dispositions toward language and culture, Understandings about language and culture and Skills in language and culture. These standards reflect knowledge and integration of both SLA theory and the research findings in relation to effective practices with ELLs (www.tesol.org.au/std_nt.htm).

2.2.2 Sociocultural theory and its relation to pedagogy

The above-mentioned key principles for effective instruction of ELLs indicate that in general terms, pedagogies that emphasise the process of learning over performance measures best meet the needs of ELLs in English-medium instructional settings (Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004). Practices which take a learning over performance approach to curriculum are derived from sociocultural, constructivist theory which has its foundations in the seminal work of Vygotsky (1978). According to Lantolf (2007) there are "Three fundamental propositions" (p. 693) of sociocultural theory. They are: "human mental behaviour is always and everywhere mediated; mediation develops through internalization of socially constructed activity; instruction, development and assessment are inseparable processes dialectically unified in the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)" (p. 693). The ZPD (Vygotsky, 1978) is the developmental space between what a child can achieve unassisted and what that same child can achieve with guidance and support.

Sociocultural theory consequently conceptualises learning in a school context as a joint process which occurs between children and a knowledgeable adult, or in the case of ELLs in mainstream classes, knowledgeable native speaker classmates. It is mediated through language and the use of "cultural artifacts" (Lantolf, 2007, p. 268). The learner is an active participant in this joint activity. In other words, learning is not something that occurs in isolation within the brain of an individual, but something that comes about through social activity (Mantero, 2003, p. 202) and supports the particular types of pedagogies to be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.2.i Scaffolding

A pedagogical technique related to sociocultural theory that appears to provide ELLs with access to the curriculum is scaffolding, a term first used by Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) and Bruner (1978). P. Gibbons (2002) defines it as "a temporary assistance by which a teacher helps a learner know how to do something, so that the learner will later be able to complete a similar task alone" (p. 10). As such, it is "future-oriented" (P. Gibbons, 2002, p. 10). A study conducted in Australian high schools found scaffolding to be effective for improving the social and linguistic participation and resultant academic performance of both ELLs and native English speaking students (Michell & Sharp, 2005). By interacting in whole class and group work activities with native-speaking children, ELLs learn at an appropriate level how English works and its potential uses (Genesee, et al., 2005; Hammond, 2006; Mc Laughlin, August, Snow, Carlo, Dressler, White et al., 2000). Interactions like this also provide ELLs with the opportunity to produce language and receive feedback in a supportive environment (Hammond, 2006; Verplaetse, 2000; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000). Scaffolding pedagogies, then, are consistent with both Vygotsky's (1978) ZPD and with Swain's (1985) Comprehensible Output Hypothesis.

2.2.2.i (a) Scaffolding and the Curriculum Cycle

The Curriculum Cycle (Derewianka, 1991) is a pedagogical scaffolding technique widely employed in Australia. It is a specific sequence of activities used in the development of writing activities within the context of broader literacy classes which provides a means of supporting children's literacy development. The Cycle comprises the broad stages of field building, deconstruction and modelling, joint construction and independent construction. As a pedagogical technique it develops out of the correspondence between sociocultural, interactionist theories of learning and understandings about relationships between language and content articulated by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1985). Its implementation in a mainstream setting greatly scaffolds ELLs' English proficiency and movement along the previously mentioned Mode Continuum (Martin, 1985).

2.2.2.ii Classroom interaction patterns

The importance of a teacher's role in maximising access to the curriculum (Verplaetse, 2000, Yoon, 2004) is highlighted in collaborative, sociocultural approaches based on the strategy of scaffolding. That is, the child is positioned to be able to learn (Gebhard, 2004; Gee, 1996). The interactions between ELLs and teachers or native-speaker peers which are supported by scaffolding are focused on content and development of the target language (Verplaetse, 2000). As such, they contribute to the development of

"academically sanctioned" language (Gebhard, 2000, p.11) and go beyond the traditional, teacher driven and teacher centred Input, Response, Feedback pattern (Cazden, 1988; Mehan, 1989; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Van Lier, 1996). Scaffolded interactions create opportunities for extended output from ELLs from which they can gain peer and teacher feedback, and also importantly, display their knowledge and position themselves positively as members of the class learning community (Dooley, 2009a; Yoon, 2007).

In the USA Verplaetse (2000) studied interactions between teachers and ELLs from grades 7 to 12. She specifically sought to identify the effect of this interaction on the ELLs' "access to classroom speech events" (p. 20-21). She found limited interaction opportunities for ELLs and contends that this restricted the development of their social and academic communicative skills and limited their opportunities to construct knowledge. Similarly, as a result of a study in a Year 2 mainstream class in the USA, da Silva-Iddings (2005) reports that for the ELLs in that class, their "linguistic access to classroom activities and their progression towards meaningful participation" were "complicated by" (p. 165) factors such as lack of clarity in teacher instructions and explanations to ELLs as well as unequal rates of participation in classroom activities between ELLs and non-ELLs. In another study in the USA, Gebhard (2004) claims that "classroom literacy practices inadvertently constrained the efforts of second language learners to acquire academic literacies" (p. 245). This finding is of particular significance given that in research conducted with ELLs in mainstream discipline content classes in USA high schools, Gunderson (2000) reports that these students identified interactions with native English speakers as the "single most important way to improve their English" (p. 705).

The teacher is positioned as "the primary determiner of all interaction" in the classroom by Verplaetse (2000, p. 22). Similarly, Walsh (2003) contends that "opportunities for learning are jointly constructed, but primarily determined by the teacher" (p. 125). The teacher hence plays the crucial role of mediator of academic language, and thus curricular access, through the scaffolding process (P. Gibbons, 2003, 2007) and the nature of the opportunities for oral interaction she creates (Jones, 2007). Given that Cummins (2002) claims that successful scaffolding "draws on teachers' intuition, sensitivity and feeling for language" (p.vii) it appears reasonable to infer, as does Verplaetse (2000), that "features may exist within the NS [Native Speaker] teachers' input which may play a causal role in the reported reduced participation by NNS [Non-Native Speaker] students" (p. 22).

Lack of ELL participation has been noted in a number of classroom studies (Gebhard, 2004; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000; Vollmer, 2000). In their study of the participation of ELLs in high school classes in the USA Sharkey and Layzer (2000) observed that the dominant pattern of classroom practice was characterised by limited interaction, students working

alone and filling in worksheets and generally engaging in less cognitively demanding activities than their English-speaking peers. These researchers also noted that teachers placed responsibility for initiating interaction on the ELLs, rather than intervening themselves to create opportunities for them to interact with others. Verplaetse (2000) comments that simple strategies can be used effectively by teachers to support ELLs' interaction. She observed successful interactions where teachers called on ELLs by name to contribute in group or whole class discussions or gave them notice of a question that they would be asked later, thus allowing them to mentally rehearse their output.

Careful planning of classroom interactions involving ELLs is necessary if they are to produce good learning outcomes. Genesee, et al. (2005) contend that the grouping of ELLs with their mainstream classmates should be supported by careful consideration of task design and the language proficiency of the ELLs and by prior training of the non-ELLs to be involved in the interactions. Accordingly, they claim that such carefully planned classroom interactions act as "both the medium for delivering appropriate instruction about literacy and academic material and the message itself, insofar as the very language that is used during interactive instruction embodies many key features of language for literacy and broader academic purposes" (2005, p. 374). In sites such as the one in this study, where pedagogical responses to the needs to ELLs are generally within a framework of individual withdrawal, teachers may not be aware of the need for careful planning of interactions involving ELLs, and of the learning benefits of such interventions.

2.2.2.iii Curricular expectations for ELLs

The belief that curricular expectations for ELLs must be the same as those for English L1 speaking students is implicit to socioculturally informed pedagogies such as scaffolding (P. Gibbons, 2002, 2007, 2009; McNaughton, 2002; Necochea & Cline 2000). According to P. Gibbons (2007), sociocultural theory and its related pedagogies, "challenges teachers to maintain high expectations of students but also to provide adequate scaffolding for tasks to be completely successful" (p. 703). McNaughton (2002) claims that teachers' high expectations "are derived from beliefs that effective patterns of co-construction can be achieved in their classrooms and schools" (p. 9). In order to achieve these patterns of co-construction, according to Leung (2001), classroom instruction must be modified for a linguistically diverse audience. He contends that the BICS/CALP distinction theory suggests, for example, the need to "back up pedagogically decontextualised language with visuals when curriculum language is not accessible" (2007, p. 252). This "backing up" can also be achieved by the use of multiple representations of material (Richardson, 2005), "message redundancy" (P. Gibbons,

2002) and appropriate modification of materials. In Australia, the *ESL Scales* (Curriculum Corporation, 1994) "assumes" (p. 5) the use of "adapted texts" (p. 5) with ELLs. However, it must be noted that some scholars maintain that the usefulness of modified materials in achieving academic success for ELLs has not been proven empirically (Rix, 2006). An additional confounding factor has been identified in the Australian context by Miller, et al. (2005). These researchers report that the teachers of Sudanese high school age ELLs in the site of their study claimed that where modified materials were available the students resisted their use.

Explicit, targeted intensive teaching of the skills required for the successful completion of classroom tasks is necessary. Such teaching operationalises high curricular expectations for ELLs (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007; P. Gibbons, 2002, 2009; Hammond & Derewianka, 1999; Phillips, McNaughton & MacDonald, 2004; Scarcella, 2003; Verhoeven, 2000). It may include explicit teaching of lexical and syntactic features within an integrated socioculturally informed pedagogical approach. Such instruction maximises language and literacy learning opportunities as a means of avoiding any linguistically based obstacles to content area learning (Layzer, 2000). The literature reveals other relevant sociological and pedagogical theories consistent with both the outcomes of SLA research and sociocultural theories of learning. These theories and their relevance to this study are examined in the following section.

2.2.3 Cultural Capital

The concept of Cultural Capital was developed by the sociologist Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1986). According to Bourdieu (1986) cultural capital exists in three forms. These are objectified cultural capital, referring to those objects whose appreciation implies some type of special cultural ability, institutionalised cultural capital referring to educational qualifications and the system for bestowing them, and embodied cultural capital, referring to a 'disposition' toward the appreciation and understanding of cultural goods (Dumais, 2002; Olneck, 2000). An individual's possession of cultural capital is not fixed (Bourdieu, 1984), but rather is "both a means and an outcome of ongoing conflict" (Olneck, 2000, p. 337).

McNaughton (2002) defines cultural capital in the context of education as "the store of knowledge, experience and attitudes that children can capitalise on at school given the practices of the school" (p. 20). A child's cultural capital, obtained from her parents, interacts with her economic capital and habitus, that is "[her] acquired dispositions that shape everyday practice" (Pahl & Rowsell, 2010, p. 7) to influence the opportunities that she has in life, including educational ones (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu contends that

schools exert great power over a child's educational opportunities by the act of validating and rejecting certain arbitrary types of cultural capital. It is the cultural capital of the dominant class which is validated in the school. In doing this schools serve as sites for the social reproduction of cultural hierarchies. Olneck (2000) contends that "the opaque quality of cultural arbitrariness" (p. 320) which is obscured by the education system (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990) "is a pre-condition" (p. 320) for this reproduction to occur.

The concept of school-validated cultural capital, then, is of significance to attempts to cater educationally for ELLs in mainstream classes. This is especially so for those of a refugee background, given that "rarely do refugee students entering Australian schools possess the multiple forms of social, linguistic and cultural capital that are taken for granted in mainstream classes" (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010 , p. 149) (see Section 2.2.6.iii in relation to linguistic capital). Luke and Dooley (forthcoming) similarly note that for refugee children, the cultural and linguistic capital they bring to the Australian educational context "can act as disadvantages in mainstream lingua franca education" (p. 3) in relation to the linguistic and literacy practices validated in schools (Olneck, 2000). This contention, and its relation to home-school discontinuity, is considered in the following section.

2.2.3.i Home school discontinuity

Bourdieu (1977) posits that school success depends on how children situate themselves in relation to the curriculum based on the cultural capital that they bring to school with them. For primary aged ELLs, including those of refugee backgrounds, this can be extremely problematic when, as Kenner (2000b) comments of parts of the British Asian community, "school literacies are often alien to those of local communities" (p. 2). This problem is conceptualised as a lack of 'continuity' where continuity is defined as "the matching of expertise that children have in their everyday activities outside school with the sorts of entry skills that they need to engage effectively in classroom activities" (Mc Naughton 2002, p. 20). Discussing this concept in relation to their work with Pasifika immigrant children in New Zealand, Phillips, et al. (2004) argue that there is some discontinuity between home and school cultures for all children and that in itself discontinuity is not necessarily a problem. They believe that educators should focus on managing it, rather than trying to change school to be like the home culture. Aspects of instruction which can be managed to reduce discontinuity include the examples a teacher uses in classes, the types of questions he or she asks, and the ways in which students are permitted to express themselves and participate (Milner, 2005). Interestingly, a study by Gregory (2004) in the UK suggests that discontinuity may be less when an ELL starting school already has an older sibling attending. She found that the older siblings were able

to act as mediators of school culture to younger ones. She describes this phenomenon as "collusion between siblings and teachers in creating classroom cultures" (p. 97). This contention is of relevance to the young refugee ELLs in the site of this study who arrived in Australia as infants and have had older siblings encounter the Australian educational system before themselves.

2.2.3.ii Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

There is general agreement amongst scholars that building upon a child's cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) is key to maximising his or her learning opportunities. To be able to do this necessitates pedagogies that manage discontinuity and allow the child to interact positively with school literacies. One means of attempting to do this is culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995). This pedagogy recognises and values students' languages and cultures as valid in themselves and as extremely useful tools for the acquisition of further academic skills. As such, it is consistent with the theory of L1 to L2 transfer derived from SLA research. It is also consistent with sociocultural theory in that it views language and thought as socially constructed, and thus, meaningful language use as varying according to culture and background.

An example of the need for culturally relevant pedagogy and content to make learning meaningful to ELLs is given by Jimenez (2005). He claims that for many Latino and Latina students in the USA their most meaningful use of English is what he calls 'language brokering', that is, the students acting as a conduit between the wider English speaking world and those members of their families and communities who are monolingual in Spanish. He argues that this function of language and literacy is unrecognised, and consequently not valued, in English literacy pedagogies. Similarly in Britain, both Gregory (2004) and Kenner (2000a, 2000b) have studied the rich literacy practices of Asian communities and shown that where these experiences are not recognised, a means of tapping into children's existing resources as tools for constructing academic skills is lost. The importance of maximising student interaction on the basis of communicative experiences that are meaningful to them is highlighted in a study of the incongruence between theory and practice in relation to ELLs in USA schools conducted by Stritikus and Garcia (2003). Accordingly, home-school interactions need to be fostered to maximise the learning opportunities for ELLs. Given this, an examination of teachers' attitudes to, and skills for utilising the literacy practices of the homes and communities from which the ELLs in their classes come, is a relevant component of this study.

2.2.3.iii Integration of home culture into instruction for ELLs

Like other researchers, Stritikus and Garcia (2003) point to the importance of paying attention to, validating and integrating home culture and practices. Interestingly, the respondents to Gandara, et al.'s (2005) survey of Californian teachers acknowledged the value of family and community in the education of ELLs, but also expressed uncertainty about how to encourage the integration of what these researchers describe as a 'critical resource.' In a similar vein in the UK, Brooker (2002) has shown that parents who lack the appropriate school validated cultural capital are likely to have difficulty in communicating with teachers. It should be recognised that in the context of Australian primary schools, the integration of home cultures and literacies might be more problematic because of the heterogeneity of ELLs.

2.2.3.iv Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and academic achievement

Culturally relevant pedagogy implies a critical perspective to literacy teaching and is additive in that it preserves ELLs' cultural and linguistic diversity while equipping them with skills to function within the wider community (Delpit, 1988). According to Olneck (2000) those aiming to implement culturally relevant pedagogies, whom he terms 'multiculturalists' must "publicly identify their enterprise with standards of academic excellence" (p. 337). Olneck suggests this may combat what he claims is a prevailing monocultural view in the USA that the cultural capital of ELLs is not capital which can serve as a tool for school success. Indeed, even amongst scholars there exists some conjecture about the value of culturally relevant pedagogies as a means of achieving high academic outcomes for ELLs. For example, Bartolome (1998) claims that trying to match school practices with home practices may limit curricular access and development of academic skills and thus perpetuate existing equalities. If not implemented hand-in-hand with empirically supported explicit teaching of academic language features and skills, as discussed earlier, this may well be the result (Cummins, 2000; Scarcella, 2003). As Scarcella (2003) points out, "Without knowledge of academic English, individuals may be excluded from participation in educated society and prevented from transforming it" (p. 7). The literature thus seems to support Delpit's (1988) view that for optimal academic achievement ELLs "must be allowed the resource of the teacher's expert knowledge, while being helped to acknowledge their own expertness" (p. 292). The empirical research and the theories derived from it, clearly point to the need for a recognition, understanding of, and appropriate pedagogical response to the particular learning needs of all ELLs both at the level of policy, the school and the classroom. The following section reviews the literature in regard to school climates that promote learning opportunities for ELLs.

2.2.4. School Climate

While an understanding of SLA research and related pedagogies plays a pivotal role in forming the experiences of ELLs in mainstream classes, the literature also suggests that school climate plays a significant role. School climate has been shown to be directly related to academic achievement in a number of studies (Freiberg, 1999), yet there is no one commonly accepted definition of school climate. It is however, understood to be 'multidimensional' (Cohen, 2006) and there are a number of dimensions which are generally accepted as comprising it. These include student-teacher interactions, student-student relations, parental involvement and the physical structure of school buildings. The literature pertaining to these first three dimensions, which are of particular importance to the education of ELLs, is reviewed below.

2.2.4.i Positive School Climate for ELLs

Positive school climate for ELLs is characterised by community and parental participation and incorporation of the cultures and languages of minority students (Cummins, 2000; Smiley & Salsberry, 2007; Stritikus & Garcia, 2003). For example, in some metropolitan schools Welcome signs are displayed in the languages spoken in that school community. Others have developed pre-school programmes in community languages to assist in minority children's and parents' transition to involvement with the school. Such efforts are indicative of a school climate which encourages group cohesion, respect, trust and cooperative learning (Ghaith, 2003). In essence, many researchers contend that school climate is a reflection of subjective experiences in a school setting (Cohen, 2006). These claims are consistent with those of a number of scholars who draw attention to the complex and heavily context-specific nature of educational provision for ELLs (Clair, 1995; Necochea & Cline, 2000; Reeves, 2006).

Smiley and Salsberry (2007) argue that school climates conducive to high educational outcomes for ELLs are marked by "school wide commitment to providing all students with an equal opportunity to learn the same challenging content and high-level skills as English native speakers" (p. 166). This view is congruent with the research related to effective instructional practices for ELLs (reviewed in earlier sections of this chapter) which stresses the need for curricular expectations to be the same for ELLs and English L1 speaking children. Such a commitment should be based on adequate school wide resourcing, knowledge and understanding of the appropriate research and analysis of the systems and organisational practices in place in the school that act to either support or impede the achievement of positive learning outcomes for ELLs (Falconer & Byrnes, 2003; Smiley & Salsberry, 2007).

To foster a positive school climate Smiley and Salsberry (2007) claim that staff must be encouraged to genuinely value cultural and linguistic diversity amongst their students. They recommend the following: esteeming of bilingualism, acceptance of the use of two languages in the mainstream classroom and the provision of opportunities for open, ongoing discussions that "reflect on conscious or unconscious devaluing of students' identities" (p. 166). Similarly, Stritikus and Garcia (2003) emphasise the need for reflection leading to the "elimination (gradual or immediate) of policies that seek to categorise diverse students thereby rendering their educational experiences as inferior or limiting for further academic learning" (p. 4). These findings suggest that the consideration of school climate at this study site is merited, given that it has been proven to impact on classroom teachers' attitudes to their diverse students, including ELLs, in other sites.

2.2.4.ii Parental and Community Involvement

A school climate which maximises access to the curriculum for ELLs aligns strategies and practices with their needs and those of their families and communities (Necochea & Cline, 2000). To do this it is crucial to engage the whole school community in dialogue (Necochea & Cline, 2000; Reeves, 2006; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000). Consistent with the research on effective practices regarding parental involvement, the engagement of the whole school community acts to reduce discontinuity between home and school practices (Necochea & Cline 2000). According to Saracho (2002) continuity is achieved when schools "reach out" (p. 109) to parents thereby "build[ing] a sense of empowerment by helping parents become equal partners in their children's education" (p. 108). For example, parents may be encouraged to become involved in the provision of L1 support in classes taught by monolingual teachers.

Intervention programmes to help families learn strategies to support the literacy development of their children are suggested by Saracho (2002). However, he stresses that these programmes must be based on the perspective of building on strengths, rather than emphasising deficits. In this way schools can improve learning outcomes for ELLs by activating "[t]he potential and promise of parents' active involvement in their children's literacy learning" (Saracho, 2002, p. 112-113). However, research indicates that this process is not widely employed in schools. In a study of Hispanic ELLs in the USA school system, Quezada, Wiley and Ramirez (2003) reported that many Hispanic parents did not feel welcome or valued by their children's schools because of what they perceived as patronising or negative attitudes towards them from school staff. Arias and Morillo-Campbell (2008) similarly claim that many parents of ELLs "face daunting barriers as they try to become informed or involved in their child's school" (p. 1). In Australia Kirk and

Cassity (2007) report on a study which found that parents of African refugee background were "confused by the communication methods used by schools" and "expressed the need to learn more about schools" (p. 55). The school Principal may play a crucial role in addressing such concerns and strengthening parental involvement in their children's schooling. The Principal's role is considered in the next section.

2.2.4.iii The role of the Principal

Particularly important in the creation of a positive school climate for ELLs is the role played by the Principal and his or her public and private commentaries (Necochea & Cline, 2000) in relation to the place of ELLs, and diversity in general, in the school. Similarly, Lee and Oxelson (2006) write of the need to create a school climate that honours heritage languages (L1s) "publicly in the school space" (p. 456) and Watts-Taffe and Truscott (2000) stress that the impact of ELLs' teachers' and classmates' respect and appreciation of their cultures "cannot be overstated" (p. 260). The principal is central to this in that he/she acts as a gatekeeper of change and innovation in the school and mediator of resourcing to be able to bring about change (Smiley & Salsberry, 2007). Nonetheless, in their survey of mainstream teachers of ELLs in the USA, Gandara, et al. (2005) reported that teachers felt that there was a lack of understanding amongst school hierarchy of the challenges presented by having ELLs in mainstream classes. This may suggest some Principals are not keeping pace with changing demographics which are bringing more ELLs into mainstream classes internationally.

While advocating for bilingual programmes as a right for linguistically diverse students Necochea and Cline (2000) have proposed a model for the implementation of effective English-only programmes for ELLs where bilingual programmes are not available. They place the Principal's leadership as central and contend that a conducive school climate can be created through the existence and interaction of eight components including leadership, ongoing staff development, incorporation of primary language and culture, allocation of resources and materials, validation of current practices, merging of theory and practice, accountability and curriculum alignment (p. 317). The same researchers also stress the importance of supporting monolingual mainstream teachers to adapt their classroom practices to incorporate the needs of ELLs by validating the positive aspects of their current practice at the same time as exposing them to SLA theory. The positive school climate for ELLs that has been sketched in this section is an ideal. Its creation, however, is impacted by the complex intersections of many external and site-specific factors. The literature pertaining to these factors and the ways in which they impact on the

lived educational experiences of ELLs in mainstream classes is reviewed in the following sections.

2.2.5 Literacy Policy

2.2.5.i Positioning of linguistic diversity in Literacy policies internationally

In a meta-analysis of literacy policy worldwide, referred to in Chapter One: Context of the Proposed Study, Meacham (2000) claims that internationally diversity is viewed as detrimental to effective literacy conceptions and practices. His claim is consistent with the view of Cummins (1997) who argues that debates about ELLs have always been outside the realm of mainstream education reform because ESL is perceived as a "sideshow" (p.105) to mainstream education. For this reason, literacy policies in linguistically plural countries privilege the dominant culture, marginalise linguistic minorities and aim to assimilate them into the dominant culture (Cummins, 1997, 2000; Gogolin, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979).

A number of researchers in the USA see this view reflected in the position of ESL within Literacy policy and curricula in English dominant, pluralist societies. Stritikus and Garcia (2003) studied the role of theory and policy in the educational treatment of language minority students in California. They describe theory and policy as 'competitive structures' in that policies tend to be subtractive as they conceptualise lack of English proficiency as a problem that must be overcome to facilitate the assimilation of ELLs. On the other hand, theory derived from SLA research is additive as its operationalisation would lead to a critical mastery in the dominant language and culture without loss of the L1 and home culture. They claim that subtractive policies are prevalent in the USA.

In an analysis of the state of EAL in British schools, Leung (2001) argues that EAL's positioning within the curriculum framework impacts on its implementation at the school level. He explains that EAL does not have curriculum subject status in the British National Curriculum and that as a result, it "has a very marginal and Cinderella–like status in the school system" (p. 33). He argues that this is reflective of the prevailing view of how linguistically and ethnically diverse students should become socially integrated. That is, a subtractive view is promoted, in which students' integration will be measured in terms of their assimilation to social norms, rather than in terms of their ability to function within the majority society while maintaining their own linguistic and ethnic identities. Leung (2001) claims that because of this view of integration, "relatively little attention is paid to the specific issues concerning (additional or second) language" (p. 45). If educational opportunities are to be maximised for ELLs he argues that policy makers must be "explicit

about EAL as a discipline and as a curriculum provision" rather than having it positioned within the National Curriculum framework as a "diffused curriculum concern" (p. 33).

2.2.5.ii Positioning of ESL in the *Literacy For All Plan* in Australia

In Australia where ESL has been subsumed under the *Literacy for All Plan* since the late 1990's a similar situation exists. According to McKay (2001) this represents "a fundamental shift in federal government strategy that has moved ESL learners out from the mainstream of educational intent" (p. 221). By not giving ESL a distinct curricular status it comes to be seen as a subset of English literacy (Hammond, 1999; Hammond & Derewianka, 1999; Lo Bianco, 2002; McKay, 2000). This may have made ELLs and their distinct learning needs less visible to teachers (Rohl, 1999). However, few studies have been carried out to examine exactly what the impact has been at the classroom level. Like Leung (2001) in the UK, McKay (2001) in Australia believes that it is essential to name and make ESL more visible to mainstream classroom practitioners.

When positioned as a 'diffuse' curriculum concern (Leung, 2001) ESL and ELLs may become marginalised as a priority in terms of adequate mainstream teacher preparation and in the classroom where a teacher negotiating competing priorities may fail to maximise the educational opportunities of ELLs. It may even lead to loss of expertise and understanding of different needs in learning amongst teachers who will then employ mother tongue literacy teaching methods for all students (Leung, 2001; McKay, 1999, 2000). In a study of mainstreaming of ELLs in a USA high school Langman (2003) found that ESL needs were being recast as literacy needs by the subject discipline teachers. Similarly in Australia, Lo Bianco (1998; 2002) contends that all conceptions of ESL support exist within the framework of literacy development. These claims suggest the relevance of examining the knowledge that teachers in this study site have in regard to the distinctions between mother tongue literacy pedagogies for dominant culture students and effective pedagogies for the ELLs in their classes.

While Leung (2001) agrees with other scholars (P. Gibbons, 2002; Hammond & Derewianka, 1999; Watts-Taffe & Truscott, 2000) that there is overlap between the literacy education needs of L1 and L2 learners, and that mainstream literacy classes can be vehicles for ELLs to learn, he cautions against what he calls the 'good teaching is good teaching' approach engendered by the status of ESL within Literacy policies. In the context of the blurring of distinctions between the needs and pedagogies required by the two groups, Leung (2001) suggests that:

teachers may attribute particular pupils' English language development to factors such as learning ability/individual potential, personality and home circumstances. Some of these attributions may make sense at the local level but the question here is the extent to which these "insights" form the basis of a pedagogic response which is consistent with an empirically validated view of EAL development within a multicultural context (p. 5).

It is possible that teachers' tendency to attribute ELLs' progress or otherwise to factors other than their classroom practices may be influenced by those teachers' linguistic and cultural background. This point is taken up in the following section.

2.2.6 Nature of the Teaching Force

2.2.6.i Teacher Monolingualism

English monolingualism is the norm amongst teaching staff worldwide in English dominant, pluralist nations (Gandara, et al., 2005; Nieto, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, 2000; Walker-Dalhouse & Walker, 2006). Despite the changing, diverse demographics of the student population in Australia, the vast majority of the teaching profession is composed of Anglo-Australian, monolingual English speakers (Allard, 2006). Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) claims that the composition of the teaching force is a central contributing factor to the loss of minority languages engendered by ELLs' experiences in the education system in officially monolingual, pluralist nations like Australia. She contends that "At an *individual* level monolingualism is a result of a wrong educational policy ... At a *societal* level monolingualism is a social construction which is unmodern, underdeveloped and primitive" (p. 248) [Italics in original]. Clyne (2005a) similarly critiques Australia's culture of 'aggressive monolingualism' which he argues is fostered and preserved by its social and educational systems.

English monolingualism amongst teachers in Australia is significant to this research in terms of its implications for the educational opportunities which are available to ELLs both at the policy, school and day-to-day classroom interactional level (Gogolin, 2002; Vollmer, 2000). According to the framework of cultural capital developed by Bourdieu (1977) the dominant language in a society enjoys unquestioned status and respect as legitimate linguistic capital within that society. It holds symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1990) which can potentially be converted into material resources, in large part, through its intersections with the education system. Hence Bourdieu and Passerson (1990) claim that the social value of different languages or linguistic codes in a society "depends on the distance separating them from the linguistic norm the school manages to impose in defining the

socially recognized criteria of linguistic 'correctness'" (p. 116). Hence, the linguistic codes of minorities, such as ELLs, may be viewed as having little social value in an officially monolingual country such as Australia.

2.2.6.ii Monolingual habitus

In trying to explicate the dynamic relationships between the social value of the legitimate linguistic capital, other linguistic codes such as the L1s of ELLs, and the education system, Gogolin (2002) builds upon Bourdieu's (1983) notion of habitus, that is, strategic practice which is the product of socialisation in a particular sociocultural environment. She applies it directly to the situation of dominant language, monolingual teachers in culturally diverse societies. Describing habitus as a phenomenon which "functions as an awareness matrix, action matrix and thought matrix" (p. 132), acquired under particular social conditions, which "defines and generates the activities of its constituents" (p. 132), Gogolin (2002) hypothesises that teachers operate within a 'monolingual habitus' constructed and maintained by the education system itself. She argues that a monolingual and monocultural orientation amongst teachers "is an intrinsic element of their professional habitus as members of a nation state school system" (p. 133). As a result of this, part of the professional role of a teacher is "to traditionalize monolingualism in the official national language and a self-conception of linguistic and cultural homogeneity" (p. 133).

2.2.6.iii Linguistic capital and school practices

Within the framework of monolingual habitus, the school can be conceptualised as "a critical site for the defence of linguistic capital" (Olneck, 2000, p. 328) where monolingual teachers, as mediators of "linguistic correctness" (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990, p. 116) have a personal investment in maintaining the status of English monolingualism (Olneck, 2000). The teachers' role in this process is often played out unconsciously (Fairclough, 1992; Finney & Orr, 1995; Gogolin, 2002; Nieto, 2000; Olneck, 2000; Vollmer, 2000). Indeed Gogolin (2002) contends that "the less conscious the individual teacher is about its [habitus'] existence, the more effectively it operates" (p. 134). As teachers in countries like Australia arguably operate within a monolingual habitus or framework of 'monolingual reductionism' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), they may not interrogate the privilege their language and culture enjoy within their sociocultural environment (Nieto, 2000). Consequently, the implicit monolingual norms of classroom practices reflective of "a monolingual view of the world" (Mantero, 2003, p. 220) are rarely questioned or reflected upon by teachers in terms of how they may affect or preclude the educational participation of ELLs (Furstenau, 2002; Gee, 1996; Gogolin, 2002; Vollmer, 2000). Such reflection is

essential to developing positive school climates and learning outcomes for ELLs. Gogolin (2002) posits that one of the elements of monolingual habitus is the assumption that linguistic homogeneity is "the 'normal' and 'usual' point of departure in teaching" (p. 135). This assumption leads to non-recognition and invalidation of the cultural and linguistic resources which ELLs bring to the classroom as tools for the acquisition of the dominant language (Cummins, 1997; Furstenau, 2002; Gogolin, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, 2000; Wallace, 2005).

Instead of being legitimated through their use in the classroom, monolingual education models position the L1s of ELLs as deficiencies (Black, 2006; Cummins, 1997). In doing so the "pedagogic potential that such children represent" (Wallace, 2005, p. 82) is lost. In Australia, a study of mainstream primary teachers found that some teachers viewed the emergent bilingualism of some ELLs as a deficiency (Rohl, 1999). Similarly, in a study of the attitudes of pre-service teachers in the USA, Finney and Orr (1995) found that monolingual teachers did not understand that their lived experiences, identities, and behavior were all socially constructed. These researchers contend that the study's participants "saw themselves as "normal", and they perceived those different from them as the "other", needing to be educated and enlightened in becoming more normal (or more like the prospective teachers themselves)" (p. 331).This finding suggests the relevance of exploring teachers' understanding of the social construction of their identities in this study site.

2.2.6.iv L1 as academic resource

A tendency among teachers of ELLs to regard English as the only legitimate linguistic capital for school success has been reported by a number of scholars internationally (Coulter & Lee Smith, 2006; Creese & Leung, 2003; E. Ellis, 2003; Gee, 1996; Stanoshek Youngs, 1999; Wallace, 2005). A study in the UK found that teachers with ELLs considered that these students did not possess the correct type of cultural and linguistic capital necessary for success (Creese & Leung, 2003). Consistent with this view are the findings of Sharkey and Layzer (2003) in the USA that ELLs in the high school they studied "were marginalized in their mainstream classrooms, [and] their languages and lived experiences were devalued" (p. 353).

E. Ellis (2003) conducted a study among mostly English monolingual Adult ESL teachers in Australia. She reported that the linguistic resources of bilingual ESL teachers were "unvalued" (p. ii) within the profession. Furstenau (2002) reports similar attitudes amongst the teaching force in the pluralist, officially monolingual countries in Europe. E. Ellis (2003) further argues that in Australia "ESL is constructed as "the teaching of English"

rather than as "the teaching of a second language" (p. ii). This construction may be related to the pervasiveness of the monolingual habitus within the teaching profession and its intersections with educational policy that, as mentioned earlier, subsumes ESL within English literacy policy. This obviously implies no place for a student's L1 as a classroom resource and tool for the acquisition of academic English. Indeed, according to E. Ellis (2003), the ESL teachers involved in her study characterised student L1 use in the classroom as "a crutch and a bad habit" (p. 304) and those students who employed it in their learning as "passive, needy people" (p. 306). She concludes that the teachers' views of the role of the L1 in the classroom "are overwhelmingly based on poorly articulated or even erroneous theoretical foundations" (p. 303). They are obviously in contradiction with the claims made by SLA research discussed earlier in this Literature Review.

In the context of Adult ESL in Australia, E. Ellis (2003), further comments that "it appears to be accepted and unquestioned that a monolingual teacher can teach a learner to be bilingual" (p. ii). Such a position is contested vigorously by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) who claims that a monolingual teacher of students learning to be bilingual is "by definition an incompetent teacher for those students" (p. 632). Although E. Ellis's (2003) study was carried out amongst a small sample of Adult ESL teachers, it indicates the relevance of exploring the attitudes and SLA knowledge of mainstream primary teachers of ELLs in this study site, given that they are largely monolingual and operate within a broadly similar sociocultural environment to the participants in E. Ellis's (2003) study.

2.2.6.v Monolinguals' conceptualisation of the L2 learning process

Another relevant aspect of the normalisation of monolingualism within the monolingual habitus is that monolinguals often fail to conceptualise accurately the nature and difficulties of the L2 learning process (E. Ellis, 2003; Jimenez, 2005). In intersections with positioning of ESL within Literacy policy, this inaccurate conceptualisation may impede consciousness amongst teachers of the need for alternative pedagogies to provide avenues for the achievement of English proficiency amongst ELLs in mainstream classes. Layzer (2001) reports that in the USA teaching force, "Too few teachers share or know about their students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds, or understand the challenges inherent in learning to speak and read Standard English" (2001, p. 5). In contrast, in a study of bilingual teachers and their self-reported practices, Busto-Flores (2001) found some evidence that when bilingual teachers share ethnic identity with their ELLs, "they are likely to intuitively recognize the needs of their bilingual learners" (p. 268). Similarly, in Australia E. Ellis (2003) reports that "bilingual teachers, both circumstantial and elective,

appeared to have more realistic and optimistic beliefs about the nature of language learning than did monolingual teachers" (p. i).

The findings of the reviewed literature regarding the knowledge and understanding of SLA theories and processes amongst teachers suggest the need to examine other aspects of the nature of the teaching force, within the framework of the monolingual habitus. Aspects which may impact on the learning opportunities of ELLs include teacher attitudes, efficacy and preparation and support. The literature related to these aspects will be reviewed in the following sections.

2.2.7 Teacher attitudes

Teacher attitudes, (following Gogolin's (2002) hypothesis), are part of the monolingual habitus, reflect the tendency among monolingual, dominant culture teachers to "think about their students of color and their diverse learners through 'deficit' lenses" (Milner, 2005, p. 4). They are significant because of the "circularity between structure, habitus and practice" (Gogolin, 2002, p. 132) in specific sociocultural environments. They impact on teachers' classroom practices, and thus, on the positioning of ELLs for access to the academic curriculum.

2.2.7.i Teacher attitudes to the inclusion of ELLs in mainstream classes

Teacher attitudes appear to influence meaningfully their teaching decisions in relation to all students (Milner & Woolfolk-Hoy, 2003). In the light of this finding, it is of relevance to this study that, according to Reeves (2006), "mainstream teacher perspectives on ELL [English Language Learner] inclusion" have been "markedly absent in the research" (p.131). In her study of various aspects of inclusion Reeves (2006) found that teachers were generally welcoming to the concept of having ELLs in their classes. However, she also found incongruence between general attitudes to ELLs and towards specific aspects of their inclusion in class. For example, teachers expressed concern that ELLs slow the class down, resulting in inequity in opportunities for all students.

In a study of Arizona elementary teachers' self-reported attitudes to ELLs, Garcia-Narvaez, Stafford and Arias (2005) found that teachers had ambivalent attitudes and hypothesised that, "More positive attitudes may occur when teachers don't have to modify the curriculum to meet the needs of ELLs [English Language Learners]" (p. 312). These researchers also found that, in general, bilingual teachers had more positive attitudes than did monolingual teachers. However, they also noted the limitations presented by the small number of participants in their sample. Reeves (2006) and Garcia-Narvaez, et al. (2005) have also commented on the difficulty of obtaining reliable, generalisable data

when teachers self-report their attitudes. Similarly, in a study entitled "Who's afraid of Bilingual Learners?" Layzer (2000) notes the existence of "problematic contradictions embedded in [teacher] beliefs" (p. 4). These findings indicate that the inclusion of an examination of teachers' attitudes in the proposed study is justified.

2.2.7.ii Teacher attitudes in relation to effective practices with ELLs

Curricular expectations and pedagogies

Lee and Oxelson (2006) explored teachers' attitudes to the maintenance of heritage languages (L1s) and discovered "a significant relationship between teacher attitudes and beliefs and teacher practices" (p. 466). Other studies contend that teachers' attitudes toward diverse students determine what curriculum they implement (L. Johnson, 2002; Milner & Woolfolk-Hoy, 2003).The attitudes of high school teachers in the USA were studied by Sharkey and Layzer (2000) who posit that teachers' attitudes, beliefs and practices affected ELLs' access to academic success in three ways: through their placement in mainstream classes, teachers' expectations of students' achievements and in classroom interactions. Milner (2005) claims that teachers "may 'water down' the curriculum" (p. 4) if they believe that a particular group of students, such as ELLs, is incapable of succeeding in academically challenging subject matter.

Such a claim is particularly serious when viewed in the light of the generalised agreement among scholars on the necessity for high curricular expectations for ELLs which was discussed earlier in this Literature Review. Belief that ELLs are 'deficient' (Black, 2006) and 'other' (Finney & Orr 1995) and that monolingualism in English is the normal departure point for teaching (Gogolin, 2002) impact on teachers' consciousness. Such beliefs act to obscure the need for alternative pedagogical approaches from those used with the monolingual, dominant culture children, if ELLs are to be provided with opportunities and support to achieve academic success (Delpit, 1988; Ladson-Billings, 1995).

2.2.7.iii Teacher attitudes and parental /community involvement in ELLs' education

Attitudes toward language have implications not only for pedagogy, but also for teacher ability and preparedness to stimulate and sustain the involvement of ELLs' parents and communities in their education. An earlier section of this Literature Review (2.2.4.ii) examined effective instruction of ELLs and identified parental involvement as an element of school success for ELLs. Kenner (2000a) notes that as well as opportunities given for L1 use (and thus legitimacy) in the classroom, attitudes displayed by teachers toward

languages other than English in the mainstream classroom, "will have a crucial effect on children's development of biliteracy" (p. 11). Similarly, in a study of primary ELLs' perceptions of their teachers' attitudes to their use of their L1s in Australia, Oliver and Purdie (1998) found that the children perceived that their teachers preferred them to use English, rather than their L1, even at home. They conclude that "there is a clear implication for teachers to consider what they can do to lessen the gap in attitudes towards English and the L1 of their bilingual students" (p. 209).

2.2.7.iv Teacher attitudes and exposure to diversity

Accepting the importance of teacher attitude in providing ELLs with access, or otherwise, to the academic curriculum, Youngs and Youngs (2001) carried out an exploration of predictors of teacher attitudes to ELLs. They report that mainstream teachers in their study, in general, expressed neutral to slightly positive attitudes towards teaching ELLs. They also discovered five factors which correlate to positive attitudes: coursework in foreign language/multiculturalism, ESL training, personal experience with foreign cultures, contact with a range of ESL students and female gender. Other studies also claim that previous exposure to linguistic minority children produces positive attitudes amongst teachers (Byrnes, Kiger & Manning, 1997). Of direct relevance to this study, Moore (1991) contends that "The amount of ethnic diversity where teachers teach is a variable in how positive teachers' attitudes are about language diversity" (p. 4). This finding indicates the relevance of exploring the attitudes of teachers in a non-metropolitan site, such as that of this study, which has historically had a low percentage of linguistically diverse students enrolled in its schools. It also indicates that dimensions related to teacher attitudes, such as efficacy should also be examined.

2.2.8 Efficacy for teaching ELLs

Self-efficacy refers to *"beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the course of action required to produce given attainments"* (Bandura, 1997, p. 3) [Italics in original]. It is these beliefs which influence the ways in which individuals think, feel and act (Bandura, 1994) in particular contexts. Within the context of the teacher/student relationship teacher self-efficacy may incorporate both teachers' beliefs about themselves as agents of change and the beliefs they hold in their students' ability to learn (Ball & Lardner, 1997; Gibbs, 2003). Hence self-efficacy is a very important concept to consider in relation to those working with linguistically or culturally diverse students such as ELLs, because it "draws attention to affect as an essential - perhaps the essential - component in teaching practice" (Ball & Lardner, 1997, p. 478). Teacher efficacy was considered a critical determinant of teacher motivation in a survey of 729 teachers in the USA carried out by

Karabenick and Clemens Noda (2004). These researchers hypothesised that it should be related to the teachers' attitudes and behaviours towards ELLs. They found that teachers with more favourable attitudes to ELLs had a higher self-efficacy for teaching them. Also in the USA, a survey of 234 public school teachers exploring the relationship between teacher efficacy and linguistic diversity in the classroom found that teachers' feelings of efficacy are highest with standard English speakers (Tasan, 2001).

Similarly, Terrill and Mark (2000) report that the pre-service teacher participants in their study held different expectations for students based upon their culture, and that they were less comfortable with culturally diverse students and ELLs. Pre-service teacher discomfort with culturally diverse students even amongst those teachers who had developed knowledge and skills for working with such learners was reported by Wiggins (2007). This is significant for the possibilities for academic success of ELLs given that there is a correlation between low teacher efficacy and low student achievement (Tasan, 2001). However, on a positive note, in a metastudy of the literature related to teacher efficacy for teaching diverse students, Tasan (2001) argues that the evidence demonstrates that efficacy "is fluid" (p. 11). She also reports that teacher education courses might play a role in altering teacher efficacy, and thus by correlation, academic opportunities for ELLs (Tasan, 2001).

2.2.8.i Efficacy and Discontinuity

Successful teachers of linguistically diverse children are those who believe that success is possible for every student and have high self efficacy, according to Moore (1999). Moore claims that successful teachers have the ability to acknowledge and respond in appropriate pedagogical ways to "mismatches" and "inconsistencies" (p. 4) between teacher and student cultural experiences. This contention is consistent with claims made by Phillips, et al. (2004) regarding teacher management of home school discontinuity in the New Zealand context. On the other hand, teachers with low efficacy for teaching diverse students tend to look for solutions and explanations for low achievement outside the classroom, such as in ethnic and or economic background (Vollmer, 2000; Walters, 2007).

Presuppositions which were "disturbing from an educational standpoint" (Vollmer, 2000, p. 63) were found in a study of the ways in which teachers construct ESL students. Vollmer claims that amongst these constructions was the teacher presupposition that "the relative success or failure of the ESL students seems to lie completely outside the realm of the school's educational practices" (2000, p. 63). Consistent with these claims, according to a

number of researchers, teachers with low efficacy are also more likely to refer ELLs for specialist assistance (Cummins, 1997; Milner, 2005; Tucker, Porter, Reinke, Herman, Ivery, Mack & Jackson, 2005). Jimenez (2005) argues that viewing students' background characteristics as explanations for low achievement has become, within the USA teaching force "part of the obviousness of experience" (p. 3), or what Fairclough (1989) terms a 'naturalized discourse' which remains uninterrogated and accepted as common sense. Thus teachers' own classroom practices, and the "presuppositions" (Vollmer, 2000, p. 63) about ELLs on which they are based, are not reflected upon as possible contributing factors to the success or otherwise of ELLs. For example, a case study of six ELLs a mainstream class in Scotland led Walters (2007) to observe that some of their teacher's decisions about the achievement of the children were related to her "need to protect her competence and identity as a teacher" (p. 94). Part of that identity, viewed from the framework of the monolingual habitus, is that of mediating and protecting the society's definition of "linguistic correctness" (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990, p. 116).

2.2.8.ii Efficacy and visibility of ELLs in mainstream classes

Ball and Larder (1997) relate the question of efficacy explicitly to one of the other themes found in the literature: that of ELLs being overlooked amidst the competing priorities in the mainstream class if they are not presenting a behavioural or social problem (Walters, 2007). Indeed in a study in Australia, Rohl (1999) comments that in a number of instances the teacher participants were unaware of which children in their classes came from diverse (non-English) linguistic backgrounds. Mainstream teachers of ELLs have been observed in empirical studies to put their efforts toward ELLs into classroom management and routine issues (Sharkey & Layzer, 2000; Walters, 2007) and to assess students' progress, at least in part, on the basis of their social behaviour.

Where ELLs are a bigger group and more physically obvious, such as in the case of Sudanese refugee students in an Australian high school, it may be more difficult for teachers to avoid confronting classroom based practices. Miller, et al. (2005) explored the responses and needs of these students' teachers and found that having these children in content classes, for teachers, "raised questions about their own adequacy and control, their understanding of the students' needs and the level of support for both them and the students" (p. 28). Haworth (2009) makes similar claims in relation to mainstream teachers of ELLs in New Zealand. These finding highlight the importance of exploring the experiences of mainstream teachers in this study site who have only relatively recently begun to have African refugee ELLs in their classes and who are operating in an

environment characterised by standardised testing. The question of standardised testing is taken up in the following section.

2.2.9 Accountability through Standardised Testing

The literature relating to standards based education employs a wide variety of terms to describe models of such education and the testing it employs (Cummins, 2000). In this chapter the term 'high stakes testing' will be used. It is conceptualised here as "assessments in which students, teachers, administrators, and entire school systems must account for student performance" (Lochshert, 2000, p. 1). It is of relevance to this study in three ways: the role such high stakes tests play in defining and supporting symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990), the validity or otherwise of assessing ELLs with tests in English, and the impact of such tests on mainstream classroom practices which affect the learning of all students, especially ELLs. The literature pertaining to each of these areas is reviewed in the following sections.

2.2.9.i High Stakes Testing and Symbolic Capital

The internationally prevailing discourse of standards and accountability intersects with Literacy policies based on "singular conceptions of literacy" which "equate diversity with deficit" (Meacham, 2000, p. 184). These policies arguably include the Australian *Literacy for All Plan*. According to McKay (2000) accountability and reporting through standardised testing and benchmarking have their roots in economic rationalism. In intersection with Literacy policies which position ESL as a subset of English literacy (Lo Bianco, 1998, 2002; McKay, 2001) they act to shift the rationale for learning English, and the context of ESL education, from a "community and multicultural perspective towards an economic one" (McKay, 2001, p. 222) and from a social to an individual one. The standards approach to education is described by McKay (2007) as having "underpinnings of "*individualism"* (responsibility to the individual), *rationalism* ('bean counting')*, and competition"* (p. 441) [Italics in original]. She argues that these underpinnings can lead to the creation of a "blame the victim mentality" (p. 441) in relation to ELLs and other students who are unable to perform as well on tests employed in standards based education.

Many scholars (Black, 2006; Mathison & Freeman, 2003; Olneck, 2000; Shoshamy, 2007; Wright & Choi, 2006) relate the practice of high stakes testing based on "economic rationalist-motivated, market-based strategies" (McKay, 2000, p. 227) to the concept of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990). They contend that such tests strengthen the position of the dominant language and culture in a society. Generally, standards based approaches

to accountability favour only those students who can fully access and understand the academic content of the curriculum, that is, children from the dominant language and culture (Quezada, Wiley & Ramirez, 2000). By presenting themselves as "universal and neutral" (Olneck, 2000, p. 325) schools which employ these tests "serve as gate keepers" (Mathison & Freeman, 2003, p. 7) of symbolic capital. The tests thereby place the responsibility for ELLs' low levels of "school-sanctioned achievement" (Olneck, 2000, p. 325) on their lack of appropriate linguistic and cultural capital, the "blame the victim mentality" referred to by McKay (2007, p. 441).

The use of high stakes standardised tests in the dominant language as an instrument of accountability in multicultural, pluralist societies such as Australia also means that "the unique knowledge and languages of the different groups are overlooked" (Shoshamy, 2007, p. 524). Shoshamy (2007) claims that the implication of these being overlooked is that "the other languages used in society, especially those used by immigrants and indigenous groups, are irrelevant, the test conveying a direct message as to the legitimacy of certain languages and the illegitimacy of others" (p. 524). Consistent with these claims, Black (2006) reports that in circumstances of performance driven by accountability in the school sites he studied in the USA, English came to be considered the only valuable capital for school success.

High stakes tests, such as the Australian National Assessment Program-Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), would appear to reinforce the notion that ELLs lack the right sort of capital for academic success, consistent with the monolingual habitus of monolingual, dominant culture teachers (Gogolin, 2002). This reinforcement is achieved by positioning other languages in the society as illegitimate (Shoshamy, 2007) and by producing evidence of this via simplistic interpretations of the persistent achievement gap between ELLs and mainstream children on these tests which has been reported internationally (Blair & Bourne, 1998; Jackson, 2010; Mahon, 2006; Masters, 1997; Thomas & Collier, 2002).

2.2.9.ii The validity of High Stakes Testing in English for ELLs

There exists agreement between both researchers (August & Hakuta, 1998; Black, 2006; Butler & Stevens, 2001; Crawford, 2004; Cummins, 2000; Hakuta, et al., 2000; Larriva, 2002) and teacher practitioners (Black, 2006; Gandara, et al., 2005; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004) on the need to hold schools accountable for the progress of ELLs. Indeed, August and Hakuta (1998) claim that, prior to their inclusion in standardised testing schedules, no one was accountable for the achievement of ELLs in schools in the USA. Nonetheless, researchers and classroom teachers express strong doubts in regard

to the validity of testing ELLs in English literacy tests designed for mother tongue speakers and as such, do not acknowledge and make provision for the different literacy development pathways of ELLs (Davison, 1998; Jackson, 2010; McKay, 2001). Teachers in the USA have been reported to question the fairness and appropriateness of giving high stakes tests to students not yet fluent in English and to be unsure of the best way of assessing ELLs in general (Gandara, et al., 2005; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004).

The 'one-size-fits-all solution' (Brimijoin, 2005; Garcia, 2002; Quezada, et al., 2000) of including ELLs in high stakes testing is "a simplistic political response to a very complex issue" (Garcia, 2002, para. 3) rather than an educational one. The "awkward reality" (Cummins, 2000, p. 141) of ELL inclusion is that these students are expected to pass a test which has been prepared and norm-referenced for a different group of learners, that is, monolingual, dominant culture children (August & Hakuta, 1998; McKay, 2001). There is general agreement amongst many scholars that such tests cannot distinguish between language competence and academic competence (Butler & Stevens, 2001; Callahan, 2006; Cummins, 2000; Jackson, 2010; Quezada, et al., 2000; Verdugo & Flores, et al., 2007). As they cannot separate language errors from academic errors, ELLs' results on these tests reflect their language proficiency, rather than their knowledge of content (Crawford, 2004; Menken, 2005, 2006).

2.2.9.iii Impact on classroom curriculum and practices

There is an inherent tension between the administrative purposes of high stakes testing and what is understood about effective teaching practices for ELLs. Many researchers (Black, 2006; Mathison & Freeman, 2003; Menken, 2005; Reeves, 2002, 2006) comment that statutory accountability through testing impacts on the classroom practices of mainstream teachers of ELLs in terms of both the content taught and the way it is taught. That is, the use of high stakes tests for accountability "focuses pedagogical and curricular decision making" (Mathison & Freeman, 2003, p. 5). This is particularly so in contexts where there are punitive responses to a school's test results, such as in parts of the USA, where much of the research pertaining to this issue has been carried out (Black, 2006). The current prevalence of state mandated high stakes tests, such as the NAPLAN may influence the development of instructional environments in which teaching to the test becomes the primary focus of classroom practice (Mathison & Freeman, 2003; Reeves, 2002). Indeed, Menken (2006) who conducted a year long study in high schools in the USA to determine the effects of high stakes testing on curriculum, staff and students in those sites, contends that such tests "have become de facto language policy in schools"

(p. 521). This, she claims, "dramatically impacts on the way ELLs are educated in US public schools" (p. 521).

The climate of accountability has been reported in other studies in the USA as forcing teachers to teach in ways they believe are pedagogically unsound. For example, Mathison and Freeman (2003) interviewed the teaching staff at two elementary schools and found that in those schools teachers felt that the high stakes tests lead them to "act in ways they did not think were professional" (p. 2). In general terms, teaching to a specific high stakes test may even result in a loss of skills in those teachers whose performance is being monitored on the basis of their students' test results (Broadfoot, 1996). Teacher skill loss has a negative impact on all students, and especially on ELLs, who require the support of "ESL-informed mainstream class teachers" (McKay, 2001, p. 224) even when they have achieved more advanced levels of proficiency in English, if they are to have full access to the curriculum.

Teachers have self-reported decreases in their use of pedagogical practices/strategies viewed as effective for ELLs, discussed in section two of this chapter, due to the pressure to cover test driven content and test taking strategies (Wright & Choi, 2006). Teachers report that they engage in what they consider to be pedagogically unsound practices so as to increase the likelihood of students achieving success, as measured by high stakes tests (Abrams, Pedulla & Medaus, 2003; Mathison & Freeman, 2003). Of the teachers surveyed in California by Gandara, et al. (1995), 80% claimed that high stakes testing was driving inappropriate instruction for ELLs. Similarly, in a seven month ethnographic study of one elementary school with a high ELL enrolment in the USA, Black (2006) found that in that particular site the culture of federal and state accountability requirements had created a performance orientation "which served to rearticulate 'lack of English as a problem' discourses" (p. 198). Further, he noted that "assimilationist ideologies subtly gained prominence" there "even though many staff members and the school's leadership were knowledgeable of bilingual education practices and authentically committed to ELLs" (p. 204). Black (2006) concluded that the pressure of accountability was leading to 'pragmatic leadership' encouraging teaching to the test for all students, even in the presence of knowledge of the lack of congruence between such approaches and the findings of SLA research.

Emphasis on teaching test content and procedures may mean that the language needs of ELLs, and the pedagogies best suited to meeting them become de-prioritised or overlooked (Brimijoin, 2005). Reeves (2006) argues that "in a climate of educator accountability for the learning of all students, the inclusion of ELLs can likely create a

situation in which teacher attention is torn between meeting the needs of non-ESL and ESL students" (p. 138). In surveys of mainstream teachers of ELLs in the USA, 66% of teachers expressed the belief that ELLs take up more of their time than do non-ELLs (Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004). They also reported a lack of time to do everything required of them (Gandara, et al., 2005; Stanoshek Youngs, 1999). In such contexts ELLs in mainstream classes may come to be considered a "variable that complicate[s] pedagogical efforts" (Black, 2006, p. 210). Stritikus and Garcia (2003), in a study contrasting theory and practice in the education of ELLs in the USA, also found evidence of teacher practices that treated linguistic diversity as a characteristic that had to be minimised.

Test driven teaching, then, results in teachers and students feeling under the pressure of time. It leaves little time for 'real instruction' (Hoffman, Assaf & Paris, 2001) or 'interdisciplinary thematic instruction' (Hernandez, 2002), 'dialogic pedagogy' (Wong & Grant, 2007) or 'Substantive Communication' (New South Wales Department of Education and Training, 2006). As a result, teachers and students are "unable to engage in real dialogue about the content" (Watts-Taffe & Truscott, 2000, p. 259). Sociocultural theory of learning views 'real dialogue' and 'real instruction' as facilitating the development of knowledge and access to the curriculum. However, a study in a primary school in Scotland found that much teacher interaction with ELLs, rather than being real dialogue about content, was based on getting ELLs to understand task instructions (Walters, 2007). When ELLs are not supported with dialogic instruction, they become marginalised (Sharkey & Layzer, 2000; Wright & Choi, 2006).

Time pressure created by the use of high stakes testing acts to limit the opportunities a teacher has to invest in the creation of an interaction-rich, positive classroom community in which each child's language and culture is publicly valued and conceptualised as an educational asset (Stritikus & Garcia, 2003). In Australia, it is reported that teachers commonly refer to the NAPLAN as "Napalm" due to its perceived negative impact on the creation of interaction-rich classroom environments (Donnelly, 2010). An interaction-rich, supportive classroom community is critical to maximising the learning opportunities of culturally diverse students, including ELLs, according to many researchers (Brimijoin, 2005; Freeman & Freeman, 2007; Jimenez, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Another significant aspect of accountability-driven instruction and bureaucratic time pressure is that it leaves insufficient chance for teachers with ELLs in their classes to collaborate with colleagues (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Gandara, et. al.'s (2005) survey found that teachers wanted chances to collaborate and observe successful teachers of ELLs. In Australia, Googan, Reid and Sandal (2010) report the importance of

the "positive and mutually beneficial working relationships" (p. 10) developed amongst mainstream primary teachers of ELLs working in private and state schools in Western Sydney.

As this section has demonstrated, the empirical evidence related to the role high stakes testing plays in defining and supporting symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990), the validity of inclusion of ELLs in these, and the impact they have on mainstream classroom practices which affect the learning of ELLs, has been carried out mainly overseas, and in areas with relatively high concentrations of these students. Nonetheless, that research suggests that the use of high stakes testing in Australia may have an impact on the educational opportunities available to ELLs in mainstream classes in both metropolitan, and non-metropolitan areas. It thus supports the inclusion of high stakes testing within the range of experiences of mainstream teachers of ELLs to be explored in this study.

2.2.10 Teacher preparation and support for working with ELLs

2.2.10.i Inadequacy of current teacher preparation

A review of the international literature reporting the perspectives of teacher educators and teacher practitioners indicates that the current level and nature of preparation and professional learning opportunities provided to mainstream teachers of ELLs is inadequate (Cummins, 1997, 2000; Leung, 2001, 2007; Milner, 2005; Nieto, 2000; Reeves, 2006; Richardson, 2005; Walker-Dalhouse & Dalhouse, 2006). In a study conducted in Australia, Rohl (1999) found that many of the participating mainstream primary teachers with ELLs in their classes had "no or very little training in ESL methodology" (p. 116). Similarly, Louden and Rohl (2006) conducted a national survey to investigate how well prepared beginning teachers felt to teach literacy. They reported that around fifty percent of the teachers felt themselves to be in the range of 'fairly to very well' prepared for teaching students with literacy difficulties or disabilities. However, a lower percentage felt adequately prepared to teach students from low socio-economic backgrounds with disabilities "and even fewer felt prepared to teach Indigenous and second-language learners" (p. 66). Also in Australia, Premier and Miller (2010) in a study of secondary teachers report that "the vast majority [of the participating teachers] feel that their teacher education courses lack a focus on cultural and linguistic diversity in schools" (p. 35).

The fact that mainstream primary and high school subject teachers, particularly beginning teachers, feel themselves unprepared to teach ELLs is attested to by a number of studies internationally (Borzellino, 2006; Darlng-Hammond, 1995; Ryan, 2004; Watts-Taffe

&Truscott, 2000; Wright & Choi, 2006). Cummins (1997) argues that given the intersection of inadequate training and the notion of legitimate linguistic and cultural capital these studies' findings may reflect the fact that, "Mainstream teachers are not prepared (in either sense of the word) to teach [ELLs]" (p. 113).

2.2.10.ii Policy rhetoric and practice incongruence

The incongruence between the rhetoric of Literacy policies which acknowledge the evidence-based value of using the L1 as a cognitive tool for acquiring an L2 (Leung, 2005), and lack of provision of opportunities and resources to prepare teachers to be able to do so, is a strong theme found in the literature. The prevailing reality according to Creese and Leung (2003) suggests that "the inclusive rhetoric of government policy towards linguistic diversity … is held at the level of a celebratory discourse without any real bite" (p. 10). Leung (2007) also points out that there is a significant difference between mainstreaming ELLs and making pedagogical and curriculum provision for them in the mainstream.

This incongruence between policy rhetoric and practice may be an outcome of, and factor contributing to, the maintenance of the monolingual habitus of the teaching profession given the 'circularity' between structure and practice within the habitus to which Gogolin (2002) refers. Education policy and practice thus intersect to act as vehicles for the reproduction of society's sanctioned cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990). As such, school practices will not threaten the socially dominant position of those who hold the right capital (Coulter & Lee Smith, 2006). Accordingly, Cummins (1997) claims that power relations within the school and classroom are "only reinforced by multicultural rhetoric that fails to address seriously either systemic structures that discriminate against culturally diverse pupils or the role definitions of educators vis-à-vis diverse students" (p. 113). Consequently, this study's examination of actual mainstream classroom practices in this site, in the light of policy rhetoric, is of relevance to an understanding of the experiences of the teachers and their refugee ELLs.

2.2.10.iii Teacher conceptions of adequate preparation and professional learning

A number of studies indicate that mainstream teachers of ELLs are able to articulate their conceptions of the training, support and professional learning opportunities they require to work successfully with these students. For example, in the USA Stanoshek Youngs' (1999) qualitative study of high school content area teachers and the inclusion of ELLs noted that in addition to feeling themselves inadequately prepared, these teachers were able to name the type of professional learning they wanted. They suggested regular

orientation sessions, mentors for ESL students, special cultural events, pre-service training in ESL, a full time ESL teacher/staff, clarification of expectations for ESL students, and improved collaboration between mainstream and ESL teachers (p. xii).

Directly related to this study, Ryan (2004) explored USA elementary teachers' experiences with ELLs by observing them in their classrooms and conducting interviews with them. She found that the elementary teachers in her study, like the high school teachers in Stanoshek Youngs' (1999) study, were able to articulate what they saw as their professional learning needs related to pedagogy for ELLs. On a positive note, in terms of teachers' pastoral response to these students, Ryan (2004) also reports that "Their [the teachers'] attempts to make their classrooms inclusive despite their lack of language teacher education play significant roles in their classroom behavior" (p. iii). Also in the USA, Gandara, et al. (2005) surveyed 4000 mainstream teachers in a project which aimed to explore the most difficult challenges these teachers faced on a daily basis, their views on their preparation and knowledge, and the type of professional learning and support they needed. Their respondents, who it must be noted self-selected to participate in the survey, described their pre-service training and professional learning as inadequate, and out of touch with classroom realities. They also reported the need for ongoing professional learning opportunities concentrating on SLA processes and practical strategies that could be implemented within the mainstream class.

Nonetheless, despite these indications in the literature that teachers are able to identify the professional learning they require, some studies have also reported ambivalence amongst teachers in relation to receiving more training for working with ELLs (Milner, 2005; Reeves, 2006). This may be due to the perceived increase in workload this would imply (Garcia Narvaez, et al., 2005). Viewed in the light of the hypothesis of the monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 2002) this apparent contradiction may also indicate deficit thinking which results from the normalisation of English monolingualism and which fails to recognise the academic value of the L1 and of bilingualism.

2.2.10.iv Folk Theories and Pedagogies

In the UK, Leung (2005) describes "a lack of systematic initial teacher preparation and rigorous continuous professional development" (p. 46) for teachers working with ELLs. He contends that one of the outcomes of this is that the mainstreaming of ELLs in reality has become "more about student participation in the common curriculum than about integrating the specialist pedagogic concerns of ESL teaching into the mainstream curriculum" (p. 98). This phenomenon is sometimes referred to in the literature as 'submersion' (Cummins, 1997) and 'sink or swim' (Black, 2006) education. The literature

clearly shows that placement of ELLs in mainstream classes without the appropriate pedagogical modifications, as discussed earlier in this chapter, leaves these students unsupported and unable to fully access the academic curriculum (Coulter & Lee Smith, 2006; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000; Stanoshek Youngs, 1999; Vollmer, 2000). For example, in the USA, Gunderson (2000) notes that many secondary teachers do not accommodate ELLs in their subject discipline classes at all. In such a context, the time these children need to achieve academic proficiency in English is "exacerbated" (Richardson, 2005, p. 9). Indeed in many instances English proficiency "may possibly never be achieved" (Richardson, 2005, p. 9).

A crucial question arises from the placement of ELLs in classes with teachers who lack appropriate preparation, support and ongoing professional support opportunities: How and on what bases do teachers respond to ELLs in their mainstream classes? Various scholars (Garmon, 1998; Milner, 2005; Moore, 1999) refer to the fact that in this situation teacher's base their actions on their beliefs, or what Leung (2001) describes as "intuitive assumptions or 'folk theories' about second language acquisition" (p. 45). Amongst the folk theories reported in the literature is the "'love is enough' misconception" (Garmon, 1998, p. 206) perhaps arising from deficit thinking which positions ELLs as being in need of compassion rather than high curricular expectations. Other writers refer to the ideology of "color blindness" (L. Johnson, 2002; Lewis, 2001; Walker-Dalhouse & Dalhouse, 2006) which leads to a lack of recognition of difference (and its pedagogical implications) in the classroom. Nieto (1996) describes this phenomenon as 'fear of naming.'

One study of pre-service teachers in the USA reported that 41% of the participants believed that teachers should consciously ignore the racial and cultural differences amongst their students (Vangunten & Martin, 2001). Such ideologies, even when based on a teacher's uninterrogated desire to provide educational equity, are detrimental to students (Garmon, 1998) because they limit teacher consciousness of the fact that educational equity is not achieved for all students by the use of pedagogies designed for the dominant culture, monolingual children (Delpit, 1988; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2000). Failing to acknowledge diversity prevents teachers from noticing, reflecting on, and responding to some of the systemic issues in schools which impact negatively on the learning opportunities afforded to ELLs (L. Johnson, 2002). This further contributes to the reproduction of English monolingualism as linguistic capital and the invalidation of these students' existing linguistic resources. These findings support the validity of exploring the nature of, and bases for, mainstream teachers' responses to ELLs in their classes.

2.2.10.v Teacher preparation and attitudes

Research conducted by Youngs and Youngs (2001) in the USA which explored teacher attitudes toward ELLs and the possible predictors of these attitudes indicates the importance of adequate teacher preparation as a means of improving educational provision for ELLs in the mainstream. The predictors they identified include general educational experience, special ESL training, personal contact with diverse cultures and personal contact with ESL students. These researchers found that there exists a direct relationship between the pre-service and the professional learning teachers are exposed to, and their positive feelings towards working with ELLs. Similarly, Pohan (1996) found that the number of multicultural/ diversity based courses taken by pre-service teachers had a significant effect on both their personal and pedagogical beliefs about cultural diversity. The aforementioned evidence of inadequate training and studies indicates that teachers who have not been properly trained for working with ELLs will make pedagogical and assessment decisions based on their attitudes to these students. Reeves (2006) points to the urgency for research to be conducted to determine the type of teacher education and professional learning which will result in good instruction and high outcomes, for ELLs in the mainstream.

2.2.10.vi Content of teacher preparation courses

The task of preparing teachers who are culturally responsive and knowledgeable of SLA research outcomes and appropriate pedagogies is variously described in the literature as "difficult-yet critical" (Milner, 2005, p. 2) and 'enormous' (Walker-Dalhouse & Dalhouse, 2006). This may be particularly so given that the majority of teacher educators are monolingual members of the dominant culture (Nieto, 2000). Much of the research related to the theme of content in teacher preparation courses has been conducted in the USA (L. Johnson, 2002; Milner, 2005; Nieto, 2000; Pohan, 1996; Richardson, 2005; Walker-Dalhouse & Dalhouse, 2006). While there is some debate amongst these scholars about the nature and effectiveness for student teachers, and subsequently for their students, of different models of preparation (Milner, 2005), a review of the literature highlights some areas of conceptual agreement which are discussed in the following sections.

2.2.10.vii 'Diversity Infused' preparation and professional learning

Diversity issues should 'infuse' (Villegas & Lucas, 2002) the whole of the teacher preparation programme including subject discipline related courses (Milner, 2005) rather than being a brief add-on module or 'side show' (Cummins, 1997). According to Milner (2005), such a model would allow teachers to "develop subject matter knowledge: pedagogical knowledge *and* cultural knowledge, a repertoire of *convergent* knowledge

that ensures optimal teaching and learning in the classroom" (p. 3) [Italics in original]. Lewis (2001) writes of the necessity for diversity training in majority White areas in the USA because in these areas, he claims, there exists an attitude amongst teachers that such issues are of no relevance due to the low numbers of linguistically and culturally diverse students in the schools there. Similarly, according to Allard (2006), in the Australian context "while past educational policies emphasised the importance of 'inclusive curriculum', in practice, being able to work cross culturally was seen only as critical for those teachers and teacher education students who taught in school settings with very diverse populations" (p. 322). The contentions of Lewis (2001) and Allard (2006) suggest the relevance of exploring teachers' views about the necessity or otherwise of professional learning for working with ELLs in the largely demographically White, Anglo-Saxon study site, where, while the student demographic profile is changing, that of the teaching force remains relatively constant.

The need for comprehensive training and professional learning opportunities for teachers of ELLs is also identified elsewhere in the literature. Such training must be on going and should focus on SLA research and related pedagogies (Darling-Hammond, 1995; Gandara, et al., 2005; Leung, 2001; Necochea & Cline, 2000). Premier and Miller (2010) in Australia argue for the inclusion of an examination of attitudes in teacher preparation programmes. They contend that all pre-service education for teachers of ELLs must "ensure that attitudes as well as strategies are addressed" (p. 37). Necochea and Cline (2000) stress the importance of validating the existing practices of teachers of ELLs during professional learning opportunities for serving teachers as a means of connecting what they already know from practice, and what research has to offer, in regard to effective instruction for ELLs. For teachers of ELLs in the USA, one-off training sessions given by consultants have been found to be ineffective in rendering positive changes for teachers, and therefore, the ELLs in their classes (Darling-Hammond, 1995).

2.2.10.viii Opportunities for reflection and practice

The literature indicates that attitudinal changes may be achieved through 'diversity infused' curricula (Pohan, 1996; Tasan, 2001; Villegas & Lucas, 2002) which provide ongoing opportunities for reflection on the socioculturally constructed nature of linguistic and cultural capital (Layzer, 2000; Wiggins, Follo & Eberly, 2007). Given that it is the very "opaque quality of cultural arbitrariness" (Olneck, 2000, p. 320) which supports the reproduction of the legitimacy or otherwise of different linguistic codes via the education system, Gogolin (2002) contends "only consciousness helps to conquer habitual practices" (p. 136). The literature suggests the need for a reconsideration of the concept

of equity in relation to education, in the light of the prevalence amongst inadequately trained teachers of folk pedagogies which espouse and justify the use of the same pedagogies for all students (Milner, 2005; Allard, 2006).

Also crucial to becoming an effective teacher of ELLs is an understanding of the role the L1 plays in the learning of the L2 (Richardson, 2005; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000). This is particularly necessary given that, as mentioned previously, a number of researchers comment that teachers often do not recognise the intersections between ELLs' L1 and academic subject matter in the class (Milner, 2005; Lee & Oxelson, 2006). They claim that teachers tend to conceptualise diversity as a social phenomenon, rather than as one with implications for the learning opportunities of ELLs and other diverse students. Milner (2005) contends that in general terms, for teacher preparation courses to be successful in producing effective teachers of ELLs, "More time needs to be spent in methods courses making connections and pointing out alternative curriculums and possible pedagogical approaches that bridge subject matter learning with that of diversity" (p. 13). Such courses would of necessity draw significantly on second language acquisition research outcomes

This section of the Literature Review has considered a variety of factors which the literature indicates impact on the actual lived educational experiences of ELLs in mainstream classrooms in a variety of sites. In doing so, contrast was made between the actual classroom experiences of ELLs and the ideal of instruction for these students in mainstream settings. Attention will now turn in the following part of the chapter, Section Three, to consideration of the literature related to the specific nature and needs of ELLs of refugee background.

Section Three: The learning needs of refugee ELLs

2.3. Conflation of refugee ELLs with other ELLs

As discussed earlier, the enrolment of ELLs in mainstream primary classrooms in Australia increasingly includes children who are refugees, in particular from African countries such as Sudan, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Burundi. Approximately half of all Humanitarian entrants to Australia are school aged children and young people (Foundation House, 2007). Significantly, these ELLs are also found in non-metropolitan areas such as that of this study. According to Cassity and Gow (2006) their presence means that mainstream teachers "are dealing with newly arrived young people with whom they have little prior knowledge or experience" (p. 1).

In New South Wales these significant changes in student demographic profile are taking place in a context in which the education of refugees falls under the New South Wales Department of Education and Training (DET) classification of "Multicultural education strategies." The authors of a recent Australian study of governmental education web sites contend that "in most [web sites] they [refugee students] are invisible or 'buried' among 'newly arrived migrants', 'learners with ESL needs' and 'students from non-English speaking backgrounds' (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007, p. 290). Hence, these children "are either invisible or marginalized" (p. 294) on most of the educational websites. Similarly, the *Professional Teaching Standards* of the New South Wales Institute of Teachers only recognises "Non-English Speaking Background Students" (http://www.nswteachers. nsw.edu.au/ Main-Professional-Teaching-Standards.html). This conflation of refugees with migrants, new arrivals and ESL learners, Sidhu and Taylor (2007) argue, means that while "language learning needs are recognized in policy … the more complex educational needs of refugee students, such as limited literacy skills in their first language, are not acknowledged in policy funding frameworks" (p. 294). This claim points to the need to explore what mainstream teachers know about, and how they respond to, the 'complex educational needs' of their ELLs from refugee backgrounds.

Much of the research related to the educational experiences of African refugee background ELLs in Australia has been conducted in high school settings with students who have entered mainstream classes after having twelve months in Intensive English Centres (IECs). Ferfolja and Vickers (2010) argue that the Australian model of placing high school aged New Arrival ELLs in IECs for only one year prior to transitioning them to mainstream classes is inadequate to prepare these children for the demands of mainstream learning. These reserchers criticise the model on the basis that it was founded on the assumption that students entering IECs "were literate in their first language and had mostly attended school for several years" (p. 160). While it important to recognise that there is diversity in the previous school experiences of African refugee ELLs (Dooley, 2009b; Loizos, 2002) the majority of these children fall outside the 'assumption' inherent in the time frame for enrolment in IECs (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010). Consequently, most African refugee ELLs share some commonalities in previous experiences which have significant implications in terms of the nature of their learning needs. According to Miller (2007) these needs are many and include "the topic-specific vocabularies of academic subjects, understandings of register and genre, cultural background knowledge to scaffold their understanding and learning strategies to process content" (p. 573). As such, these ELLs require pedagogical responses which provide "focused support for [their] transition to formal schooling in Australia" (Kirk & Cassity,

2007, p. 54), whether it be at a point of entry in a primary class or after time in an IEC for high school aged students. The following sections consider further some of these students' needs and appropriate pedagogical responses to them.

2.3.1 Disrupted schooling and limited literacy in L1

Children who are refugees have certain educational needs in common with all ELLs (Loewen, 2004). The general needs of ELLs were discussed in the preceding sections of this Literature Review. However, according to Loewen (2004), "what may be unique about refugee children, in comparison with other groups, in their task of second language acquisition, is their migration experience" (p. 35). The nature of that experience will affect their post-migration experiences in the Australian education system. Of major significance in relation to the African refugee ELLs in the diocese in which this study is carried out, is the fact that most of these children have had very disrupted schooling or no previous experiences of education during the migration process (Atwell, 2005). For example, in its 2005 report, the United Nations' Joint Assessment Mission for Sudan reported that due to the war in Southern Sudan a complete generation had not received an education. It also reported that the Southern Sudanese had the world's lowest access to primary level education. Many of these students, now found in mainstream classes in Australian schools, have no literacy in their first language. In a limited number of cases, some older Sudanese children who have passed through Egypt in their migration experience may have some level of literacy in Egyptian Arabic, which is significantly different from the Juba Arabic spoken in Sudan (Atwell, 2005). In contrast, other newly arrived non-refugee ELLs in mainstream primary classes and IECs generally have some level of literacy in their L1 and previous experiences of schooling in their countries of origin. Given that the research literature has demonstrated L1 to L2 transfer of knowledge and skills (see Section 2.1.3), this lack of L1 literacy renders the students' task of second language acquisition more complex, given that they are not able to "bootstrap themselves into literacy in an L2 by drawing on L1 language and metacognitive resources" (Genesee, et al., 2005, p. 387).

Absence of L1 literacy amongst many refugee ELLs presents major challenges to mainstream teachers and ESL teachers accustomed to working with ELLs already literate in at least one other language (Cranitch, 2010; Miller, 2007). In Australia Sidhu and Taylor (2007) claim that their "early work with teachers suggests that pedagogical practices used with traditional ESL learners who are literate and numerate in their first language have limited success when used in classrooms with refugee youth who have experienced significant disruption to their schooling" (p. 290). Consistent with these claims, in an adult

education context, Burgoyne and Hull (2007) found that the transition to print-based literacy was problematic for both pre-literate adult African refugee ELLs and for their teachers. Findings from a study of teachers of Sudanese high school-aged ELLs in Melbourne (Miller, et al, 2004) also support Sidhu and Taylor's (2007) claims. Miller et al. report that the students in their study possessed limited print-based literacy, had little experience with the problem-based approach to learning found in Australian schools and little content knowledge in relation to the Key Learning Areas.

Hence, pedagogies are required for refugee background ELLs which recognise and respond to the specific needs of these students arising from their lack both of literacy (Cranitch, 2010; Genesee, et al., 2005) and previous school experience (Cranitch, 2010; Hek, 2005). It should be noted that such appropriate pedagogies are still in a process of development, given that according to Hek (2005) in a report entitled *The Experiences and Needs of Refugee and Asylum Seeking Children in the UK: A Literature Review,* "The study of children who are refugees or asylum seekers ... is still a relatively new area for research" (p. 55). Ferfolja (2009) supports Hek's (2005) claim, contending that there are "limited literature reports on African refugee students' educational experiences in Australia" (p. 398). She suggests that this reality "potentially reduc[es] teachers' access to professional development materials on this important subject." Similarly, McBrien (2005) notes that the existing international literature regarding refugee ELLs lacks specificity in relation to methods for improving their outcomes in content areas across the curriculum. Despite these limitations, there is general agreement in the existing literature that pedagogies for these students must not be developed and implemented with a deficit perspective toward the cultural capital of these children, and that they should promote the continued use and development of the first language (Hamilton, 2004; Hek, 2005; Loewen, 2004).

One of ELLs' principal needs is for their Australian school learning to be linked to their existing knowledge and learning practices so as to "encourage meaning-making between familiar and new social practices" (Mickan, Lucas, Davies & Lim, 2007, p. 21-22) and thus potentially reduce home school discontinuity (see Section 2.2.3.i). Some studies indicate that teachers need to take into account the practices of the oral cultures of many African refugee ELLs when making pedagogical decisions in relation to these children. By taking oral practices into account and building upon them, Dooley (2009c) contends that teachers may be able to "link … with the conceptual knowledge of students who arrive with content area backgrounds different from others in their class" (p. 5). Doing so successfully, of course, presents a significant challenge to teachers. Miller (2007), for

example, notes that refugee ELLs face "enormous challenges" in relation to content areas such as science. Supporting the ongoing use of the L1 as an academic tool in classrooms, where possible, may facilitate to some degree this linking of new learning to existing conceptual knowledge.

Dooley (2009c) cautions against confounding the gaps in African ELLs' Australian curriculum content knowledge with their conceptual knowledge, developed in different sociocultural and geographic contexts. That is, teachers need to avoid "inferring a lack of conceptual knowledge as the basis of difference in content area background" (Dooley, 2009c, p. 14). The not insignificant challenge for teachers, then, is to build upon existing conceptual knowledge to assist children to develop additional content and conceptual knowledge, which can be considered 'cultural capital' or "cultural literacy" (Ferfolja, 2009, p. 404) in the form of Australian sociocultural knowledge. This knowledge can then be called upon in further learning situations and also in broader forms of socal participation (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010). Building Australian "cultural literacy" (Ferfolja, 2009, p. 404) and new conceptual knowledge requires pedagogy which integrates high challenge content with a high level of scaffolded support (Rushton, 2008) for these students who are simulutaneously developing the basic literacy skills of reading and writing while learning content. Such a model would, of necessity, reject what Dooley (2009b) terms the "spurious dichotomy between skills and meaning-based practices of language and literacy education" (p. 35) and have the aim of supporting African ELLs to become critically literate in a digital environment (Luke & Dooley, forthcoming).

Within this framework of linking school learning with existing knowledge and learning practices, refugee ELLs, as do all ELLs in mainstream settings, need exposure to, and participation in, 'dialogic' teaching and learning (Wong & Grant, 2007). In such teaching and learning there is sustained and reciprocal verbal interaction. 'Dialogic' pedagogies provide opportunities for students to engage in scaffolded academic talk (Freeman & Freeman, 2009b; Gibbons, 2002; 2009) to develop their CALP in concert with their developing content knowledge. In addition to being scaffolded to learn academic language and content or 'cultural capital', it is through 'dialogic' teaching and learning experiences that "students gain insights and understandings of community practices and their meaning through interactions with other members and from the teacher's instructions" (Mickan, et al., 2007, p. 21). Nonetheless, some researchers note that for some African refugee ELLs with previous educational experience 'dialogic' learning may perhaps be a challenging new experience, very different from their previous school learning (Dooley, 2009b). This diversity of previous experiences indicates the importance

of teachers knowing the background of each child. To foster refugee ELL participation in 'dialogic' learning, a number of scholars suggest that ELLs' mainstream ESB peers should be trained in how to scaffold the ELLs' oral language in group or pair work (Dooley, 2009b; Genesee et al., 2005).

'Dialogic' approaches to teaching and learning are consistent with the calls for "[t]eaching styles that are flexible, non-confrontational and inclusive" (p. 4) made in The *School's In for Refugees* (2007) report of Victoria's Foundation House. As noted in Section 2.2.9 of this study's Literature Review, however, the prevailing climate of accountability through standardised testing in Australia may act to limit a teacher's opportunities to implement such approaches. According to Hek (2005), in the UK "[t]he focus on exam and achievement led schooling does not serve refugee children well" (p. 30). In the Australian context, Sidhu and Taylor's (2007) findings support Hek's claims (see Section 2.3). These researchers argue that the findings of their study of education websites "suggest that the education market militates against the provision of a welcoming and caring environment for young people from a refugee background" (p. 296). Responding adequately to refugee ELLs in this 'education market' then, places a great deal of responsibility on the shoulders of mainstream teachers who may be dominant culture monolinguals and who may not yet be adequately trained or resourced to be able to work productively with these children. The following section will consider another potential commonality found amongst refugee ELLs, that is, the impact of trauma on their learning needs.

2.3.2 Impact of trauma

Another major aspect of the migration experience which intersects with disrupted or no previous education and lack of literacy, is the trauma experienced by these children during that process. This trauma "may impact on their [refugee ELLs'] personal development and their ability to learn and integrate with the school community" (Foundation House, 2007, p. 1). Indeed Loewen (2004) claims with regard to refugee students in UK schools who have lived for long periods in transit camps, "some survival defences [developed in the camps] may initially impede the learning of a second language" (p. 36). Such defences may include aggression, withdrawal or hyperactivity. Aggressiveness, for example, may be a tool to mask refugee ELLs' "anxiety about not being able to write or read or lack of knowledge of classroom equipment and understanding of what is required in particular activities" (Foundation House, 2007, p. 3). Miller et al. (2004) report instances of such behaviours amongst Sudanese refugee ELLs in a Melbourne high school. It is thus important that teachers understand their students' backgrounds in order to interpret and respond appropriately to this behaviour.

Understanding and being able to respond to such behaviours demands a great deal of teachers already working in complex situations, especially where training, support and resourcing levels may be low. Humpage (1998), for example, found that secondary school teachers of Somali refugee adolescents in New Zealand had 'cultural blinkers' because they were resistant to the idea that it was necessary to inform themselves of the background and previous experiences of these students. This resistance, according to Hamilton (2004), was based on the fact that teachers "already felt it was difficult to make decisions about students' needs, and introducing another variable based on the refugee experience would add to the complexity of teaching" (p. 93). Similarly, in the UK, Hek (2005) reports on a study of teachers of refugee children by Sheriff (1995), which found that "teachers may feel ill-equipped to deal with the issues they are presented with and that this can lead to extra pressure, which in turn can lead to teachers withdrawing and not engaging with requests for emotional support" (p. 32-33).

These findings point to the provision of ongoing professional learning and support for teachers of refugee ELLs as being "crucial" (Hek, 2005, p. 32). Although limited in number, studies have demonstrated that mainstream teachers, "play a key role for the African students in terms of reaching their educational goals" (Cassity & Gow, 2005, p. 13). A number of scholars contend that such support can only come about in the context of a whole school approach to developing an appropriate educational response to these children. These ideas are taken up in the following section.

2.3.3 Whole school approach

According to Hamilton (2004) "[o]ne set of post-migration variables that will critically influence the [refugee] child's adaptation process resides within the school, namely the characteristics of schools and teachers" (p. 82). Refugee children face the task of adapting to the practices and expectations of Australian schools. Schools, and consequently teachers, need to adapt to meet the specific needs of this new group of students and to integrate them into the school community. However, currently in Australia "Overall … the system is not working well for many recently arrived African young people" (Cassity & Gow, 2005, p. 1). This claim is of concern, given that due to the trauma that many of these children have experienced "the most therapeutic event for a refugee child can be to become part of the local school community" (Burnett & Peel, 2001, p. 547). Accordingly, Australian schools need to play a proactive role (Cassity & Gow, 2005) which recognises the unique challenges this relatively new group of students faces, while avoiding 'othering' them (Sidhu & Taylor, 2007).

The involvement of the principal and school leadership in this proactive approach is pivotal (Hamilton, 2004). He or she must "lead and support new techniques [and] support those new techniques publicly" (Hamilton, 2004, p. 85). The literature relating to a proactive school approach emphasises the need for Principals and school leadership to develop and support appropriate welcoming and induction procedures for refugee ELLs (Cassity & Gow, 2005; Foundation House, 2007; Hamilton, 2004; Hek, 2005). These processes would optimally involve the use of properly trained interpreters, the assignment of peer support 'buddies' from the same culture and language where possible, and the collection of in-depth data about the child and his/her background which would facilitate the assessment of educational needs (Foundation House, 2007).

Also identified as important in the literature relating to all ELLs, and especially refugee ELLs, is the home-school relationship (Cassity & Gow, 2005; Foundation House, 2007; Hamilton, 2004; Hek, 2005). These relationships, or optimally, partnerships, facilitated by appropriately trained interpreters, allow parents to understand the Australian education system and its expectations of their children (Foundation House, 2007). Hamilton (2004) goes further, claiming that as part of the home school-relationship "Schools need to help parents develop skills (for example, second language skills) which will allow them to participate more fully in their child's education" (p. 82). The school can also proactively link the emerging African community with broader refugee support services (Cassity & Gow, 2005; Hek, 2005), which may act to further support the education of refugee ELLs.

Within a whole school approach and culture, ongoing practical support and resourcing for mainstream teachers of refugee ELLs would also be prioritised. Teachers could receive the ongoing, extensive professional learning opportunities required for providing these learners with high challenge, high support learning and for discerning, and responding to their individual needs. Students would then learn in a classroom environment which is safe, provides clear, high expectations, scaffolded support and positive reinforcement for students, is stable, engaging and stimulating (Foundation House, 2007). Cassity and Gow (2005) recommend that part of this support would be the provision of opportunities for teachers to participate in experience-sharing networks of teachers of African refugee students.

Another aspect of a whole school response to meeting the needs of refugee background ELLs found in the literature (Dooley, 2009b; Ferfolja, 2009; Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010) is the provision of school-based homework support. This response recognises that, despite their desire to do so, many parents may be unable to provide their children with enough

support to complete their homework and assignments because of their own level of English proficiency and formal education (Dooley, 2009b). Homework support is a proactive, pedagogical response to this reality, rather than a deficit imbued one positioning parents as incapable of supporting their children's learning. A study of a homework support programme for refugee ELLs in Queensland found that some parents with low levels of education and English proficiency who were unable to assist their children to complete homework supported them in other very important ways. For example, some parents made conscious efforts to "create social conditions in the home conducive to the completion of homework" (Dooley, 2009b, p. 31). Homework support programmes provide a complementary learning environment to the mainstream subject classroom after ELLs have left IECs or for primary aged ELLs placed directly into mainstream classrooms. They also have the potential to create stronger home-school links by providing recognition of, and opportunities for the expansion of, parental participation in education in a smaller, potentially more comfortable space than the mainstream school.

In New South Wales Ferfolja (2009) and Ferfolja and Vickers (2010) report on the successful implementation of school-based homework/tutoring centres for refugee ELLs staffed by pre-service teachers. These researchers report positive learning outcomes in a protective environment which meets students' emotional need for a safe place in which to name their particular learning needs and work with tutors to address them. According to the authors the ELLs involved in the centre gained increased confidence in themselves in this protective environment. They contend that the ELLs' 'enhanced' confidence "enabled them to develop academically further, through increased participation and engagement [in their mainstream classes]" (Ferfolja & Vickers, 2010, p. 156). This finding speaks to the need for extra, targeted one-to-one tuition time to support ELLs.

While recognising the diversity that exists within the experiences of refugee ELLs, this section has considered the distinct nature and learning needs of these students as a broad group. Attention will now turn, in the following section, to a sub-group within this broad group, that is, Second Phase ELLs of refugee background.

2.3.4 Second Phase refugee ELLs

2.3.4.i Defining Second Phase ELLs and their learning needs

The rapid influx of Sudanese refugees in the area of the study, as described earlier, has been underway for some five to six years. For this reason, in addition to New Arrival students who may have had direct experience of trauma, their younger siblings who came

to Australia as infants, are now found in some of the study area's schools. These children can generally be classified as Second Phase English language learners where:

> Second Phase students range from students who have acquired a basic communicative repertoire in English which enables them to participate in some class activities to students who can communicate with some degree of confidence and coherence about subject matter appropriate to their age group but removed from their immediate personal experience (New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Multicultural Programs Unit, 2004, p. 6).

Such students are competent in social English, that is, Basic Interpersonal Communication (BICS) (Cummins, 1979, 1981) and usually have basic literacy skills in reading and writing. Nonetheless, like New Arrivals, they still require significant and targeted pedagogical support to develop the registers required for curricular access and opportunities for academic success, that is, Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1979, 1981). It is thus necessary, as outlined in Section 2.1.5 of this chapter, that their teachers have an understanding of these distinctions to support them to develop a sound pedagogical framework for responding to these learners. That framework must include pedagogies to continually push forward their developing CALP, or the "academic English that is valued in schools" (Freeman & Freeman, 2009b, p. 43). Pedagogies such as the explicit teaching of, and employment of, metalanguage during instruction across all KLAs support the development of ELLs' academic English registers (Gibbons, 2002). The implementation of contextualised teacher-scaffolded academic talk during learning activities (which may incorporate the use of metalanguage) creates a bridge between conversational English registers (BICS) and academic registers (CALP). This bridge supports ELLs in their movement along the Mode Continuum (Martin, 1985) and thus, their access to curricular content.

As children from homes in which English is not the main language, Second Phase ELLs need exposure to other pedagogical approaches in addition to those designed specifically to foster development of CALP. For example, they continue to need exposure to pedagogies which build up the field knowledge, or sociocultural background, which informs the content of the different written and multi-modal texts that they encounter, and are expected to create, across all KLAs. As with First Phase ELLs, teachers must continue to explicitly teach "cultural literacy" (Ferfolja, 2009, p. 404) if these children are to "effectively negotiate the assumptions of the hidden curriculum" (Ferfolja, 2009, p. 404). 'Cultural literacy' can be developed alongside CALP through 'dialogic' learning experiences and through linking new learning to the already known by calling on the

resources of background knowledge and experiences. The implementation of the field building stage of the Curriculum Cycle provides opportunities to do this.

In addition to having the aforementioned general learning needs of all Second Phase ELLs, children from a refugee background within this classification have other distinctive characteristics which teachers should be aware of when formulating classroom responses to them. These are discussed in the following sections.

2.3.4.ii Transgenerational trauma

Second Phase refugee background ELLs may fit within the broad definition of that Second Phase group of learners, in terms of their English proficiency, and may be less confronting to teachers in terms of their socialisation needs, than were their older siblings and current New Arrivals. However, teachers need to be aware that their home lives and family relationships may be significantly different to those of mainstream children, and that this may impact on their learning needs (McNaughton, 2002). Second Phase English language learners comprise a group whose specific academic needs have not been the focus of a great deal of research. It may be that the apparent social assimilation of this group contributes to their obscuring as a distinct group of learners in mainstream settings. This, in turn, may act to problematise further a conceptualisation of the learning needs of refugee ELLs, as a distinct component of this group. As indicated in the preceding section of this Literature Review it is important that teachers who work with New Arrival refugee ELLs are aware of the possible effects of traumatic events during the refugee experience (Atwell, 2005; Cassity & Gow, 2005, 2006; Foundation House, 2007; Hamilton, 2004; Hek, 2005; Loewen, 2004; Sidhu & Taylor, 2007). It is equally important that teachers of Second Phase refugee ELLs are aware that the impact of trauma experienced directly by parents and older siblings may be transmitted to family members who did not experience them directly, such as these children (Daud, af Klinteberg & Rydelius, 2008; Daud, Skoglund & Rydelius, 2004; Fraine & Mc Dade, 2009; Hosin, 2001; Kira, 2004; Payne, 2008; Youth Action and Policy Association NSW, 2004).

Where transmission of trauma to the younger siblings occurs, they may exhibit 'maladaptive' (Daud, et al., 2008) behaviours similar to those outlined in the literature in relation to their older New Arrival siblings. Described variously in the literature as 'transgenerational trauma' (Daud, et al., 2008; Daud, et al., 2004; Hosin, 2001; Payne, 2008; Youth Action and Policy Association NSW, 2004), 'vicarious trauma' (Fraine & McDade, 2009; Refugee Council of Australia, n.d.) and 'secondary trauma' (Kira, 2004; Sims, Hayden, Palmer & Hutchins, 2000) this phenomenon refers to "how the impact of

trauma on parents [or older siblings] may affect the way children interact" (Youth Action and Policy Association NSW, 2004, p. 1-2). Family relationships and dynamics are severely affected by parental trauma (Kira, 2004) including that derived from refugee and exile experiences. However, not all children of traumatised parents are affected negatively by their parents' experiences (Kira, 2004) and the mechanisms involved in trauma transmission require further research (Daud, et al., 2004).

Nonetheless, professionals working with refugee ELLs in sectors such as health and education require awareness that parents' traumatic experiences may be transmitted to their children (Daud, et al., 2004; Youth Action and Policy Association NSW, 2004). Awareness of this phenomenon is necessary because such transmission, according to Kira (2004) "can have … ripple effects that go through space and time, beyond the initial impact" (p. 39). According to Sims et al (2000), "Children born in Australia to families from a traumatised background experience a form of secondary trauma which impacts on their long-term development" (p. 42). These 'ripple effects' on long-term development may be severe and may be manifested in a variety of ways (Payne, 2008). The nature of trauma-related 'ripple effects' in classrooms will be considered in the next section.

2.3.4.iii The impact of transgenerational trauma in classrooms

Manifestations of transgenerational trauma in classrooms may include "short attention span, concentration problems, helplessness and learning disabilities" (Daud, et al., 2004, p. 24), "irritability, rage … depression and survival guilt" (Hosin, 2001, p. 138), "aggressive outbursts or emotional numbness, sadness and withdrawal … and intrusive and recurring thoughts" (Youth Action and Policy Association NSW, 2004, p. 2) and "hypervigilance, fatigue and poor concentration" (Fraine & McDade, 2009, p. 19). That younger ELLs of refugee background may suffer these problems, which are the same as those described in the literature related to their older siblings, reflects the fact that family members close to survivors of trauma "tend to think, feel and behave as if they too had experienced severe trauma" (Daud, et al., 2004, p. 25). Indeed, some trauma scholars contend that the distinction between the effect of trauma on the individual/s who experienced it, and on those to whom they transmit it through dysfunctional family dynamics, is principally an academic one (Chrestman, 1994; Danieli, 1998 as cited in Daud, et al., 2004, p. 25). Hence, Second Phase ELLs require the same type of proactive, nurturing school environment as do New Arrivals. Such an environment will support them to take advantage of opportunities to achieve academic success afforded by appropriate pedagogical responses on the part of their teachers.

As with the literature related to New Arrival students with direct traumatic experience, the literature related to transgenerational traumatisaton is generally derived from Psychology-related research, rather than Education-related research. Nonetheless, it suggests the importance of teachers of refugee ELLs, including those of younger Second Phase ones, having awareness of learning and classroom behaviour indicators of possible ongoing traumatisation. It also indicates the importance of distinguishing between cognitive deficiency and the effects of traumatisation on learning (Fraine & Mc Dade, 2009), which, of course, is a complex, multidisciplinary endeavour. Hence, this literature supports the inclusion in this study of an examination of mainstream teachers' conceptualisations of these students' family and home lives, and how these may influence the students' classroom behaviour and learning. These conceptualisations are significant to the study as they may have some impact on the way/s in which mainstream primary teachers respond to the refugee ELLs in their classrooms.

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has considered literature from second language acquisition research, such as that dealing with L1-L2 transfer of knowledge and skills (the Interdependence hypothesis), the BICS/CALP distinction and skills transfer between proficiency dimensions in the L2 (Cummins, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1991; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007; R. Ellis, 1985, 1994; Krashen, 1981,1982; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, 1981; Swain,1979). Sociocultural theory of learning (Vygotsky, 1978) and the theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) were then drawn on to explicate the congruence between second language acquisition research and effective pedagogies for the optimal instruction of ELLs, such as scaffolding and culturally relevant pedagogies, and appropriate, supportive school climates for ELLs. In doing so, the chapter established a vision of ideal instruction for ELLs in mainstream classes.

It then considered the literature related to factors which have been shown to impact on the actual educational experiences of ELLs in mainstream classrooms in a variety of sites internationally. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital (1977) and Gogolin's (2002) theory of monolingual habitus informed the analysis of these factors which included; positioning of English as a Second Language (ESL) within Literacy policy internationally as a 'subset' of English; the composition of the teaching force; teacher attitudes to aspects of ELL inclusion; teacher efficacy for working with these students, high-stakes testing and teacher training and professional learning. It was shown that there was dissonance between the theoretical ideal of instruction of ELLs in mainstream settings and the reality

of the instruction they are currently receiving and that many ELLs in the mainstream are receiving far from ideal instruction.

The final section considered two groups of refugee ELLs found in this study's research setting, that is, New Arrivals and Second Phase refugee ELLs, often the younger siblings of previous New Arrivals. It drew on educational and psychological research internationally, and in Australia, to establish the nature of the particular learning needs of these students in the light of their previous schooling and their traumatic refugee experiences (or those of other family members), and of the findings of Second Language Acquisition research, discussed in section one of this Literature Review. It described these students as comprising two subsets of a distinct group, with distinct learning needs, within the broader body of ELLs. Given that this Literature Review has demonstrated that there is much dissonance between theory and practice in the realm of educating ELLs in mainstream settings internationally, it is reasonable to assume that refugee ELLs may present significant and additional challenges to mainstream teachers, beyond those presented by ELLs from non-refugee backgrounds.

The dissonance between theory and practice outlined in this chapter thus is significant in that the research findings are principally from sites in the USA with historically established, relatively large, heterogeneous groups of ELLs where there has been much debate in educational and public domains about the education of these students. In the non-metropolitan Australian setting of this study, although demographic trends are bringing more ELLs into mainstream classes (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010), there has historically been low enrolment of ELLs, and less debate in public and educational domains about their education. While recognising the distinct sociocultural environment of each geographical region and school, the solid body of empirical research considered in this chapter nonetheless provides both a sound framework for exploring, and a justification for, the following research question which will guide the proposed study:

How do two mainstream primary teachers in non-metropolitan Australia respond to refugee ELLs in their classes?

i) What knowledge of SLA research and attitudes do they draw on to determine their classroom practices with refugee ELLs?

ii) What classroom practices do they employ with refugee ELLs?

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an explanation and justification of the research design for this study of the responses of mainstream primary teachers to the refugee ELLs in their classes. The explanation and justification are anchored in the study's research question. The chapter begins by outlining the theoretical framework, epistemology and theoretical perspectives which underlie the chosen methodology. It then describes that methodology, data gathering strategies, participant selection and data analysis, before addressing issues of trustworthiness and ethics. By relating theoretical and methodological elements to each other, and to the research question, this chapter demonstrates how each element develops from others to form a cogent and appropriate research design for addressing the questions to be explored in the study (E. Ellis, 2003).

Acknowledging that a study's research question is "the engine which drives the train of enquiry" (Bassey, 1999, p. 67) it is appropriate here to restate the research question that guides this study.

Research Question

How do two mainstream primary teachers in non-metropolitan Australia respond to the refugee ELLs in their classes?

i) What knowledge of SLA research and attitudes do they draw on to determine their classroom practices with refugee ELLs?

ii) What classroom practices do they employ with refugee ELLs?

3. 2 Theoretical Framework for the Research Design

This study aims to understand and describe the meanings which the participants, mainstream primary teachers, give to their actions in specific social contexts, that is, in mainstream primary classes in which refugee ELLs are enrolled. As such, the study does not seek to discover an existing 'truth' as in the positivist tradition, but rather it seeks to describe aspects of reality as observed by the researcher and articulated by the study's participants. This "orientation or stance" (Merriam, 1998, p. 45) that the researcher brings to the study is its theoretical framework. As educational research is an area which is both heterogeneous and contested (Punch, 2006) the terminology used in the literature to describe this orientation is varied: for example, 'theoretical framework' (Crotty, 1998;

Merriam, 1998), 'big theory' (O'Donoghue, 2007) and 'paradigm' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Neuman, 2006; Punch, 2006) are some common terms.

In general, all these terms imply a "whole system of thinking" (Neuman, 2006, p. 81). These systems of thinking themselves are various and can include positivism, interpretivism, critical theory and postmodernism (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2003; O' Donoghue, 2007) with sub-systems such as positivist and post positivist, constructivist-interpretive, critical (Marxist, emancipatory) and feminist-poststructural (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The researcher takes the view that in order to explicate the nature of the research design it is necessary to nominate one "whole system of thinking" (Neuman, 2006, p. 81) as constituting its theoretical framework. Hence, given the nature of the research question and the researcher's contention that education is a moral, rather than technical process (Biesta, 2007), an appropriate way to attempt to access and understand the meanings and actions of those involved in this moral process is through the theoretical framework of interpretivism (Creswell, 2003; Punch, 2006). For the purposes of this study, interpretivism is understood as a framework which supports "*the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds"* (Neuman, 2006, p. 88) [Italics in original].

The study's purpose is to investigate how mainstream teachers in a non-metropolitan area respond to refugee ELLs in their classes and what attitudes and knowledge of SLA research may inform those responses. Neuman's (2006) definition of interpretivism informs this study's overall research design relative to this purpose. It is a study's theoretical framework, in this case, interpretivism, which determines what is observed in the field, the questions asked of the study's participants and ultimately, the interpretation/s made of the data (Merriam, 1998). Within the interpretivist framework then, the researcher is positioned as seeking to discover and describe the meanings that actions have for those who engage in them (Neuman, 2006). In order to further illuminate the nature of this study's research design, it becomes necessary to define an epistemology consistent with the research question and the interpretivist theoretical framework. This is addressed in the following section.

3.3 Epistemology

The knowledge sought in this study is about the subjective, socially constructed meanings that mainstream teachers hold in relation to their actions toward their refugee ELLs in their teaching contexts. It is created, rather than discovered knowledge, in that it views reality as created rather than pre-existing (Crotty, 1998). Hence, as this study's research

design is undertaken within the framework of interpretivism (as discussed in the previous section) it requires an epistemology, derived from, and supporting that framework. Epistemology is variously defined in the literature as "the study of how knowledge is generated and accepted as valid" (O'Donoghue, 2007, p. 9), "philosophical assumptions about what constitutes *knowledge claims"* (Creswell, 2002, p. 3) [Italics in original] and as "the relationship between the knower and the knowable" (Gough, 2002, p. 1). In other words, epistemology is viewed here in operational terms, as an understanding of, or orientation to, the question of what constitutes knowledge. The epistemology of a study is anchored and reflected in the nature of the research question, in the sense that this indicates the type of knowledge that the researcher is aiming to create by means of the study (Creswell, 2003).

Hence, the epistemology of this study, consistent with its purpose and the theoretical framework of the research design is social constructivism (Lincoln & Guba, 2003), also referred to in the literature as constructivism (Crotty, 1998; O'Donoghue, 2007). With a long intellectual tradition based in the seminal works of Vygotsky (1978) (discussed in the preceding Literature Review), for the purposes of this study, social constructivism is understood as "*the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context"* (Crotty, 1998, p. 42) [Italics in original].

Social constructivism was chosen for this study, situated in the context of two primary school classrooms, because it views "social interaction as the basis of knowledge" (O'Donoghue, 2007, p. 9-10) which is constructed via a process of mutual negotiation (O'Donoghue, 2007). Consequently, interactions between the teachers and their refugee ELLs in this study, and the meanings that the teachers assign to these interactions, are the focus of interest to researchers working from the epistemology of social constructivism. In conjunction with the implementation of appropriate methodology, (to be considered in following sections of this chapter), social constructivist epistemology leads to the creation of accounts of phenomena which are interpretive rather than "law-like generalisations" (Candy, 1998, p. 3). Such interpretive accounts reflect the social constructivist perspective that reality and 'meaning' are contextual in terms of both time and place (Creswell & Miller, 2000) and subjective, varied and multiple (Burns, 2000; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Creswell, 2003; Neuman, 2006).

Meanings are directed toward particular objects and things (Creswell, 2003). In this study the meanings of mainstream primary teachers in relation to the refugee ELLs in their

classes are understood and approached as constructed, rather than discovered (Crotty, 1998). As it is meanings which shape responses, that is, action or inaction (Lincoln & Guba, 2003), a research methodology which would allow the researcher to access these meanings, and thus to address the research question, was required. The following section discusses that research methodology.

3.4 Research Methodology

The focus of this study was on classroom interactions between mainstream teachers and refugee ELLs, that is, human group life and human conduct Consequently, its epistemology and theoretical perspectives oriented it toward a methodology rooted in the direct observation and probing of the empirical social world. The resultant methodology employed in this study acted as "the link between the paradigm-related questions and the methods" (Crotty, 1998, p. 3) and as a means of connecting data to the research question (Punch, 2006). Due to its interpretivist framework it utilised 'pluralist' (Kirk & Miller, 1986) and 'systematic' (Bassey, 1999) methodological processes generally described in the literature as qualitative (Merriam, 1998). Such processes were appropriate to 'the human-as-instrument' (Lincoln & Guba, 2003) orientation of the study because they provided a place for researcher reflexivity, understood here as a technique which serves to "alert researchers to the need to question the taken-for-granted knowledge they take into a study and the many ways they influence what they record as data" (Richards, 2005, p. 197). Ultimately the study's research methodology, and at a more applied level, its contingent data gathering strategies (Creswell, 2003), were arrived at on the basis of the researcher's assessment of their capacity to successfully address its particular research question (Gillham, 2005; Punch, 2006; Silverman, 2005).

In this study the researcher sought to understand and describe the context-specific meanings that the study's participants have about their world (Crotty, 1998). Consequently, case study methodology was employed as it facilitated exploration and description with reference to a particular place and time (Yin, 2009). This methodology studies a specific case which is understood as "a single unit, a bounded system" or "a unit of analysis" (Merriam, 1998, p. 65). The unit is bounded by activity and time (Creswell, 2003). In this study, the case focused on the unit of mainstream primary teachers and the meanings which they attached to the ELLs in their classes, and their responses to these students in the course of their daily teaching. Consequently, it can be described as a case study with an 'ethnographic perspective' (Pahl & Rosswell, 2010) where ethnography is understood as "the study of people in everday life … [which] focuses on culture, that is, people making meaning of their experiences" (Anderson-Levitt, 2006, p. 290). (The

procedures employed to select the case and for within-case sampling (Punch, 2006) are described in the following section)

The case study approach was an appropriate methodological means of addressing this study's focus because it allowed the researcher to ask and address 'how/why' questions (Yin, 2009) in a context in which the various behaviours constituting the phenomenon of interest could not be manipulated (Burns, 2000; Yin, 2009) and in which the "boundaries between the phenomenon and contexts [were] not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009, p. 18). Hence this methodology was a tool for identifying the different elements within the context of teacher/ELL classroom interactions and how they related to each other to form a whole. The case study framework made it possible for the researcher to examine teacher/ELL interactions in this study "not as a set of abstracted categories, but as a set of material processes in a particular setting with a particular history" (Kamler, et al., 1994, p. 27), and consistent with its 'ethnographic perspective', to consider the subjectivities that may be informing these material processes, or practices.

Case study methodology entails no unique data collection strategies and forms of data analysis, but rather is 'eclectic' (Bassey, 1999). Consequently, the researcher selected strategies and forms she considered most useful as tools (Yin, 2009) for gathering a large body of data which would allow her to answer the specific research question (Burns, 2000; Gillham, 2005; Yin, 2009). In this study the data gathering strategies of semi-structured interviews and classroom observations were employed. Both strategies are associated with ethnographic enquiry (Anderson-Levitt, 2006; Basit, 2009). They are discussed in detail in later sections of this chapter. The large quantity of data gathered through these strategies allowed the researcher to develop a symbolic representation or 'thick description' which provides a 'deep, dense and detailed' account (Denzin, 1989) of the phenomena which constitute the case. The selection of the participants for the case study is discussed in the following section.

3.4.i Teacher Participants

According to a number of scholars (Creswell, 2003; Merriam, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994) discussion of a study's participants should cover the context, or setting, in which the data is gathered, the participants themselves and the activities or events in which the participants are engaged while being observed and interviewed. In order to explicate these it is necessary to outline the sampling criteria used in the study (Lovey, 2000). Consistent with the characteristics of a case study, two levels of sampling were required by this study (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). Purposive or 'purposeful' sampling (Merriam, 1998) was applied first to select information rich cases or settings. Given the purpose of

the study, the criteria for selecting the 'settings' were (i) mainstream primary school classes in a non-metropolitan region of New South Wales (ii) with refugee ELLs in their enrolment. The region in which the study took place has historically had much less cultural and linguistic diversity than metropolitan areas. However, it has recently experienced a rapid increase in the number of culturally and linguistically diverse refugee and Humanitarian entrants enrolled in local mainstream primary schools. The classes in which these refugee ELLs are enrolled constituted the information rich cases or 'bounded systems' (Merriam, 1998) in this study.

Once selected, these bounded systems were 'sampled within' (Merriam, 1998) to identify appropriate participants in the research. The study's research question focuses specifically on the knowledge, attitudes and practices of mainstream teachers of refugee ELLs. Thus, the selection criteria in this second level of sampling was (i) mainstream primary teachers, (ii) with refugee ELLs enrolled in their classes. The researcher sought permission from the local education authority to carry out the study in its area. Once this was granted, the local education authority provided the researcher with a list of primary schools in its area with enrolments of refugee background ELLs. Approval was also given to the researcher to approach the Principals of the schools on that list to seek the participation of members of their staffs in the study. After contacting the Principals by letter and follow-up phone calls, the researcher was invited to speak to the staff at two primary schools on the list. At the meetings she explained the study, its purpose and potential benefits and sought volunteer participants. Following these meetings, Margot and Susanna (pseudonyms), two female mainstream teachers with refugee ELLs in their classes, agreed to participate in the study (see Appendices a and b for Information Letter to Teachers and Consent form). Due to the fact that the participants in the study were volunteers, it can be described as an instrumental, rather than an intrinsic, case study with an 'ethnographic perspective'. The following Table 3.1 provides some descriptive information about the teacher participants.

Table 3.1 Teacher Participants

Descriptors	Margot	Susanna
Number of years teaching experience	35+	30-35
Previous experience with refugee ELLs in class	Nil	15+ years
Current class taught	Year 3	Year 3
Number of refugee ELLs in current class	3	3
Formal ESL qualifications	Nil	Nil

The researcher acknowledges the need to consider 'issues of reciprocity' (Glesne, 2006) in relation to the study's participants. Reciprocity ideally means that Margot and Susanna would benefit in some way from their involvement in the study. Benefits to the participants in this study included the provision of a forum (in the interview phase of the study) in which to explain their reality. Indeed, Glesne (2006) contends that "By providing the opportunity to reflect on and voice answers to your [the researcher's] questions" (p. 143), the researcher may "assist them [the participants] to understand some aspect of themselves better" (p. 143). In addition, through their participation Margot and Susanna may have contributed to the creation of a greater awareness of the general situation of mainstream primary teachers with refugee ELLs in their classes. This awareness, in turn, may potentially contribute to the development of improved professional learning opportunities and improved in-class support for mainstream primary teachers of refugee ELLs.

3.4.i (a) ELL Participants

In both Margot's and Susanna's classes there are three ELLs of Sudanese refugee background. All six children have had all their education in Australian schools. In Margot's class these children are; (pseudonyms) Yar (henceforth S4), Mabor (henceforth S5) and Rebecca (henceforth S6). S4 is a girl who has attended Margot's school since kindergarten. S6 is her sister, thought to be approximately 14 months older than S4, who also began kindergarten at Margot's school at the same time as S4. These girls have older siblings who had attended the school as New Arrivals and are now attending a local high school. S5 is a boy who has attended the school since kindergarten. He has older siblings who attended Margot's school as New Arrivals and are now attending a local high school. S4, S5 and S6 have no younger siblings.

The three refugee ELL children at Susanna's school are; (pseudonyms) Atar (henceforth S1), Ruth (henceforth S2) and Along (henceforth S3). S1 is a boy who began kindergarten at Susanna's school. He has several older siblings, some of whom attended this school as New Arrivals, and now attend a local school, and pre-school age siblings. S2 is a girl who began kindergarten in another local school as there was not a place available at Susanna's school. When one became available in Year Two she enrolled there. She has an older sibling attending Susanna's school and another in high school. S3 began kindergarten in Sydney, as her mother moved there after her parents separated. Her older siblings stayed in the study site with their father and two of them now attend local high schools. S3 returned, without her mother, to live with her father and siblings at

the end of Year Two and enrolled at Susanna's school. She has one older sibling with special needs also attending Susanna's school.

3.4.i (b) The Researcher

The researcher has a strong, long-standing interest in the education of ELLs. This interest developed from personal experiences as a teacher, and as a parent, which led her to examine this issue from theoretical and equity perspectives. As a primary school teacher with a single Polish ELL, Agatha, (pseudonym) in her class many years ago, she experienced the frustration and sadness of feeling inadequately trained to respond pedagogically to this isolated child, and unable to locate professional learning opportunities to assist her to meet this challenge. At the time, she felt, and continues to feel her lack of training was the most significant barrier to Agatha's educational opportunities. For this reason, she undertook post-graduate studies in Applied Linguistics to build up her theoretical knowledge base in regard to Second Language Acquisition research and appropriate pedagogies derived from it. Later, training pre-school teachers in sub-Saharan Africa, she worked with adults for whom English was the language of school and post-school formal education, but not the language of everyday domains. She became concerned by the interplay between the education system and the students' attitudes toward the value of their first language, in comparison to English. From this emerged an interest in how teachers may consolidate or challenge the education system's de-valuing of languages other than the school-sanctioned one/s. She began to consider the intersections between concepts of linguistic capital and theoretical constructs such as Cummins' (1981) Common Underlying Proficiency model, and how these might inform training for teachers of ELLs within mainstream settings at all levels.

On a personal level, as a member of a family whose home language is not English, she has at times been dismayed by the experiences of her overseas-born children as ELLs in the Australian educational system. For example, on a number of occasions she has had to defend to English monolingual teachers, her family's decision to maintain the children's first language as their home language. She has also discerned in several teachers an orientation to the children's linguistic diversity as a 'problem' to be 'fixed', rather than as an academic resource. She was once told by a teacher that the literacy challenges her son experiences (which she recognises) were to be expected from an ELL student. During these experiences she has often reflected on how painful, disorienting and disempowering such interactions with well-meaning teachers might be for parents who are not native speakers of English and may not have had the access to formal education that she has enjoyed.

Due to these cumulative experiences, and the impact that they have had on her own orientations to the question of equitable education for ELLs, the researcher situates herself in relation to the study as an individual who is very aware of her own subjectivity and its potential impact on the trustworthiness of her study. As a researcher she aims to implement a study that will render trustworthy findings that may contribute to the knowledge base about the lived experiences of refugee ELLs in Australian mainstream primary classrooms. To try to limit the impact of her subjectivity, and thus increase the potential trustworthiness of the study and its findings, she has included the employment of a Critical Friend (Bambino, 2002; Costa & Kallick, 1993; Foulger, 2010; Kember, Ha, Lam, Lee, Ng, Yan et al., 1996; Koo, 2002; McNiff, Lomax & Whitehead, 1996; Rallis & Rossman, 2000; Swaffield, 2002, 2007) within the research design. The Critical Friend will review the data and the researcher's interpretations and provide her with feedback on these in an ongoing manner (see Section 3.7.i for an elaboration of the role of the Critical Friend).

3.4.ii Role of the Researcher

The researcher was present all day in both classes for two days a week for one school term. Due to the 'ethnographic perspective' of the study she assumed the 'dualistic' role of a participant observer typical of studies which involve "eliciting the insiders' views" (Anderson-Levitt, 2006, p. 285) in a specific site. According to Anderson-Levitt (2006) accessing these views "requires the researcher to participate to some degree in the situations studied" (p. 285). The existence of a continuum in terms of the 'degree' of participation a participant observer engages in during field work is referred to by a number of scholars (Anderson-Levitt, 2006; Basit, 2009; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Jameson, 1999). This can range from minimal participation to the researcher being a "complete participant, where the observer is barely discernible from those being observed" (Jameson, 1999, p. 7). The researcher's degree of participation in this study was toward the lower end of the continuum. That participation included taking small groups of children for activitities in different KLA classes, assisting the two observed teachers with marking students' work and involvement in social interaction with the observed teachers and other staff members in the staffroom and playground.

By participating at this level the researcher believes that she gained some degree of acceptance within the study site, which subsequently allowed her to access 'insiders' views'. (This acceptance was perhaps reflected in the fact that a number of non-observed teachers volunteered to be interviewed in the study. This will be discussed further in section 3.6.vi). While she tried to access 'insiders' views' through her participation, the

researcher also sought to maintain a degree of 'outsider' role as an observer. Through observation as an outsider she felt she may be able to gather data which might allow her to "make visible the invisible" by "articulat[ing] the tacit levels of culture" (Anderson-Levitt, 2006, p. 285) operating in the study site which the insiders may not articulate. Such 'tacit levels of culture' at each school would influence the classroom responses of mainstream teachers to their refugee ELLs. The researcher acknowledges that her presence as participant and as observer would have had some impact at the study site. This issue is addressed in the following section.

3.4.iii Impact of Researcher presence

The researcher recognises that her presence in the study site may have "change[d] the dynamics" of the "milieu to be observed" (Basit, 2009, p. 130) in Margot's and Susanna's classrooms and schools. In the classrooms the teachers' pedagogical decisions or actions may have been affected. For example, teachers may have prioritised the demonstration of efficient classroom management over pedagogy, or vice versa. Such possible changes in the 'dynamics' of the study site 'milieu' are impossible to quantify, and perhaps, impossible to avoid (Basit, 2009). The researcher sought to minimise her potential impact, however, by assuming the role of low level participant and by spending prolonged time in the field. (This last point will be taken up further in Section 3.8.ii) Discussion will now turn to the data gathering strategies the researcher employed during her time as participant observer in the field.

3.5 Data gathering strategies

As outlined earlier, the overall methodological orientation of this study was the case study as this allowed for in-depth observation in naturalistic settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) which, in the researcher's judgment, was an appropriate way of addressing the study's research question. A case study may utilise data gathering strategies associated either with the qualitative or quantitative tradition, or combinations of these (Yin, 2009). However, this study, due to the nature of the research question which attempted to access participants' meanings, and its 'ethnographic perspective' employed solely qualitative data gathering strategies. These strategies are discussed in the following sections of the chapter.

3.5.i Classroom observations

Direct classroom observations and semi-structured interviews based on those observations were the principal data gathering strategies employed in this study. There are a number of relevant studies reported in the literature which have addressed similar research questions to that of this study via observation in classrooms followed by semi-structured interviewing (Gebhard, 2000; Patten, 2003; Yoon, 2004). The phase of classroom observations involved the participation of Margot and Susanna, the two previously described mainstream primary teachers with refugee ELLs in their classes. It was anticipated that these observations would provide data to address the following part of the research question: i) What classroom practices do they employ with refugee ELLs?

3.5.ii Quality Teaching Framework

During classroom observations, the researcher took detailed field notes on teacher responses and interactions observed in the KLA classes, particularly with reference to the refugee ELLs in the class. The observations were guided by, though not restricted to, the pedagogical themes derived from the Literature Review. During observations the researcher employed the five-point scale used in the *Quality teaching in NSW public schools. Classroom Practice Guide* (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006) to record the characteristics of the pedagogies observed in KLA classes. The New South Wales Quality Teaching initiatives, or Quality Teaching Framework, organised according to three dimensions: Intellectual quality, Quality learning environment and Significance, provide a model of optimal pedagogy for New South Wales schools. It draws on the outcomes of government-funded longitudinal research into classroom practices supportive of students' learning outcomes, carried out in the Australian state of Queensland (see: Lingard et al., 2001). The term "productive pedagogies" (Lingard et al., 2001) was employed in the Queensland study and is used internationally to refer to this, and other, research which has demonstrated links between particular qualities in pedagogies and improvement in student outcomes (see: Newmann & Associates 1996; Newmann, Marks & Gamorran, 1996). The Quality Teaching Framework, then, is consistent with, and supported by, the outcomes of this internationally recognized "productive pedagogies" research.

While the *Quality teaching in NSW public schools. Classroom Practice Guide* (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006) is intended "To guide teacher **reflection** and **analysis**" (p. 5) [Bold in original] the researcher believed it could play an important role as an observation tool in this study because of its emphasis on observable behaviours, "you can only score what you can see" (p. 8). The Quality Teaching

Framework's (QTF) point scale for each of its elements is supported by descriptions of those observable behaviours ranging from 1 to 5, (see Appendix c) where 5 is the highest score. Thus its five point scale facilitated a detailed description and analysis of the observed classroom practices thereby providing data to address the sub-question: ii) What classroom practices do they employ with refugee ELLs?

Prior to undertaking the observations the researcher accessed the resources made available by the New South Wales Department of Education to support teachers' professional learning in relation to the Quality Teaching Framework (see www.det.nsw.edu.au/proflearn/areas/qt/resources.htm). These include the DVD *Quality teaching in New South Wales public schools: Continuing discussion about classroom practices: Lesson Extracts K-10.* This DVD features nine lesson extracts "to assist teachers to use the classroom practice guide and deepen their understanding of the elements of the NSW model of pedagogy" (www.det.nsw.edu.au/proflearn /areas/qt/resources.htm)*.*

Use of the QTF coding scale in this study was justified by the fact that it provided data in relation to the correspondence or otherwise between the observed pedagogies and what is known from SLA research and, importantly, allowed the researcher to record those observed pedagogies using terminology familiar to the New South Wales mainstream and ESL educational communities. A number of recent studies in New South Wales (P. Gibbons, 2006, 2008, 2009; Hammond, 2008; Hammond, Gibbons, Michell, Dufficy, Cruikshank & Sharpe 2005-7; Rushton, 2008) have noted the correspondence between elements in the QTF and what research has shown to be optimal pedagogies for teaching ELLs in mainstream classes. P. Gibbons (2008), in a study centring on intellectual practices and ESL learners in their middle years of school, contends that many elements of the QTF "accord strongly with what we observed in our own research" (p. 158).

The researcher extracted the elements from each of the aforementioned dimensions comprising the QTF which are most consistent with what the literature demonstrates about the optimal teaching of ELLs (see Chapter Two, Literature Review, Section One). The dimension of Intellectual Quality is defined in the Framework as:

> pedagogy focused on producing deep understanding of important, substantive concepts, skills and ideas. Such pedagogy treats knowledge as something that requires active construction and requires students to engage in higher order thinking and to communicate substantively about what they are learning (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 10).

From this dimension, the researcher scored observed classroom interactions/pedagogies using the elements of Higher Order Thinking, Metalanguage and Substantive Communication. These elements incorporate a number of themes from the Literature Review such as the need for high challenge curriculum, explicit teaching of language features, dialogic pedagogies, scaffolded opportunities for extended participation by refugee ELLs and positioning of these children as 'experts'. These pedagogies provide opportunities in particular for the activation of L1-L2 transfer of knowledge and skills for ELLs (see Section 2.1.4) in the building of curriculum content knowledge and academic English proficiency.

The second dimension of the QTF, Quality Learning Environment, is defined as "pedagogy that creates classrooms where students and teachers work productively in an environment clearly focused on learning. Such pedagogy sets high and explicit expectations and develops positive relationships between teachers and students and among students" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 10). From this dimension, the researcher scored classroom behaviours according to the elements of Explicit quality criteria, Engagement, High expectations and Social support. These elements incorporate themes from the Literature Review such as, for example, explicit and equal curricular expectations for ELLs, efficacy, cultural capital and school climate. These pedagogies provide opportunities for teachers to make explicit their high expectations of students (see Section 2.2.8) and to provide their students with concrete social and pedagogical support for meeting those expectations.

The third dimension of the QTF which was drawn on in this study is Significance. It is defined as "pedagogy that helps make learning more meaningful and important to students. Such pedagogy draws clear connections with students' prior knowledge and identities, with contexts outside of the classroom, and with multiple ways of knowing or cultural perspectives" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 10). The elements of Background knowledge, Cultural knowledge and Inclusivity were scored. These incorporate themes from the Literature Review such as cultural capital, positioning of these children as 'experts', deficit thinking, monolingual habitus and school climate. These pedagogies, as with those of the dimension of Intellectual Quality, provide opportunities for the activation of L1-L2 transfer of knowledge and skills for ELLs (see Section 2.1.4).

The researcher coded teachers' pedagogies on each day in the field in which sufficient opportunities for formal observation presented themselves. At the end of each day, after careful reflection on the field notes on the observed elements of the QTF, a score was

assigned to the highest instance of each of these elements that was observed by the researcher on that day. There were days in which the researcher was present in the schools but observation opportunities were limited due to incursions, school celebrations and other special activities. On these days the researcher took field notes (see Section 3.6.iv), but did not record scores. Margot's pedagogical practices were coded according to the selected elements of the QTF on nine occasions and Susanna's on eight occasions. Discussion now turns, in the following section, to an additional means through which data about the teachers' classroom practices was gathered.

3.5.iii The Curriculum Cycle

The use of the Quality Teaching Framework to score and describe pedagogies was supplemented by the use of an observation proforma designed to record evidence of the implementation of the Curriculum Cycle. As noted in Chapter Two: Literature Review the Curriculum Cycle (Derewianka, 1991) is a specific sequence of activities used in the development of writing activities within the context of broader literacy classes which provides a means of scaffolding children's literacy development. It comprises the broad stages of field building, deconstruction and modelling, joint construction and independent construction. It developed as a pedagogical tool out of the correspondence between sociocultural, interactionist theories of learning and understandings about relationships between language and content articulated by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1985). SFL supports an understanding of language and content as being integrated; content being constructed, mediated and learned through the medium of language which carries culturally coded ways of knowing.

In Australian educational contexts, the Curriculum Cycle is widely recognised as a means of scaffolding the learning of both ELLs and ESB children (P. Gibbons, 2008; Hammond & Gibbons, 2005; Harris, 2005; Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008). The Cycle, in concert with the elements of the QTF, provides opportunities within the paradigm of mainstream class instruction to effectively support these children toward full curricular access by "mak[ing] explicit aspects of the genres valued in school literacy" (Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008, p. 1). It is thus a pedagogy embedded in, and supported by both sociocultural theory of learning (Vygotsky, 1978) and the findings of SLA research outlined in this study's Literature Review (see Chapter Two, Section One). As such, its use in this study is justified by the fact that it may provide data which will allow for further depth in the analysis of the teachers' observed pedagogies, including their relationship to additional language teaching methodology.

The proforma used during data gathering provided for evidence of the implementation of each of the stages within the Curriculum Cycle to be recorded. The proforma was used for Margot on six occasions and for Susanna on seven occasions during their Literacy Blocks. The lessons in which the proforma was used were also audio recorded and transcribed for analysis.

3.5.iv Field Notes

In addition to the use of the NSW QTF scoring and the Curriculum Cycle proforma, during the observation phase of the cycle, in order to allow for the emergence and recording of any unanticipated themes, extensive field notes were taken. These were made under the categories of 'reflective' and 'descriptive' (Creswell, 2003). Reflective notes included aspects such as researcher speculation, impressions and feelings. Descriptive notes covered the setting, the participants and the events observed. Demographic information was also noted. Audio recordings were made and transcriptions subsequently developed from them.

3.5.v Semi-structured Interviews

The above described data gathering procedures, while capable of providing data about actual classroom practices, could not, however, render data to address the following part of the research question i) What knowledge of SLA research and attitudes do they draw on to determine their classroom practices with refugee ELLs? Therefore, another data gathering strategy consistent with this case study's 'ethnographic perspective' became necessary. The researcher believed that an appropriate strategy to gather data to address this question was interviewing the observed teachers. Hence, following some classroom observations, and during further ongoing observations, (and derived in part from these observations), the interview phase of the study occurred. This semi-structured, or 'open-ended' interviewing (Yin, 2009) involved the use of a theory-informed interview guide which addressed the themes and issues arising from the observations (recorded in the QTF scale as described previously) and the Literature Review, but with no set question order or wording. Hence, at least in part, the questions emerged from the study itself once data gathering had commenced. Indeed, Creswell (2003), referring to semi-structured interviewing contends that "the more open-ended the questioning, the better" (p. 8). Such an approach allowed the respondents "to construct answers using their own words" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 159) and caused the researcher to listen very carefully to the interviewee. Listening, according to Anderson-Levitt (2006) "is probably the most important activity … during field work" (p. 288) for researchers undertaking ethnographic

studies. The following sections outline the context of the interviews and the questions asked of each group of interviewees.

3.5.vi Margot's and Susanna's Interviews

The two observed teachers were interviewed at school on two occasions for 45 minutes. These interviews were conducted outside class time and before 3 pm. The first interview was conducted after four weeks of classroom observation and the second, one month later, that is, after eight weeks of observation. While the interviews were conceptualised and implemented as semi-structured and flexible data gathering tools, each one had a specific emphasis embedded in the themes of the Literature Review. The questions in the first interview (**I 1**) aimed to explore specifically the teachers' experiences with the first wave of Sudanese refugee ELLs [New Arrivals] the older siblings of the participants in this study, (**I 1**, Q 3, 4), their knowledge of SLA research (**I 1**, Q 7, 10), their attitudes toward their ELLs (**I 1**, Q 1, 5, 6, 8) and their efficacy and their classroom praxis (**I 1**, Q 1, 2, 3, 9) as teachers of mainstream classes with Second Phase ELLs from a refugee background. The questions were not predetermined; rather, they emerged during the course of the interviews (see Appendices e, f, g and h for Interview One and Two transcripts). Table 3.2 below presents each question from Interview One and the theme/s it sought to explore.

Table 3.2 Interview questions and themes from the Literature Review

Interview One (I 1) (After four weeks of classroom observations)

Questions	Themes from Literature Review
1. Please tell me about the children in your class.	Efficacy, Teacher Attitudes
2. Does having ELLs in your class affect the way you teach the class as a whole?	Efficacy, SLA knowledge, Culturally relevant pedagogies, Teacher attitudes
3. Was the first wave of Sudanese students different to these students? How that was experience different?	Efficacy, Teacher Attitudes, Lack of preparation
4. How did you go about working out what those kids' needs were?	SLA knowledge
5. There is a belief in some sections of the community that the Sudanese have developed a sense of entitlement. Have you seen any evidence of that? Do you think that exists?	Teacher attitudes, School culture
6. Do they have any skills that come from the refugee experience that they can use for their learning?	Cultural Capital, Teacher attitudes
7. In your opinion, based on your experience, how long does it take an ELL to acquire proficiency in English?	SLA Knowledge
8. Have the Sudanese contributed something to the school that you value, as a group?	Cultural Capital, Teacher attitudes, School culture
9. Do you have the same expectations of these students as the rest of the class?	Teacher attitudes, Efficacy, Accountability
10. What is your opinion of the use of the first language (L1) in the classroom?	Cultural Capital, SLA Knowledge

The questions in the second interview **(I 2)** aimed to probe the teachers' understanding of the nature of the learning challenges faced by their current Sudanese ELLs, (**I 2**, Q 10, 11, 12, 12b, 16), and the home/school relationship in relation to ELLs (**I 2**, Q 12, 13). They also sought to explore further the teachers' classroom praxis and efficacy (**I 2**, Q 15, 16, 17). The questions were not pre-determined; again, they emerged during the course of the interviews. Table 3.3 below presents each question from Interview Two and the theme/s it sought to explore.

Table 3.3 Interview questions and themes from the Literature Review

Interview Two (I 2) (One month after Interview One)

Questions	Themes from Literature Review
11. Tell me about the class and where they're at now.	Efficacy, Teacher attitudes
12. How would you place the Sudanese students compared to the start of the term? (Susanna)	Efficacy
12b. Do you see the Sudanese students as a group within the class? (Margot)	Efficacy, Teacher Attitudes, SLA knowledge
13. Do you think the home lives of these three children would be substantially different from the home life of anyone else in the class?	Teacher attitudes, Home-school discontinuity, Cultural Capital
14. Do you think much of the behaviours that we associate with school success, like making them do their homework, modelling reading, goes on? [in the homes of the ELLs]	Teacher attitudes, School culture, Home-school discontinuity, Cultural Capital
15. Do you see any cross over between ESL techniques and general literacy teaching?	SLA Knowledge, Literacy Policy
16. Does what you're able to do in the mainstream class meet the needs of ESL students? Is it possible for you to give the ESL students the assistance they need in the mainstream class?	SLA Knowledge
17. How will you judge when to raise your expectations for these children? (Susanna)	SLA Knowledge
18. Does the accountability of preparing the kids for NAPLAN and doing programming affect in any way what you teach … does it limit what you do?	Literacy Policy, Accountability

3.5.vii Additional Interviews: Non-observed teachers

The researcher intended to interview only the two participating, observed teachers, Margot and Susanna. However, during the course of the field work, opportunities arose (perhaps due to the researcher's 'participation' in the 'routinized activities' (Anderson-Levitt, 2006) in the site) to interview other non-observed teachers and Principals. Initially a number of staff who were not being observed, indicated during social conversations at lunch time in the staffroom, their willingness to be interviewed. While the purpose of the study remained the same, that is, to explore the experiences of the two mainstream

teachers with Sudanese refugee ELLs in their classes, and the main unit of analysis of the study always remained these teachers, the researcher decided to pursue these opportunities. She also decided to approach other staff, including the Principals, to request their participation in interviews. In addition to the volunteers, all staff approached for interviews agreed to participate. The interviews were carried out between the third and sixth week in the field at the schools and outside class time. All except one interview (Lucy) occurred before 3pm.

The researcher viewed interviews with other staff as a valuable means of gathering data to provide further background ethnographic information in addition to that obtained from the classroom observations and interviews with the two participating teachers. These interviews were carried out with the same approach as were those with the two observed teachers, that is, through semi-structured, or 'open-ended' interviewing (Yin, 2009). They sought to explore the other teachers' experiences with both the 'first wave' of New Arrival Sudanese ELLs some five to six years ago, and with the currently enrolled Second Phase Sudanese ELLs. The interview questions principally focused on their experiences with the first wave of Sudanese ELLs and their self-reported teaching praxis in relation to their current ELLs. The questions asked of the non-observed teachers and the themes from the Literature Review from which they were derived are given below in table 3.4

Table 3.4 Interview questions and themes from the Literature Review (Non-observed teachers)

Questions	Themes from Literature Review
1. Does having ELLs in your class affect the way you teach the class as a whole?	Efficacy, SLA knowledge, Culturally relevant pedagogies, Teacher attitudes
2. Was the first wave of Sudanese children different to these children? How was that experience different? Did you feel that you were adequately prepared?	Efficacy, Teacher Attitudes, Lack of preparation
3. How did you go about working out what those kids' needs were?	SLA Knowledge
4. There is a belief in some sections of the community that the Sudanese have developed a sense of entitlement. Have you seen any evidence of that? Do you think that exists?	Teacher attitudes, School culture
5. In your opinion, based on your experience, how long does it take an ELL to acquire proficiency in English?	SLA knowledge

6. Have the Sudanese contributed something to the school that you value, as a group?	Cultural Capital, Teacher attitudes, School culture
7. Do you have the same expectations of these kids as rest of class?	Teacher attitudes, Efficacy, Accountability
8. Does the accountability of preparing the children for NAPLAN and doing programming affect in any way what you teach, does it limit what you do?	Literacy Policy, Accountability
9. What is your opinion of the use of the first language (L1) in the classroom?	SLA knowledge, Cultural capital

3.5.vii (a) ESL teachers' Interviews

The specialist ESL teachers at both schools, Ellen (pseudonym) at Susanna's school and Gail (pseudonym) at Margot's school, also volunteered to be interviewed. As with the interviews of the non-observed class teachers, the researcher viewed these interviews as a means of gathering data to provide background to the main focus of the study, Margot and Susanna. While the interviews included some of the same questions as those put to the mainstream teachers, the key questions focused on the teaching models the ESL teachers employ with the current Sudanese ELLs, their attitudes to L1 use and their use of the *ESL Scales* (Curriculum Corporation, 1994) as a means of communicating with mainstream teachers about the ELLs in their classes. Both teachers were interviewed in the researcher's third week in the field. The interviews were 40 minutes in length. The questions and related themes from the Literature Review are given below in table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Interview questions and themes from the Literature Review (ESL teachers)

Questions	Themes from the Literature Review
1. Do you use withdrawal or in-class support with the current Sudanese ELLs?	SLA knowledge, Efficacy
2. Do you use the ESL Scales? Are they useful? Do you use [them] as a language to talk to the mainstream teachers [about their ELLs]?	SLA knowledge
3. Do you have an opinion about the use of L1 at school?	Cultural capital, SLA knowledge

The following section deals with the interviews with the two Principals, David and Bruce.

3.5.viii Principals' Interviews

As neither Principal is a teaching principal, in these interviews, rather than focusing on their classroom experiences, the researcher sought to focus on their experiences as leaders of schools which have integrated Sudanese refugee ELLs. Both interviews occurred during school hours in the respective Principals' offices and had a duration of approximately 50 minutes. David's interview was conducted in week five of the field work and Bruce's in week eight. The questions explored their experiences with the first wave of Sudanese ELLs, their self-reported attempts to create a school culture inclusive of Sudanese ELLs, and of the contribution of this new group of students (including the current Second Phase students) to their school communities. The questions and themes from the Literature Review are given below in table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Interview questions and themes from the Literature Review (Principals)

Questions	Themes from the Literature Review
1. How did you deal with the Sudanese New Arrivals?	Lack of preparation, Teacher attitudes
2. What advice would you give to someone facing a similar situation?	Cultural Capital, Teacher attitudes, School culture
3. Have the Sudanese contributed something to the school community?	School culture, Cultural capital, Home-school discontinuity

Given the researcher's repeated use of semi-structured interviewing, the following section will consider some of its strengths and weaknesses as a data gathering strategy.

3.5.ix Some strengths and weaknesses of semi-structured interviews

In this study the use of semi-structured interviewing allowed the interviewer to address the research question by asking all groups of interviewees about 'the facts' in regard to an issue well as their 'opinions about events' (Yin, 2009). Such interviewing was able to do this because of its fluidity (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). This fluidity led to information-rich discussions (E. Ellis, 2003) and the collection of significant quantities of data. As well as providing data, for example, about the observed teachers' knowledge of SLA research and attitudes, the researcher believes that by indirectly probing the teachers' answers and comments in the semi-structured interviews she was able to address themes from the Literature Review such as efficacy, cultural capital, deficit thinking, monolingual habitus and school climate.

The semi-structured interview method, does, however, have an inherent weakness which E. Ellis (2003) describes as "the asymmetrical relationship between the researcher and

respondent" (p. 156) where power imbalance between the interviewer and interviewee, and feelings of defensiveness on the part of the interviewee, may affect his or her responses. In a similar vein, Hollway and Jefferson (2002) posit the interviewee as a 'defended subject' attempting to present a "coherent rational self" (p. 57) through "investment in particular discourses" (p. 59). Nonetheless, the semi-structured interview by its very nature, can minimise these possibilities if managed properly. It can allow the interviewee to rephrase, give in-depth explanations or qualifications, to ask the interviewer for clarification and even to change the topic (E. Ellis, 2003). Another way of seeking to limit the problem of power imbalance between interviewer and interviewee is to try to establish 'member's competence' (Woods, 1996). Here the researcher tries to achieve 'acceptance' by the participant as part of his/her particular professional community. For this reason, in this study, the researcher explained and described to interview participants her own mainstream primary teaching background to try to reduce the 'gulf' (O'Leary, 2004) between interviewer and interviewee. Analysis of the gathered data is considered next.

3.6 Data Analysis

The overall approach to data analysis in this study was interpretive. The researcher is in agreement with Bassey's (1999) contention that the data analysis process "fundamentally … is about an intellectual struggle with an enormous amount of raw data in order to produce a meaningful and trustworthy conclusion" (p. 83-84). Consequently, this section of the chapter outlines the steps that were undertaken in this researcher's 'intellectual struggle' (Bassey, 1999) to bring "meaning, structure and order to [her] data" (Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2002, p. 31). She recognises acknowledges that the meaning, structure and order which emerged are reflective of her own subjectivity.

While acknowledging that there is no one correct way to analyse research data (Anfara, et al., 2002; Tesch, 1990), the researcher's aim in analysing the study's data was to develop a pattern or theory based upon it which incorporated a consideration of existing theory. To operationalise this aim, she attempted to engage in both "inductive and deductive cycles of reasoning" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 195). Such an approach allowed for "draft analytical statements" (Bassey, 1999, p. 70) to be formulated and tested against the data and consequently modified or discarded as necessary as the analysis proceeded. To do this the researcher attempted to engage in "reflexive analysis [which] involves staying as close to the data as possible" (O'Leary, 2004, p. 184). Through this open, flexible approach the researcher sought to move beyond producing a list of data (Silverman, 2005) to explaining, in addition to describing, the data (Punch, 2006; Richards, 2005).

Data analysis began before all the data had been gathered and then continued concurrently with the collection of the remaining data. As such, data analysis was not a linear process, but rather iterative (Bassey, 1999; Siedel, 1998) and recursive (Seidel, 1998). The researcher's aim in this study was to give an interpretive account of teachers' meanings in relation to their responses to their refugee ELLs. Hence the scores and descriptions generated during classroom observations (using the NSW QTF), field notes, curriculum cycle proformas and the transcripts from interviews were studied repeatedly in their totality by the researcher, who then reflected on that totality. Here she anticipated, and subsequently experienced, a struggle with the large quantity of the data because of her need to create a shorter, coherent, yet accurate and thorough, account of these specific meanings held by the study's participants (Burns, 2000; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). A tool used to assist in the organisation and reduction of the data was coding (Seidel, 1998; Silverman, 2005; Wiersma, 1995). Phrases were coded reflexively by the researcher and always considered/reflected upon in the context of the whole of the data. The researcher's attitude to these codes was to view them as heuristic tools to facilitate the investigation of data, rather than as objective representations of facts (Kelle & Seidel, 1995). For this reason, although theoretically-based (O'Leary, 2004; Silverman, 2005), the various codes changed, coalesced, or were abandoned in the course of the reflexive analysis process.

The coded data was used to generate both a description of the setting and participants as well as categories or themes (Creswell, 2003) or 'patterns and relationships' (Seidel, 1998) in the data. The categories in general reflected the broad themes of attitudes and knowledge identified in the research question, although these were not set prior to the analysis of the data. As this study involved two study sites, patterns and relationships were identified both within and between sites (Anfara, et al., 2002; Seidel, 1998). A further process of analysis took place at the same time. This process involved looking for patterns and relationships between a) certain attitudes and knowledge identified in the interviews and b) the teachers' responses to their refugee ELLs observed by the researcher in the classroom.

During this process of looking for patterns and relationships the researcher consistently employed reflexivity which was crucial to the production of accurate findings given the intersubjectivity at the core of all social relations (Gillham, 2005) including in the interview context. The researcher employed reflexivity in conjunction with theory (Hollway & Jefferson, 2002) to allow her to 'position' herself in relation to the data (Creswell, 2003). She tried to engage with, and examine ways in which her own experiences may have affected the research. This, in turn, allowed her to undertake the complex, iterative

process of attempting to put the teachers', (rather than her own), meanings to the teachers' responses to their refugee ELLs (Creswell, 2003).

As themes and categories emerged in the process of trying to arrive at, and adequately convey "a deep understanding of the way others reason, feel and see things" (Neuman, 2006, p. 92), the data was 'trawled' several times to check, sort and prioritise themes and categories. Tsui (2003) describes this process as 'progressive focusing' and Wiersma (1995) as "a process of successive approximations" (p. 216). This progressive focusing or approximation continued until the researcher believed that a point often referred to in the literature as saturation of knowledge (O'Leary, 2004) had been reached. This was achieved when the trawling produced no new themes or categories and the researcher felt she had produced an adequate representation of the participants' meanings in regard to their responses to their refugee ELLs. The key theories referred to during data analysis are discussed in the following section.

3.6.1 Theories referred to during data analysis

Throughout this recursive process of data analysis, the researcher's attempts to produce accurate, holistic interpretations were informed by theories considered in the Literature Review, principally those of Cultural Capital (Bourdieu, 1977) and Monolingual Habitus (Gogolin, 2002) and those related to SLA (see Section Two, Literature Review). For example, the researcher sought to analyse what the data revealed in relation to teachers' attitudes, including toward the perceived cultural capital of their refugee background ELLs, and in relation to their knowledge of SLA. In the light of the theory of Monolingual Habitus, she considered how those attitudes and that knowledge may inform multiple ways in which the teachers position themselves relative to, and thus 'respond' to, their refugee ELLs. Lye (2004) terms such positionings 'configurations of self'. He contends that these 'configurations' are specific to the site in which they are assumed and are based on different discourses in which individuals invest. Some discourses or site-specific 'configurations of self' available for the mostly dominant culture, monolingual mainstream teachers in the study in their interactions with their ELLs, include 'member of dominant culture', 'possessor of valuable cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1977), 'transmitter of culture for the nation state' (Gogolin, 2002) and 'bilingualism as deficiency' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979; Cummins & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

The measures taken to support the validity or trustworthiness of the findings derived from this theory informed data analysis are discussed in the following section.

3.7 Trustworthiness

The positivist concept of validity, understood here as "the conditions of the legitimating of knowledge" (Lather, 1993, p. 673) is problematic in regard to qualitative studies, particularly case studies, such as this one (Bassey, 1999; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 2003). Consequently, there exists a "confusing array of terms for validity" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 124). Some of these are authenticity, goodness, verisimilitude, adequacy, trustworthiness, plausibility, and credibility (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Of these terms, the researcher prefers 'trustworthiness' put forward by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as an alternative for use in 'naturalistic enquiries.' Trustworthiness does not imply any claim of objectivity for the study's design and findings. Rather, it is based on the construction and articulation of a thorough consistency between the research question, methodologies and reported findings. Consistent with social constructivist epistemology, a trustworthy study "does not rule out the possibility of alternative explanations" (Hollway & Jefferson, 2002, p. 80). Central to the establishment of the trustworthiness of a research study is transparency on the part of the researcher about the epistemology, theories and personal assumptions which inform the research design and its analytic and interpretive processes (Doucet & Mauthner, 2002). The researcher has attempted to give a transparent account of these issues in the preceding sections of this chapter.

Producing a trustworthy study was a central concern of the researcher from the beginning of the research design process and continued to be so throughout its execution (Creswell, 2003). In considering the procedures to be used to establish trustworthiness, she was guided by her interpretivist "paradigm assumptions" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 124) which acknowledge the context specific nature of reality and the intersubjectivity of all social relations, including those within "the Researcher-Researched relationship" (Glesne, 2006, p. 138). As a result, as discussed in the preceding data analysis section, the researcher made conscious and ongoing use of reflexivity, employing "dedicated times, spaces, and contexts on which to be reflexive" (Doucet & Mauthner, 2002, p. 138). This involved an 'element of self-study' (Richards, 2005) aimed at examining how her "theoretical and personal biographies" (Doucet & Mauthner, 2002, p. 134) may have been affecting her knowledge construction. However, the researcher acknowledges that accessing these critical assumptions was not be an easy, clear-cut process and agrees with the contention of Doucet & Mauthner (2002) that "it may be that reflexivity and accountability are ultimately limited" (p.137). For this reason, other measures in addition to researcher commitment to reflexive practice were required to support the trustworthiness claims of the study. These are discussed in the following sections.

3.7.i The Critical Friend

Being conscious of the potential limitations of her own reflexivity, the researcher engaged the support of a 'Critical Friend' (Bambino, 2002; Costa & Kallick, 1993; Foulger, 2010; Kember, Ha, Lam, Lee, Ng, Yan et al., 1996; Koo, 2002; McNiff, Lomax & Whitehead, 1996; Rallis & Rossman, 2000; Swaffield, 2002, 2007). This colleague reviewed the data gathered and the unfolding analysis and interpretations with the aim of providing effective 'collaborative' (Bambino, 2002) and 'recursive' (Koo, 2002) feedback on these to the researcher. The researcher acknowledges that there is some variation within the literature in regard to the definition of the term 'Critical Friend' (Swaffield, 2007). For the purposes of this study, the Critical Friend was understood as:

> a trusted person who asks provocative questions, provides data to be examined through another lens, and offers critiques of a person's work as a friend. A critical friend takes time to fully understand the context of the work presented and the outcomes that the person or group is working toward. The friend is an advocate for the success of that work (Costa & Kallick, 1993, p. 50).

Critical friendships are usually associated with Action Research (Bambino, 2002; Costa & Kallick, 1993; Foulger, 2010; Kember, et al., 1996; Koo, 2002; McNiff, et al., 1996; Swaffield, 2002, 2007). While there is a scarcity of literature pertaining to the utilisation of the 'Critical Friend' relationship in qualitative research studies (Koo, 2002) such as this one, it is the belief of the researcher that the relationship can provide a similar "methodological warrant for the trustworthiness of the data and operating of the study" (Koo, 2002, p. 1) within a qualitative paradigm, as it does within that of Action Research. The chief difference is that within this study the Critical Friend was 'external' (Rallis & Rossman, 2000) to the research setting. As the 'Critical Friend' did not have exposure to the research setting, the relationship took the form of 'External Conversations' (Foulger, 2010) about the data gathered and the unfolding analysis. Due to the Critical Friend's distance from the study site the 'External Conversations' (Foulger, 2010) involved ongoing "collaborative dialogue to make sense of the data" (Foulger, 2010, p. 135).

The 'Critical Friend' and researcher met repeatedly for this dialogue to occur during the phase of data analysis. On these occasions the Critical Friend read uncoded transcripts noting the themes that she felt were emerging. These themes were compared to those of the researcher and differences and commonalities discussed, always with direct reference to the data itself. Particularly where differences existed the Critical Friend challenged the researcher to engage her reflexivity to question any 'assumptions' she may be bringing to her analysis of the data. This dialogue enriched the researcher's reflexive process of

analysis and challenged her to develop a more 'critical perspective' (McNiff, et al., 1996) in relation to the data.

The 'Critical Friend' is an experienced ESL teacher who holds post-graduate qualifications in TESOL, has knowledge of the pertinent literature, has been aware of the study since shortly after its inception, and understands and supports its purpose (Bambino, 2002). Consequently, according to the researcher's perceptions of her as an individual and as a colleague (Swaffield, 2002) she had the skills to carry out the various tasks involved in the Critical Friend's role in purposeful, collaborative dialogue about the study's data. Koo (2002) describes some of these tasks as "reflective responding, scholarly reframing, investigative reframing, facilitated silence ... scholarly reading ... big picture facilitation" (p. 3). In carrying out these tasks she also operationalised her role as "an advocate for the success" (Costa & Kallick, 1993, p. 50) of the study by making a contribution to the establishment of the study's trustworthiness claims.

3.7.ii Designed–in Trustworthy Practices

In addition to the use of a critical friend, the research design of this study incorporates a number of other practices cited in the literature as supporting trustworthiness claims. For example, the researcher spent prolonged time in the field (Creswell, 2003) engaging with the data sources (Bassey, 1999). She spent a full school term in the field observing and interviewing mainstream primary teachers with refugee ELLs in their classes. Such a prolonged time was spent in an effort to understand, describe and explain the various phenomena that make up the different cases reported in this study (Yin, 2009). The emerging data from this time in the field (interviews, classroom transcripts, QTF scores and Curriculum Cycle proforma) was triangulated. Triangulation of data is cited by a number of scholars (Bassey, 1999; Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Denzin, 1989; Yin, 2003) as supportive of a study's trustworthiness claims. Cross-checking was be carried out using the raw data items from the various sources, both within and between cases (Yin, 2003).

During the aforementioned processes of prolonged field time and triangulation, the researcher also kept systematic, step-by-step records and archives (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Such record keeping is often referred to in the literature as an 'audit trail' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and is very important in establishing trustworthiness as, according to Guba (1989), "the constructivist paradigm's assurances of integrity of the findings are rooted in the data themselves" (p. 241). As such, good record keeping means that "data (constructions, assertions, facts and so on) can be tracked to their sources, and that the logic used to assemble the interpretations into structurally coherent and corroborating

wholes is both explicit and implicit" (Guba, 1989, p. 241) in the study's findings. A strong audit trail also allows other researchers either to "validate or challenge the findings" and importantly, from the perspective of constructivist epistemology, to "construct alternative arguments" (Bassey, 1999, p. 65).

Ultimately, the trustworthiness of this study will in part be established by the quality of the 'thick description' of the case (Neuman, 2006). The researcher has attempted to create a thick description by writing clearly and honestly about the various phases of the research process, the data and the relationships that exist between these and the study's findings. This included the presentation and discussion of negative and disconfirming data (Creswell, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Richards, 2005). In doing so, she believes she created findings which are trustworthy from the point of view of the researcher, the participants and the readers of the study (Creswell, 2003). The following section addresses the ethical issues which were addressed in creating a trustworthy study.

3.8 Ethical Issues

Ethical considerations "surrounding the construction of knowledge" (Doucet & Mauthner, 2002, p. 123) are subjective (Berg, 2004), and ethical codes relating to research studies can be culturally biased (Glesne, 2006). In this context, Doucet and Mauthner (2002) argue that "research may best be served by 'situational' or contextualized ethics" (p. 141). In order to arrive at a personal understanding of what the appropriate 'situational ethics' for this study might be, the researcher considered her knowledge of relevant ethics codes combined with that of this study's context, its methodology and purpose (Berg, 2004). She employed reflexivity to try to draw these together (Doucet & Mauthner, 2002) to form an ethical approach which was ongoing and entwined with her daily interactions with the participants and the data (Glesne, 2006).

While recognising wider ethical responsibilities as described by Bassey (1999) toward 'democracy' and 'truth', the researcher regarded her primary ethical responsibility as being toward 'persons', that is, the study's participants. She was guided toward this position by Doucet and Mauthner's (2002) contention that researchers must seek to 'know well' and 'know responsibly'. In order to do so, data must be gathered and analysed in ways which cause no present or future harm to the participants, guarantee their privacy and include where possible, the consideration of 'issues of reciprocity' (Glesne, 2006).

The researcher was as honest as possible with the participants about the purpose and structure of the research (Lovey, 2000), the potential risks and the expected benefits of the study. In addition, she negotiated the degree to which data from them can be

incorporated into the study's findings (Bassey, 1999) and the forms of disseminating the findings. Consequently, the informed consent of participants, understood here as "the knowing consent of individuals to participate as exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair inducement or manipulation" (Berg, 2004, p. 64) was obtained by the researcher. Interview participants were asked to provide their informed consent. Nonetheless, the researcher recognises that informed consent does not eliminate power asymmetry between the Researched and the Researcher (Doucet & Mauthner, 2002; Glesne, 2006). She did, however, try to engage in two-way "continual communication and interaction throughout the study" (Glesne, 2006, p. 146) with the participants.

The participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. The confidentiality of interview participants (and sites) was guaranteed by the use of pseudonyms known only to the researcher and by the secure storage of raw data (Lovey, 2000). The researcher will also honour her commitment to provide participants with a copy of the study's findings. In addition, prior to the commencement of data gathering, the study design was reviewed and received clearance from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Australian Catholic University (see appendix b.i) and from the Catholic Schools Office in the diocese in which the study was carried out.

3.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter describes and justifies this study's methodological design. It identifies the research question as the centre of the design, which was supported by the theoretical framework of interpretivism. The epistemology of social constructivism was employed and the overall methodology was that of the case study with an ethnographic perspective. The data gathering strategies were classroom observations and semi-structured interviews. Data analysis was interpretive and supported by the use of triangulation and researcher reflexivity. These aspects of the methodology, along with the researcher spending prolonged time in the field and the utilisation of the 'Critical Friend' relationship contributed to the trustworthiness of the study's findings. Ethical issues addressed included researcher honesty with participants as to the research purpose, potential benefits and risks and the gaining of informed consent. The methodology therefore allowed the researcher to thoroughly, and ethically, address the study's research question.

Chapter Four: Findings, Interview Responses

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the results of the analysis of data gathered through semi-structured interviews. In the research design it was anticipated that only the two observed teachers, Margot and Susanna (pseudonyms), would be interviewed as they were to be the focus of the study. However, during the researcher's time in the field opportunities arose to interview other teachers and principals in the study site. These opportunities were taken up as a means of gathering background data to enrich her understanding of the contexts in which the two observed teachers work. Consequently, this chapter has two sections: Margot's and Susanna's Voices and Other Teachers' Voices. The second section contains four subsections: Non-observed Teachers' Voices, Principals' Voices, ESL Teachers' Voices and Bilingual Teachers' Reflections. The chapter begins with a description of the school contexts, the observed teachers, the interview contexts and a restatement of the research question. It then goes on to report the themes which emerged within the responses of each group of interviewees**.

Section One: Margot's and Susanna's Voices

4.1.1 The school contexts

The researcher was a participant observer in two mainstream Year Three classes in two schools for one school term. Both classes had three Sudanese children who had come to Australia as infants some five to six years previously. At that time, their older siblings enrolled in these two schools with histories of dislocation, trauma and interrupted or almost non-existent experiences of formal education. The younger siblings (who are Second Phase English Language Learners) involved in this study have received all their education in Australia

The schools in which the study was carried out are very different. One, where Susanna teaches, is located in a lower socioeconomic area and is highly and visibly multicultural. It has seen the arrival of successive waves of immigrants, including many refugees, due to the relatively low cost accommodation available in the surrounding area. The Sudanese children who were participants in this study represented just one of twenty-seven different nationalities present at the school. The other school, where Margot teaches, is located in an upper middle class, predominantly Anglo-Australian area. There is much less cultural and linguistic diversity in this school and many of the students from diverse backgrounds are the children of visiting professionals working on contracts at the nearby teaching hospital and university.

4.1.2 The teachers

Both teachers, Susanna and Margot, are English monolinguals each with more than thirty years of experience teaching in mainstream primary classes. They currently teach Year Three mainstream classes which both include three Second Phase Sudanese refugee ELLs. Susanna and Margot are very well respected by their colleagues as good teachers and as providers of genuine pastoral care for their students. They both volunteered to participate in this study after the researcher attended their schools' staff meetings to explain its nature and aims.

4.1.3 The research question

As discussed in the Methodology chapter, data in this study was gathered through semi-structured interviews and through extensive classroom observation field notes.

The results from the analysis of the data gathered from the semi-structured interviews are presented first. Before doing so, it is appropriate to restate the research question:

How do two mainstream primary teachers in non-metropolitan Australia respond to refugee ELLs in their classes?

i) What knowledge of SLA research and attitudes do they draw on to determine their classroom practices with refugee ELLs?

ii) What classroom practices do they employ with refugee ELLs?

The interviews were conceptualised within the research design as a means of gathering data to specifically address part i) of the research question. The results of the analysis of the interview data will also contribute to answering the overarching research question in concert with the results from the analysis of classroom observation notes to be reported in Chapter Five, Results: Classroom Responses.

4.1.4 The interview contexts

The interviews with Margot and Susanna were conducted in school hours after four weeks observation in their classrooms and again after another four weeks. The interviews sought to elicit information about both the received and experiential knowledge of the teachers (E. Ellis, 2003, p. 316) in relation to the ELLs in their mainstream classes. As discussed in the methods section, the researcher tried to gather data during the interviews obliquely by not asking many confronting "Why?" questions. During the interviews, where possible and appropriate, the researcher tried to paraphrase for participants their responses, as a means of checking her understanding (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Interviews with all

other teachers were conducted during school hours at different times throughout the field work. All interviews were digitally recorded with the participants' permission.

4.1.5 The process of data analysis

The researcher first listened to the recordings many times to try to gain a sense of their content (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 2005) and subsequently transcribed them with the assistance of voice recognition software. She coded the material after reading and reflecting on the transcripts many times. In the interests of establishing the trustworthiness of her results, the researcher engaged the support of a Critical Friend to review the transcripts and provide feedback on interpretations (see Chapter Three, Methodology, Section 3.8.i). As a result of this exhaustive, collaborative and iterative process of data analysis, a number of themes were discerned and these are presented after a review of the interview questions and the themes from the Literature Review that they sought to explore.

4.1.6 Interview Questions

The interview questions and the themes from which they are derived, (already presented in Chapter Three: Methodology Section 3.6.vi), are restated here for the reader's ease.

Table 4.1 Interview questions and themes from the Literature Review

Interview One (I 1) (After four weeks of classroom observations)

Questions	Themes from Literature Review
1. Please tell me about the children in your class.	Efficacy, Teacher Attitudes
2. Does having ELLs in your class affect the way you teach the class as a whole?	Efficacy, SLA knowledge, Culturally relevant pedagogies, Teacher attitudes
3. Was the first wave of Sudanese students different to these students? How that was experience different?	Efficacy, Teacher Attitudes, Lack of preparation
4. How did you go about working out what those kids' needs were?	SLA knowledge
5. There is a belief in some sections of the community that the Sudanese have developed a sense of entitlement. Have you seen any evidence of that? Do you think that exists?	Teacher attitudes, School culture

6. Do they have any skills that come from the refugee experience that they can use for their learning?	Cultural Capital, Teacher attitudes
7. In your opinion, based on your experience, how long does it take an ELL to acquire proficiency in English?	SLA Knowledge
8. Have the Sudanese contributed something to the school that you value, as a group?	Cultural Capital, Teacher attitudes, School culture
9. Do you have the same expectations of these students as the rest of the class?	Teacher attitudes, Efficacy, Accountability
10. What is your opinion of the use of the first language (L1) in the classroom?	Cultural Capital, SLA Knowledge

Table 4.2 below presents each question from Interview Two and the theme/s it sought to explore.

Table 4.2 Interview questions and themes from the Literature Review

Interview Two (I 2) (One month after Interview One)

Questions	Themes from Literature Review
11. Tell me about the class and where they're at now.	Efficacy, Teacher attitudes
12. How would you place the Sudanese students compared to the start of the term? (Susanna)	Efficacy
12b. Do you see the Sudanese students as a group within the class? (Margot)	Efficacy, Teacher Attitudes, SLA knowledge
13. Do you think the home lives of these three children would be substantially different from the home life of anyone else in the class?	Teacher attitudes, Home-school discontinuity, Cultural Capital
14. Do you think much of the behaviours that we associate with school success, like making them do their homework, modelling reading, goes on? [in the homes of the ELLs]	Teacher attitudes, School culture, Home-school discontinuity, Cultural Capital
15. Do you see any cross over between ESL techniques and general literacy teaching?	SLA Knowledge, Literacy Policy
16. Does what you're able to do in the mainstream class meet the needs of ESL students? Is it possible for you to give the ESL students the assistance they need in the mainstream class?	SLA Knowledge
17. How will you judge when to raise your expectations for these children? (Susanna)	SLA Knowledge
18. Does the accountability of preparing the kids for NAPLAN and doing programming affect in any way what you teach … does it limit what you do?	Literacy Policy, Accountability

4.1.7 Salient themes

The analysis of Margot's and Susanna's responses indicates that there exist some significant similarities and differences between the data from the two and also some apparent contradictions or tensions in the responses of the individual teachers to different interview questions. These tensions and contradictions are pointed out here in the presentation of the themes. They will be addressed in-depth in the Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings. The following Table 4.3 outlines the salient themes and the

interview and question numbers from which responses that support those themes were drawn.

Table 4.3 Salient Themes

Salient Themes	Interview and Question Numbers
1. ELLs have 'language knowledge' based learning challenges.	Responses to **I 1**, Q 7, 9, 10 & **I 2**, Q 12b, 16, 17.
2. Individual teaching praxis.	Responses to **I 1**, Q 2 & **I 2**, Q 16
3. ELLs' home language is a cultural resource only	Responses to **I 1**, Q 10
4.Teacher expectations of current ELLs	Responses to I 1, Q 1, 9 & **I 2**, Q 17
5. Previous and current Sudanese ELLs	Responses to **I 1**, Q 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & **I 2**, Q I 2, 12b.
6. Pastoral focus of the home/school relationship	Responses to **I 2**, Q 13

As can be seen in the table, the themes emerged through an analysis of the teachers' responses which ranged across questions and interviews.

4.1.8 Theme 1: ELLs have 'language knowledge' based learning challenges.

Margot and Susanna both have some awareness drawn from their teaching experience, that is, experiential knowledge, of the difference between literacy needs and ESL needs, and hence of the 'language knowledge' based challenges that ELLs face as they attempt to access curriculum content through English. [Responses to: **I 1**, Q 7, 9, 10 & **I 2**, Q 12b, 16, 17]. Awareness that some of the academic problems that their ELLs experience may have a base in 'language knowledge', rather than literacy difficulties, was articulated to varying degrees by both these very competent and experienced mainstream teachers. This 'language knowledge', and thus skill in interpreting and using the school sanctioned registers and the cultural knowledge encoded within them, may affect the ELLs' ability to access to curriculum content.

Understanding of how 'language knowledge' may affect the students' academic performance was particularly clear in Margot's comments around the curriculum area of mathematics and the support ELLs require to access curriculum content. In relation to mathematics, Margot was emphatic that the challenges for her ELLs were often language based. This emphasis is demonstrated in the comments in the following Extract 4.1 (a).

Extract 4.1 (a)

> *"They are pretty good at maths, but where they get caught is that … the left and right … the language of maths."* [I 2, Q 16]
>
> *"… what pulls them up sometimes is the language"* [I 2, Q 12b]
>
> In other KLA's *"the grammar is what gets them"* [I 1, Q 9]
>
> As a result, the ELLs *"still need … ESL time … even if it was just interpreting maths questions … the language … the language of maths"* [I 2, 12b]
>
> <u>Margot's voice</u>

An understanding that language knowledge promotes or impedes the acquisition of content knowledge by ELLs is evident in these comments from Margot.

Some overlap between literacy and ESL needs and instruction techniques was identified by Susanna. However, she located her observations of her ELLs' difficulties and 'gaps' in knowledge within the wider framework of 'language knowledge' and the cultural premises it encodes. She spoke with conviction of her awareness of 'gaps' in the 'language knowledge' of ELLs she has taught in her career, particularly in more academic registers, including her current Second Phase Sudanese refugee ELLs. Susanna's comments about the learning challenges faced by her ELLs in English medium classes are presented below.

Extract 4.1 (b)

> Learning challenges are due to,
>
> *"just the fact that at home they've not got people who are natural English speakers therefore* [they're] *not going to get proper grammar … they're not necessarily hearing English spoken grammatically at home."* [I 1, Q. 9]
>
> and
>
> *"there's too many gaps in terms of those* [cultural] *sorts of things … we were talking today about Jesus and someone* [a refugee ELLs] *said 'Jesus?' and it's just not in their language."* [I 1, Q. 9]
>
> Of the cultural knowledge and orientations embedded within English, she stated, *"their parents can't teach them that because they don't know it."* [I 2, Q. 15]
>
> <u>Susanna's voice</u>

Susanna's comments reveal a strong connection between language knowledge, sociocultural knowledge and curricular access for refugee ELLs.

4.1.8.i The BICS/CALP distinction

Within their articulation of their understanding of the language knowledge needs of ELLs, the teachers also articulated a clear, experienced-derived understanding of Cummins' (1984) BICS/CALP distinction, although they did not use this terminology. An understanding of the differential periods for the development of each, and an awareness of an apparent lack of transfer between the two competencies, was expressed by both Margot and Susanna. They also were aware that the degree of capacity in communicative language (BICS) was not indicative of the capacity in academic language (CALP) which provides access to curriculum content. The apparent ease of acquisition of peer appropriate conversational English compared with the difficulty of age appropriate, less contextualised academic English was commented on by Margot. Her words are presented below in Extract 4.1 (c)

Extract 4.1 (c)

"Conversational English comes a lot easier … quicker" [I 1, Q 7]

To demonstrate this, Margot related an anecdote of a Sudanese student she had the previous year;

"[She] *used to get into violent tempers and she would swear at them* [ESB classmates] *in English and in her own language. She used to get really angry and I would get her sister and she would say 'She has a problem with anger management.' So, they've got the* [spoken] *language."* [I 1, Q 7],

However, *"applying it* [knowledge of social English] *then even to write a sentence, to construct a sentence is a lot harder for them, I think, cause I'm not sure how their language flows, you know where the verbs and everything is."* [I 1, Q 7]

<div align="right">Margot's voice</div>

Susanna's view of the BICS/CALP distinction is very similar to that articulated above by Margot. Her following comments refer to the acquisition of peer appropriate social language.

Extract 4.1 (d)

The ELLs *"seem to do it fairly quickly, I guess it's that immersion thing, it is either sink or swim. It doesn't really seem to take them too long."* [I 1, Q 7]

However,

"You do find … with the ESL stuff that there are gaps … they can appear quite good, but when it comes to written down that's when you start to see a few [problems]. *I think it's harder when they come in further up the chain."* [I 2, Q 17]

<div align="right">Susanna's voice</div>

Both teachers indicate in these remarks that they do not confound their refugee ELLs' conversational English proficiency with their academic English proficiency.

4.1.8.ii Conclusion Theme 1

The preceding comments from Margot and Susanna clearly demonstrate that these teachers have an experiential knowledge base in regard to both the 'language knowledge' based learning challenges of their current Sudanese ELLs and to the distinct nature and developmental times of BICS and CALP.

4.1.9 Theme 2: Individual teaching praxis.

There is dissonance between the teachers' apparent awareness of the 'language knowledge' related challenges that ELLs face accessing curriculum content and the teachers' own classroom practices. Certain 'configurations of self' (Lye, 2004) on the part of the teachers in relation to their responsibilities toward ELLs in their classrooms may contribute to this dissonance. (This point will be taken up in Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings). There appeared to be little interrogation of the adequacy or otherwise of their practices towards their ELLs. Neither teacher named any specific pedagogies they used to cater for the ELLs within the mainstream group. [Responses to: **I 1**, Q 2 & **I 2**, Q 16]

4.1.9.i Pedagogical Practices

In answer to the question, "Does having ELLs in your class affect the way you teach the class as a whole?" Margot had no hesitation in replying *"Not really"* [**I 1**, Q 2]. She went on to elaborate as reported in Extract 4.1 (e) below.

Extract 4.1 (e)

> *"I think the way that I've got them* [the ELLs] *each in a different group for the reading, I can sort of have a really close … I haven't heard S1. Beth* [Teacher's Aide] *has told me that she is going well and I can tell from her sentence answers and things that she is coping fine. The other two, when they're reading to me and understanding, they're at a level with the other children, so it's not a problem at all."* [I 1, Q 2]
>
> <div align="right">Margot's voice</div>

This comment suggests that Margot does not conceptualise these Second Phase English language learners as a distinct group of learners within her classroom.

In response to the same question, "Does having ELLs in your class affect the way you teach the class as a whole?" Susanna explained the ways in which having ELLs in the class affects the whole class. Her comments are presented below.

Extract 4.1 (f)

Having ELLs in the class affects the whole class

"in terms of you have to spend a lot more time with that group of kids so the rest of the class are getting less of your time in some respects." [I 1, Q 2]

In addition she has to "*take into account that as are all ESL kids* [they're] *translating constantly in their heads so therefore they're tired."* [I 1, Q 2].

In relation to specific pedagogical practices and ELLs, Susanna reported, *"I've found what works the best with them is to try to make it look like they're doing what we're doing but they're not necessarily."*

In general, Susanna elaborated more on the management strategies than pedagogical strategies, she uses, *"more because of the ESL kids."* [I 1, Q 2]

For example, with instructions, "*you try to remember things like to tell them, I repeat it, and I write it, which helps some, but then again, I don't know that* [the ELLs] *read it."* [I 1, Q 2]

"It is only in recent times that I've done it and that is more come from here, because in other places it's only been one or two kids and you could actually supervise that they got those out, whereas here there's so many of them that get there and don't know what book they're supposed to have."

[I 2, Q 15]

<u>Susanna's voice</u>

Tension is expressed in Susanna's remarks. There is indication of a deficit perspective toward the ELLs in that she says they require more of the teacher's time and are disorganised. However, at the same time Susanna acknowledges the challenges that ELLs face in learning a language while learning through it (P. Gibbons, 2002).

4.1.9.ii ELLs as responsible for their own learning

An intersecting thematic strand emerges in relation to this apparent lack of interrogation of the teachers' own practices and awareness of the need for targeted pedagogical practices to open up ELLs' access to the curriculum. An unconscious tendency to put much of the responsibility for learning on to the ELLs themselves appeared to exist on the part of both teachers. [Responses to **I 1**, Q 2, **I 2**, Q 12] For example, during Interview 1 the researcher asked Margot about a common difficulty with left/right directionality which she had observed among the ELLs in mathematics classes. Margot responded *"You'd think that they would have picked that up."* [**I 1**,Q 2]

On the other hand, Susanna spoke repeatedly of what she called the *'learned helplessness'* which she sees in the classroom amongst her current ELLs. Of S1 & S3 she made the following comments.

Extract 4.1 (g)

"[They] *will make no attempt … basically wait … they know that someone is going to come around and point 'this is where we're up to.'"*

The ELLs, she believes, have "*learned someone else will do it.*" [I 1, Q 2]

On many occasions she contends,

"They seem to not get, you know the pencil is never there, or the pencil is there and they'll still get up and go wander to look for a pencil, so they have more evasion tactics and so I think they're trying to avoid that because they can't do it but when they're pushed to do it you think they've got it right." [I 1, Q 2]

and *" they do put across sometimes that they can't do stuff and they actually can, but initially you tend to think I don't want to push them because if they don't get it it's going to make it even harder because you don't want them to think 'My God I can't do it.' But I do think they get away with several weeks of 'Poor thing they really can't do this.'"* [I 1, Q 2]

She described one of her ELLs' tendency to

"go straight for the 'It's too hard.' She doesn't seem to say 'It's too hard', but she just doesn't seem to come out of that trance." [I 2, Q 11]

<u>Susanna's voice</u>

Susanna's remarks suggest that she does not consider the possibility that other factors, such as her own pedagogical practices, or perhaps the effects of transgenerational trauma (see Chapter Two, Literature Review, Section Three) may contribute to the *'evasion tactics'* and *'trance*[s]*'* to which she refers.

4.1.9.iii Responsibility of the ESL teacher

Genuine concern for their ELLs was demonstrated in interviews by both teachers. When asked whether they were able to meet the needs of the ELLs within the class, they both answered *"No"* [**I 2**, Q 16] without any hesitation. Margot identified management and competing priorities, or *"so many different needs"* [**I 2**, Q 16] of other students with their *"own little set of problems"* [**I 2**, Q 16] as the reason for her answer. Her comments showed that she would like to do more to assist the ELLs to address their learning challenges, but that it would be within an English monolingual literacy framework, even using the ESL teacher as an aide to work with the ESB children, rather than by any adaptation or extension of her existing pedagogical repertoire.

128

Margot described her preferred method of addressing the learning needs of the ELLs within the mainstream class as follows in Extract 4.1 (h).

Extract 4.1 (h)

> *"I would prefer that instead of them going out of the class* [for Literacy withdrawal] *for that time* [that] *I had the help of either Gail* [ESL teacher] *or Ana* [Teacher's Aide] *in the room … then they could take, like a high group I could then have time to be with those kids but when they are there for that just that short amount of time in reading* [because of Literacy withdrawal]*, like I haven't heard S1 read. I haven't had her group for a while. I have had S3's group, Trudy* [Teacher's Aide] *has been taking S3's group."* [I 2, Q 16]
>
> Asked if the topics dealt with in literacy withdrawal would be based on those in the mainstream class, Margot replied "*I would hope so. I would hope so.*" [I 2, Q 16]
>
> <u>Margot's voice</u>

On the other hand, while Susanna also frankly declared that she was unable to meet the ELLs' needs within the class, she did so by identifying those needs as being 'language knowledge' based. They therefore need to be met with the assistance of the ESL teacher, rather than through adaptations of whole class pedagogy. A greater understanding of an ESL teacher's role within a withdrawal model of delivery was shown by Susanna. Some of her remarks in relation to this are presented below.

Extract 4.1 (i)

> Susanna stated that she is unable to meet the ELLs' needs
>
> *"because there's too many gaps in terms of grammar, and those sorts of things … and that's the main parts that Heather* [ESL specialist teacher] *looks at, so she picks up more of those fine, little things than what I can in the bigger group … "* [I 2, Q 16]
>
> To address the needs of the ELLs, Susanna says, the ESL teacher
>
> *"tries to do a mixture I think of some … support stuff in class and I think that's the kind of band wagon that is being pushed at the moment, with all aides and with all staff, that they should be in the class at all times assisting you here, but the other part to that is, that some of those sorts of things it just doesn't work because they are kids that are very easily distracted anyway."* [I 2, Q 16]
>
> For that reason, Susanna sees advantages in periods of withdrawal for explicit ESL instruction. She explained
>
> *"I find those times out, because it's pitched exactly at the level that they need at the time, then S4 comes back* [to the mainstream classroom] *with a real sense of achievement. So you often she'll come back with good productive kind of stuff and then that seems to channel her back in, she seems to be better when she comes back in, from just being that one on one, back on track kind of stuff and she's not been distracted in there, whereas here that's half the time why she hasn't started sometimes, she either distracts herself, or someone is doing it."* [I 2, Q 16]
>
> <u>Susanna's voice</u>

The differences expressed in Margot's and Susanna's understandings of the ESL teacher's role are reflective of the relative visibility of ELLs within the culture of the respective schools.

4.1.9.iv Conclusion Theme 2

Margot's and Susanna's comments indicate a dissonance between their previously discussed experiential knowledge of the language knowledge based learning challenges of their current ELLs and their own pedagogical practices with these students in the light of that knowledge. There appears to be a lack of interrogation of their own practices with their Sudanese ELLs.

4.1.10 Theme 3: ELLs' L1 is a cultural resource only

Students' home language (L1) was viewed by the teachers as a cultural resource mainly useful for the child to communicate with members of their families and communities in Australia and their country of origin. It was not considered as the academic resource for the transfer of knowledge and skills which research has established it to be (Cummins, 1981; Genesee, et al., 2005). [Responses to **I 1**, Q 10]

No role for the L1 in the classroom was seen by Margot. She linked the use of 'English only' in the classroom to academic success and to the social assimilation of the ELLs. She made the following comments in relation to her ELLs' L1 use.

Extract 4.1 (j)

> *"I think they're speaking their own language at home … but I think if they're going to cope educationally and get through and do whatever they want to do they need to speak English conversationally as well … so I don't think it's a bad thing for them to be speaking English and it probably makes them feel more included."* [I 1, Q 10]
>
> When the researcher mentioned her observation that the three Sudanese children seemed to speak English amongst themselves, she responded approvingly saying
>
> *"And they used to not do that, they used to speak in their own language."* [I 1, Q 10]
>
> <u>Margot's voice</u>

A deficit perspective and 'subtractive' orientation to her students' emerging bilingualism is expressed in these remarks from Margot. She indicates that English proficiency will be achieved by ELLs at the expense of their L1, Dinka.

Susanna commented that as her current Second Phase ELLs were not New Arrivals, she did not really view L1 use in the classroom as an issue. However, interestingly, she went

on to differentiate between L1 use at different points in the learning process with her current ELLs. She appears to condone L1 use during the phase of knowledge acquisition/construction, but not as an academically or school sanctioned means of being able to express and use that knowledge. Thus, the L1 serves mostly as an 'instrumental' bridge (Leung, 2005) to the development of fluency in English. Of classroom use of the L1 Susanna made the following comment.

Extract 4.1 (k)

> *"In some parts it's* [L1 use in class] *fine, them helping each other because it's that learning process, other times its a kind of pretest where you want to see what they know, without copying … and at end, but in between you don't mind … to me that's the best kind of learning when they're chatting about it with each other."* [I 1, Q 10]
>
> <u>Susanna's voice</u>

4.1.10.i Conclusion Theme 3

While no role for the L1 in the classroom is seen by Margot, Susanna recognises some spaces for its use by her current ELLs. However, neither teacher expresses a conceptualisation of L1 use in the classroom as an academic resource for constructing L1/English biliteracy, and thus for opening up curricular access for ELLs.

4.1.11 Theme 4: Teacher expectations of current ELLs

The expectations that the teachers hold of their ELLs are somewhat ambiguous and seem to have little direct relation to their own pedagogical practices [Responses to: **I 1**, Q 1, 9 & **I 2**, Q 17]. Margot appeared to have altered her expectations of her current Sudanese ELLs based on her experiences with them. Of her initial feelings about having the ELLs in her mainstream class she said *"I thought they'd be hard work ... getting the three of them"* [**I 1**, Q 1]. However, she did not elaborate on the nature of the 'hard work' she anticipated or whether it included pedagogical adaptations to cater for these children. She went on to comment of S4, S5 and S6 *"They're not my three who don't appear to listen and understand. Those are three who do and maybe they've had to work harder at it and have learnt better skills"* [**I 1**, Q 1]. This comment suggests that she recognises that the ELLs face more and distinct learning challenges in the class than do the ESB children. Nonetheless, she did not explicitly relate this to their linguistic and cultural background.

Awareness of the distinct learning challenges of her ELLs was articulated by Susanna. She appears to recognise that the ELLs have different home lives and out of school experiences from the ESB children and that this may impact on their access to academic

registers. She seems, however, to regard this understanding as a reason for not having the same expectations for ELLs, rather than as a guide to conceptualising the type of pedagogical interventions that might open up access to curriculum content for them. The following comments, in Extract 4.1 (l), in which Susanna speaks of her expectations for her ELLs, indicate this perspective in her assessment of student progress. She indicates that, at least partially, she assesses students in terms of their observable classroom behaviour and their effort.

Extract 4.1 (l)

Of her ELLs

"I treat them the same in terms of behaviour, there's no reason why they can't give me the same behavior … I do let some things just go through to the keeper when you can see they're tired and that kind of thing. Academically, no they can't, but I do expect them at least to have a go" [I 1, Q 9]

"I don't expect them to hand me up the same as what the others do, but I expect them to make an attempt at that, but I wouldn't expect them to do the whole thing but yet I'm not going to say that to the whole class because then it's a bit like 'Oh well they're not smart enough to do all of that', when it's got nothing to do with smartness really. I mean if some of these kids had had to cope with what they're coping with they wouldn't be nearly as good." [I 2, Q 16]

<div align="right">Susanna's voice</div>

4.1.11.i Conclusion Theme 4

As can be seen from the preceding remarks, during the interviews neither Margot nor Susanna articulated any relationship between their expectations for ELLs and their own pedagogical practices. This appears to be consistent with the findings reported above in Theme 3.

4.1.12 Theme 5: Previous and current Sudanese ELLs

Both Margot and Susanna said that the first groups of Sudanese ELLs at their respective schools were very different to the current group. Those children were more confronting to the teachers' sense of efficacy than are their younger siblings currently in the schools. [Responses to: **I 1,** Q 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5 & **I 2**, Q I 2, 12b] Both teachers expressed having felt unprepared to meet the challenges presented five to six years ago by those New Arrivals.

The 'otherness' of the first Sudanese ELLs in Margot's predominantly Anglo-Australian school was emphasised in her comments about those students. Her remarks also reflected the great demands these students put on teachers' professional knowledge,

management skills and the personal adaptations that teachers had to make. She described the experience as reported below.

Extract 4.1 (m)

> *"We had heaps* [of Sudanese New Arrivals], *we had heaps and heaps."* [I 1, Q 3]
>
> *"Very scary at the start."* [I 1, Q 3]
>
> *"We had S5's* [current ELL's] *big brothers-we had huge issues there … kids* [who] *had seen their fathers killed and things like that."* [I 1, Q 3]
>
> The ELLs were *"brought out of the camp and put in a room and they were basically trying to climb out."* [I 1, Q 4]
>
> and *"they were at each other in the playground … these big boys … fisticuffs … quite scary."*
>
> [I 1, Q 3]
>
> Due to that *"We* [the teachers] *all hated being out there* [on the playground]*, because these boys were violent, they grew up with violence, that's all they knew."* [I 1, Q 3]
>
> On the playground *"We* [the teachers] *noticed when they fell over and bled you got a shock, because the blood, because it's on black skin it looks different … silly, little things, but they were things we had to get used to."* [I 1, Q 4]
>
> <u>Margot's voice</u>

The vocabulary choices employed in these remarks, for example, *"very scary"*, *"quite scary"*, *"hated being out there"*, *"violent"* indicate that very negative meanings were attached to these students and their behavior by Margot, and she suggests, by other staff members.

Margot also said that one of the reasons that the mainstream teachers were able to cope with the influx of these challenging New Arrivals, was that they *"did get more ESL, like they were 'out' for bigger blocks of time when they were younger … we had other ESL teachers here as well"* [**I 1**, Q 4]. For Margot then, ELLs appear to be principally the responsibility of the ESL teacher.

In contrast to her comments about the New Arrivals, the social assimilation of her current refugee ELLs (S4, S5 and S6) was emphasised in Margot's comments about those children. This very social assimilation may act to blur the distinct nature of these children as a group of learners. Of her current ELLs, on a number of occasions Margot made comments in a similar vein to the following.

Extract 4.1 (n)

> *"they're* [the ELLs] *pretty Westernised"* [I 1, Q 1]
>
> *"they sort of fit in the group, they don't sit outside the group"* [I 2, Q 13]
>
> they *"just want to be like everybody else"* [I 1, Q 1 & I 2, Q 14]
>
> *"The first couple of weeks* [in Literacy withdrawal time] *they spent covering their books, which was important to them because you know they like to be like everyone else."* [I 2, Q 16]
>
> <u>Margot's voice</u>

Like Margot, Susanna was also very frank about the challenging nature of the first group of older siblings. As mentioned previously, Susanna works at the highly multicultural school. However, rather than centring on their 'otherness', her comments about the older siblings centred on the adaptations that teachers had to make in relation to these traumatised children, *"children who remembered things."* [**I 1** Q 3] Her focus was mainly on pastoral issues. She described a number of incidents in which her action, or the actions of other well-intentioned and very competent teachers, had triggered trauma-related behaviours in the students. She made the following comments about these incidents.

Extract 4.1 (o)

> *"So how bad do you feel when you've just traumatised this kid? … those things you're not consciously aware and then something happens and you think, 'Of course!'"* [I 1, Q 3]
>
> She concluded that given the level of trauma this community had experienced *"I don't think Australia was adequately prepared for them* [the Sudanese New Arrivals] *to be honest."* [I 1, Q 3]
>
> <u>Susanna's voice</u>

Susanna described an enormous, school-wide effort to try to support these children pedagogically, within the framework of intensive ESL withdrawal.

Extract 4.1 (p)

> *"Initially, it basically took all of the ESL time, so none of the other kids with ESL issues really got any time."* [I 1, Q 4]
>
> The educational and pastoral challenges these children represented for mainstream teachers were expressed by Susanna when she commented
>
> *"When they first arrived people coped by letting them colour in or whatever, because they*
>
> [the children] *really couldn't do much more than that."* [I 1, Q 2]
>
> and *"Then you've also got the things too, like you don't know the culture."* [I 1, Q 3]
>
> <u>Susanna's voice</u>

Her mention of knowledge of ELLs' cultures indicates that Susanna believes an understanding of this is an important factor in being able to respond adequately to these children in the school setting.

Interestingly, Susanna linked some of the educational problems she observes with current Sudanese ELLs, with the school's efforts to support the earlier students through the assignment of teacher's aides to work with the New Arrivals. She contends that the *'learned helplessness'* she mentions amongst her current ELLs is due to the fact that they're *"so used to someone stepping in to help them … they don't tend to listen or think they have to listen because someone will come and help them anyway."* [**I 1**, Q 1] A lack of interrogation of other possible causes for this observed behaviour is implied in this remark. For example, despite her expressed knowledge of post-traumatic behaviour in relation to the New Arrivals, she did not express any consideration that transgenerational trauma may play a role in the *'learned helplessness'* of her current refugee ELLs.

4.1.12.i Conclusion Theme 5

The preceding comments from the teachers indicate that the current Sudanese ELLs in their classes appear to be significantly different from the previous New Arrivals. They are socialised to Australian life and this makes their behaviour less confronting for teachers. Margot's and Susanna's comments also appear to indicate that this very socialisation may be acting to make opaque the current ELLs' needs as Second Phase English learners. It may also contribute to these teachers' previously mentioned lack of interrogation of any relationship between their own pedagogical practices and ELLs' academic success.

4.1.13 Theme 6: Pastoral focus of the home/school relationship

Little direct contact between these mainstream class teachers and the parents/caregivers of the Sudanese ELLs in their classes was reported in the interviews. Where contact between the home and school occurs its focus is principally pastoral. In Susanna's school the home/school relationship seemed to be considered the province of a very experienced and capable pastoral worker who carried out home visitations to the Sudanese and other families at the school. In Margot's school, the home/school relationship appeared to be considered the province of the ESL teacher. When asked about the home/school relationship with regard to her ELLs, Margot said that she had had almost no contact with their families. She elaborated as follows.

Extract 4.1 (q)

> "*they* [the ELLs' parents] *don't tend to come along because their command of English isn't all that good …* [but] *… they are all working on it."* [I 2, Q 13]
>
> She went on to talk about how a former ELL's athletic ability was the basis of her contact with *"the only dad … I've had anything to do with."* [I 2, Q 13]
>
> Nonetheless, of the students' home life, she contended
>
> *"I think it's become very Westernised since they have been here."* [I 2, Q 13]
>
> <u>Margot's voice</u>

The nature of the home/school relationship as a possible influential factor in ELLs' academic success is not reflected in these remarks from Margot.

Susanna also stated that she had had almost no contact with the parents of her current ELLs. When asked about the parents' English, she replied, *"I've not spoken to them, so I don't know."* [**I 2**, Q 13] She also made the following comments.

Extract 4.1 (r)

> *"I'll probably try to get them* [the parents] *up early next term because I don't know if they are aware of things like homework"* and *"I don't know that there really would be a quiet place where he* [S2] *could do his homework."* [I 2, Q 13]
>
> And of home behaviours related to school success *"I don't know if much of the modelling goes on."* [I 2, Q 13] Nonetheless, of the Sudanese parents, she believes
>
> *"they realise the importance of an education, probably far more than the others because they* [the other parents] *take an education for granted."* [I 2, Q 13]
>
> <u>Susanna's voice</u>

Some awareness that possible home/school discontinuity may contribute to ELLs' academic success is evident in these comments. However, the comments also suggest that Susanna does not prioritise attention to this factor within her response to these children's presence of in her class.

4.1.13.i Conclusion Theme 6

Minimal contact with the parents of their current ELLs was reported by both Margot and Susanna. Margot's comments do not make mention of any connection between the home/school relationship and ELLs' academic success. However, Susanna's comments demonstrate some awareness that the nature of the home/school relationship may impact on school success, but little prioritisation of the development of that relationship.

4.1.14 Conclusion: Margot's and Susanna's Voices

In the analysis of the data from the two interviews conducted with Margot and Susanna six themes emerged. These were:

1) ELLs have 'language based' learning challenges,

2) individual teaching praxis,

3) ELLs' home language is a cultural resource only,

4) teacher expectations of current ELLs,

5) previous and current Sudanese ELLs, and

6) pastoral focus of the home/school relationship.

Within these themes some tensions or contradictions emerged. These tensions were between a) teachers' understandings of the language based nature of ELLs' learning needs b) their experiential understanding of the BICS/CALP distinction and c) their apparent minimal pedagogical adaptation in response to these understandings. Similarly, no relationship between their expectations for these students and their pedagogical practices was articulated by either teacher, and the L1 was conceptualised as having a cultural, rather than academic role. Current Sudanese refugee ELLs were described as being significantly different from the first wave of Sudanese refugee ELLs and as being more 'westernised' or acculturated to Australia. However, at the same time, Margot and Susanna indicated that these children's principal needs were catered for within the framework of pastoral responses from teachers and other staff. Consistent with this expressed perspective, the home/school relationship was conceptualised as being of a pastoral nature, rather than as a factor contributing to the academic outcomes of the students. These various tensions, or contradictions, and what they may indicate about how teachers 'configure' (Lye, 204) or position themselves in relation to their refugee ELLs, and the possible reasons for this, will be considered in Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings**.**

Section Two: Other Teachers' Voices

4.2.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter Three: Methodology, during the course of the study, opportunities arose for the researcher to interview other teachers and an integrative aide at Susanna's school, and the Principals and ESL teachers at the two school sites. This

part of the chapter reports the findings from the analysis of the interviews with non-observed teachers. It has three subsections; Principals' Voices, ESL Teachers' Voices and Bilingual Teachers' Reflections.

4.2.2 Responses from non-observed teachers

These interviews sought to explore the other teachers' experiences with both the 'first wave' of New Arrival Sudanese ELLs some five to six years ago, and with the currently enrolled Second Phase Sudanese ELLs. The interview questions principally focused on their experiences with the first wave of Sudanese ELLs and their self-reported teaching praxis in relation to their current ELLs. The questions and the themes from the Literature Review that they sought to explore, (already presented in Chapter Three: Methodology Section 3.6.vi), are restated here in table 4.4 for the reader's ease. [Note: All names are pseudonyms]

Table 4.4 Interview questions and themes from the Literature Review

Questions	Themes from Literature Review
1. Does having ELLs in your class affect the way you teach the class as a whole?	Efficacy, SLA knowledge, Culturally relevant pedagogies, Teacher attitudes
2. Was the first wave of Sudanese children different to these children? How was that experience different? Did you feel that you were adequately prepared?	Efficacy, Teacher Attitudes, Lack of preparation
3. How did you go about working out what those kids' needs were?	SLA Knowledge
4. There is a belief in some sections of the community that the Sudanese have developed a sense of entitlement. Have you seen any evidence of that? Do you think that exists?	Teacher attitudes, School culture
5. In your opinion, based on your experience, how long does it take an ELL to acquire proficiency in English?	SLA knowledge
6. Have the Sudanese contributed something to the school that you value, as a group?	Cultural Capital, Teacher attitudes, School culture
7. Do you have the same expectations of these kids as rest of class?	Teacher attitudes, Efficacy, Accountability
8. Does the accountability of preparing the children for NAPLAN and doing programming affect in any way what you teach, does it limit what you do?	Literacy Policy, Accountability

9. What is your opinion of the use of the first language (L1) in the classroom?	SLA knowledge, Cultural capital

4.2.3 Salient Themes

Themes which emerged from these interviews can be broadly placed into three interrelated and intersecting groups: i) Memories of First Wave of Sudanese refugee ELLs, ii) Acculturation and Socialisation of current Sudanese refugee ELLs and iii) those related to Language. The following table 4.5 presents the themes and the questions and respondents from which they were drawn.

Table 4.5 Themes and Questions from which they were derived

Themes	Question Number and Respondent/s from which theme is derived
1.Memories of the first wave of Sudanese ELLs 1.i Teachers' feelings of lacking preparation and initial support	1.i Q2. Lucy, Annette, Zoe, Angela
1.ii Teachers' initial reliance on experiential knowledge to meet the challenges.	1.ii Q2 Angela, Zoe & Q3 Lynette, Lucy
1.iii The importance of a proactive, responsive school executive	1.iiiQ2 Angela, Q 3 Lynette & Lucy
2. Acculturation and Socialisation of current Sudanese ELLs 2.i Teachers express high academic expectations of their ELLs	2.i Q 7 Lynette & Lucy, Q 3 Zoe
2.ii The needs of the current ELLs are conceptualised in pastoral, rather than academic terms	2.ii Q 2 Lucy & Lynette, Q 6 Jill
3. Perspectives on Language 3.i Teachers express some awareness of ELLs' 'language knowledge' challenges	3.i Q 7 Lucy, Q 2 Lynette
3.ii Mainstream teaching praxis in relation to current ELLs	3.ii Q 1 Zoe & Lucy
3.iii ELLs' L1 is a valuable cultural resource	3.iii Q 9 Jill, Zoe, Lynette & Angela Q 7 Lucy
3.iv L1 use and teachers' authority	3.iv Q 2 Jill, Q 9 Lynette & Jill
3.v Loss of academic knowledge carried in the L1	3.v Q 6 Jill

4.2.4 Theme 1: Memories of the first wave of Sudanese ELLs

A number of teachers employed the word 'overwhelming' to describe their experiences with the first wave of Sudanese ELLs and the immense challenges these students, with their histories of trauma and interrupted or non-existent previous schooling, presented to them. Within this theme a number of strands emerged: lack of preparedness and initial support, teachers' reliance on experiential knowledge and the importance of the executive's actions in directing and guiding the school's response at this time of challenge and change.

4.2.4.i Teachers' feelings of lacking preparation and initial support

Many teachers reported having felt that they lacked both adequate training and the practical support of the regional education authorities for meeting the challenges these children presented. Their comments demonstrated their belief that this situation arose because the Sudanese ELLs were significantly different in terms of culture, previous experiences and low levels of literacy, from any group that had previously been integrated into this highly multicultural school. Of their feelings in relation to the integration of these children, teachers made the following comments.

Extract 4.2 (a)

> *"When you have children* [that] *can't sit on the carpet and play, it sort of rings alarm bells."* Lucy [Q 2]
>
> *"Just the fact that the levels were so different with the learning."* Jill [Q 2]
>
> *"I don't think we were adequately trained for it."* Lynette [Q 2]
>
> "[I was] *probably not prepared."* Zoe [Q 2]
>
> "[I felt] *thrown in the deep end."* Angela [Q 2]
>
> *"I think they were so different to any other group … I don't think the* [regional education authorities] *would have realised, I don't think anyone realised the impact."* Ellen [Q 2]
>
> *"When they have been through so much trauma and things like that, nothing is going to teach you the skills you need to … unless you have done four years of a degree or, and even then I wonder how prepared you would be."* Jill [Q 2]
>
> *"So there was, I believe, a fair bit of, not tension so much, but a fair bit of expectations of how we would rise to the occasion as teachers, and how we would fill the roles of being not only educators, but helpers of them in their refugee status, their hurting status."* Zoe [Q 2]

These remarks from the non-observed teachers are consistent with the comments of their colleague Susanna in relation to the challenging nature of the first Sudanese ELLs to arrive at the school.

4.2.4.ii Teachers' initial reliance on experiential knowledge to meet the challenges

Teachers reported how, in their efforts to cater for the Sudanese New Arrivals, they had relied initially on experiential knowledge obtained from working with other groups at this very linguistically diverse school. However, the limitations of experiential knowledge for dealing with a previously unknown group soon became apparent, as the teachers expressed in the following comments.

Extract 4.2 (b)

"When they first arrived we knew very little about African children, especially ones from war-torn countries so when they arrived we tried to do the best we could with what we knew." Lucy [Q 3]

"Nobody knew what to expect, and I was an experienced [year level] *teacher and coped with all sorts of personalities and, so it was almost like 'We will just see what happens.'"* Angela [Q 2]

There was *"a fair bit of relying on our own experiences as teachers or our own maturity, our own ethos and so on and so forth. So when I had a number of children in my class, I loved them as children, and also wanted to help them of course, but there was also the difficulty of understanding where they have come from and really being in touch with who they were."* Zoe [Q 2]

Efforts to place the newly arrived ELLs in appropriate classes were based on

"Pot luck really, because they couldn't read a lot of them. So it was touch and go, a bit of spontaneous judgment because of the situation they were in. So it was all hit and miss, because it was all so new" … *"I guess it just came from instinct, you know a bit of motherly instinct, a bit of teacher instinct."* Lynette [Q 3]

The limitations of good will, and the application of previous experiential knowledge, in meeting the needs of these students is evidenced in these comments.

4.2.4.iii The importance of a proactive, responsive school executive

The school's Executive was described by mainstream teachers as being proactive and responsive to the new challenges at both the whole school level and at the level of the needs of individual teachers. In the perceived absence of adequate systemic support, this involved the Executive contacting community agencies and psychologists directly for staff in-servicing and engaging bilingual aides for short periods. The Executive's actions were seen as fundamental to the successful academic and social integration of this new and very different group. Of the Executive's whole school level response to the new arrivals, teachers made the comments below.

Extract 4.2 (c)

> *"Quite early we saw the need and we got into that* [contacting external agencies for assistance] *straight away."* Lynette [Q 3]
>
> *"We called in who we could, with all the people we could."* Lucy [Q 3]
>
> At the in-service sessions, *"they* [the community agency] *gave the staff strategies, we were really concerned about what were differences and we wanted to know what the cultural differences were that we would have to deal with."* Lynette [Q 3]
>
> At the level of individual teachers' needs, one staff member commented
>
> *"At the six week mark I said 'I need help, I cannot do this on my own any more* [and] *the response* [from the Executive] *was immediate once I said I needed help."* Angela [Q 2]

4.2.4.iv Conclusion Theme 1

As the comments of teachers presented in the preceding sections demonstrate, the arrival of the Sudanese refugee ELLs had significant impact on the school community. It presented pedagogical challenges to teachers which they felt ill-equipped to meet and required a self-directed and proactive response from the school's executives. Discussion will now turn to the current Sudanese ELLs at the school.

4.2.5 Theme 2: Acculturation and Socialisation of current Sudanese ELLs

This theme consists of two intersecting strands: teachers' academic expectations of ELLs and their articulation of those ELLs' needs. The former is considered first.

4.2.5.i Teachers express high academic expectations of their ELLs

The responses of the teachers at this school gave little indication of deficit thinking in relation to the academic ability of ELLs. Nonetheless, in contrast to the reported immense learning support given by staff to the first wave of Sudanese refugee ELLs (the older siblings), there now appears to be some tendency to place the responsibility for high academic achievement on the current ELLs themselves. This may have some relation to the teachers' reported belief in the 'socialised' and 'acculturated' status of their current ELLs (to be considered in 4.2.5.ii below). The teachers' comments also exemplify the challenge of distinguishing accurately between intelligence, motivation, personality and 'language knowledge' based factors in relation to academic achievement for ELLs (Cummins 1983, 1999). Where teachers expressed lower expectations for particular ELLs, it appeared to be as a result of their experiential knowledge of the individual children, rather than an attitudinal orientation to the ELLs as a group.

In relation to their expectations of the academic achievement of their current ELLs, teachers made the comments given in extract 4.2 (d).

Extract 4.2 (d)

Having an ELL in the mainstream class is, *"like having* [a child with] *learning difficulties in your room, you know you deal with them at their level and try to encourage them to step up."* Lynette [Q 7]

"it [academic success] *has to come from them, if they've got the motivation, they have had the exposure to the language I think they can achieve just as well as the other children …"*

"[it] depends on the child. It is very much an individual thing." Ellen [Q 7]

ELLs learn first through ESL classes and then *"picking up from the wider* [mainstream class]*"* Zoe [Q 3]

Of one Sudanese ELLs *"You know if the others* [ESB children] *might have been writing up six sentences, and he had only done one I would say 'Come on!' because I knew he could do it. But if it's something I know he can't do, then I make sure that the activity gives him an experience of success."* Lynette [Q 7]

Of a group of ELLs in one class *"I am always pushing and pushing the level so they don't slacken off"* and *"I'm looking for effort but I'm also looking for achievement."* Lucy [Q 7]

Both the existence of relatively high expectations for the academic achievement of refugee EAL\D students, and of pedagogical efforts on the part of staff to support the realisation of that achievement, are suggested in these comments from non-observed teachers.

4.2.5.ii The needs of the current ELLs are conceptualised in pastoral, rather than academic, terms

Intersecting with this apparent placing of the responsibility for achievement in part upon the ELLs themselves, there is a tendency to conceptualise the needs of the current ELLs as being pastoral, rather than as distinct academic needs related to their status as Second Phase English learners. This appears to be linked to two factors: teachers' belief that these children are much more acculturated to Australian education than were the first wave of Sudanese ELLs, and the possibility that the children's exposure to, and daily use of English, may render their specific learning needs less immediately apparent to teachers than were those of their older siblings. Teacher comments which suggest this perspective are given below.

Extract 4.2 (e)

"I think they [the current ELLs] *have mixed in a little bit more now, and have had more experience, and they've seen the Australian life and they have seen what we do at the school and even their own experiences with their own families, relatives and other Sudanese people have sort of assimilated a bit, not completely, but enough."* Lucy [Q 2]

"I think they have pretty much settled in. I think they will do brilliantly at high school." Jill [Q 6]

"They have been in Australia in another area, they know a little bit more about our culture. Their parents speak English better than a lot did when they first arrived." Lynette [Q 2]

4.2.5.iii Conclusion Theme 2

There appears to be a contradiction in the teachers' responses reported in the preceding section. They express high expectations of their ELLs, yet describe the needs of these children in pastoral, rather than academic terms. This may be related to their expressed belief in the ELLs' acculturation. This acculturation and the ELLs' confident use of social English may act to make their academic needs as Second Phase English learners, and thus the imperative for pedagogical responses to these needs, less visible to teachers. This point will be returned to in section 4.2.6.i below.

4.2.6 Theme 3: Perspectives on Language

This theme has three strands. Two, which intersect, are teachers' awareness of 'language knowledge' challenges in the learning of ELLs, and their mainstream teaching praxis relative to this awareness. A third strand centres on teachers' conceptualisations of the L1 of their ELLs.

4.2.6.i Teachers express some awareness of ELLs' 'language knowledge' challenges

Some teachers mentioned factors such as motivation, intelligence and personality as influencing the academic performance of their ELLs. However, some experiential, rather than received, awareness was also expressed by most interviewed teachers in regard to the role that 'language knowledge', rather than simply literacy, plays in either precluding or allowing children to access curriculum content and the possibility of academic success. Teachers also expressed a belief that social English develops more quickly than does academic English (Cummins' BICS/CALP distinction). Nonetheless, they did not articulate their understanding of the distinct characteristics of the 'language knowledge' required by ELLs for curricular access. The awareness in general terms of the 'language knowledge' needs of their ELLs may be a reflection of the high visibility of ESL and linguistic diversity within the school's culture. It is articulated in the following teachers' statements.

Extract 4.2 (f)

> *" a lot of discussing and sharing and talking … language … that is what they need."* Lucy [Q 7]
>
> One teacher spoke of the teachers' experiential learning and knowledge, stating,
>
> *" … we are getting more clever and realising which ones have language difficulties and which ones don't."* Lynette [Q 2]

4.2.6.ii Mainstream teaching praxis in relation to current ELLs

During interview discussions, all teachers emphasised that the current group of Sudanese ELLs are not New Arrivals. Their belief is that, as such, they should be able to cope more

easily in the mainstream class than did their older siblings some years previously. There was significant variation in the degree to which teachers reported structuring whole class learning to cater for the explicit teaching of 'language knowledge' needed by the Second Phase ELLs in their classes. Most emphasised the importance of whole class activities principally as a means of fostering social integration and providing ELLs with peer modelling of appropriate language. Consistent with Susanna's previously reported comments (see this chapter, Section 4.1.9.ii), a number of teachers reported having success with the strategy of having all children participate in whole class activities, and then using a variety of levels of textbooks, readers etc for individual practice and reinforcement. This strategy was used successfully for some ELLs and some ESB students with lower literacy skills.

Significant variation in teachers' adaptation of teaching praxis to cater for ELLs in the mainstream classroom is exemplified by the following responses.

Extract 4.2 (g)

> *"Well, I didn't necessarily target the Sudanese child. I would put the Sudanese child in the group of needs, so in that sense I didn't treat the Sudanese child any different, just relying perhaps on ESL and withdrawal groups and then 'picking up' from the wider* [mainstream class].*"* Zoe [Q 1]
>
> In contrast, another mainstream teacher explained her ELLs-centred rationale for her explicit approach to a recent experience-based writing task in her mainstream class
>
> *"… we basically discussed and answered the questions and then we shared. And then I started them. But if I didn't have any children from ethnic backgrounds or Sudanese or that kind of thing and it was just a straight white collar, I'd do something similar but wouldn't actually be feeding them the answers or discussing, but see that is all language and that is what they need. My lessons change, because there's a lot of discussing and sharing and talking where you think, 'She's giving them all the answers,' but at least then they've got the language."* Lucy [Q 7]

These varying adaptations of teaching practice may indicate that teachers have different 'configurations of self' (Lye, 2004) in relation to the question of where responsibility for the language development of refugee ELLs lies within the school.

4.2.6.iii ELLs' L1 is a valuable cultural resource

The English monolingual mainstream teachers at this multicultural school genuinely value their students' L1. However, they conceptualise it principally as a cultural resource, rather than an academic resource which carries alternative world views and knowledge that may inform or transfer to the process of acquisition of English (Cummins, 1981, 1991; Genesee, et al., 2005) and may be of benefit to all of the school community (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006). Teachers reported their efforts to incorporate the culture of the Sudanese New Arrivals of some years previously into the

school's culture. The Sudanese children played drums at Masses and African entertainers were invited to perform for the whole school community. However, in relation to the L1, teachers stressed its importance for ELLs as a means of keeping in touch with their ethnic community, elderly relatives and birthplace. While most teachers accept some use of the L1 within the school and classroom, it is in an instrumental, subtractive role (Leung, 2005) serving as a bridge to English acquisition rather than bilingual maintenance and development. The following responses, in extract 4.2 (h), demonstrate gradations within this orientation to the L1.

Extract 4.2 (h)

"If it [L1 use] *is helping a child, that's fine. It also makes them feel comfortable, especially if they are trying to acquire English, and they are comfortable in their own language."* Lucy [Q 9]

"It [L1 use in the classroom] *didn't worry me at all. Actually that sometimes helped, because I was trying to explain, one that would get it, another one wouldn't, so they would explain which made it easier all round."* Jill [Q 9]

"While it [L1 use] *was to do with work that was fine, but if they then went off on a tangent or something completely different you would have to bring them back."* Jill [Q 9]

"It's a great assistance to us if we have a little child in kinder[garten]. *We can grab one of the bigger children, so that is a great help ... I don't have an objection to it, sometimes it's the only way that they can express themselves."* Lynette [Q 9]

"I guess there would be a time and place. If there is a real lack of comprehension and if it is causing stress to the child." Angela [Q 9]

Only one staff member saw no role for the L1 in the classroom or at school, saying. *"I believe that it is the policy of, the philosophy of most, that the language would be left to their own private families, but at school they* [ELLs] *would, or should speak English. As a teacher, I would prefer them not speak their own language in the classroom, because I think I would say the same thing not just to the Sudanese but of any other ethnic group."* Zoe [Q 9]

Though varying in degree, all these remarks express a somewhat subtractive view of the refugee ELLs' emerging bi or multilingualism. They range from a view that sees employment of the L1 at school as occasionally necessary because "*sometimes it's the only way that they can express themselves*" through to the more obviously subtractive view that L1 use should "be *left to their own private families, but at school they* [ELLS] *would, or should speak English.*"

4.2.6.iv L1 use and teachers' authority

Teachers expressed concern about the use of the L1 in relation to classroom and playground management, citing instances, such as those below, where it had posed a perceived challenge to their authority.

Extract 4.2 (i)

> *"If I discipline them, and I get a mouthful of Sudanese back, then I might be apprehensive about using your own language."* Lynette [Q 9]
>
> *"I object to it when they are on the playground and say they are having a disagreement with someone else because they use it as a defence mechanism."* Lynette [Q 9]
>
> One staff member recounted with good humour the effect of her efforts to learn some Dinka [L1 of these Sudanese ELLs] from her students. *"they were speaking Dinka knowing that I couldn't understand it, they were being really tricky, but that turned around by me saying 'Oh, you just said such and such, what does that mean?'"* Jill [Q 9]
>
> She elaborated
>
> *" I know some of the time they were pulling the wool over my eyes because I would say something and they would go into hysterics, so I am thinking 'maybe this isn't such a good idea trying to learn Dinka!' so, I sort of drew the line at that one."* Jill [Q 9]

The preceding remarks attest that when use of L1 at school is associated with a perceived threat to authority, its role as a tool for academic success is rendered problematic.

4.2.6.v Loss of academic knowledge and skills carried in the L1

An integrative aide who has worked closely with both the current and New Arrival Sudanese ELLs shared an anecdote related to this theme. It perhaps suggests the inevitability of the loss of some L1 encoded knowledge in situations where resources for bilingual education or ongoing use of L1 speaking teachers' aides are not available. This loss may occur despite the best efforts of highly committed and competent mainstream teachers and aides like those in this study. The potential that the maintenance and development of such linguistically encoded knowledge has to facilitate access to academic success in English appears permanently lost. The integration aide, Jill, recounted the moving anecdote below.

Extract 4.2 (j)

> *"They* [the First Wave of Sudanese ELLs] *used to use paper, folded paper, in a really odd way, but that was how they added up. And I asked one of the boys a couple of years later, 'Can you show me how you used to do, that paper thing?' and he couldn't remember … and I thought it was sad that he had lost that thing that he had learnt in Egypt … or had come from Sudan with them."* Jill [Q 2]

4.2.6.vi Conclusion Theme 3

The preceding teachers' comments indicate that they value the ELLs' L1 in cultural terms. Despite this, its use in the classroom is a problematic issue for teachers who do not speak that L1.

4.2.7 Conclusion Responses from non-observed teachers

The analysis of the interviews with the non-observed teachers rendered three themes: i) Memories of the First Wave of Sudanese ELLs, ii) Acculturation and Socialisation of current ELLs and iii) Perspectives on Language. Within these themes teachers articulated the academic and pastoral challenges they faced at the time of the arrival of the first wave of Sudanese refugee EAL\D students. Like Margot and Susanna they described the current Sudanese refugee EAL\D children as significantly different from those children in terms of acculturation, yet emphasised a strong pastoral orientation toward them. Discussion will now turn to a consideration of themes which emerged in interviews with Margot's and Susanna's Principals.

4.2.8 Principals' Voices

The Principal of Margot's school, David (pseudonym), and of Susanna's school, Bruce (pseudonym), were also interviewed during the study. Some of the same questions were asked of the Principals as of the mainstream teachers. However, as neither is a teaching principal the interviews, rather than focusing on their classroom experiences, generally focused on their experiences as leaders of schools which have integrated Sudanese refugee ELLs. The following section reports themes derived from an analysis of the Principals' responses to three questions, the wording of which emerged during the semi-structured interviews. These questions sought to explore their experiences with the first wave of Sudanese ELLs, their self-reported attempts to create a school culture inclusive of Sudanese ELLs, and of the contribution of this new group of students (including the current Second Phase students) to their school communities. The three themes which emerged during analysis, the questions from which they were derived and the themes from the Literature Review that they sought to explore, (already presented in Chapter Three: Methodology Section 3.6.vii), are restated in table 4.6 for the reader's ease.

Table 4.6 Themes and Questions from which they were derived

Themes	Questions from which themes derived
1. Lack of preparedness for the 'first wave' of Sudanese ELLs	1. How did you deal with the Sudanese New Arrivals? 2. What advice would you give to someone facing a similar situation? <u>Themes from the Literature Review</u> Lack of preparation, Teacher attitudes
2. The Principal as leader in the creation of a school culture inclusive of ELLs	2. What advice would you give to someone facing a similar situation? <u>Themes from the Literature Review</u> School culture, Cultural capital, Home-school discontinuity
3. The contribution of the Sudanese ELLs to the school community.	3. Have the Sudanese contributed something to the school community? <u>Themes from the Literature Review</u> Cultural Capital, Teacher attitudes, School culture

4.2.8.i Theme 1: Lack of preparedness for the 'First Wave' of Sudanese ELLs

Like the mainstream teachers, both Principals described the distinct nature of this community from others they had integrated into their schools, in terms of the Sudanese children's lack of, or interrupted schooling, compounded by their experiences of trauma, or as Bruce termed it *"all of the emotional scars that they carried with them."* [Q 1] Both Principals described having felt a lack of preparedness to respond to the needs of these vulnerable children during their initial transition to school environments in Australia. However, David and Bruce situated this lack of preparedness differently. David located it within his staff's de-skilling in relation to the needs of ELLs due to the ethnic composition of his school's student body. He described his school's situation at the time of the arrival of the first Sudanese ELLs as follows.

Extract 4.2 (k)

> *"*[We] *were struggling in the initial period because we haven't had ESL, … in the real ESL numbers like these, I mean we have ESL, since the late '70s and early '80s. So a lot of these teachers had lost the skill of how to work with ESL students."* [Q 1]
>
> He described his school's response to this situation
>
> *"Well, we were not, we were not prepared, but what we did was, I took a personal interest in it, so there was myself,* [ESL teacher, other staff member and the Assistant Principal]*, and we would actually sit for hours and hours after school, just looking at what these people's traditions were, where they had come from and then trying to make sense of it in our own culture."* [Q 1]
>
> <u>David's voice</u>

Bruce, on the other hand, located the lack of preparedness not so much in the skills of his staff, but rather in terms of the support available from the local education authorities.

Extract 4.2 (l)

> Of his staff he said
>
> *"The teachers here, the vast majority of them, put in a big effort to go that extra mile for children."* [Q 1]
>
> But of the local education authorities, *"I don't think* [they were] *… prepared in terms of logistics or resources and I think they relied on us to make them look good, like 'We are doing the job for these refugees', but I think they could have come on board a bit quicker with the resources."* [Q 1]
>
> However, Bruce did concede that *"as the problems manifested themselves, they* [local education authorities] *sort of got their act in together."* [Q 1]
>
> <u>Bruce's voice</u>

4.2.8.ii Conclusion Theme 1

The preceding comments appear to indicate that David's and Bruce's differing descriptions of how and why they felt unprepared for the Sudanese students may be related to the ethnic composition of their schools' enrolments, and thus the experience that their staffs had previously had in dealing with ELLs.

4.2.8.iii Theme 2: The Principal as leader in the creation of a school culture inclusive of ELLs

Both David and Bruce articulated a perception of themselves as leaders in the creation of an inclusive school culture through their efforts to recognise and honour the languages, cultures and contributions of new groups "publicly in the school space" (Lee & Oxelson, 2006, p. 456). They reported their very conscious and proactive efforts to support the integration of the Sudanese ELLs into the two very different school communities. Bruce,

the Principal of Susanna's very multicultural school related the following anecdote (Extract 4.2 (m) in regard to his efforts towards integration of this new group.

Extract 4.2 (m)

> *"I had a teacher at the* [social] *club saying 'You know these Sudos, and I thought 'Sudos?', I thought he was talking about drugs. 'They are bludging* and we give them this and we give them that' and I said to him 'That's not the case.' And I thought to myself, 'I'd better start, if a teacher in our system can say that, not at the school, but could say that, then there must be redneck parents out there that could think along the same lines' … I was appalled, I said 'I have more trouble with the Skippies* [Anglo-Australians] *at* [suburb name] *than I do with the refugees in terms of fees.'"* [Q 1]
>
> As a result of this exchange, in the next school newsletter Bruce reported that he *"wrote about how the refugees are contributing to the school fees because there is this element that say that they are bludging … So I made a point of saying they are contributing, I try to champion their cause."* [Q 1] (see Appendix m for extract from school newsletter)
>
> Of his efforts to honour the unique culture the Sudanese students brought to this already very culturally diverse school community, he said,
>
> *"we've had African drummers up from Sydney, and African performers. We've had special events days where they have been part of it."* [Q 1]
>
> * Australian slang meaning to impose on others and evade responsibility
>
> <div align="right">Bruce's voice</div>

David, the Principal of Susanna's predominantly Anglo-Australian school reported his efforts to honour Sudanese culture in the public school space as follows.

Extract 4.2 (n)

> *"We had multicultural days in the school, we had situations in particular in which we would bring in the Sudanese mothers and we'd bring in the Anglo mothers to come and sit together and they would show each other their crafts and they would work together."* [Q 1]
>
> <div align="right">David's voice</div>

4.2.8.iv Conclusion Theme 2

Both Principals reported having actively sought to lead in the creation of school cultures respectful and inclusive of the Sudanese new arrivals and their families. Their comments are similar in that they suggest that for both men their task was conceived as, and manifested in, public acknowledgement and honouring of the distinctive cultural practices of this new group of students.

4.2.8.v Theme 3: The contribution of the Sudanese ELLs to the school community

Bruce and David spoke in positive, but very different terms, about the contributions of the Sudanese to their respective schools. Bruce described their contribution in terms of

adding a new element to an already diverse and rich school culture, rather than as creating any change in the existing culture as such. He commented as follows of the Sudanese contribution to his school.

Extract 4.2 (o)

> *"Well, they* [the children at his school] *are used to a lot of different nationalities. I think they sort of rejoice in their* [the Sudanese] *sporting ability, if they've done well in basketball and rugby league in games like that. Their athletic skills are so far above those of a lot of other children, they have that sort of kudos. Academically, I couldn't say that they have hit a high note, but I think we rejoice ... I think the children celebrate that culture, as well as the others."* [Q 3]
>
> Bruce's voice

In contrast, David described the contribution of the Sudanese to his school as being the catalyst for significant change in the existing culture. He described the Sudanese contribution as *"tremendous"* [Q 3] and went on to elaborate as below.

Extract 4.2 (p)

> *"I think one of the biggest contributions these kids have made is the change in teachers' understanding of how children learn. That for me was one of the biggest contributions. Prior to them arriving teachers, this is a middle to upper, middle income area, very affluent, money is there, no trouble in the sense of discipline isn't an issue. The worst we get is kids chattering, that's the worst. The vast majority of the children here if you had the old bell curve would be towards the top of the curve, there's very few children who are down the small end, we do have a significant number because of our size. When these children* [Sudanese ELLs] *arrived, all that went out the door, so that was a huge contribution to the teachers ... is they had to rethink and retrain themselves on how to cope, on how to handle, on how to teach literacy, real literacy. It was a huge change, there were a lot of arguments! The other thing that was really good was that we had a huge shift in parents' understanding which caused a massive shift in how the children reacted. It brought out the best in a lot of these parents, who had never, who had never seen, a lot of them, had never seen a black person in their life, to be truthfully honest. And all of a sudden their children are coming home talking about these people, and they're talking about this country ... so the parents wanted to know, or wanted to find out ... that caused a huge ripple effect I believe, and I was really happy because the ripple effect was a positive one."* [Q 3]
>
> David's voice

4.2.8.vi Conclusion Theme 3

David and Bruce's comments in regard to the Sudanese contribution to their schools, like their comments about their schools' initial lack of preparedness, are distinct and appear to have some relation to the existing ethnic composition of their respective schools' enrolments.

4.2.8.vii Conclusion: Principals' Voices

As can be seen from the preceding Principals' comments, both schools had been unprepared for the impact of the first wave of Sudanese ELLs. However, Bruce and David reported conscious and proactive efforts to lead their schools in the successful integration of the new Sudanese students and articulated different perspectives on the contribution of this community to their respective schools. They also both expressed a belief that their schools had responded as best they could, given the mentioned lack of preparedness. Bruce, on reflecting on the experience, said *"I think everything we did was done with good will and good faith."* [Q 2]. Similarly, David concluded *"I think that we took the right path … don't go in there thinking that you are going to resolve the problems of the world because, unfortunately you won't."* [Q 2]

Discussion will now turn to the consideration of the voices of the ESL teachers at Margot's and Susanna's schools.

4.2.9 ESL Teachers' Voices

Opportunities to interview the two specialist ESL teachers at both schools, Ellen (pseudonym) at Susanna's school and Gail (pseudonym) at Margot's, were taken up by the researcher as a means of gathering data to provide background to the main focus of the study, the mainstream teachers with Sudanese ELLs in their classes. While the interviews included some of the same questions as those put to the mainstream teachers, this section focuses on themes derived from questions related to the teaching models the ESL teachers employ with the current Sudanese ELLs, their attitudes to L1 use and their use of the ESL Scales (Curriculum Corporation, 1994) as a means of communicating with mainstream teachers about the ELLs in their classes. A number of themes arose from these interviews. They, and the questions from which they are derived, and the themes from the Literature Review that they sought to explore (already given in Chapter Three: Methodology Section 3.6.vi(a)), are presented again for the reader's ease in table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7 Themes and Questions from which they were derived

Themes	Questions
1. Evolving models of ESL support for Sudanese ELLs 1.i Continued need for ESL withdrawal groups 1.ii Flexibility of withdrawal 1.iii Importance of working in-class and in negotiation with teachers	1. Do you use withdrawal or in-class support with the current Sudanese ELLs? Themes from the Literature Review SLA knowledge, Efficacy
2. ESL Scales are the province of ESL teachers	2. Do you use the ESL Scales? Are they useful? Do you use [them] as a language to talk to the mainstream teachers [about their ELLs]? Themes from the Literature Review SLA knowledge
3. ELLs' L1 is principally a cultural resource	3. Do you have an opinion about the use of L1 at school? Themes from the Literature Review Cultural capital, SLA knowledge

4.2.9.i Theme 1: Evolving models of ESL support for Sudanese ELLs

Continued need for ESL withdrawal groups

Both ESL teachers reported having used a model of almost exclusive withdrawal to support the first wave of Sudanese ELLs due to their lack of English 'language knowledge' and literacy. Compared with working with the first wave, Ellen, the ESL teacher at Susanna's school contended that working with the current ELLs is *"easier"* because *"they've had a lot of English coming through, exposure to television, all these experiences, whether they've been to the pool, whether they've been to the park, whether they've been on the bus and a lot of English is being spoken as well as Dinka, but they feel quite confident now using English."* [Q 1] Nonetheless, both she and Gail, the ESL teacher at Margot's school, believe that the current ELLs continue to need withdrawal support. Thus they currently employ this model of support with the Second Phase Sudanese ELLs and combine it with in-class support. Ellen explained that she takes the Sudanese ELLs for withdrawal in small groups with ELLs of other ethnic backgrounds. Gail takes them for specific ESL instruction and as participants in a Literacy withdrawal group of ESB children. Gail made the following comments regarding her rationale for using withdrawal.

Extract 4.2 (q)

> *"What shall I say? They* [ELLs] *say that they understand things and they really don't understand, so unless they've got small group support or one- on- one at times then they are going to try to make you think that they understand, because they want to be as good as their peers."* [Q 1].
>
> *"So they* [ELLs] *appreciate the fact that, they know that they can come. I say to them on a regular basis, 'If there is something that you are doing in class, make sure that you come and ask me about it.'"* [Q 1]
>
> <u>Gail's voice</u>

Gail identifies here the withdrawal model as a means of enabling curricular access for ELLs in their mainstream classes.

Ellen made the following comments about the withdrawal of her current Sudanese ELLs.

Extract 4.2 (r)

> *"They can't cope with the language demands. They can cope in the classroom, but for them to be able to convert and use that vocabulary in correct, grammatical sentences … needs explicit teaching, so that is where the withdrawal component comes in."* [Q 1]
>
> She stressed the link between the withdrawal classes and the mainstream as follows
>
> *"I always discuss with the teachers, the times that they would prefer me to withdraw. I asked the teachers if they were working on specific themes and then I would develop the vocabulary and the language structures simplified … so it's not an isolated classroom, it's linked in some way to their mainstream classroom."* [Q 1]
>
> <u>Ellen's voice</u>

4.2.9.ii Flexibility of withdrawal

Occasional Sudanese ELL resistance to attending withdrawal sessions was reported by both teachers. According to Gail this occurs *"particularly as they get older"* [Q 1]. Such student attitudes necessitate a flexible attitude on the part of the ESL teacher and an assessment by her of the value of the activities, learning and social experiences being constructed in the mainstream class. Ellen described her attitude to such situations as below.

Extract 4.2 (s)

> *"The inclusiveness is important I think because they want to do the other things that the other kids are doing. And you found that sometimes, and I respected that. If they were doing an activity, when I was supposed to take them, it was like a science experiment or they were doing some sort of teamwork activity I wouldn't take them. If I wanted to I could stay in the class, that wasn't a problem and then I could talk about that later, whatever they were doing, both of the language that they were using and the cooperation as part of a team was much more important than me withdrawing them."* [Q 1]
>
> <u>Ellen's voice</u>

Gail described her understanding of her ELLs' attitude to withdrawal as follows.

Extract 4.2 (t)

> *"If the task, if what they are doing in their classroom, they think that is better or has more   they can't see a reason for what we're doing in ESL, and what they are doing in the classroom is better at the time, then they would rather be there in the class. But a lot of the time they like to come because they are looking for help with something or other, sometimes they are even looking for a bit of escape time really, they can give their brains a bit of a rest."* [Q 1]
>
> <u>Gail's voice</u>

The need for ongoing flexibility in the ways in which withdrawal is presented to refugee ELLs, and the ways in which it articulates with mainstream learning experiences, is suggested in these comments from Ellen and Gail.

4.2.9.iii The nature of in-class support for ELLs

In addition to employing withdrawal, Gail and Ellen both reported providing in-class support for ELLs in negotiation with mainstream teachers. However, the nature of the in-class support, and the relationship with the mainstream teacher in meeting the learning needs of ELLs was expressed quite distinctly. Gail described her in-class role as below.

Extract 4.2 (u)

> *"When I go to the classrooms I observe what the children are doing, it depends very much on how much, what the teacher wants me to do in my capacity as well. I usually make sure, see how they are going with their tasks and I take the opportunity to have a look at some of their books to see particularly their writing task, and their maths work, to see how they're going with their writing, and in terms of maths how they are coping with the understanding of various concepts and then I'd take notice* [of] *that and would deal with that back in a small class situation because that then is not drawing attention to themselves and making them different. I think they appreciate that too."* [Q 1]
>
> <u>Gail's voice</u>

There is little evidence of co-ordination or integration between the ESL teacher and mainstream teacher in this remark in relation to assessment of, and strategies for, meeting the needs of the ELLs. Gail's expressed perception that the ELLs do not want to be different from the mainstream children is consistent with Margot's comments (see this chapter, Section 4.1.12.ii).

In contrast with the lack of co-ordination evidenced in Gail's remarks, Ellen described a relationship which involved more ongoing negotiation with the mainstream teacher**.**

Extract 4.2 (v)

> *"I don't work in isolation … and I wander in an out and people* [mainstream teachers] *will mention to me 'I'm doing such and such and he's having trouble with this', so that they* [ELLs] *get positively reinforced by the classroom teacher …* [I] *tend to think whatever they do should be shown to the class teacher."* [Q 1]
>
> Ellen's voice

Ellen's remark is similar to Susanna's comments in regard to the working relationship that exists between Ellen as ESL specialist and herself as mainstream teacher (see Section 4.1.9.iii).

4.2.9.iv Conclusion Theme 1

Both Ellen and Gail described models of provision of ESL support in their schools which are flexible. They reported that the models are responsive to ELLs' immediate and long-term learning needs and incorporate the input of the ELLs' mainstream teachers.

4.2.9.v Theme 2: The ESL Scales are the province of ESL teachers

Gail and Ellen were familiar with, and referred to, the ESL Scales in the course of their work with ELLs. However, despite describing a model of ESL support in their schools delivered in negotiation with mainstream teachers, neither ESL teacher made much use of the ESL Scales as a language for communicating with those mainstream teachers about the ELLs in their classes. This finding was supported by a spontaneous comment from Margot in Interview Two, which displayed a misunderstanding of the nature of the ESL Scales. She said that in ESL withdrawal time *"there's these ESL Scales that they* [ELLs] *are supposed to do."*

In relation to the ESL Scales, Ellen made the following comments.

Extract 4.2 (w)

> *"I have always said* [to the mainstream teachers] *'Look at the English syllabus at the bottom, that is where they* [the ELLs] *should be.' I report using the ESL Scales and we have our pupil profiles, the folders. I look at where they are. It gives me an idea of where to go to, I suppose."* [Q 2]
>
> Of the mainstream teachers Ellen said *"I wouldn't say that they were familiar with them. They can see where there are some links, but they use the English syllabus as such, and what the children can and can't do. But, as such, I wouldn't say that the teachers use those. I explained on the ESL Scales where they* [ELLs] *are up to, but they use the syllabus. I have shown them. I guess as long as they see the gaps and go about creating activities that not only benefit the ESL children that's the most important thing, not just knowing exactly what is in the Scales."* [Q 2]
>
> Hence, overall the ESL Scales are *"probably more of a link with the other ESL teachers, because the pupil profiles get handed on from primary to secondary, so the ESL teachers can then see where the children are at because they are familiar with the ESL Scales."* [Q 2]
>
> Ellen's voice

Gail's comments in relation to the ESL Scales, as presented below, were quite similar to those of Ellen.

Extract 4.2 (x)

> *"I do use the ESL scales and yes I, it brings you back down and sometimes when I think about, they really helped me to work out where a child is at. I get the book out and I read it through and I say 'Yes, yes, yes!' And then it is also worthwhile to compare the ESL Scales, compared to what stage, whether it is stage appropriate learning or if they are below."* [Q 2]
>
> Of the mainstream teachers, Gail said *"Well, they are not familiar with them, but I have a page which I actually have on display down in the staff area which shows where the children are at if they are working at a particular ESL Scale. It shows in terms of the expectation for your class … Yes, so if you have a child who is at a much lower level than the stage appropriate level for your classroom, it is good to be able to look at that and understand and accept the work that you are getting from your ESL child … I need to talk to the teachers again about that, life is just so busy at the moment!"* [Q 2]
>
> <u>Gail's voice</u>

In the preceding comments from Gail and Ellen knowledge of the ESL Scales is portrayed as being the province of the ESL teacher, rather than of both ESL teacher and mainstream teachers of ELLs.

4.2.9.vi Conclusion Theme 2

In neither of the two sites in which these ESL teachers work are the mainstream teachers familiar with the ESL Scales. The ESL teachers do not appear to regard mainstream teacher familiarity with the ESL Scales as important in assisting them to meet the learning needs of ELLs in their mainstream classes.

4.2.9.vii Theme 3: ELLs' L1 is a cultural resource

These two experienced ESL teachers, somewhat surprisingly, expressed a conceptualistaion of ELLs' L1 as a cultural resource, rather than academic tool. This finding is derived from the opinions they expressed about the use of the L1 at school. Ellen and Gail's comments in relation to this issue were very similar to those previously reported of the mainstream teachers. Ellen emphasised the importance of maintaining the L1 at home, but appeared to see little role for it at school as a resource for acquiring English and promoting ongoing, additive biliteracy. Her perspective is presented below.

Extract 4.2 (y)

> *"At school, only if it* [L1 use] *is necessary, if it is a barrier to communication in some way. I encourage it at home to maintain it because you have to maintain the link between the adults and children in the community and the culture as such. Years ago children were told 'You must speak English!' but I think it's more important that they maintain the language and develop the language structures* [at home]*, they mightn't be able to develop their reading and writing but at least the spoken component, because they may go back and later on if they haven't got the language how can they communicate with the elderly? I think it is intrinsic, it is a very important part of them."* [Q 3]
>
> <u>Ellen's voice</u>

Gail described a similar conceptualisation of the social and cultural role of the L1 as follows.

Extract 4.2 (z)

> *"When we are in an ESL setting when we have groups of children who come from different countries initially at the beginning of the year, and there are times during the year we talk about where our mums and dads were born and where we were born and what language we can speak and we actually speak, say something to each other in that language and we talk about how important it is, and how wonderful it is to be able to speak more languages than one. We talk about reasons why it is important to retain your first language as well ... I say to them it's* [L 1] *important because when we are talking to other people from our countries if we can understand a mother language then we can interact better with them, and if we are going back and visiting at home then we can understand the language and how to move around the community better that is very important."* [Q 3]
>
> As with Ellen, Gail considers any use of L1 in the classroom as instrumental only. This is expressed in the following comment about the Sudanese ELLs *"Initially, it doesn't happen any more, you would know from the tone of voice if the words* [they were using] *were inappropriate, so we ended up saying "Only English within the classroom", but the thing is to be able to use the language that you speak so freely in the first place is really important because otherwise it can become very frustrating in trying to get out what you are trying to say. And then if one of the other class members can speak English better they can then tell you what the child is trying to say and then we can discuss it better that way."* [Q 3]
>
> <u>Gail's voice</u>

A 'subtractive' orientation to their students' bilingualism which is similar to that expressed by Margot and Susanna, (see Section One of this chapter), is suggested in the preceding comments made by the ESL teachers.

4.2.9.viii Conclusion ESL Teachers' Voices

The comments of the two experienced ESL teachers in this section provide useful background information to the main focus of this study: the mainstream teachers with Sudanese refugee ELLs in their classes. Ellen's and Gail's comments indicate a flexible model of learning support delivered in negotiation with teachers. However, this negotiation

does not involve use of the ESL Scales as a language for ESL-mainstream teacher communication, nor does it incorporate a conceptualisation of the ELLs' L1 as an academic tool. The implications of these findings will be considered in the following Discussion chapter. Attention will now turn to the reflections of the three teachers amongst those non-observed teachers interviewed in this study, who are bilingual.

4.2.10 Bilingual Teachers' Reflections

Of the non-observed teachers interviewed in this study, three: Lucy, David and Ellen described their backgrounds as bilingual and bicultural. All three are the children of post-war Southern European immigrants to Australia. However, they varied in their estimation of their current fluency in their parents' languages. Lucy described her ability as "moderate to fluent", David described his as "moderate" and Ellen commented *"I've lost most of my [parents'] language. I don't use it as much."* During the course of the interviews, the researcher took the opportunity to ask these teachers to reflect freely on how their cultural and linguistic identities and experiences may or may not impact on their orientation to working with the Sudanese ELLs. The researcher decided to explore this issue due to the fact that, as reported in the Literature Review, a number of studies have indicated that bilinguals or those who have studied foreign languages have a more positive attitude to ELLs and a more realistic understanding of the language learning process (Busto-Flores, 2001; Youngs & Youngs, 2001).

All the bilinguals indicated that they believed that their experiences had allowed them to empathise with the Sudanese ELLs. They said, for example; "*I know what it's like."* (David), "*I can relate to it* [their experiences]" (Ellen) and, *"I know what they are going through because I have experienced it"* (Lucy). Of the three, David, Principal of Margot's school, was the one to most clearly link his experiences as an ELL to a conceptualisation of the current ELLs' language learning needs. He recounted some of his school experiences and reflected on the impact of those and of his background, in relation to the current ELLs, as follows.

Extract 4.2 (a.i)

> *"I am bilingual and when I came to Australia I couldn't speak a word of English and so I have a great empathy with these kids. I know what it's like, I know what it's like to be isolated, I know what it's like when people can't understand you and I know what it's like to struggle in a school setting. In fact, I'm happy to tell you that I failed Year Four, scored under the IQ test range in Year Six … It wasn't until I was a lot older that it became extremely obvious to all my teachers that my problem wasn't literacy, my problem was language."*
>
> As a result of the understandings derived from his own experiences as an ELLs, David believes of the current Sudanese ELLs

> *"they've become, their language is much better, but I really think that they don't have a good understanding of English. I think the subtleties of English, especially the Australian language, cause them greater problems, so I think that this new crop of students, as I call them, kids that are here, their biggest struggle is that mum is still and dad and older siblings still speak very strong Dinka or Arabic at home and they come to the school where English is the first language and what I'm seeing, what I'm hearing from the teachers is that it's actually taking me back to my own childhood, where we and mum spoke* [Southern European language] *and that was it. And then we'd go to school and speak English, and even though we were able to transfer across, a lot of the subtleties were just lost to us. And I think the biggest challenge for this group of students is to move them out of that literal understanding into that more inferential and creative comprehension stuff where they have to sort of think outside the box."*
>
> <u>David's voice</u>

David's comments suggest that he draws on his own background to theorise about the language needs of the current ELLs. However, it should also be noted that he reported having previously attended an "eight week intensive course" at Sydney University related to ESL in the mainstream issues.

In contrast to David's language focused comments, Lucy's and Ellen's comments focused more on issues of social empathy with ELLs. Ellen articulated her experience as below.

Extract 4.2 (b.i)

> *"I think it* [her background] *has an impact because I came to school as a child of post-war migrants and we were the first of the children who came through and I can relate to it, maybe the different foods, speaking a different language, although I did know some English when I first started."*
>
> <u>Ellen's voice</u>

Lucy recounted some of her and her parents' early experiences of schooling in Australia and elaborated on how these had made her very conscious of being inclusive and honouring all cultures publically in her classroom.

Extract 4.2 (c.i)

> *"When I started school I knew some English, but I know my older sister knew none, so when we started school we didn't know what was happening. My first memory of school is that someone vomited and they covered it in sawdust and to my mind they should've cleaned it. Why were they keeping and covering it in sawdust? So I thought that was odd, so it was hard to start with. We didn't know what was happening, my parents didn't know what was happening, so they were very overprotective, but then other* [Southern Europeans] *would talk to each other about what was happening at school."*

Of the Sudanese ELLs she said

> *"I know what they are going through because I have experienced it, and I know what the parents are going through, because I have been there, financially as well, because we were not well to do. The parents being fearful of where are they going to play, who with. All they* [her parents]

> *wanted for us was to get a good education and they didn't let us go to many fun social things, because they were academic, academic to do well at school."*
>
> Cultural inclusivity is crucial. Lucy contended
>
> *"You hope that all teachers in the system have a good outlook on other cultures, this being a multicultural country. But when you come from another culture yourself, there is no excuse, you know how to, you know you have already had the experience, so you already have a step in … and when we* [her class] *were talking about food, we were doing a reading activity, they were all Greek words and they were going on* [being silly] *and I said 'I've had that and that's delicious. My Greek friend cooks those and they are really nice. These ones they are a bit sweet, and I don't mind those.' You include someone else's culture, you try to include everyone. I know one* [Sudanese] *girl brought to school one day, they are called Sudanese coconuts, and it was like bean, and it was a brown paste and she said 'This one's for you. We went to the market and bought especially for you' … and I ate it* [in front of the class] *… So I showed them* [the class] *that I ate it. And I said 'I'd let you taste it, but with allergies and everything you know you can't.'"*
>
> <u>Lucy's voice</u>

Interestingly, while Lucy reports employing a number of publically inclusive practices, in none of her remarks does she address the notion of honouring the linguistic skills of her refugee ELLs in the public space of her classroom.

4.2.10.i Conclusion: Bilingual Teachers' Reflections

All three of these bilingual teachers clearly believe that their backgrounds and experiences allow them *"a step in"* (Lucy) to feeling real empathy with their Sudanese ELLs. However, for Lucy and Ellen that empathy appears to be expressed in social, rather than academic terms. Their comments were principally about how their experiences had provided insight into the need for inclusive attitudes and actions, rather than insights into the process of learning an additional language. While David shared Lucy's and Ellen's views on social empathy with ELLs, his experiences had also lead him to reflect on the nature of the language needs of the current Sudanese ELLs.

4.2.11 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has reported the findings of the analysis of interview data. Part One reported thematically the results from interviews conducted with the two observed teachers, Margot and Susanna. These results, while contributing to the answering of the overarching research question, specifically address part (i) of the question: What knowledge of SLA research and attitudes do they draw on to determine their classroom practices with refugee ELLs? The analysis indicated that a number of contradictions and tensions appear to exist in the comments of these teachers in relation to the language knowledge-based learning needs of these students, teachers' pedagogical practices and expectations, their attitudes to students' L1 and the nature of the home/school

relationship. These contradictions suggest that the teachers may have a variety of 'possible selves' (Kamler, et al., 1994) to draw on in the classroom context, and that these different configurations may impact on their responses to the Sudanese refugee ELLs in their classes. These themes will be taken up at length in Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings. Part Two of this chapter reported thematically results from interviews conducted with non-observed teachers, Principals, ESL teachers and Bilingual Teachers as a means of enriching understanding of the contexts in which Margot and Susanna work. The following Chapter Five: Findings, Classroom Responses will report the analysis of the data obtained through classroom observations.

Chapter Five: Findings, Classroom responses

5.1.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter has reported the results of the analysis of data gathered to address part (i) of the research question: What knowledge of SLA research and attitudes do they draw on to determine their classroom practices with refugee ELLs? This chapter reports the results of the analysis of data gathered through classroom observation with the aim of specifically addressing part (ii) of the research question: What classroom practices do they employ with refugee ELLs? In addition, these data contribute to the development of an evidence-based response to the overarching question: How do two mainstream primary teachers in non-metropolitan Australia respond to the refugee ELLs in their classes? The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with the data gathered with reference to the Quality Teaching Framework (QTF) and the second section with data gathered with reference to the Curriculum Cycle (see Chapter Three, Methodology, Sections 3.6.ii and 3.6.iii respectively). Field notes are also referred to in both sections to elaborate and support the analyses.

5.1.1.i Data Analysis

Data was gathered in three ways during the classroom observation stage of the study. Notes were taken in relation to the observation of elements selected from the QTF and audio recordings made of classes across all KLAs taught by the two observed teachers. In addition, on days on which a literacy teaching block occurred, an observation sheet recording evidence of the implementation of the Curriculum Cycle was completed by the researcher (see Appendices k and l). The researcher also took extensive field notes under the categories of reflection and description.

These data were analysed in two ways. At the end of each day, after careful reflection on the field notes on the observed elements of the QTF, a score was assigned to the highest instance of each of these elements that was observed by the researcher on that day. These scores, as required by the QTF scoring system, reflect only those behaviours that were observed, rather than an attempt by the researcher to interpret motivations or intentions on the part of the observed teachers (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006).

The data from the Curriculum Cycle observation proforma were analysed for evidence of the cycle's implementation in the two teachers' lessons, and for the implications that the nature of its implementation may have for the learning of ELLs in the classes. As discussed in the Methodology chapter, in Australian educational contexts, the Curriculum

Cycle is widely recognised as a means of scaffolding the learning of both ELLs and ESB children. It is also particularly effective in scaffolding the learning of ELLs in mainstream classes (P. Gibbons, 2008, Hammond, 2005 & Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008) and has a number of intersections with the elements of the QTF selected for this study. These intersections will be discussed later. The following sections of this chapter will present the results of this data analysis. The results according to the dimensions of the QTF will be presented first. Before presenting the first results it is appropriate to briefly review the QTF.

5.1.1.ii Part One: Quality Teaching Framework

As discussed in the Methodology chapter, the QTF coding scale was chosen for use in this study as a means of gathering data in relation to the correspondence between the two teachers' observed pedagogies and SLA research outcomes. The use of the QTF in this study is justified on the basis that a number of recent studies in New South Wales (P. Gibbons, 2008; Hammond, 2008; Hammond, Gibbons, Michell, Dufficy, Cruikshank & Sharpe 2005-7; Rushton, 2008) have noted the correspondence between elements in the Quality Teaching Framework and what research has shown to be optimal pedagogies for teaching ELLs in mainstream classes. P. Gibbons (2008), in a study entitled *Intellectual practices and ESL learners in the middle years*, contends that "many elements of the Quality Teaching Framework accord strongly with what we observed in our own research" (p. 158).

To guide her observations the researcher extracted those elements from each of the three dimensions comprising the Quality Teaching Framework; Intellectual Quality, Quality Learning Environment and Significance, which are most consistent with what the literature demonstrates about the optimal teaching of ELLs. The dimension of Intellectual Quality is defined in the framework as "pedagogy focused on producing deep understanding of important, substantive concepts, skills and ideas. Such pedagogy treats knowledge as something that requires active construction and requires students to engage in higher order thinking and to communicate substantively about what they are learning" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 10). From this dimension, the researcher scored observed classroom interactions/pedagogies using the elements of Higher Order Thinking, Metalanguage and Substantive Communication. These elements incorporate a number of themes from the literature review such as the need for high challenge curriculum, explicit teaching of language features, dialogic pedagogies and scaffolded opportunities for real, extended participation by ELLs.

The second dimension of the Quality Teaching Framework, Quality Learning Environment, is defined as "pedagogy that creates classrooms where students and teachers work productively in an environment clearly focused on learning. Such pedagogy sets high and explicit expectations and develops positive relationships between teachers and students and among students" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 10). From this dimension, the researcher will score classroom behaviours according to the elements of; Explicit quality criteria, Engagement, High expectations and Social support. These elements incorporate themes from the Literature Review such as explicit and equal curricular expectations for ELLs, efficacy, cultural capital and school culture.

The third dimension of the Quality Teaching Framework which was drawn on in this study is Significance. It is defined as "pedagogy that helps make learning more meaningful and important to students. Such pedagogy draws clear connections with students' prior knowledge and identities, with contexts outside of the classroom, and with multiple ways of knowing or cultural perspectives" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 10). The elements of; Background knowledge, Cultural knowledge and Inclusivity will be scored. These incorporate themes from the literature review such as cultural capital, deficit thinking, monolingual habitus and school culture.

5.1.1.iii Numerical Results

The presence or absence of the elements of the QTF in observed classes was scored on a scale of 1-5, where 5 is the highest, and thus, most positive result. The following tables and graphs present the scores the researcher recorded for each element of the QTF on the days in which sufficient opportunities for formal observation presented themselves. (There were days in which the researcher was present in the schools but observation opportunities were limited due to incursions, school celebrations and other special activities). The researcher views the numerical scores only as a reference point for the qualitative description of the results for each element which follow the tables. Hence, no quantitative or statistical analysis has been applied to the data in the tables and graphs. In the following pages an overview of the numerical results of each teacher is provided in tabular form (Tables 5.1 and 5.2) and diagrammatic form (Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Following this overview the results according to each Dimension and its selected elements are reported and considered.

Table 5.1 Susanna's scores by QTF Dimension, element and date

INTELLECTUAL QUALITY

	12/2	19/2	26/2	27/2	6/3	13/3	19/3	26/3
1.4 Higher order thinking	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
1.5 Metalanguage	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
1.6 Substantive Communication	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Correspondence with themes from the Literature Review: the need for high challenge curriculum, explicit teaching of language features, dialogic pedagogies and scaffolded opportunities for extended participation by ELLs.

QUALITY LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

	12/2	19/2	26/2	27/2	6/3	13/3	19/3	26/3
2.1 Explicit Quality Criteria	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
2.2 Engagement	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	1
2.3 High Expectations	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2.4 Social Support	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2

Correspondence with themes from the Literature Review: explicit and equal curricular expectations for ELLs, efficacy, cultural capital and school culture.

SIGNIFICANCE

	12/2	19/2	26/2	27/2	6/3	13/3	19/3	26/3
3.1 Background Knowledge	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2
3.2 Cultural Knowledge	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3.4 Inclusivity	1	1	1	5	1	5	1	1

Correspondence with themes from the Literature Review: cultural capital, deficit thinking, monolingual habitus and school culture.

Susanna's scores: selected QTF elements
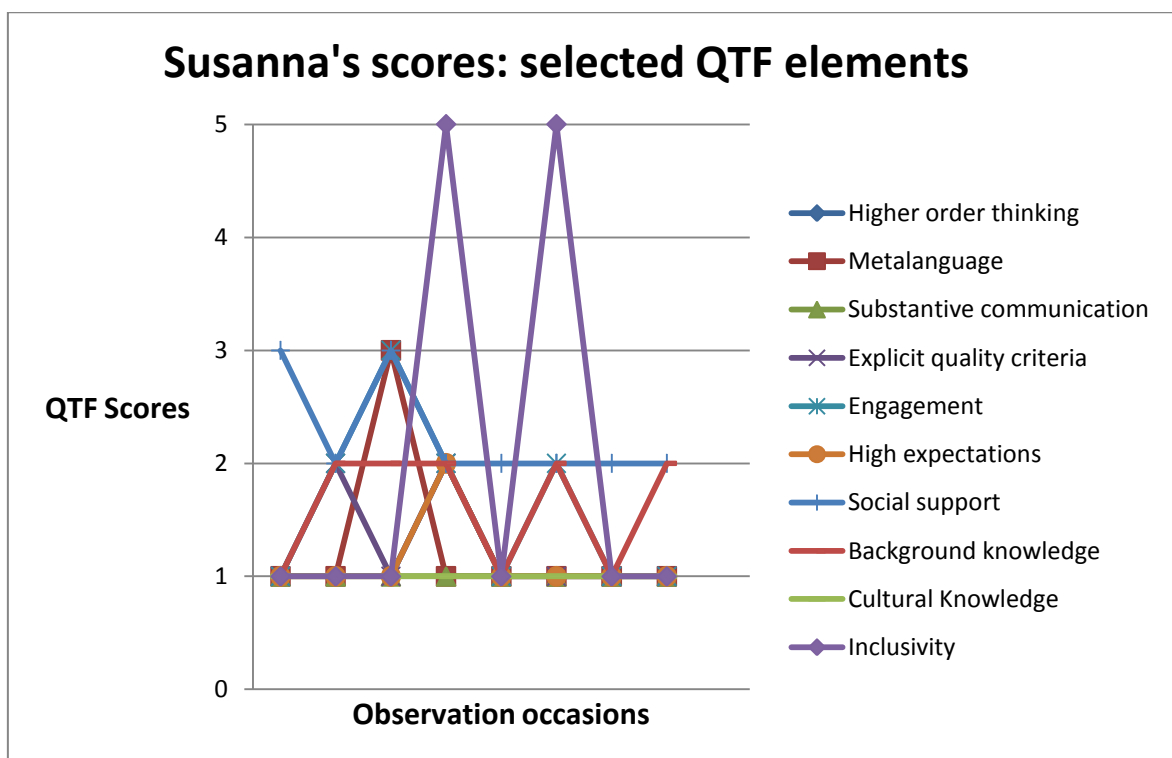
Figure 5.1 Susanna's scores: selected elements of QTF

Table 5.2 Margot's scores by QTF Dimension, element and date

INTELLECTUAL QUALITY

	9/2	10/2	17/2	24/2	3/2	9/3	10/3	16/3	17/3
1.4 Higher Order Thinking	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
1.5 Metalanguage	3	2	3	1	3	2	2	1	2
1.6 Substantive Communication	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2

<u>Correspondence with themes from the Literature Review</u>: the need for high challenge curriculum, explicit teaching of language features, dialogic pedagogies and scaffolded opportunities for extended participation by ELLs.

QUALITY LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

	9/2	10/2	17/2	24/2	3/2	9/3	10/3	16/3	17/3
2.1 Explicit Quality Criteria	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
2.2 Engagement	3	1	2	2	3	2	3	2	3
2.3 High Expectations	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
2.4 Social Support	3	3	4	3	4	2	2	3	4

<u>Correspondence with themes from the Literature Review</u>: explicit and equal curricular expectations for ELLs, efficacy, cultural capital and school culture.

SIGNIFICANCE

	9/2	10/2	17/2	24/2	3/2	9/3	10/3	16/3	17/3
3.1 Background Knowledge	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	2
3.2 Cultural Knowledge	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
3.4 Inclusivity	1	2	4	4	5	5	4	5	4

<u>Correspondence with themes from the Literature Review</u>: cultural capital, deficit thinking, monolingual habitus and school culture.
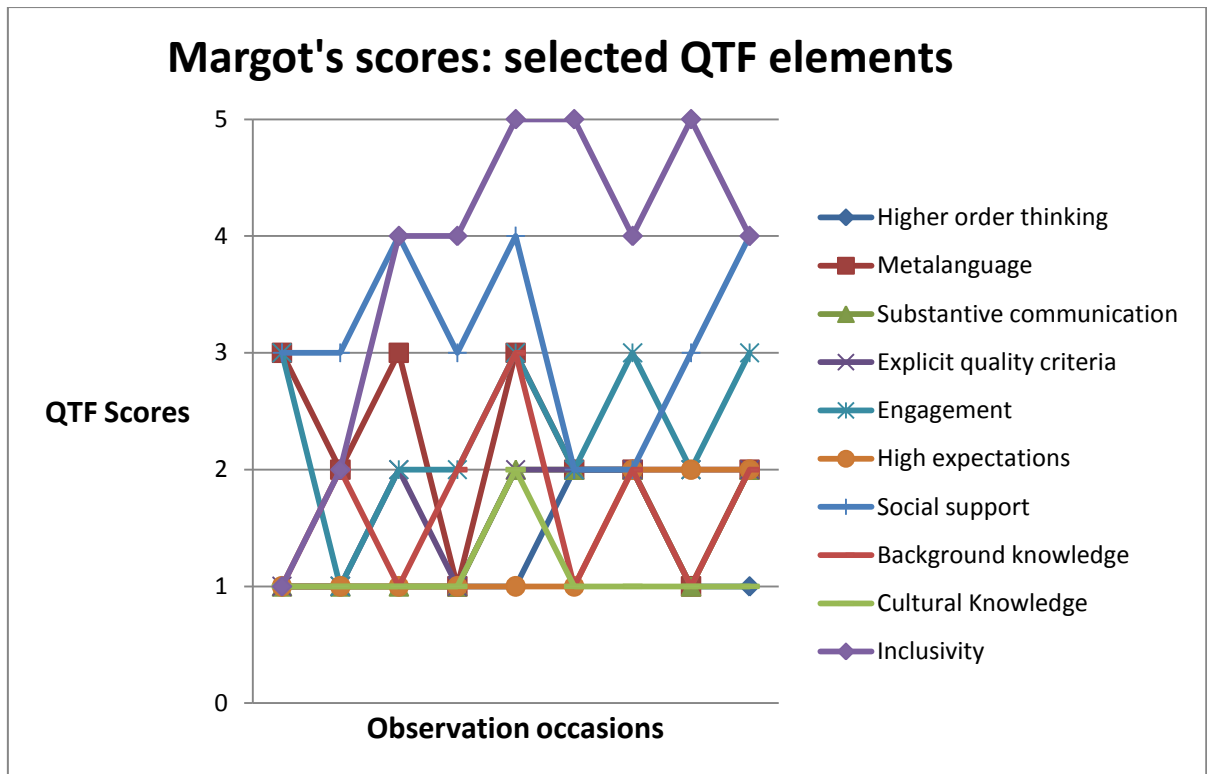
Figure 5.2 Margot's scores: by selected QTF elements

Section One: Descriptions of Results for QTF Dimensions and Elements

5.1.2 The Dimension of Intellectual Quality

Intellectual Quality is defined in the Framework as

> pedagogy focused on producing deep understanding of important, substantive concepts, skills and ideas. Such pedagogy treats knowledge as something that requires active construction and requires students to engage in higher order thinking and to communicate substantively about what they are learning (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 10).

From this Dimension, the researcher scored the observed classroom interactions/ pedagogies using the elements of Higher Order Thinking, Metalanguage and Substantive Communication. These elements incorporate a number of themes from the Literature Review such as the need for high challenge curriculum, explicit teaching of language features, dialogic pedagogies and scaffolded opportunities for extended participation by ELLs. An overview of both teachers' scores for all elements in this Dimension is given in the Table 5.3 below. It is followed by a description of the results for each element.

Table 5.3 Overview of the scores for the elements within Intellectual Quality

a) Susanna

INTELLECTUAL QUALITY

	12/2	19/2	26/2	27/2	6/3	13/3	19/3	26/3
1.4 Higher Order Thinking	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
1.5 Metalanguage	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
1.6 Substantive Communication	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

b) Margot

INTELLECTUAL QUALITY

	9/2	10/2	17/2	24/2	3/2	9/3	10/3	16/3	17/3
1.4 Higher Order Thinking	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
1.5 Metalanguage	3	2	3	1	3	2	2	1	2
1.6 Substantive Communication	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2

5.1.2.i The element of Metalanguage

As can be seen in the preceding tables, the use of Metalanguage was the greatest strength of both teachers within the Dimension of Intellectual Quality. Scores for this element ranged from 1 to 3, as seen in the flowing Figure 5.3.
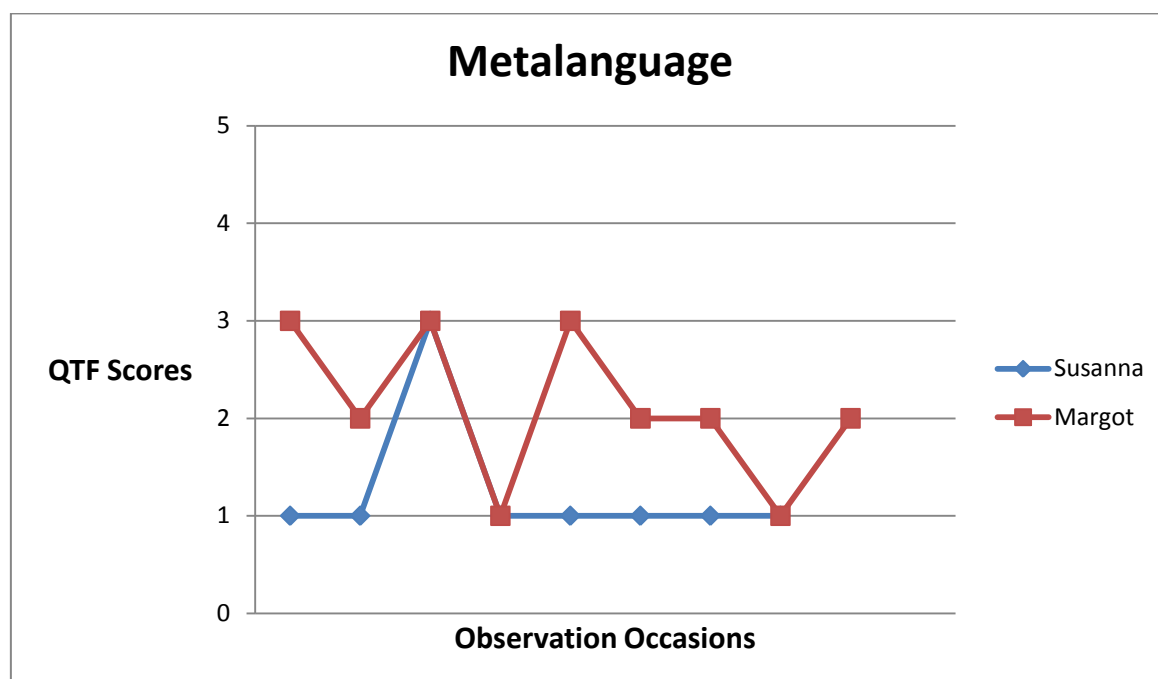
Figure 5.3 Margot's and Susanna's Metalanguage Scores

As discussed in the Literature Review, the classroom use of Metalanguage is an important aspect of the explicit teaching of language required by ELLs in order for them to access curriculum content across the KLAs. According to the QTF

> Lessons high in metalanguage have high levels of talk about language and about how texts work ... Such discussions will often focus on pointing out how differing sentences, types of texts, discourses and other symbolic representations actually work; comparing and contrasting different texts; and showing how language and symbols can be used to construct texts, knowledge and power (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 18).

Both teachers, to differing degrees, used metalanguage in their literacy classes. However, its use was generally restricted to the naming and/or revision of terms (with which the children appeared to be familiar) by the teacher and was never observed to move into "high levels of talk about language and about how texts work" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 18) referred to above. The researcher considers the four lesson extracts detailed below to be typical of the metalanguage use observed in both classes.

Within the QTF, a score of 3, obtained twice by Susanna and three times by Margot, indicates "Some use of metalanguage. At the beginning of the lesson, or at some key juncture, the teacher or students stop and explain or conduct a "mini lesson" on some aspect of language, e.g. genre, vocabulary, signs or symbols" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 18). The following extracts: 5.1 (a) from a lesson which incorporated feedback about Information Reports the children had previously written and 5.1 (b) from a lesson on vocabulary exemplify the nature of a lesson which scored 3. [Note: For all extracts T=Teacher, S=student, Ss=students]

Extract 5.1 (a)

Margot	Evidence for scoring 3
1.T.[Name], *you had some good facts, what did you write?* *2. S.* [Reads an excerpt from an Information Report he has written about dinosaurs] ***3. T. You had a really good description of both and I liked the way you said "Like the allosaurus, it also has …" So, he's comparing them and sort of bringing them in together. If you were doing that for a test thing, that's the sort of thing that would get you extra marks. So, lots of good comparison in there****.*	3. "Mini-lesson" on comparison

Extract 5.1 (b)

Susanna (27/2)	Evidence for scoring 3
1. T. In our spelling today … we saw quite a few things … that we looked at that were about pairs of things. These are the ones that we thought of yesterday. Read them for me. *2. Ss. bye, buy, ate, eight* ***3. T. So we ate something and the number eight*** *4. S. meet, meat* ***5. T. So we had pleased to meet you and then eat the meat*** *6. T. Who can remember what I said they were called? I'll give you a clue. Can you remember* [name-non-Sudanese ELLs]*?* *7. S. Different pairs?* *8. T. They were like pairs* *9. S. Homonyms.* **10. T. Homonyms. We have things that are called antonyms, contrasting words and you'll see them written some times [T writes on board while she says "antonyms, synonyms"]**	3 & 5. T gives examples of homonyms in context of sentences 10.T introduces terms "homonym" and "antonym"

*11. T. OK, an antonym, a **synonym** we spoke about them earlier in the year, they were big words, you might not remember what they meant. Can anyone remember what antonym meant?* *12. S. Opposite?* *13. T. That's right, opposite, an antonym means opposite, What does a synonym mean?* *14. S. Sparkling?* **15. T. No, similar, antonym means opposite, synonym means similar and homonym means, the word up there [on board] means same** *16. S. They all end with "ms"* **17. T. Yeah, yms, nyms, onyms is the ending for all of them … OK, so they're different kinds of words. We can have a word that's the opposite of something and that's the antonym of it. We can have something that's the same or similar, synonym same or similar, means the same thing and homonym means the same … they're words that sound the same even though the spelling and meanings are different. So, let's read what's on the sheet altogether.** [Ss begin activity on recognising homonyms in text]	11. T introduces term "synonym" 15. Revision of meaning of synonym and antonym 17. T draws attention to words' common ending "onyms" Restates meaning of homonym

Both teachers, during the observation phase of the study, also gave lessons which scored 2: "During the lesson terminology is explained or either the teacher or students stop to make value judgments or comment on language. There is however, no clarification or assistance provided regarding the language" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 18). In the lessons which scored 2, all Metalanguage was used only by the teacher in activities which employed lower order thinking skills, with limited opportunity for student participation and in isolation from authentic texts. The following Extract 5.1 (c) of the beginning of a spelling class which scored 2 exemplifies the type of teacher metalanguage use observed.

Extract 5.1 (c)

Margo (16/3) [Class reads out new spelling words in unison from board].	Evidence for Scoring 2.
1. T. Looking at digraphs. Any digraphs? You remember digraphs, two sounds together making one sound, two letters making one sound?	1.Use of metalanguage ″digraph″ and explanation
2. S. ch	
3. T. Yes, we'll mark one of those. [on list] *Any blends where the letters blend together, flow together, Tom?*	3.Use of metalanguage "blend" and explanation
4. S. br	
5. T. Good, br and ... ?	
6. S. dr	
7. T. dr and ?	
8. S. qu ?	
9. T. Well, it's not really a blend, because you can only hear ... well, we'll talk about that in a minute	
10. T. What about ranch and branch, what's the 'a' doing?	
11. S. Making an 'ə' sound	
12. T. Making an 'ə' sound. So we call that a what? Is it saying A? Is it saying "a"?	
13. S. No	
14. T. No, it's saying 'ə', so we'll call that a ... shwa. Remember the back to front 6?	14.Use of metalanguage "shwa/ ə" and explanation
15. T. We know q always has to have u so we'll call that a digraph.	15. Additional example of digraph

Despite both teachers commenting in interviews that their refugee ELLs had language knowledge-based learning needs and on the necessity of talking a lot about language in the classroom (see Chapter Four), they both scored 1 for use of Metalanguage in some literacy block lessons. For Susanna, this was her most common score. A score of 1 indicates "No metalanguage. The lesson proceeds without the teacher or students stopping to comment on the language being used" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 18). Hence, in the majority of Susanna's lessons, and in some of Margot's, there was no use of metalanguage observed.

5.1.2.ii The element of Substantive Communication

Opportunities to both hear/observe and produce language and receive feedback on it in the context of meaningful interactions with their teachers and peers were identified in the Literature Review as being very important to the development of ELLs' school-sanctioned Academic English or CALP (Cummins, 1979, 1981). It is this English which opens up full access to curriculum content for them. Substantive Communication was the element in this Dimension of Intellectual Quality in which the teachers achieved their second highest

scores, ranging from 1 exclusively for Susanna, to 1 and 2 for Margot, as indicated in Figure 5.4 below.
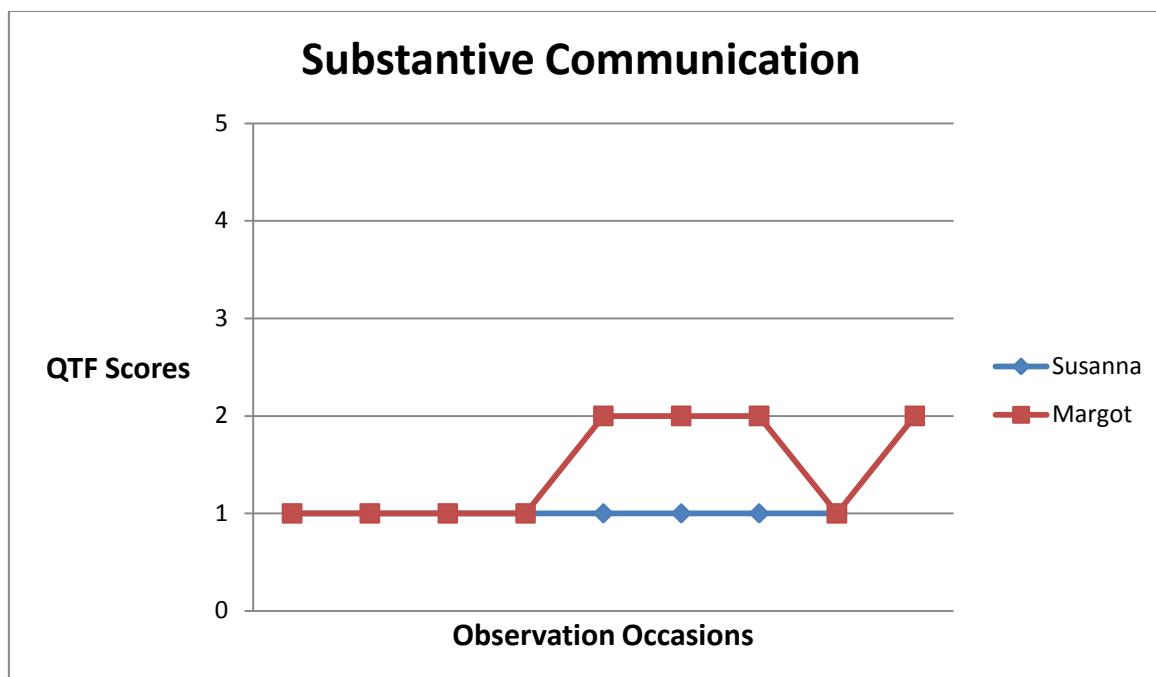
Figure 5.4 Margot's and Susanna's Substantive Communication scores

The QTF describes classrooms with high levels of Substantive Communication as those in which "there is sustained interaction about the substance of the lesson. Classes high in substantive communication have three characteristics:

> **There is sustained interaction**
> **The communication is focussed on the substance of the lesson**
> **The interaction is reciprocal**" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 22) [Bolding in original].

In both classes the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) pattern was observed. The researcher accepts Christie's (2005) contention that the IRE pattern may be effective at certain stages during a teaching cycle where "short responses are all that are needed for the joint construction [of knowledge]" (p. 39). Christie also argues that instances of IRE must be considered in the context of "the total patterns of talk in which the [it] occurs" (2002, p. 5). However, in both classrooms the IRE pattern was dominant at all stages of lessons observed across all KLAs. Christie (2005) also describes the IRE pattern as "problematic if it is allowed to prevail" (p. 40), and the researcher believes that the problematic nature of its use in these two classrooms is reflected in Susanna and Margot's most frequent score of 1: "Almost no substantive communication occurs during the lesson" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 22). Teacher talk dominated interactions in the majority of lessons in both

classrooms. There were very few opportunities for any children, including ELLs, to discuss, respond to and extend lesson content, and thus to build their spoken academic language as a bridge to the written academic language required for school success (P. Gibbons, 2008). The following Extract 5.1(d) from lessons involving a shared book is representative of the dominant communication pattern in Susanna's lessons which were scored 1 for Substantive Communication.

Extract 5.1 (d)

Susanna (12/2)	Evidence for Scoring 1
[T reads an excerpt from shared book to the class]	
1. T. Poor Fang. What did he want to be?	1.Initiation
2. S. A wrestler	2.Response
3. T. He was a wrestler. What kind of wrestler?	3.Evaluation/Initiation
4. S. That's what I said before!	4.Response
5. T. Yes. What kind of a wrestler did he want to be? A good guy or a bad guy?	5.Evaluation/Initiation
6. Ss .Bad	6.Response
7. T. He wanted to be a bad guy, didn't he? Did he like it when people threw things at him?	7.Evaluation/Initiation
8. Ss. Yes	8.Response
9. T. Yeah, he thought it was great, but what happened? What did that child do?	9.Evaluation/Initiation
10. S. Laughed	10. Response
11. T. The child laughed, he said "He's not vicious daddy, he's funny." And he started laughing about it, didn't he? And he didn't like that at all. So, he's trying to be mean and nasty and vicious and vile.	11.Evaluation/Initiation **[No Substantive Communication observed]**

In some instances, within classes that scored 1 teachers failed to recognise and capitalise on student attempts to initiate Substantive Communication, such as in the following exchange, Extract 5.1 (e), from Susanna's class dealing with the English nursery rhyme "Jack and Jill." Significantly, the attempts at Substantive Communication were made by two ELLs within the mainstream setting.

Extract 5.1 (e)

Susanna (27/2) SA and SB= ESB students, SC=non-Sudanese ELL, S2= Sudanese ELL.	Evidence of Score 1 and student attempt at Substantive Communication.
1. T. Jack fell down and he pulled Jill with him and they both went rolling away. Jack fell down and broke his crown. What's his crown?	1.Initiation [recognition of "crown" as ambiguous vocabulary]
2. S A. He doesn't have one. He's not the king of the world.	2. Response
[Ss laugh] *3. SB. He must have a wooden crown because he lives in a farm and he thinks he lives in a great, big castle, but he like, lives in a farm with all farm animals.*	3. Response
4. T. Well it could be that he broke a crown. Does anyone know what the crown of your head actually is? The crown of your head is this part. [indicating her head]	4. Response/Initiation
5. SC. So he broke his head? ***6. S2. No, the crown fell off first and his head fell off.*** ***7. S. The crown fell down?*** ***8. S2. No!*** ***9. SC. So, the head fell down first?*** ***10. T. Sh!!*** [annoyed]	**5. Non-Sudanese ELL initiates substantive communication** **6. Sudanese ELL extends it** **7. Non-Sudanese ELL continues it** **8. Sudanese ELL continues it** **9. Non-Sudanese ELL continues it** **10.Teacher does not capitalise on opportunity**

Similarly, in Margot's lessons opportunities to capitalise on students' attempts at initiating Substantive Communication between teacher and students and between students themselves were not recognised. This can be seen in the following, Extract 5.1 (f), from a Religion lesson. The children have been given a list of questions to use to interview a family member. The class is reviewing the questions.

Extract 5.1 (f)

<u>Margot</u> S1, 2 and 3 = ESB students. *1. S. How about if they* [the interviewee] *don't have an education?* *2. T. Yes, they would. Everyone's got some sort of education. So they might have left school after Year 12 or after Year 10. So if they went through to Year 10 and that's as far as they went just write Year 10 or high school. Everybody has an education these days. My mum only went as far as Year 6 because way back then, in those days, especially if you lived in the country, that's as far as school went. And you had to have lots of money to go away to boarding school. I went away to boarding school because my mum and dad had enough money to send us away, because there was no school where I lived after Year 6. The school where I went there were only 15 children in the whole school, from kindergarten right through to Year 6. A little, tiny school and then there was no high school. So I had to go a long way away and live in boarding school, but my mum didn't get the opportunity. But these days your mums, dads, most of your grandmas, grandfathers will have had an education in a high school.* **3. S1. At the school my cousin goes to there's only 11.** **4. T. Yeah, so that's a little school. A little one teacher school.** **5. S1. The principal teaches them.** **6. T. Paul, what's your question?** **7. S2. My dad went to boarding school.** *8. T. Yeah. Anymore questions about this?* **9. S3. My dad also went to boarding school.** **10. T. No, no!** [annoyed] ***Any questions?***	<u>Evidence of Score 1 and student attempt at Substantive Communication.</u> 1.Initiation [by student] 2.Response [by teacher] **3. Student [1]initiates Substantive Communication** **4. Teacher responds** **5. Student [1] extends Substantive Communication** **7. Student [2] extends Substantive Communication.** **9. Student [3] attempts to extend Substantive Communication** **10.Teacher does not capitalise on opportunity**

Despite missing some opportunities to build substantive communication in her classes, Margot also taught some lessons in which the nature of the communication observed resulted in a score of 2 for this element: "Substantive communication among students and/or between teacher and students occurs briefly" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 22). The following extracts demonstrate the nature and brevity of substantive communication within the IRE paradigm which resulted in a score of 2.

Extract 5.1 (g)

Margot (9/3)	Evidence for Scoring 2
[While completing a stencil in response to a procedural text] *1. T. Everybody read number E.* *2. Ss. Do you think the diagrams included are useful and why?* *3. T. Do you think the diagrams included are useful and why? Look at the diagrams. What are diagrams? What's a diagram, John?* *4. S. Pictures* *5. S. The pictures that they show you for every step. Are they useful?* *6. Ss. Yes* *7. T. Why are they useful?* *8. S. 'cause you can know what to do.* *9. T. They show you exactly what to do and how everything should look, don't they?* **10. S. If people can't read they could just look at them.** **11. T. They could too. The only problem is, if they couldn't read, would they know what to put in? That might still be a problem, mightn't it? But that was still a really good idea.**	3. Initiation 4. Response 5. Evaluation/Initiation 6. Response 7. Initiation 8.Response 9.Evaluation **10.Student initiates Substantive Communication** **11.Teacher extends Substantive Communication**

Extract 5.1 (h)

Margot (10/3)	Evidence for score 2
[Prior to an experiment combining vinegar and baking soda in a bottle to produce gas to inflate a balloon] *1. T. Look back at your sheet. What are the main utensils that we need?* *2. S. Vinegar* *3. T. Utensils, I'm talking about, not the ingredients. What are the things? Not the materials, but the things that we're going to use?* *4. S. [Read list of utensils, then materials including "a small amount of vinegar"]* *5. T. Why didn't it say a teaspoon or a cup? [referring to vinegar] Why didn't it say that? Put your hand up! Why didn't they say a teaspoon? Or a cup or a tablespoon?* *6. S. Because it will explode too quickly.* *7. T. No. Why do you think?* *8. S. Because it might ... oh, I forget* *9. T. No.* *10. S. So you get time to put the balloon on.* *11. T. It says a small amount. How much is a small amount? How much is it? This is a small jar. Is that a small amount?*	1. Initiation 2. Response 3. Evaluation/Initiation 5. Initiation 6. Response 7. Evaluation 8. Response 9. Evaluation 10. Response 11. Initiation

12. Ss. No.	12. Response
13. S. [very excitedly] *I know why it says a small amount!*	**13. Student initiates Substantive Communication**
14. T. Why do you think?	**14.Teacher responds**
15. S. I think it says it because it doesn't matter how much you put in, at least it's a little bit, it's small.	**15. Students extends**
16. T. Yes, so it's going to work whether it's a teaspoon or whether it's a few drops. But what have we got to remember to do? What's important to do ... as soon as you pour this in? What do you have to do, S4? Can you remember what it said on the sheet?	**16.Teacher extends and invites Sudanese refugee ELLs to participate in Substantive Communication**
17. S. [Before S4 has time to formulate her answer] *You need to put the balloon on straight after you pour the vinegar in.*	
18. T. Why do you need to put it straight on?	
19. S. Otherwise all the gas will escape.	
20. T. It will.	

The preceding extracts indicate that substantive communication among students and between Margot and her students did "occur briefly" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 22) during these lessons.

5.1.2.iii The element of Higher Order Thinking

Higher Order Thinking, the third element of the Dimension of Intellectual Quality, refers to those skills which "require students to manipulate information and ideas in ways that transform their meaning and implications. This transformation occurs when students combine facts and ideas in order to synthesise, generalise, explain, hypothesise or arrive at some conclusion or interrelation" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 18). These skills are actively constructed and developed in classrooms through the use of language by students and teachers in meaningful learning interactions. Susanna and Margot's results for this dimension are illustrated in Figure 5.5 below.

Higher Order Thinking
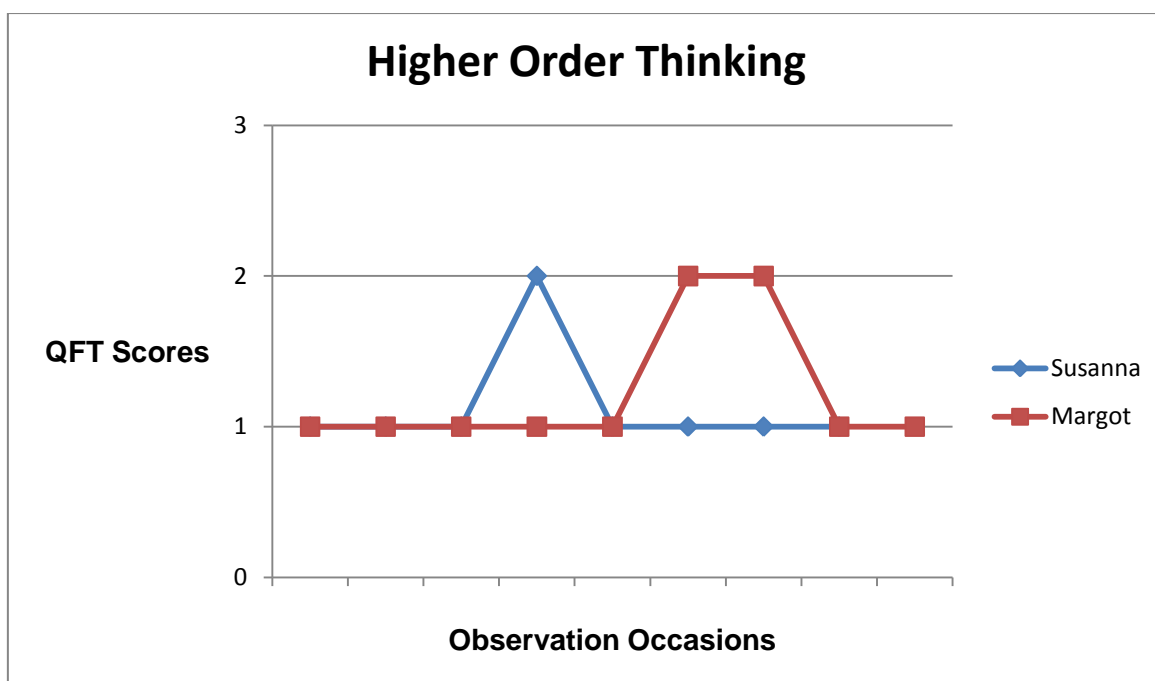
Figure 5.5 Margot's and Susanna's Higher Order Thinking scores

As can be seen from the graph, both teachers most frequently scored 1 for this element. A score of one indicates that in the observed lesson/s: "Students demonstrate only lower order thinking skills. They either receive or recite prespecified knowledge or participate in routine practice, and in no activities during the lesson do students go beyond simple reproduction of knowledge" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 18). Once in Susanna's class and twice in Margot's the Higher Order Thinking observed in lessons was scored as 2, that is "students primarily demonstrate lower order thinking, but at some point, at least some students, perform higher order thinking as a minor diversion within the lesson" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 18).

The majority of observed lessons in both classrooms across all KLAs were very teacher centred, tended to be taught on a whole class basis and focused on simple reproduction, rather than extension or reinterpretation, of knowledge. This result is consistent with those reported earlier in this section for Substantive Communication. There were very few opportunities in either classroom for group or pair work which may have both developed and supported the use of Higher Order Thinking.

In a spontaneous comment about the nature of her students during Interview Two (see Appendix h), Susanna herself provided support for the researcher's observations of the lack of Higher Order Thinking fostered and employed in her classes. She said *"I find here* [her school]*, you end up having to spoon feed them a lot and therefore you're not developing those high thinking skills, logical thinking skills as well as you would like to, but until they can do the basic skills … "*

182

Interestingly, Susanna seemed to conceptualise Higher Order Thinking as something that children either have or do not have, rather than as something that can be actively constructed through particular pedagogic practices. She commented in Interview 2 *"so getting to those kids that actually do have those good logical thinking skills I find just as big a worry or as big a difficulty as your remedial work, you know, because you're just not getting to spend the time with those kids. Behaviour stops it too."* This conceptualisation appears to be reflected in the following Extract 5.1 (i)

Extract 5.1 (i)

Susanna (26/2)	Evidence for scoring 1
[Looking at a book report stencil which students have to complete in response to the shared book] *1. T. "What I thought"* [section on stencil] *is where you write a sentence about what you thought about that book. Do you think I'm going to like a sentence that says "It was good"?* *2. Ss. No* *3. T. I would think that was good if it came from kindergarten, but in Year Three I would expect to see "It was good because" and tell me why you thought it was good. Do you have to like it? Does it have to be a good book?* *4.Ss .Nah* *5. T. No, you might have thought "I didn't really like that book because …" OK? It says* [referring to stencil]*, it says "What I thought" not what Ms* [name] *thought. It's not saying what anyone else thought, it's saying what you think. So, that's what you put down, what you think. If you thought it was a really good book because it was funny, then you write that down. And if you thought that you didn't really like it all that much, then you write "I didn't really like this one very much" but you say why. Someone might think "It's the worst story I've ever read in my life" well put that down but say why, because when we're doing reports it's about what you think. OK? You're entitled to your opinion. Everyone else might have thought that was a great book, but you might not really have enjoyed it very much, you're entitled to that opinion."* [Following this exchange, without any discussion, children independently completed the Book Report stencil.]	1.Initiation 2.Response/Initiation 3..Evaluation 4. Response 5. Evaluation **[No evidence of Higher Order Thinking observed]**

5.1.2.iv Conclusion: Dimension of Intellectual Quality

As the preceding descriptions have indicated, the strength of both teachers within the QTF Dimension of Intellectual Quality lies in the element of Metalanguage. This result indicates the potential that exists within their current practices to support the English development of ELLs through focused and explicit teaching of language in the mainstream setting. However, the lower scores achieved for the elements of Substantive Communication and Higher order Thinking indicate that the teachers currently face challenges in these areas which may impact on the language development and curricular access of the ELLs in their classrooms. These issues will be taken up in depth in Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings.

5.1.3 The Dimension of Quality Learning Environment

The second Dimension of the Quality Teaching Framework, Quality Learning Environment, is defined as "pedagogy that creates classrooms where students and teachers work productively in an environment clearly focused on learning. Such pedagogy sets high and explicit expectations and develops positive relationships between teachers and students and among students" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p.25). From this Dimension, the researcher scored classroom behaviours according to the elements of Explicit quality criteria, Engagement, High expectations and Social support. These elements incorporate themes from the Literature Review such as explicit and equal curricular expectations for ELLs, efficacy, cultural capital, and school climate. An overview of the scores for all elements in this Dimension is given in Table 5.4. It is followed by a description of the results for each element.

Table 5.4 Overview of the scores for the elements within Quality Learning Environment

a) <u>Susanna</u>

QUALITY LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

	2/2	19/2	26/2	27/2	6/3	13/3	19/3	26/3
2.1 Explicit Quality Criteria	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1
2.2 Engagement	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	1
2.3 High Expectations	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2.4 Social Support	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2

b) <u>Margot</u>

QUALITY LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

	9/2	10/2	17/2	24/2	3/2	9/3	10/3	16/3	17/3
2.1 Explicit Quality Criteria	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2
2.2 Engagement	3	1	2	2	3	2	3	2	3
2.3 High Expectations	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
2.4 Social Support	3	3	4	3	4	2	2	3	4

5.1.3.i The element of Social Support

The strength of both teachers as sincere providers of pastoral care for all students, including their ELLs, is reflected in the fact that within this Dimension they scored most highly in the element of Social Support, with scores ranging from 2 to 4, as can be seen in Figure 5.6.
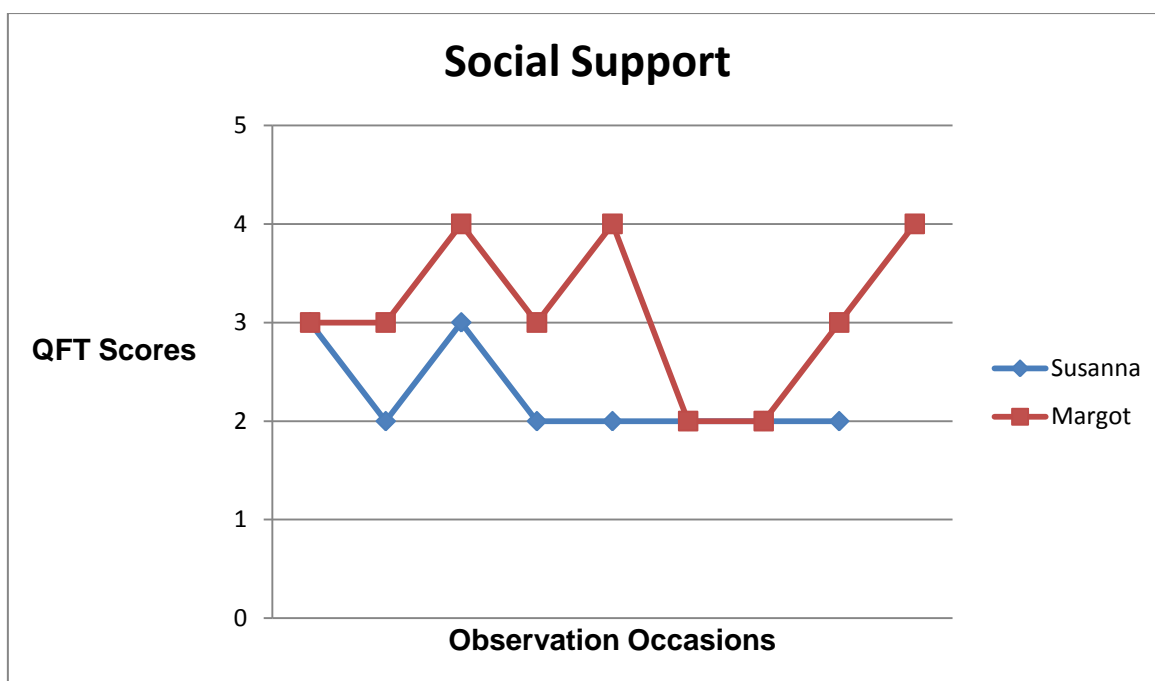
Figure 5.6 Margot's and Susanna's Social Support scores

According to the QTF

> Classrooms high in social support for student learning encourage all students to try hard and risk initial failure in a climate of mutual respect. Classrooms high in social support are characterised by teacher and student behaviours, comments and actions that encourage and value effort, participation and the expression of one's views in the pursuit of learning (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 30).

Susanna and Margot were both observed on a number of occasions to create opportunities for the ELLs to gain the class's acknowledgement for their efforts, through means such as giving ELLs advance notice of the question they would be required to answer in front of the class or by asking the ELLs to answer questions which the teachers had observed that they already had correct in their exercise books. For example, during a class discussion Margot was observed to say to S4 (Sudanese ELL) *"What did you write? Don't tell us* [the class] *yet, but you're going to tell us in a minute"* (16/3). Similarly, the researcher recorded in her field notes of Susanna "[She] seems to look for opportunities for S3 to get something right in front of the whole class" (13/3).

Both teachers scored 3 in this element: "Social support is neutral or mildly positive. While no undermining behaviour or comments are observed, supportive behaviours or comments are directed at those students most engaged in the lesson, rather than those students who are more reluctant" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p.

30). Examples of comments and supportive behaviours directed at the students most engaged in the class, which scored 3 are given in the following table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Examples of comments and behaviours Score of 3.

Susanna 26/2	Margot 24/2
"She's reading beautifully." [To other students about S3] Behaviours: [from field notes] smiles, patting on head after an incorrect attempt to answer a question	*"How are you going, S4? Did you get all that writing done?"* Margot 16/3 *"You, [name] and S5 all finished your spelling. See what you can do when you don't draw!"*

Margot on one occasion scored 4: "Social support is clearly positive. Supportive behaviours and comments are directed at most students, including clear attempts at supporting reluctant students" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 30). She was observed on a number of occasions deliberately to target and support her reluctant learners through her comments and behaviours. An example of interactions that scored four is the following, Extract 5.1 (j).

Extract 5.1 (j)

Margot 10/2 In reading to an extremely reluctant student *T. "Do you want to have a try at the next part?"* *S. "No"* *T. "Do you want me to have a try at the next part?"* *S. "OK."* [After Margot's 'try' the child successfully attempted "the next part"]

Nevertheless, sometimes in both classrooms in the same lessons in which very positive behaviours were observed, negative behaviours and comments were also observed; in some cases also directed at the ELLs. Consequently, despite the general positivity of the teachers' efforts to provide social support for their learners, the most frequent score for both teachers was 2: "Social support is mixed. Both undermining and supportive behaviours or comments are observed" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 30). The following table 5.6 provides examples of "supportive" and "undermining" comments and behaviours observed in the same lesson, resulting in a score of 2.

Table 5.6 Examples of comments and behaviours Score of 2.

Supportive	Undermining
Susanna 27/2 *"S1 found* [the answer]*"* to the class.	Susanna 27/2 to S3 *"I'll help you a hundred times if you listen, but not if you don't and then expect a private lesson."*
Susanna 13/3 Places doll belonging to one reluctant child [ELL] (who was playing with doll) on desk saying *"S3 can show him what a good worker she is!"*	Susanna 13/3 *"S2, you're still not paying attention. If you're not interested … If you don't want to learn that's your problem."*
Margot 9/3 *"*[Name], *that's a good change!"* (about improved listening)	Margot 9/3 *"S4, I'm still waiting for you!"*

Results for Engagement, another element of the Dimension of Quality Learning Environment, will now be considered.

5.1.3.ii The element of Engagement

There was an observed difference in the levels of engagement of all students, and specifically, of the respective Sudanese refugee ELLs, in the classes of the two teachers. Margot scored consistently higher in this element than did Susanna. High engagement, according to the QTF is "identified by on-task behaviours that signal serious investment in class work. These behaviours include sustained interest and attentiveness, individual focus on work, showing enthusiasm for work, and taking the work seriously" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2003, p. 28). The teachers' scores ranging from 1 to 3 are demonstrated in Figure 5.7.
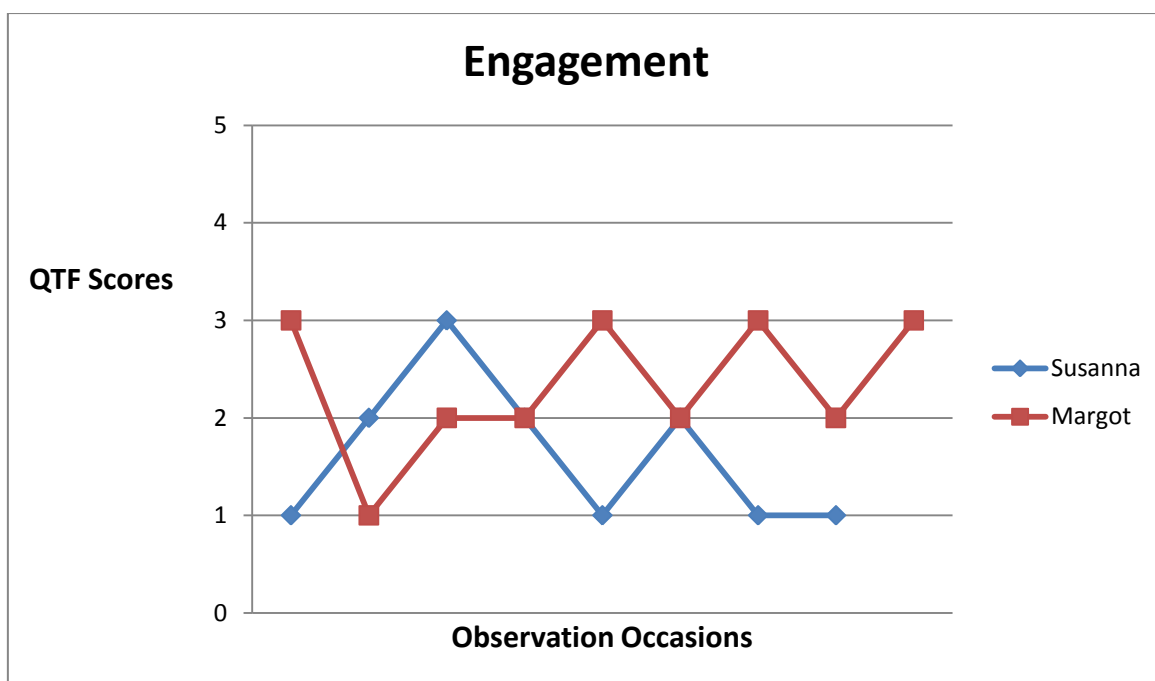
Figure 5.7 Margot's and Susanna's Engagement scores

As mentioned previously, the dominant pattern of communication in both teachers' lessons was teacher-centred and occurred within the IRE paradigm. Using the QTF coding, Margot achieved an equal number of scores of 2 and 3. A score of 2 indicates: "Sporadic engagement. Most students, most of the time, either appear apathetic and indifferent or are only occasionally active in carrying out assigned activities. Some students might be clearly off-task" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 28). A score of 3 indicates "Variable engagement. Most students are seriously engaged in parts of the lesson, but may appear indifferent during other parts and very few students are clearly off-task" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 28).

On the other hand, while in Susanna's classes the IRE pattern also dominated, there was generally a much higher level of disengagement across all groups within the class, and very specifically for two of the three Sudanese refugee ELLs. During interviews (see Chapter Four, Section One). Susanna attributed this disengagement to what she termed their *"learned helplessness."* Consequently, Susanna's most frequent score according to the QTF coding was 1: "Low engagement or disengagement, most of the time. Students are frequently off-task, perhaps disruptive, as evidenced by inattentiveness or serious disruptions by many. This is the central characteristic during much of the lesson" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 28). The following table 5.7 provides extracts from the researcher's reflective and descriptive field notes for lessons which scored from 1 to 3. The bolded name at the start of each extract indicates in which teacher's class the field note was made.

Table 5.7 Extracts from Field Notes Score of 1

Score of 1:

6/3 **Susanna**-large number of children disengaged, having time out based on three strikes and children kept in at recess because of behaviour

26/3 **Susanna**-Kids not attending at all

26/3 **Susanna**-Kids do not have necessary equipment, waste time finding it

26/3 **Susanna**-S3 completely off the air

19/3 **Susanna**-When time to do exercise independently S1 engages in avoidance strategies

19/3 **Susanna**-Kids not paying attention

Score of 2:

17/2 **Margot** -Varying degrees of engagement amongst Sudanese kids

27/2 **Susanna**-[Some kids] Very restless. S1 has completely checked out, head down on desk

19/2 **Susanna**-S1 and S3 disengaged-no extra support given … S2 is on task

9/3 **Margot**-Kids are off air after music … S4 very engaged

13/3 **Susanna-**S1 and S3 seem to be focussed. [ESB child] has time out and must do rest [of class work] at recess

Score of three:

26/2 **Susanna**-a group of boys looking eagerly at books

26/2 **Susanna**-puts list of more homonyms on board and takes more suggestions from other kids. Kids keen to suggest some

2/3 **Margot**-Kids very absorbed in task … S4 very engaged. Hands flapping to answer questions

2/3 **Margot**-When Margot announces fruit break time, S6 says *"Fruit? Already?"*

As can be seen from the extracts from the researcher's field notes presented above, the level of students' engagement varied between the two classes, although the same IRE pattern of interaction was dominant in both classes. There appears to be a correlation

between the difference in the teachers' scores for this element and that reported above for the element of Social Support.

5.1.3.iii The element of Explicit Quality Criteria

Scores achieved for the element of Explicit Quality Criteria are shown in Figure 5.8 below.
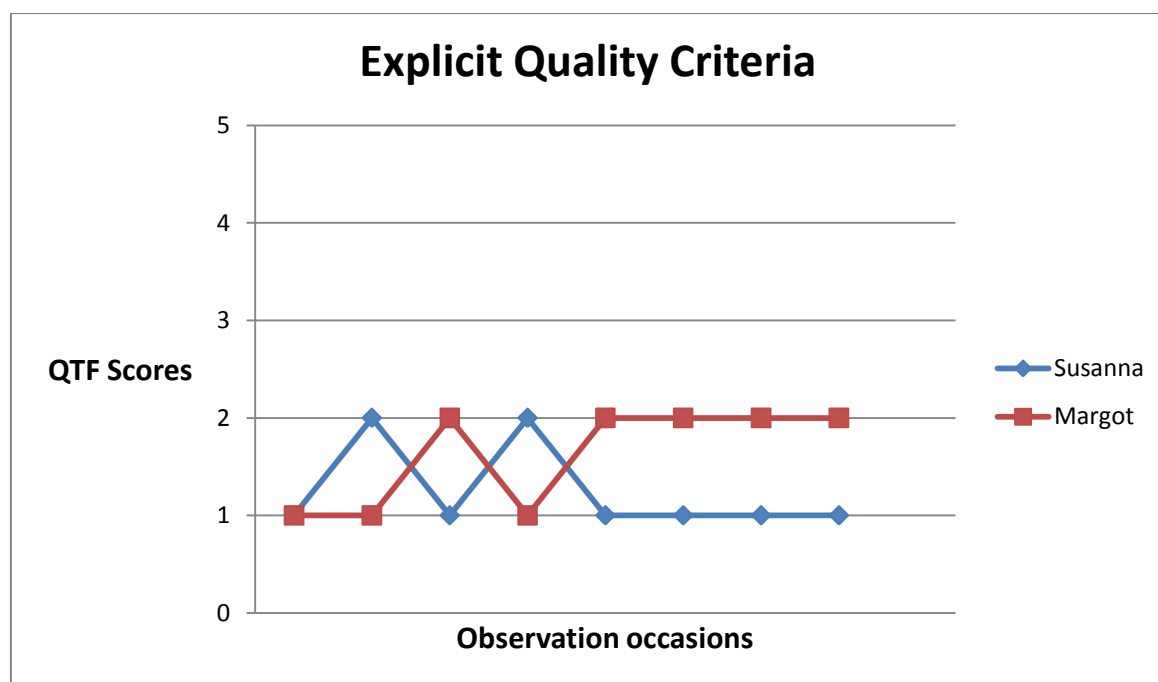
Figure 5.8 Margot's and Susanna's Explicit Quality Criteria scores

According to the QTF:

> High explicit quality criteria are identified by frequent, detailed and specific statements about the quality of work required of students. Explicit quality criteria become reference points when the teacher and/or students use the criteria to develop and check their own work and the work of others. This includes written instructions (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 26).

In general, Margot and Susanna provided some indication of the quality of work required in their classes. However, this was not often expressed in the form of explicit criteria. For Margot, 2 was the most frequent score: "Only general statements are made regarding the desired quality of the work" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 26). Susanna also scored two on some occasions. The following extracts 5.1(k) and 5.1(l) exemplify "general statements" made in relation to quality criteria.

Extract 5.1 (k)

Susanna	Evidence for scoring 2
[Handing back some books of work that had been done well, Susanna shows them to class] *T. I'm going to hand back to people some work that's been done for our spelling and some different things that you did. I've got some people who **have done an excellent job** on their English book. I've got other people who aren't even close to an excellent job. They haven't even tried to do an excellent job … So if I thought your work was very good I've put a sticker on it.* [showing books to class]	Evidence for scoring 2 General statement *"excellent job"*

Extract 5.1 (l)

Margot (17/3)	General statements
[I] *was impressed with the sentence answers today … **Pretty good** … Most people remembered a new line. Makes it **look neater**, doesn't it?*	General statements *"pretty good" "look neater"*

Scores for this element for Susanna were predominantly 1: "No explicit statements regarding the quality of the work are made. Only technical and procedural criteria are made explicit" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 26).

Opportunities for the provision of explicit quality criteria to students were limited in both classes, particularly in lessons involving text construction, because there were few instances of in-depth the deconstruction of successful texts. This will be considered in more depth later in this chapter.

5.1.3.iv The element of High Expectations

High expectations is the third of the elements chosen from the dimension of Quality learning Environment. According to the descriptors given in the QTF "Expectations are high when teachers (or students) communicate the expectation that all members of the class can learn important knowledge and skills that are challenging for them" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 30). However "Expectations are low when little is asked" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 30). Consistent with the low scores mentioned previously for the element of Higher Order Thinking in both classes, the researcher found that expectations were low in the sense that the bulk of the content of lessons was not intellectually challenging for the majority of the students and did not require students to go beyond the simple reproduction of knowledge. Much of the work done in both classes involved filling in and responding to commercially prepared

worksheets and activities. Consequently, as shown in the following Figure 5.9 both teachers generally scored one for this dimension: "No students, or only a few, participate in any challenging work" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 30).
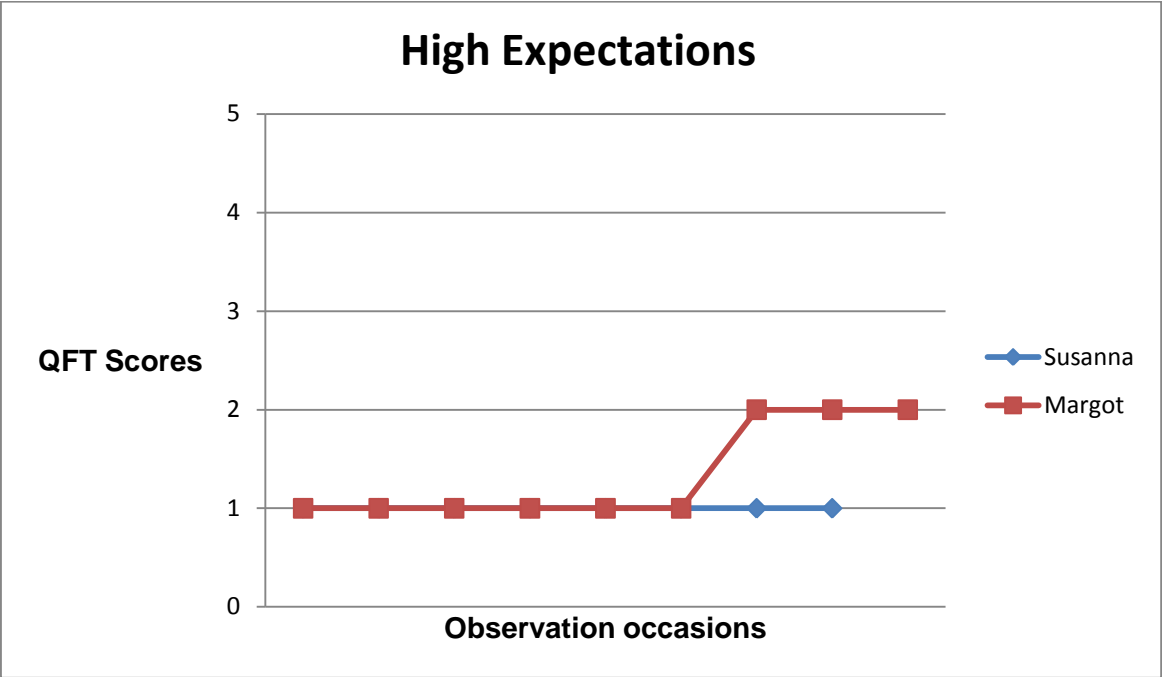
Figure 5.9 Margot's and Susanna's High Expectations scores

Nevertheless, both teachers appeared to convey through their public comments in the classroom, a belief that their ELLs could achieve at the same level as their ESB classmates. The following comments in Table 5.8 which were made in front of the classes appear to express the teachers' belief in their ELLs' ability to succeed:

Table 5.8 Teachers' comments made in front of class

Margot in response to an answer to a mathematics problem provided to the class by S4 *"Good girl! That shows you can take your knowledge and apply it. Well done!"*
Margot commenting to the class *"Look at S5's work! Excellent!"*
Susanna to S1 *"You need to listen, because you can do this!"*
When S3 commented *"It's easy"* about a spelling activity, **Susanna** replied *"Sure is when you concentrate!"*
When two ESB students completed all tasks before the rest of the class, **Susanna** commented *"It doesn't mean that they're smarter than anyone else."*
Susanna of Sudanese refugee ELL *"You'll see all the clever things that she can do. She's a pretty clever girl."*

These comments appear to reflect positive attitudes towards their ELLs on the part of Susanna and Margot. However, in the light of the observed absence of extra support

given for ELLs' learning, they may also indicate a tendency to place the responsibility for their own learning on the ELLs themselves. This is consistent with one of the themes derived from the interviews reported earlier in this chapter.

5.1.3.v Conclusion Dimension of Quality Learning Environment

The fact that the highest results within this Dimension of the QTF were for Social Support reflects the caring attitude of these two experienced and competent teachers towards their students. It demonstrates that in general, a socially supportive environment for ELLs and for their learning efforts exists in both classrooms. This result indicates the potential for ELLs to achieve quality learning outcomes in these two sites. However, the quality of the learning that ELLs can do within that environment currently may not be maximised due to the lower scores obtained in the other elements of this Dimension: Explicit Quality Criteria, Engagement and High Expectations.

5.1.4 The Dimension of Significance

The third dimension of the Quality Teaching Framework which was drawn on in this study is Significance. It is defined as "pedagogy that helps make learning more meaningful and important to students. Such pedagogy draws clear connections with students' prior knowledge and identities, with contexts outside of the classroom, and with multiple ways of knowing or cultural perspectives" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 10). The elements of Background knowledge, Cultural knowledge and Inclusivity were scored. These incorporate themes from the Literature Review such as cultural capital, deficit thinking, monolingual habitus and school climate.

An overview of the scores for all elements in this Dimension is given in Table 5.9 below. It is followed by a description of the results for each element.

Table 5.9 Overview of the scores for all elements within Significance

a) <u>Susanna</u>

SIGNIFICANCE

	12/2	19/2	26/2	27/2	6/3	13/3	19/3	26/3
3.1 Background Knowledge	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2
3.2 Cultural Knowledge	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3.4 Inclusivity	1	1	1	5	1	5	1	1

b) <u>Margot</u>

SIGNIFICANCE

	9/2	10/2	17/2	24/2	3/2	9/3	10/3	16/3	17/3
3.1 Background Knowledge	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	2
3.2 Cultural Knowledge	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
3.4 Inclusivity	1	2	4	4	5	5	4	5	4

5.1.4.i The element of Inclusivity

The highest scores achieved overall within the dimension of Significance were obtained in the element of Inclusivity. This is demonstrated in Figure 5.10.
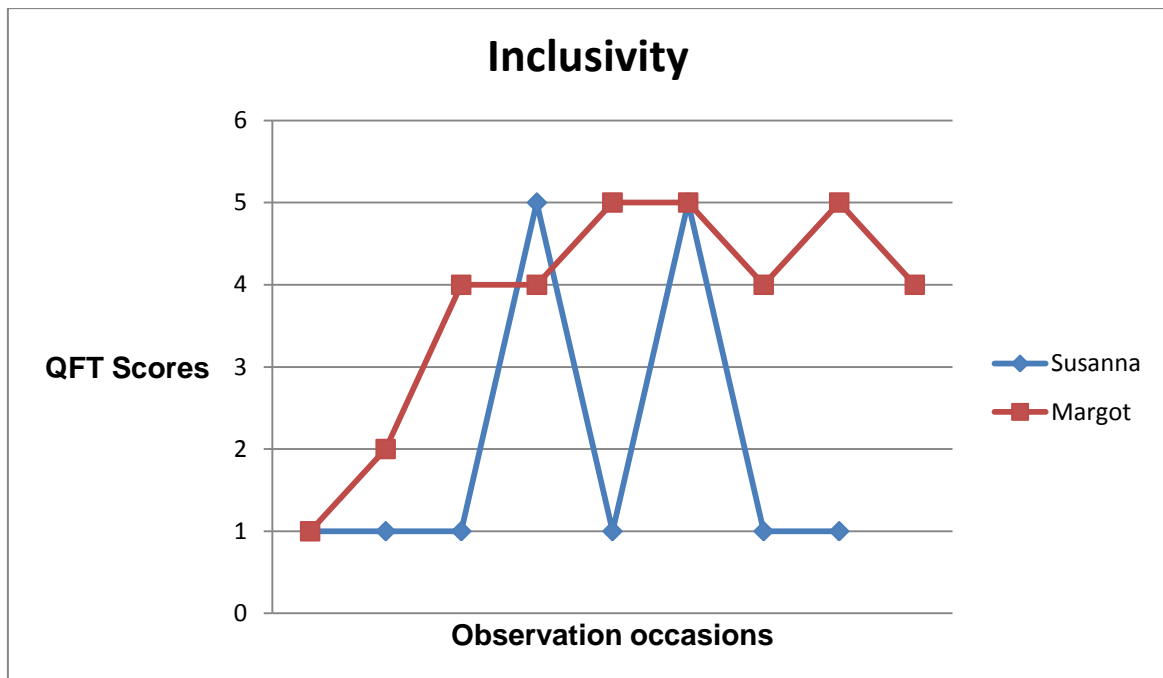
Figure 5.10 Margot's and Susanna's Inclusivity scores

Consistent with the results reported previously in this chapter for the element of Engagement, there were distinct observed differences in the level of Inclusivity of the two classes. According to the QTF "High inclusivity is evident when all students in the classroom, from all cultural or social backgrounds, participate in the public work of the class and when their contributions are taken seriously and valued" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 46). In contrast, "Low inclusivity is … evident when the genuine contributions of some students are devalued" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 46). For this dimension, as can be seen in the graph above, Margot consistently scored 4: "Students from all groups are included in a significant way in most aspects of the lesson, but there still appears to be some unevenness in the inclusion of different social groups" and 5: "Students from all groups are included in all aspects and their inclusion is both significant and equivalent to the inclusion of students from other social groups" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 46).

Scores were assigned on the basis of the researcher's observations of the interactions between teachers and students and between students during lesson activities. For example, on 2/3 Margot achieved a 5 on the basis of her invitations (verbal and on-verbal) for students from all groups to participate and contribute to the lesson and of the positive nature of her evaluations of those contributions.

On that day the researcher recorded the following comments in her field notes.

Table 5.10 Extracts from Field notes-Invitations to participate

> **Margot-** S4 gave an incorrect answer, M[argot] responded with a smile *"But it's a nice idea!"* S4 continued to contribute to class
>
> **Margot**- asks [poorly behaved ESB boy] a question, tries to encourage good behaviour … Responds *"That's fine"* to his contribution

In contrast, Susanna scored mostly 1 for this dimension: "Some students are excluded, or exclude themselves, from activities throughout the lesson" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 46). This score resulted from the fact that for most of the observed lessons, many ESB children and two of the three Sudanese refugee ELLs frequently excluded themselves from lesson activities. Susanna often did not intervene when this occurred, perhaps, as noted earlier, due to her belief in the students' *"learned helplessness."* The following table 5.11 provides comments recorded by the researcher in her field notes which exemplify a score of 1.

Table 5.11 Extracts from Field notes in Susanna's class-Exclusion

12/2- No questions or comments from [Sudanese] kids

26/2- S1 and S3 not taking any notice at all during explanation … S1 just begins to do whatever he likes

26/3-S1 not attending at all

Nonetheless, on one occasion Susanna scored 5, in a class in which all students, including ELLs, were enthusiastically contributing to a list of homonyms which would be displayed on a pin board. She also scored 4 during a mathematics lesson about 3D shapes. The following comments in table 5.12 were recorded by the researcher during the lesson on homonyms. Susanna's very positive response to attempts at contribution by her ELLs is in contrast to her non-intervention when they are not contributing.

Table 5.12 Extracts from Field notes-Invitations to participate

Susanna (27/2)

- [When S1 offers a correct homonym]-Susanna draws this to class's attention
- [Later S1] -goes up [to Susanna] to offer (incorrect) homonyms. Susanna offers encouragement, pats him on the head

5.1.4.ii The element of Background Knowledge

This element is an important aspect of the Curriculum Cycle stage of Field Building (to be considered later in this chapter). It provides scaffolding which supports ELLs to access curricular content. However, consistent with the reported observed lack of Substantive Communication in the two teachers' lessons, the researcher very rarely observed the utilisation or activation of students' Background Knowledge by either teacher. This is reflected in the scores portrayed in Figure 5.11.
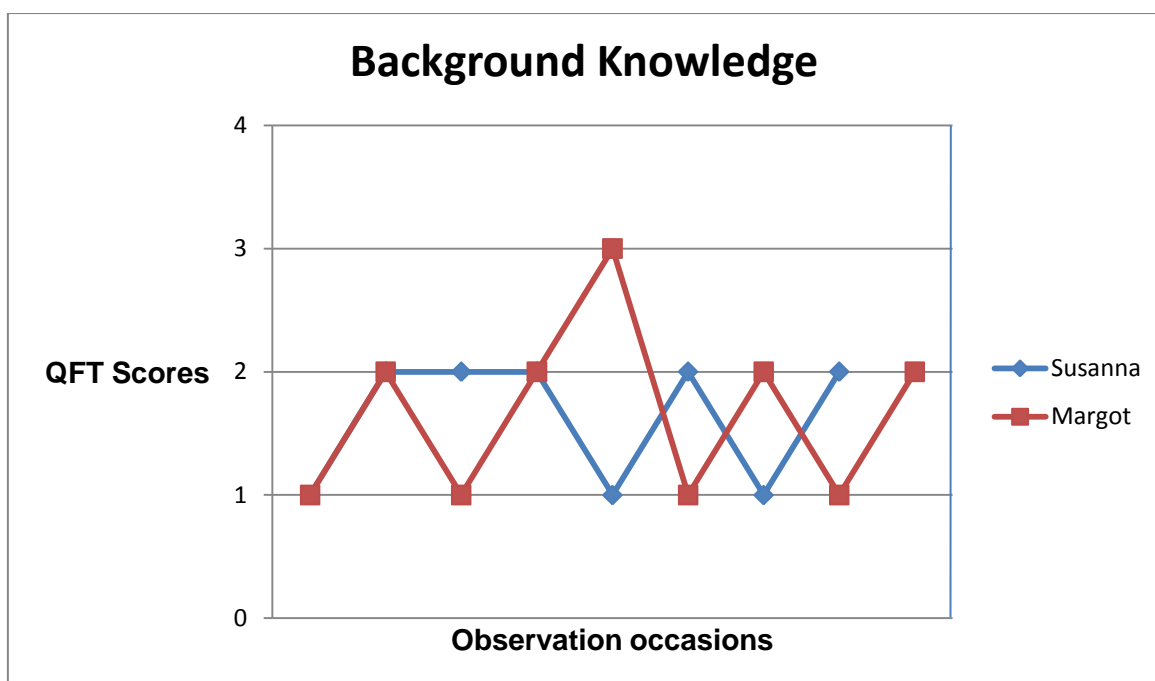
Figure 5.11 Margot's and Susanna's Background Knowledge scores

The QTF states that:

> High background knowledge is evident when lessons provide students with opportunities (or they take opportunities) to make connections between their knowledge and experience and the substance of the lesson. Background knowledge may include prior "out-of-school" knowledge, such as local knowledge, cultural knowledge, personal knowledge and knowledge of media and popular culture (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 40).

> High Background Knowledge, accordingly, is more likely to be evident in classes in which high levels of Substantive Communication occur. Such communication provides opportunities to link new lesson content to existing knowledge and experiences. On the other hand, the QTF states that low Background Knowledge

> is evident when lessons address new content, skills and competencies without direct or explicit exploration of the students' prior knowledge of the topic, and without any attempts by the teacher or students to provide relevant or key background knowledge that might enhance students' comprehension and understanding of the "new""(NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 40).

Both Margot and Susanna's lessons scored mostly 2 in this element, that is: "Students' background knowledge is mentioned and elicited, but is trivial and not connected to the

substance of the lesson" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 40). The following Extract 5.1 (m) from Margot's class exemplifies a score of 2.

Extract 5.1 (m)

Margot (2/3)	Evidence for scoring 2
1. T. Why are we making pancakes today?	**1-5 Elicitation of background knowledge about Pancake Tuesday**
2. S. Because it's Pancake Day?	
3. T. It is. Who knows what the real name of it is?	
4. S. Ash Wednesday?	
5. T. Tomorrow's Ash Wednesday, you're right. Yes, here it is up here, [on whiteboard] *Shrove Tuesday. Why do we have pancakes on Shrove Tuesday? Does anybody know? It's a custom, it's a tradition… it's a tradition in the Christian churches. … If you have to fast what does it mean?*	
6. S. Not eating for a long time.	Substance of lesson-following and then writing a procedural text.
7. T. Not eating for a long time, good girl!	
[prior to following a procedural text/instructions to make pancakes and then write another procedural text]	

Margot and Susanna also taught lessons which scored 1: "Students' background knowledge is not mentioned or elicited" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 40). The following Extract 5.1 (m) from one of Susanna's lessons exemplifies a score of 1.

Extract 5.1 (n)

Susanna (12/2)	Evidence for scoring 1
1. T. Part three. Match the words from the list with meanings given below. Read the words for me.	1-8. No pre-teaching of vocabulary or checking of student background knowledge/understanding prior to independent completion of task
2. Ss. [read in unison from sheet]	
3. T. And they have to fit in with these meanings. Read A for me.	
4. Ss. The teacher writes on the blackboard with this.	
5. T. Read B	
6. Ss. A small room on a ship.	
7. T. They're the three that we're doing. Pick up your pencil please and begin.	
8. T. [30 seconds later] *Now I've been through it S1* [Sudanese refugee ELLs]*, you start!*	

5.1.6.iii The element of Cultural Knowledge

The QTF states that:

> Cultural knowledge is high when there is an understanding, valuing and acceptance of the traditions, beliefs, skills, knowledge, languages and protocols of diverse social groups. Cultural knowledge is high when the lesson recognises and values claims to knowledge from multiple social groups in an authentic, detailed and profound manner (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 42).

As can be seen in the following Figure 5.11, Margot, in the school with the majority Anglo-Australian enrolment, consistently scored 1 for this element in the observed lessons: "No explicit recognition or valuing of other than the knowledge of the dominant culture" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 42).
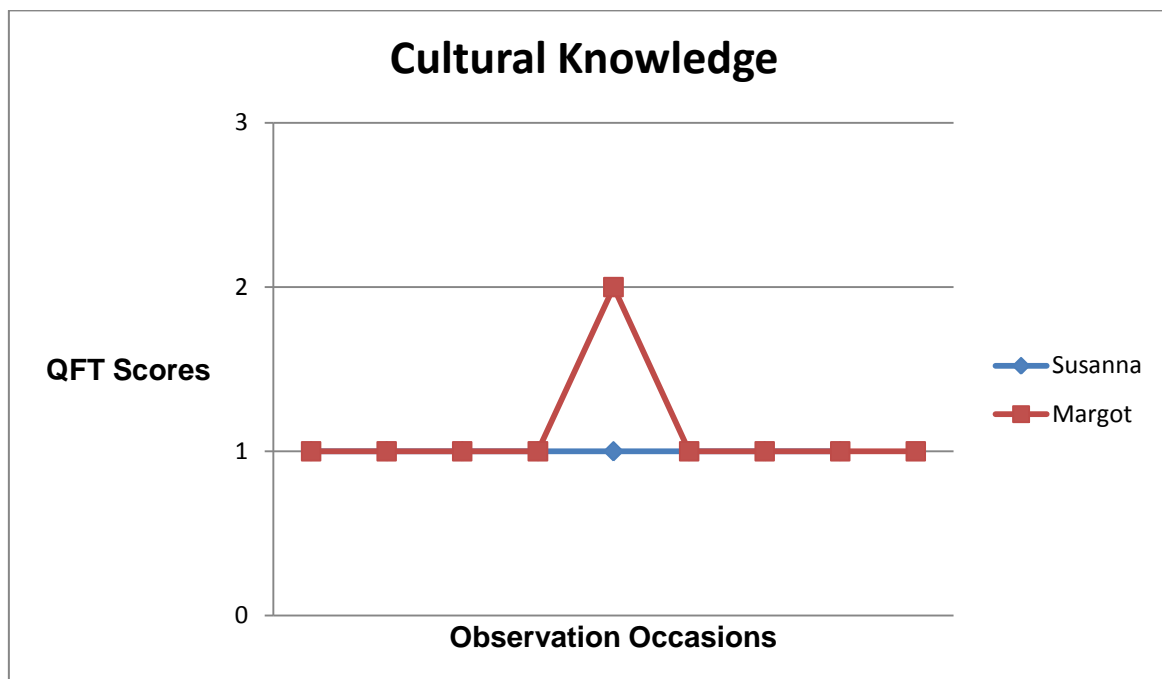
Figure 5.12 Margot's and Susanna's Cultural Knowledge scores

Perhaps surprisingly, as seen in Figure 5.12 above, Susanna who teaches at the school with an enrolment comprising 27 nationalities, also consistently scored 1 in her observed lessons. This is in contrast with the very public acknowledgement by the school executive and valuing of the cultural artifacts of diversity within the school. (While the researcher was at the school a full day was devoted to a programme of rotating activities to showcase the cultural artifacts of the Asian communities within the school). This score appears, however, to be consistent with the finding reported in the previous chapter (see Chapter Four, Section 4.1.10) that the interviewed teachers do not generally conceptualise students' L1s as knowledge encoding, and thus, academic resources.

The following Extract 5.1 (o) from a lesson (mentioned previously) in Margot's class (see extract f this chapter) in which students had to interview a family member, demonstrates the teacher's loss of an opportunity to acknowledge and capitalise on S5's cultural knowledge about the realities of his own people's lived experiences.

Extract 5.1 (o)

Margot	Evidence for scoring 1
1. S5. [Looking at the interview questions] *What if they* [the interviewee] *don't know when they're born?* **2. T. They'll know when they were born. They'll be able to fill that in for you.**	**2. No recognition of S5's knowledge which is different to that of the dominant culture**

The QTF also states that "Cultural knowledge is low when it is used simply to compare social groups based on superficial characteristics" (NSW Department of Education and Training, 2006, p. 42). On one occasion Margot scored 2: "Some cultural knowledge is evident in the lesson, but it is treated in a superficial way." Superficial positioning of the ELLs within the paradigm of the dominant culture is demonstrated in the following Extract 5.1 (p) from Margot's Religion class which scored 2.

Extract 5.1 (p)

Margot (2/3)	Evidence for scoring 2
[Talking about how money collected for Missions in Africa is spent] *1. T. So they don't just hand out money. They take people in and they teach them how to farm, how to grow good vegetables to feed their families better. So they don't just hand out money. They don't just say "Here's $200 go and feed your family." Why wouldn't that work?* *2. S. They wouldn't know what to do with it.* *3. S. They wouldn't know what to do with it and where would they go to get the food?* *4. S. Maybe the shopping centre?* **5. T. Is there a shopping centre there? There's no shopping centre. [S4 and S5 smile at each other] There's no food to buy so they go in, take people in and train them up … then they can sell** [their crops] **and they will have some money to send their children to school… Mum's given you $2 to spend at the canteen. How can you make some of that money actually help someone? S4?** *6. S4. Spend a dollar and put a dollar in the* [Mission] *box.*	**5. Comparison based on superficial characteristics**

7. *T. … Yes, say, I will give up some of that money to help children in Uganda or Bolivia or Vietnam or Kenya or back over in your country, yes, S5, you know children over there still need help, don't they? The children who are still there, the families who are still there, S4 do they still need help? Yes, they definitely do. And some of the money from* [Missions]*, that's where it goes. If you want to give something up that's the way to do it.*	7. Cultural/Background Knowledge of ELLs recognised superficially

5.1.4.iv Conclusion: Dimension of Significance

High results for Inclusivity within the Dimension of Significance indicate that while some ELLs are at times choosing to exclude themselves from some lessons, they are not being intentionally or unconsciously marginalised or excluded by teachers within these mainstream classes. However, the lower results for the elements of Background Knowledge and Cultural Knowledge indicate that advantage is currently not being taken of the opportunities that the observed Inclusivity present for teachers to contextualise, reinforce and extend ELLs' existing knowledge and skills.

5.1.5 Conclusion Descriptions of Results for QTF Dimensions and Elements

Scores across the Dimensions: Strengths and challenges

The preceding analysis of the data from observation-based QTF scores reveals that the teachers' strengths were cross-dimensional as were their challenges. For example, Margot's highest scores (4 and 5) were achieved in Inclusivity, an element of the Dimension of Significance and in Social Support, an element of the Dimension of Quality Learning Environment. Similarly, her lowest scores, (principally 1) were achieved in elements from all three Dimensions: Cultural Knowledge, from the Dimension of Significance; High Expectations from the Dimension of Quality Learning Environment and Higher order Thinking from the Dimension of Intellectual Quality.

Interestingly, while Susanna scored 4 and 5 only once each, as with Margot, it was in Inclusivity, an element of the Dimension of Significance. In the same way, although scoring lower than Margot, her next highest scores (principally 2 and 3) were achieved in Social Support, an element of the Dimension of Quality Learning Environment. Susanna's challenges were also cross-dimensional. She achieved scores exclusively of 1 in three elements each from a different Dimension; Substantive Communication from the Dimension of Intellectual Quality; High Expectations from the Dimension of Quality Learning Environment and Cultural Knowledge from the Dimension of Significance.

The two teachers' high scores in Inclusivity and Social Support reflect their genuine pastoral concern for all their students. They also indicate that some important conditions which can facilitate learning for ELLs within mainstream classes exist in the study sites due to some of the teachers' current practices. However, the lower scores in more pedagogically based elements such as Higher Order Thinking and Substantive Communication suggest that the teachers' current pedagogical practices may be limiting the potential for ELLs to achieve high learning outcomes which is opened up in a nurturing, pastoral classroom environment. The apparent contradictions in these scores are consistent with those tensions, or contradictions, reported in the analysis of the interview data in Chapter Four: Findings, Interview Responses. They suggest that Susanna and Margot draw on varying 'configurations of self' (Lye, 2004) or 'possible selves' (Kamler, et al., 1997) when positioning themselves relative to their refugee ELLs and that these configurations appear to promote pastoral responses over academic responses. (These issues will be taken up in the Chapter Six, Discussion of the Findings).

The low scores in the element of Cultural Knowledge may indicate that Susanna and Margot, who are both English monolinguals, operate within a 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin, 2002) which makes opaque the existence and academic value of cultural knowledge different to that of the dominant culture. These teachers do not incorporate Cultural Knowledge into the class in any meaningful way and thus fail to provide the ELLs' with opportunities to 'map on' (Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008) the knowledge they are acquiring in English in the classroom to their existing knowledge.

These issues will be taken up in more depth in the Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings. Attention will now turn to the analysis of the teachers' implementation of the Curriculum Cycle.

Section Two: Analysis of teachers' implementation of the Curriculum Cycle

5.2.1 Introduction

This section presents the results of the researcher's analysis of the data gathered from observation proformas to identify evidence of the two teachers' use of the Curriculum Cycle within their literacy lessons. The researcher recognises the multiplicity of forms that analysis of classroom talk may take, particularly Christie's (2002) description of regulative and instructional registers within the framework of curriculum genres and macrogenres (p. 3). However, as discussed in the Methodology chapter, the Curriculum Cycle was chosen

as a focus of observation and subsequent analysis in this study because of its close alignment with those pedagogies identified in the Literature Review as being supportive of the academic achievement of ELLs in mainstream settings. The Curriculum Cycle (Derewianka, 1991) is understood here as a specific sequence of activities used in the development of writing activities within the context of broader literacy classes. As such it provides a means of scaffolding children's literacy development. The Cycle, in concert with the elements of the QTF, provides opportunities within the paradigm of mainstream class instruction to effectively support ELLs toward full curricular access by "mak[ing] explicit aspects of the genres valued in school literacy" (Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008, p. 1). The Cycle comprises the broad stages of field building, deconstruction and modelling, joint construction and independent construction. The completion of the cycle does not usually occur in one lesson.

5.2.1.i Results

Both Margot and Susanna were observed to implement some stages of the Curriculum Cycle within their literacy classes, although these at times were not in the usual order of the cycle. The fact that both teachers are implementing parts of the Curriculum Cycle demonstrates the potential that exists within their current practices to support their ELLs' English literacy development in their mainstream classes. In Margot's class, the researcher observed the implementation of some of the Cycle's stages to treat Narrative, Procedure and Information Report text types. In Susanna's class, the researcher observed its implementation with the Narrative text type.

5.2.2. Margot

An extract of one occasion on which Margot implemented the cycle with an Information report is presented below (Extract 5.2 (a) and annotated for evidence of the Curriculum Cycle (see Appendix i for Extended Transcript). The researcher believes it is representative of Margot's implementation of the Curriculum Cycle during the observation period of this study. The transcript is followed by a description of the strengths and areas of challenge it demonstrates.

Extract 5.2 (a)

Margot 16/3	Evidence of curriculum cycle
[Using the Smart Board, Margot displays an Information Report about the Humpback Whale from a commercial Primary English web site.]	No building of field [dinosaurs]
1. T. We've spent a lot of time doing Procedures. **We now need to look at doing an Information Report so we're going to have a look at … how to write an information report.** *And it tells us here. Here the blue writing* [on the screen], *read it please.*	Modelling **1. Naming of text type**
2. Ss. May include a definition, a classification or brief description.	**2. Naming of content features of text type** [no explanation or explicit teaching of these meanings]
3. T. And what part is that? Have a look at the orange writing here.	
4. S. **Introduction**	**4. Identification of structure-introduction**
5. T. **So your intro contains a sentence or two that tells the reader what you're going to be talking about.** *So, if you were doing spiders, what would a good introduction be?*	**5.Explanation of content of introduction** **6-24. Joint construction**
6. S. I'm going to be talking about spiders.	of possible introduction [all oral]
7. T. Mmm, yes. That's just you introducing yourself really, so not really. You still need to tell them something, it might be a definition, a classification or a brief description. I'm going to tell you about spiders. Is that a definition? Does it tell you what a spider is?	[while teacher does not act as scribe she provides evaluation of the students' contributions]
8. Ss. No	
9. T. A definition is, for example … Give me a definition of a spider. A spider is?	
10. S. A spider is a small creature that makes webs.	
11. T. Very good. Excellent.	**11. T evaluates S contribution**
12. S. A spider is, can be all different colours	
13. T. Yes?	
14. S. Some are deadly and some are …	

15. T. No, no, you didn't, we need to use the words spiders	**15. T explains need to use "name" in definition**
16. S. Some spiders are deadly and some aren't.	
17. T. OK. So it's very brief, not a lot of information.	
18. S. Spiders are not an insect.	
19. T. A spider is not an insect. Is that true?	
20. Ss . Yes	
21. T. OK. Who's got something else?	
22. S. I'll be taking you through a spider, explaining about spiders, how many webs they have and everything.	
23. T. Mmm. Is that a good introduction? Remember it says a definition, a classification or a brief description. So we can't include "I'm going to" or "I will tell you". That's not really part of a good Information Report.	**23. T evaluates S contribution**
24. S. Spiders have eight legs	
25. T. That could be a good introduction as well. So, think about that. Then the next part tells you, in the middle part you're describing spiders. So what's it [the website] tell you? That you have to have?	**25-33 Modelling [all oral]** [while teacher does not act as scribe she provides evaluation of the students' contributions]
26. Ss. [reading] Facts about the subject set out in paragraphs.	
27. T. And if you're doing an animal you have to have … ?	
28. Ss. [reading] Appearance	
29. T. What does that mean? [asks various ESB children by name]	
30. S. What it looks like	
31. T. Exactly. The next thing is [habitat, movement, behaviour, life cycle-answers as to meanings given orally by ESB students, but none is written on the board].	
32. T. The very last bit of your information report is the …?	
33.T. Conclusion where you've got a summary or a comment. And it says that's optional so you don't always have to have a conclusion, but it's always good.	

34. S. Thanks for reading?	**34- 41 Joint construction**
	[all oral]
35. T. Now. Do you say that sort of thing? Not in an information report. They won't give you marks for doing that. So what sort of comment would you make if you've written all about spiders? At the end, a short comment?	[while teacher does not act as scribe she provides evaluation of the students' contributions]
36. S. Spiders bite	
37. T. All spiders?	
38. Ss. No	
39. T. Who can give us one?	
40. S. Some spiders are venomous and some aren't.	
41. T. Yeah, that's fine to say something like that, Watch out spiders bite. Now we're going to have a look at an example of somebody's about Humpbacks. Are you able to read that? [from the screen] *There's no way I can make it bigger.*	
41 a [Students read out text in unison]	
41 b [T points out that the sample has headings]	**41 b Deconstruction of Information Report about whales**
42. T. That's a really good example of an information report … Later we'll be writing an information report with a partner about either a man-made or natural site in Australia. Do you remember we saw, looked at all those pictures, images last week?	
43. Ss. Yes	
44. T. Today you're going to write an Information report for me about dinosaurs, but you're going to use this sort of a format for it [example text]. *So we start with an …?*	**44. Introduction of field**
	44-50 Deconstruction Revision of text type features [all oral]
45. Ss. Capital	
46. T. We always start with a capital. How do we start?	[while teacher does not act as scribe she provides evaluation of the students' contributions]
47. S. We start with the title and with a comment.	
48. T. Right and it's going to be on dinosaurs. So you're going to start with the title and the introduction where you make a statement about dinosaurs. Now the middle part is where you have your …? What do you have?	
49. S. Information?	

50. S. Facts?	
51. T. [while walking to answer telephone] *Go back to your seat and get out your draft book.*	**51 Independent construction**
[Students start talking to each other at their desks about dinosaurs and the task while T responds to telephone] [Ss. indistinct general chatter]	
52. S. [to other Ss] *Is the* [indistinct] *a dinosaur?*	**52 S seek to build field**
53. T. I want you to use information out of your head.	
[students continue speaking]	
54. T. [To class] *You don't need to talk about what you know about dinosaurs. Will you listen please? You are not going to be talking about it! Your draft book, please!*	**54 [Teacher does not allow children to do their own field building with each other]**
55. T. I want you to write about these two dinosaurs. [gives out Basic Skills Primary Writing Assessment 2003 test]. *Stop talking. Open it up in the middle. That is going to help you. Have a look at the sheet. That is going to help you. It tells you "Use the information in these pictures to write about these dinosaurs. Write in sentences, use paragraphs." Who can think of a really good introduction?*	
56. S. Dinosaurs are fossils now?	56-61 Joint construction [all oral]
57. T. Well, almost.	
58. S. Dinosaurs have been extinct for many years.	
59. T. Excellent. That could either be your introduction or your conclusion because it's making a general comment about dinosaurs.	**59. T evaluates S contribution**
60. S. Dinosaur is a type of reptile	
61. T. That's a good introduction too. Are we clear now? So you're doing a general thing about dinosaurs but you're using these two as examples. Any more questions before we start writing?	
62. S. Can you go back to the page so we know what to do?	
[T puts model up on Smartboard]	
63. T. Yeah, I'll go back. I tried that before.	
64. S. It says "Home" down the bottom.	
65 T. Alright. There we go; Introduction, description, conclusion. That's clear. [displaying screen on whiteboard]	

5.2.2.i Margot's Strengths and Areas of Challenge

Deconstruction and modelling: Strengths

Margot demonstrated a clear understanding of the schematic structure (Derewianka, 1991) of a variety of text types/genres through the deconstruction and modelling of texts she undertook within her literacy classes. Deconstruction and modelling generally follows field building in the Curriculum Cycle and involves teacher guided study of a successful text in a given genre. Margot utilised limited aspects of the deconstruction and modelling of the schematic structure (Derewianka, 1991) of chosen text type/s with her classes, before requiring students to independently produce written texts. Her emphasis on schematic structure is demonstrated in the following extract 5.2 (a.i).

Extract 5.2 (a.i)

1. T. We've spent a lot of time doing Procedures. We now need to look at doing an Information Report so we're going to have a look at … how to write an Information Report. And it tells us here. Here the blue writing [on the screen], *read it please.*

2. Ss. May include a definition, a classification or brief description.

3. T. And what part is that? Have a look at the orange writing here.

4. S. Introduction

5. T. So your intro contains a sentence or two that tells the reader what you're going to be talking about. So, if you were doing spiders, what would a good introduction be?

Areas of Challenge

While Margot implemented, in a limited way, the Curriculum Cycle stage of deconstruction and modeling, the preceding transcript and the following extract demonstrate that she did so completely orally (she provided her students with a written model text projected on a Smartboard) and in a way that was teacher-centred and did not move beyond the IRE interaction paradigm. This is significant in terms of the academic success of ELLs. The IRE pattern may act positively as a means of reinforcing previously jointly constructed knowledge (Christie, 2005) before moving into more independent construction. However, its use as the dominant pattern of classroom interaction limits opportunities for Substantive Communication and Higher Order Thinking. As reported in the preceding section the teachers did not achieve high scores in these two elements of the Dimension of Intellectual Quality. The following extract 5.2 (a.ii) typifies the IRE pattern observed in Margot's lessons during the deconstruction and modelling stage.

Extract 5.2 (a.ii)

> *25. T. … Then the next part tells you, in the middle part you're describing spiders. So what's it* [the website] *telling you? That you have to have?*
>
> *26. Ss.* [reading] *Facts about the subject set out in paragraphs.*
>
> *27. T. And if you're doing an animal you have to have … ?*
>
> *28. Ss*. [reading] *Appearance*
>
> *29. T. What does that mean?* [asks various ESB children by name]
>
> *30. S. What it looks like?*
>
> *31. T. Exactly.*

Generally considered to be included in this stage of the Cycle stage is the explicit teaching of the social purpose, intended audience and language features of the text type (Derewianka, 1991; Hammond, Burns, Joyce, Brosan & Gerot, 1992; Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008). Such teaching, consistent with the QTF, would optimally be characterised by the purposeful, contextualised and collaborative use of metalanguage by teachers and students (Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008). However, Margot did not deal with these aspects of deconstruction and modelling on any occasion during the observation period. Her unique focus in this stage was the schematic structure of the text type, decontextualised from its social purpose. There was very little explicit teaching of associated language features/choices, such as register, verbal tenses and use of adjectivals. This finding is consistent with the Margot's low scores for the element of Explicit Quality Criteria within the QTF and has implications for the school success of ELLs which will be taken up in Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings.

5.2.2.ii Joint construction: Strengths

Margot engaged in some level of joint construction with students, following the deconstruction of text. This suggests an understanding of the need to actively scaffold her students' English writing development. She was observed to call on students to make contributions to a joint construction within the given text type and to provide them with feedback/evaluation. This is demonstrated in the following extract 5.2 (a.iii).

Extract 5.2 (a.iii).

> *5. T. So your intro contains a sentence or two that tells the reader what you're going to be talking about. So, if you were doing spiders, what would a good introduction be?*
>
> *6. S. I'm going to be talking about spiders.*
>
> *7. T. Mmm, yes. That's just you introducing yourself really, so not really. You still need to tell them something, it might be a definition, a classification or a brief description. I'm going to tell you about spiders. Is that a definition? Does it tell you what a spider is?*

Areas of Challenge

During joint construction the teacher generally acts as a scribe. She takes, and at times, evaluates and modifies, the contributions of class members to construct a text collaboratively dealing with the chosen topic and within the deconstructed genre/text type (Derewianka, 1991). However, all of this stage in Margot's classroom was implemented completely orally. None of the sentences, ideas or phrases contributed by students during joint construction was transcribed, nor was a full text composed before moving on to the stage of independent construction. A transcription of a joint text construction acts as a significant scaffold and reference for all children and particularly ELLs, as they approach their independent construction (P. Gibbons, 2008). The importance of transcribing the product of joint construction is suggested in the transcript of Margot's lesson where an ESB student asked "*Can you go back to the* [model] *page* [on the Smartboard] *so we know what to do?"* (Extract 5.2 (a), 62) when the children were sent to their desks to begin independent construction.

As with the deconstruction and modelling stages of the Cycle, Margot placed emphasis on the structural schema of the text type, rather than the language. Indeed, the only (albeit superficial) attention to language choices/register observed is shown in the following extract 5.2 (a iv) from the joint construction, rather than deconstruction, stage in Margot's class.

Extract 5.2 (a. iv)

> *21. T. OK. Who's got something else?*
>
> *22. S. I'll be taking you through a spider, explaining about spiders, how many webs they have and everything*
>
> *23. T. Mmm. Is that a good introduction? Remember it says a definition, a classification or a brief description. So we can't include "I'm going to" or "I will tell you." That's not really part of a good Information Report.*

5.2.2.iii Field Building: Areas of Challenge

No implementation of the crucial Curriculum Cycle stage of field building was observed by the researcher in Margot's class. It is during this stage that the teacher attempts to determine any Background Knowledge students may have about the topic to be treated. The teacher thus identifies areas of knowledge which students have and those which need to be researched and /or to be explicitly taught in relation to the topic about which they will be required to write independently later in the Cycle (Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008). This is an extremely important part of the Cycle, particularly for ELLs, as it allows them to 'map on' (Victorian Department of

Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008) concepts which they have already established in their other language/s to English as well as to establish new ones. It is also at this stage that ELLs' "knowledge of the cultural and social contexts of the topic is built and developed" (Hammond, et al., 1992, p. 19). During the field building stage the teacher can utilise and activate the Background and Cultural Knowledge of all her students, both of which are identified as elements of the dimension of Significance within the QTF. She can also foster and develop Substantive Communication patterns.

In Margot's case, as seen in the full transcript, there was no field building about whales prior to examination of the model Information Report about Humpback whales, or more significantly, about dinosaurs, the topic for independent construction. The importance of field building to the development of students' writing, particularly ELLs', is demonstrated in the following extract 5.2 (a.v) from Margot's class. It reveals the students' attempts to do their own field building when sent back to their desks for independent construction and Margot's negative response to their attempts.

Extract 5.2 (a.v)

[Students start talking to each other at their desks about dinosaurs and the task while T responds to telephone]

52. S. [to other Ss] *Is the* [indistinct] *a dinosaur?*

53. T. I want you to use information out of your head.

[students continue speaking]

54. T. [To class] *You don't need to talk about what you know about dinosaurs. Will you listen please? You are not going to be talking about it! Your draft book, please!*

Margot's lack of attention to this important stage was consistent with the low QTF scores she achieved for the element of Cultural Knowledge reported in the previous section and in sharp contrast to her emphasis on the schematic features of text types also mentioned previously.

Discussion will now turn to the analysis of Susanna's implementation of the Curriculum Cycle.

5.2.3 Susanna
An extract of Susanna's implementation of the Curriculum Cycle with a Narrative (leading up to independent construction) is presented below, and is annotated for evidence of the Cycle (see Appendix j for Extended Transcript). The researcher believes it is representative of Susanna's implementation of the Curriculum Cycle during the

observation period of this study. Extract 5.2 (b) below is followed by a description of the strengths and areas of challenge it demonstrates.

Extract 5.2 (b)

Susanna (27/2)	Evidence of curriculum cycle
	No field building [nursery rhymes]
1. T. [concluding previous lesson] *Close that book, put it to the top of the desk. All those things out of your hands and ready to listen.* **With the rain starting who remembers this rhyme?** [Nursery rhyme "Dr Foster" written on board] *Or have you ever heard of this one? OK, read me my rhyme about Dr Foster.*	1-3 <u>Modelling</u> [oral] **Names text type "(Nursery) rhyme"**
2. Ss. [In unison with teacher leading] *Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain/ He stepped in a puddle/ Right up to his middle/ And never went there again.*	
3. T. When we're writing a story there needs to be lots of things in it, but one thing is really important and that is that we have a beginning …?	
4. T. [with students] *a middle and an end to our story. Nursery rhymes or these sorts of rhymes are really good for that because* **they've got a beginning, they've got a middle and they've got an end.** *What happened in the beginning of this story?* [No response]	4-9. <u>Deconstruction</u> **[all oral] Names structural features Beginning, Middle, End**
5. T. Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain. So we know all about what's happening. **Here's our beginning. Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain.** *What was the problem? What happened to him while he was there?*	**5. T identifies beginning in text**
6. S. He stepped in a puddle.	
7. T. He stepped in the puddle and it was right up to his middle. **That's the middle part of our story,** *and then what happened at the end?*	**7. T. Identifies middle in text**
8. T and Ss. He never went there again.	
9. T. **So our end tells that that he didn't go there again.** *So our story has to have a good structure. So let's have a look at this story. Here's a story that I wrote about Dr Gloucester, Dr Foster. This was my structure. Its' Dr Foster, he's from Gloucester, so we know who, we know where.*	**9. T. Identifies end in text**

We know what's happening, there's a shower of rain. So now I can make this like my structure. When someone builds a structure they just build the rooms, if someone's building a building they just build the rooms, there's nothing in it. People have to come in and they have to fill all the rooms in. If someone comes in and builds a new house there's nothing in the rooms. Does the builder build a bed in there? No, mum and dad have to put the bed in there when they get to it. So when we put a structure there's just the bare bones there. All you've got is the house, then you've got to come in and you've got to furnish the house, so you decide this is the sort of bed I want in here, the wardrobe ... even in the bathroom. Same with a story. Here's the bare structure of our story and we're going to put the rest of the information in.	
9a. T. So listen to this one, close your eyes. See if you can picture this. *"There was a rich and important doctor named Dr Foster who worked in Sydney. He used to charge his patients so much money that when he gave them the bill many of them immediately fainted and had to be treated again which cost them even more money. Dr Foster had six houses, a private aeroplane, ten Rolls Royces, but no friends. One day he saw an advertisement in the newspaper and it said "Come to Gloucester, England and make new friends. We organise special friendship weekends for lonely people." Dr Foster called his private secretary and asked for her to organise for him to fly to England to attend one of these friendship weekends.* [Ss very disengaged] *You two stay in at lunch time, please! His secretary tried not to giggle, flying all the way to England to try to make friends. You see, she knew why nobody there would be friends with Dr Gloucester."*	**9a Modelling [oral]** **T reads aloud model text**
10. T. Eyes open! There's my new beginning to the story. So, Dr Foster went to Gloucester. ***We've only done that little bit, so this was the beginning of my story, but see how it had a whole lot of other parts in it?*** *We've now met Dr Foster, we know why he's going to Gloucester. What's the next part that I'm going to have to put into my story? My plan is Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain, so I've already learnt about Dr Foster, and I've told you why he had to go to Gloucester.*	**10. T identifies content of the "beginning" of text**
11. T. What's the next part of my story going to have to be? Emily{ESB student} *12. S. Why he went to Gloucester.*	11-24 Joint construction [all oral] [while teacher does not act as scribe she provides some evaluation of some students' contributions and does not

13. T. We already said why he went to Gloucester. He went there to go to a Friendship weekend, didn't he? So, what's the next part of my story going to have to tell?	respond to others]
14. S. That there was a shower?	
15. T. That there was a shower of rain. So, somehow now I'm going to have to put into my story about how it's raining. *So I might say, "When Dr Gloucester, Foster landed at Gloucester, the rain was pouring down. So he went outside and he got a taxi and he got the taxi to take him to the castle where the Friendship weekend was going to be held. So from these two lines* [of original rhyme] *I've already told you two, three, four paragraphs worth of things. Now what's going to have to happen?*	**15. T evaluates S contribution**
[no response]	
16. T. Dr Foster was walking along. When he got pulled up out the front of the castle, he got out and started to meet some friends. The people were there and they showed him some room and he was living in a room with all sorts of good things in it. Now I could go on with my story to tell all the things that Dr Foster was doing. And what's going to have to happen? He's going to have to walk outside and he's going to have to step into a big puddle. So maybe people were looking outside and saying "Oh, look how much it's raining. I don't like the rain" and Dr Foster to be smart said "Oh, I love the rain. I'm going to go outside. I'm going to go outside and go running through the rain." And so that's what he did. He went outside, and he started running through the rain and suddenly … what's going to happen to him?	
17. S. He died! [other children laugh]	
18. T. Crash! Straight into a great, big puddle and it was right up to his middle. Well Dr Foster was so embarrassed!	
19. S. That he never went there again.	
20. T. That he didn't know how to swim, he was spluttering and he could hardly get out of this puddle. Someone had to jump into the puddle to help him out.	
21. S. [non-Sudanese ELL] *And then they make friends!*	
22. T. [No response to previous comment] *And as he crawled out of the puddle he went "I'm so embarrassed that he just crawled straight back in, rang a taxi to get him and we went home and … ?"*	**22. T does not acknowledge contribution of ELL**

23. Ss. Never went there again	
24. S. [non-Sudanese ELL] *I was about to put that the person who helped him, they make friends.*	
25. T. [does not respond to previous student contribution (24)] *Who can think of another nursery rhyme? Robert?*	
26. S. Jack and Jill	
27. T. Jack and Jill. Let's say that everyone together.	**27-30 <u>Modelling</u>** [Jack & Jill]
[Ss say rhyme in unison with T leading]	
28. T. So, what did we start with? ***What was our beginning?***	**28. <u>Deconstruction</u>** **"beginning"**
29. Ss. Jack and Jill went up the hill	
30. T. So, that's the beginning. Tell me a story about that. Why are Jack and Jill going up the hill to fetch a pail of water? Let's hear that we can make that into a story. Mori? Who's Jack. Who's Jill?	**30. <u>Joint Construction</u> [oral]**
31. S. They didn't have any water to wash their clothes, so they went up the hill and it was two kilometres and there was a big cliff.	
32. T. That's as far as we need to go on that. Who were they?	
33. S. They were hitchhiking.	
34. T. Who might they be? Do they live down there? Are they farmers? Do they live in the middle of the city? Where are they? Who are they?	
35. S. Farmers.	
36. T. So Jack and Jill were farmers who lived down the land and Mori was telling us that they ran out of water ... What happened when they were up there, [name of Sudanese ELL]?	
[no response]	
37. T. [name of Sudanese ELL]?	
[no response]	

5.2.3.i Susanna's Strengths and Challenges

Deconstruction and modelling: Strength

A clear understanding of the schematic structure (Derewianka 1991) of a variety of text types was demonstrated by Susanna through the deconstruction and modelling of texts within her literacy classes. In the preceding transcript it can be seen that she implemented

some limited aspects of deconstruction and modelling of the schematic structure (Derewianka, 1991) of a Narrative before requiring her students to independently construct written English texts. Susanna's emphasis on schematic structure is demonstrated in the following extract 5.2. (b.i).

Extract 5.2. (b. i)

> *3. T. When we're writing a story there needs to be lots of things in it, but one thing is really important and that is that we have a beginning …?*
>
> *4. T.* [with students] *a middle and an end to our story. Nursery rhymes or these sorts of rhymes are really good for that because they've got a beginning, they've got a middle and they've got an end. What happened in the beginning of this story?*

Areas of Challenge

The transcript of Susanna's lesson demonstrates that her limited implementation of the stage of modelling and deconstruction was carried out completely orally (she provided her students with a written model on the chalk board) and in a teacher-centred manner embedded in the IRE interaction paradigm. This is significant in terms of the potential for the academic success of ELLs. As noted previously, predominant use of the IRE pattern limits opportunities for the development of Substantive Communication and Higher Order Thinking, identified as elements of Intellectual Quality within the QTF, and reported in the preceding section as being elements in which the Susanna did not achieve high scores. The following extract 5.2. (b. ii) typifies the predominance of the IRE pattern observed in Susanna's lessons during her implementation of the deconstruction and modelling stage.

Extract 5.2. (b. ii)

> *11. T. What's the next part of my story going to have to be? Emily?* [ESB student]
>
> *12. S. Why he went to Gloucester.*
>
> *13. T. We already said why he went to Gloucester. He went there to go to a Friendship weekend, didn't he? So, what's the next part of my story going to have to tell?*
>
> *14. S. That there was a shower?*
>
> *15. T. That there was a shower of rain.*

As with Margot, for Susanna the unique focus of this stage was the schematic structure of the text type, decontextualised from its social purpose and intended audience (Derewianka, 1991; Hammond, 1992; Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008). There was no explicit teaching of associated language features/choices, such as register, verbal tenses and use of adjectivals and adverbials relative to author purpose (Harris, 2005). This finding is consistent with Susanna's low

scores for the element of Explicit Quality Criteria within the QTF and has implications for the school success of ELLs which will be taken up in Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings.

5.2.3.ii Joint construction: Strengths

Following the deconstruction of text, Susanna conducted some level of joint construction with her students, suggesting an understanding of her students' need to be actively scaffolded in their attempts at writing. Susanna called on students to make contributions to a joint construction of a Narrative and provided them with feedback/evaluation about those contributions. This practice is demonstrated in the following extract 5.2. (b. iii).

Extract 5.2. (b. iii)

13. T. … So, what's the next part of my story going to have to tell?

14. S. That there was a shower?

15. T. That there was a shower of rain. So, somehow now I'm going to have to put into my story about how it's raining.

Areas of Challenge

As noted previously, during joint construction the teacher generally acts as a scribe. In Susanna's case this stage of the cycle was implemented completely orally. None of the sentences, ideas or phrases contributed by students during joint construction was transcribed, nor was a full text composed before moving on to the stage of independent construction, denying the students a strong artifact to scaffold their movement toward independent construction. During joint construction, as with the deconstruction and modelling stages of the cycle, Susanna placed all emphasis on the structural schema of the text type, rather than the language choices and their relationship to social purpose.

5.2.3.iii Field Building: Areas of Challenge

No implementation of the crucial Curriculum Cycle stage of field building was observed by the researcher in Susanna's class. There was no attempt made to determine any Background Knowledge students may have about the topic to be treated. Thus, Susanna did not identify areas of knowledge which students have or areas of need to be addressed before moving into the Cycle stages of deconstruction, joint construction and independent construction. This observation is consistent with Susanna's low QTF scores for

Background Knowledge and Cultural Knowledge and is in sharp contrast to her emphasis on the schematic features of text types mentioned previously. Susanna's non-

implementation of the stage of Field Building within the Curriculum Cycle is typified in the following extract 5.2 (b.iv).

Extract 5.2. (b.iv)

> *1. T.* [concluding previous lesson] *Close that book, put it to the top of the desk. All those things out of your hands and ready to listen. With the rain starting who remembers this rhyme?* [Nursery rhyme "Dr Foster" written on board] *Or have you ever heard of this one? OK, read me my rhyme about Dr Foster.*
>
> *2. Ss.* [In unison with teacher leading]
>
> *Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain/*
>
> *He stepped in a puddle/*
>
> *Right up to his middle/*
>
> *And never went there again.*

5.2.4 Conclusion Analysis of Teachers' Implementation of the Curriculum Cycle

There are both strengths and significant areas of challenge within Margot's and Susanna's observed implementation of the Curriculum Cycle. The strengths, in the areas of deconstruction/modelling and joint construction, indicate the potential that exists for supporting the English literacy outcomes of ELLs within their current practices in the mainstream classroom. The observed areas of challenge: lack of field building, lack of explicit teaching of texts' social context and language features and no teacher scribing during joint construction, indicate the aspects of the Curriculum Cycle which, in the light of what is known about pedagogies that support SLA, need to be developed and strengthened to actualise that potential.

5.2.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has reported the results of the analysis of data from the observations carried out in Margot and Susanna's classrooms. These results were reported with reference to the dimensions and elements of the New South Wales Quality Teaching Framework, the implementation of the Curriculum Cycle and the researcher's descriptive and reflective field notes. While also contributing to the answering of the overarching research question, these results specifically address part (ii) of that question: What classroom practices do they employ with refugee ELLs? The results from the analysis of the QTF data, expressed as scores for particular dimensions and elements, demonstrated contradictions in the responses of Margot and Susanna to their refugee ELLs. Their highest scores were obtained in elements related to nurturing learning environments. However, their lowest scores were obtained in elements associated with high academic achievement for all

students, including ELLs. These contradictions in their QTF scores suggest that particular ways in which they configure themselves (Lye, 2004) relative to their refugee ELLs may inform the nature of their responses to these students. The observed areas of challenge for Margot and Susanna in relation to the implementation of the Curriculum Cycle, lack of field building, explicit teaching of texts' social context and language features (in the light of what is known about pedagogies that support SLA), may suggest the same. This point will be taken up and interrogated in detail in the following chapter, Discussion of the Findings.

Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings

6.1 Introduction

This study's overarching question is: How do two mainstream primary teachers in non-metropolitan Australia respond to the refugee ELLs in their classes? In order to answer this question the data gathered to address the two sub-questions has been synthesised. As discussed in Chapter Three: Methodology, the interviews sought to answer the first sub-question: What knowledge of SLA research and attitudes do they draw on to determine their classroom practices with refugee ELLs? The classroom observations sought to answer the second sub-question: What classroom practices do employ with refugee ELLs?

The chapter is divided into three sections which attempt to elucidate Margot's and Susanna's 'configurations of self' in relation to the ELLs in their classes as indicated by their classroom responses to these children. These are: Section One, Existing Potential for Meeting ELLs' learning needs; Section Two, Prevailing Pedagogical Practices and Section Three, Interrogating Pedagogical Practices. Section One considers those issues which indicate the potential that exists in Margot's and Susanna's classes to meet the learning needs of their ELLs. Section Two then discusses the pedagogies observed in their classrooms. Finally, Section Three interrogates possible explanations for Margot's and Susanna's utilisation of the observed pedagogies discussed in Section Two. It then explores some of the wider implications of these explanations. To do this it employs two foci: Attitudes to culture and Attitudes to language. The chapter then concludes with a brief comment on the limitations of the study.

Section One: The potential for meeting ELLs' learning needs

6.1.1 Issue 1: High Social Support in a nurturing environment

A high level of Social Support was observed for all children, including ELLs, in both classes. Both Margot and Susanna were proactive in creating a nurturing environment. This was reflected in the fact that within the QTF Dimension of Quality Learning Environment they scored most highly in the element of Social Support, with scores ranging from 2 to 4. Both teachers created situations in which each child could be recognised and valued as an individual and an integral class member. In Susanna's class children had timetabled News Time and could also have extra News Time if they had something special to report. Susanna modelled attentive behaviour and the asking of questions to show respect for, and interest in, the speaker and his/her information. On one occasion, when S2 stumbled momentarily while giving news, Susanna provided

contingent scaffolding, or "unplanned one-to-one support" (Haworth, 2009, p. 2188), for her by saying *"good, … so you're going to have swimming lessons …"* On another occasion, S3 was given special News Time to show to the class a new doll she had bought at a fete with her own money. Subsequent to this, the researcher recorded in her field notes "S3 is always very engaged and asking questions at News Time" (26/3).

The high level of Social Support provided to all children in Margot's class was exemplified in a programme she had instituted in which each child was VIP of the class for a week. When the child for the week was named the rest of the class had to suggest words to characterise that person. These were then written on a poster and displayed with a photo of the child. When S4 was named VIP (24/3) the following words were suggested by classmates: funny, cheerful, friendly, shares, fast runner, zany, bubbly, smart and honest. Margot also gave a series of awards each week. During the course of the researcher's fieldwork S4 received an award for "Neat book work", S5 for "Spelling" and S6 for "Great progress." The researcher recorded comments in her field notes, such as those in the following extract 6 (a), in relation to the observed Social Support for ELLs in Margot's and Susanna's classes. Note: The bolded names indicate in which teacher's classroom the field notes were made.

Extract 6 (a) Field notes-Social Support

Susanna-13/3 [She] seems to look for opportunities for S3 to get something right in front of the whole class
Margot-10/2 [She] goes out of [her] way to give positive reinforce[ment] to S4
Margot-10/3 [Teacher] gives S4 a sticker for good work…and sends him to show [Principal] S4 is very happy and starts tucking his shirt in.
Susanna-1/2 Of S1 to teacher's aide in front of class *"Did you see the nice glasses on [S1]?"*

The very positive, nurturing response of both teachers to their ELLs is indicated in these field notes. The following extract 6 (b) from transcribed classroom interactions and field notes also indicates the positive Social Support provided for ELLs in both classrooms.

Extract 6 (b)

Susanna 26/2	Margot 24/2
''She's reading beautifully'' [To other students about S3]	*"How are you going, S4? Did you get all that writing done?"*
Behaviours: [from field notes] smiles, patting on head after an incorrect attempt to answer a question	Margot 16/3 *"You,* [name] *and S5 all finished your spelling. See what you can do when you don't draw!"*

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 Susanna and Margot were also both observed on a number of occasions to create opportunities specifically for the ELLs to gain the class's acknowledgement for their academic efforts, through means such as giving ELLs advance notice of questions and by asking the ELLs to answer questions which the teachers had already observed that they had correct in their exercise books. They also made positive comments about the ELLs' efforts and achievements in and outside the classroom, as the following extract 6 (c) from field notes and class transcripts indicate.

Extract 6 (c) Field notes and class transcripts

> **Margot-**10/2 In oral reading S5 pronounced *"wind"* (verb) as *"wind"* (noun)-Margot said to the whole class *"We can't say it! We've been saying it since we were born. English is the hardest language in the world to learn because the rules keep changing.* [S5] *is doing very, very well!"*
>
> **Susanna-**3/4 When S3 answered a question correctly, Susanna responded *"Good girl! ... Big improvement from this morning!"*
>
> 23/2 **Margot-** uses S4 [work] as an example of perfect glueing in front of the whole class.
>
> 30/3 **Margot-** To the class *"I heard what a great* [netball] *goal shooter* [S5] *is."*

6.1.1.i Conclusion Issue 1

The data show that Margot and Susanna respond in a very positive pastoral manner to their refugee ELLs. Hence, real learning potential for these children exists in Margot's and Susanna's classrooms because they are nurturing and supportive environments in which all children and their efforts and talents are valued. Discussion now turns to another issue which further indicates the potential for ELLs' learning which exists in these classrooms.

6.1.2. Issue 2: Teachers' knowledge of ELLs' language development

Another very positive issue which emerged from the data is that, as reported in Chapters 4 and 5, in interviews and casual comments, the teachers clearly identified the specific learning needs of their ELLs as language knowledge based. In articulating this perspective Margot and Susanna demonstrated an experiential knowledge of the BICS/CALP distinction (Cummins, 1979, 1981) although they did not use the terminology. An understanding of the distinctions between academic English and social English is widely accepted in the literature as being of key importance for teachers in supporting them to formulate appropriate pedagogical responses to ELLs in mainstream settings (Antuñez, 2002; Ives, 2008; Wong & Grant, 1993). Contrary to some reports in the literature in regard to mainstream teachers of ELLs (Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004;

Layzer, 2000; Miller, et al., 2005; Reeves, 2004, 2006) the researcher found no evidence to indicate that Margot and Susanna confounded the academic and social English development of their ELLs. They also did not consider proficiency in social English as an indication of academic English proficiency. In articulating their experiential knowledge of ELLs' language development in the interviews, Margot and Susanna demonstrated awareness of the existence of academic and social language proficiencies and the fact that they developed at different rates. As reported in Chapter Four: Findings, Interview Responses, they made the comments in extract 6 (d) below.

Extract 6 (d)

Of playground English *"They seem to do it fairly quickly,"* <u>Susanna</u> [I 1, Q 7]

Of academic language *"I don't know that they've ever actually caught up* [to their ESB peers].*"* <u>Susanna</u> [I 1, Q 7]

"they can speak it better … I wouldn't say they're proficient [in academic English].*"* <u>Margot</u> [I 1, Q 7]

Of S2's English capacity *"You can see little bits that she hasn't got, but it tends to be more in grammar and those sorts of things."* [I 1, Q. 1] <u>Susanna</u>

A clear distinction with regard to the differing language proficiency domains is expressed by Margot and Susanna in these comments.

6.1.2.i Some limitations of Margot and Susanna's knowledge of their ELLs' language development

The data show that Margot and Susanna possess useful experiential knowledge consistent with the findings of SLA research, which they could potentially utilise to make pedagogical decisions in regard to the ELLs in their mainstream classes. Nonetheless, there appears to be a dissonance or 'gap' (de Jong & Harper, 2005) between their experiential knowledge and the deeper theoretical knowledge derived from SLA research. This was indicated by their lack of use of the terminology of BICS/CALP found within the theoretical literature, when identifying the existence of distinct types of social and academic language. This dissonance indicates a lack of exposure to theory and its practical application to addressing classroom problems. Minimal exposure to theory which would support the formulation of pedagogical responses to ELLs was indicated by Susanna's written, and Margot's oral answers to a questionnaire the researcher asked them to complete in order to gain background information for the study (see Appendix d) The relevant questions and responses are given below in extract 6 (e).

Extract 6 (e)

> **Question 3**: Do you have any formal ESL qualifications?
>
> **Answers:**
>
> Susanna: *No* Margot: *No*
>
> **Question 4**: Have you participated in any professional development [learning] opportunities related to ESL in the mainstream class?
>
> **Answers:**
>
> Susanna: *I have attended a couple of one day sessions but they were quite a few years ago-so not very current.*
>
> Margot: *Not really.*

Inadequate opportunities to gain theoretical knowledge or ongoing professional learning in regard to SLA are evidenced in these responses from both teachers.

Lack of theoretically based articulation of the nature of the two proficiency domains by Margot and Susanna is perhaps not surprising given their demonstrated lack of exposure to theory and that fact that there is no widely agreed upon definition of academic English (Valdes, 2004). Their comments in interviews about academic English indicated that they conceptualised it in terms of discrete, decontextualised skills such as spelling and vocabulary which make up *"grammar"* (Margot, I1, Q 9), or *"proper grammar"* (Susanna I1, Q 9). This lack of exposure to the theoretical construct of BICS/CALP denied Susanna and Margot the support of a specific theoretical framework upon which to base any interrogation of their existing pedagogies in relation to their capacity to meet ELLs' learning needs. According to Lucas, et. al. (2008)

> Classroom teachers who know the difference between conversational proficiency and academic language proficiency are more apt to understand why they need to provide ELLs in their classes with support to successfully complete academic tasks even when they appear to be fluent speakers of English (p. 363).

It was thus problematic for these teachers to provide appropriate support for ELLs to move them along the Mode Continuum (Martin, 1985) without themselves having the support of sound theoretical knowledge.

Margot's and Susanna's observed teaching during literacy blocks reflected their orientation to academic language as a set of discrete skills making up *"grammar"* and "*proper grammar.*" Spelling and grammar rules were taught as discrete, decontextualised entities without relation to their roles in the creation of meaning at the text level as the

following extract from a transcript of a literacy block lesson in Margot's class exemplifies: *"In grammar we look at lots of different pieces of speech"* (Margot to class, 6/4). At Margot's school a prescribed Grammar text was used and a "Grammar" time programmed within the literacy block and at Susanna's, commercially produced handout exercise sheets were used for both spelling and grammar. Drilling was the predominant pedagogy in both sites. The literature does indicate that such an approach to teaching discrete skills may render good results in the early years of schooling when measured by standardised tests like NAPLAN (Cummins, 2001). On the other hand, it also indicates that proficiency in discrete skills does not generalise to academic language proficiency as expressed in the ability to produce and understand increasingly complex oral and written language (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007). Margot expressed her experiential knowledge of this phenomenon in Interview One when she commented *"Applying* [grammar] *again even to write a sentence, to construct a sentence, you know it's a lot harder for them* [the ELLs], *I think"* [I 1, Q 7].

6.1.2.ii Conclusion Issue 2

Both Margot and Susanna possess important experiential knowledge of the BICS/CALP distinction and of the fact that ELLs' learning needs are language knowledge based. However, pedagogical responses to this understanding were not observed. Thus the data suggest that lack of theoretical knowledge derived from SLA research outcomes in relation to the BICS/CALP distinction, and specifically the nature of academic language, may have an impact on the nature of educational provision for ELLs in these sites. Discussion now turns to another positive aspect of Margot's and Susanna's interactions with, and configurations of self, in relation to their ELLs.

6.1.3 Issue 3: Exposure of ELLs to the same curricular content as ESB peers

The literature related to the experiences of ELLs integrated into mainstream classrooms internationally indicates that they are often exposed to a reduced or alternative curricular content from their ESB peers (da Silva Iddings, 2005; Leung 2005, 2007, Wallace, 2005). Thus ELL inclusion in mainstream classes does not guarantee access to participation in curriculum content (da Silva Iddings, 2005; Leung 2005, 2007; Wallace, 2005). The results of this study, in contrast, indicate that this was not the case in either Margot's or Susanna's classrooms. These teachers included ELLs in the same ways, and with the same frequency, as their ESB students in all curricular activities. The following extract 6 (f) from field notes demonstrate the exposure of ELLs all curricular content.

Extract 6 (f) Field notes

> **Margot-**23/2 ... directs questions to whole class [Religion]
>
> **Margot-** 17/3 Go through exercise in whole class group (Circle verbs in text) [Literacy]
>
> **Susana-**19/2 Whole class instructions followed by doing individually [Literacy]
>
> **Susanna-**3/2 Oral class reading of passage (with teacher leading) [Reading]

Such exposure to regular curricular content for ELLs is supported in the Literature as being a means of presenting ELLs with the requisite cognitive challenge to lead toward high learning outcomes. The literature, however, also points to the need for pedagogical differentiation during exposure to regular curricular content to support the ELLs in responding to cognitive and curricular challenges (P. Gibbons, 2002, 2009). The data from this study, however, demonstrate that such differentiation was not observed in either teacher's classes. In the light of this finding, discussion will now turn, in Part Two of this chapter, to an examination of the pedagogies which were observed in Margot's and Susanna's classes and how they may or may not build on the existing potential of those environments.

Section Two: Prevailing Pedagogical Practices

6.2.1 Issue 4: Lack of pedagogical differentiation

The discussion of the three preceding issues in Part One: i) the high level of Social Support observed in both classrooms, ii) teachers' knowledge of their ELLs' learning needs as being language knowledge based and iii) the exposure of ELLs to the same curricular content and activities across all KLAs as their ESB classmates, indicate the potential for ELLs' learning that exists within Margot's and Susanna's classrooms. However, their impact is somewhat mitigated by the observed lack of pedagogical differentiation to support ELLs to take advantage of that potential.

What is striking in the study's data and in the discussion of the preceding three issues is the finding that despite the very different sociocultural environments in which Margot and Susanna work, their responses to the ELLs in their classes were very similar. Their comments and observed actions suggest that for Margot and Susanna pedagogical responses to these children are secondary to pastoral responses. In Interview One [Q 2] teachers were asked "Does having ELLs in your class affect the way you teach the class as a whole?" In response neither indicated concrete pedagogical strategies that they

enacted due to the presence of ELLs in their classes. They made the following responses to this question:

Extract 6 (g)

> Susanna said only that she had to *"take into account that as are all ESL kids translating constantly in their heads so therefore they're tired"* [I 1, Q 2]
>
> In contrast Margot replied *"Not really"* and later commented that having Sudanese refugee ELLs in the class was *"not a* [pedagogical] *problem at all."* [I 1 Q 2]

The teachers' statements were fully supported by the data from the classroom observations which clearly demonstrated that Margot and Susanna do not enact differentiated pedagogical approaches with their ELLs (see Chapter Five: Findings, Classroom Responses). All instruction of ELLs observed in both classes was the same as that of their ESB peers. Thus, in reality, for the overwhelming majority of their hours at school per week, the Sudanese ELLs received undifferentiated and unmediated instruction in all KLAs which as P. Gibbons (2009) points out "is not equitable" (p. 9). The following extract 6 (h) is taken from field notes.

Extract 6 (h) Field Notes

> **Susanna-**26/2 Sudanese kids seem to get no extra support in interpreting and understanding instructions [Spelling]
>
> **Susanna-** 26/2 v.[ery] controlled, all must do same thing, same time.
>
> **Margot-**23/2 Sudanese kids don't get any particular or vocabulary assistance or assistance of any type at independent construction time [Literacy]
>
> **Margot-** 9/3 Everyone's had the same time to finish [Spelling]

The lack of pedagogical differentiation observed in both classrooms is attested to in these notes. The very positive potential for ELLs' learning which exists in Margot's and Susanna's classes is thus mitigated due to the observed lack of appropriate pedagogical differentiation, such as scaffolding and multiple representations, for them. As outlined in the Literature Review, the optimal mainstream learning environment for ELLs is one characterised by high cognitive challenge supplemented by high support for learning, including differentiation of pedagogy (Bunch, Abram, Lotan & Valdes, 2001; Cummins, 2000; P. Gibbons, 2009; Kaje 2009, Lucas et al., 1990). In order then, to elucidate the level of cognitive challenge and learning opportunities available to ELLs during their exposure to full curricular content, discussion will now turn to a further consideration of the pedagogies observed in Margot's and Susanna's classes.

6.2.2 Issue 5: Limitations of existing pedagogies in meeting ELLs' learning needs.

Teachers' pedagogical actions in regard to ELLs are, of course, situated within the teachers' pedagogical decision making in relation to the whole class. ELLs' learning thus will be affected to a significant extent by the quality of the generalised pedagogies employed with the whole class. This makes ELLs' chances for learning somewhat precarious if those pedagogies do not create a high degree of challenge and support for all students. The classroom data from the QTF coding scale and the Curriculum Cycle observation proformas with regard to employed pedagogies, demonstrated that the prevailing pedagogies in Margot's and Susanna's classrooms could generally be characterised as low challenge and low support. Both Margot and Susanna had low scores for the element of Higher Order Thinking in the QTF. (see Chapter Five: Findings, Classroom Responses, Section 5.1.2.iii) The extracts from field notes 6 (i) below provide evidence of this.

Extract 6 (i) Field notes

> **Margot** -17/2 explanations of tasks not so explicit
>
> **Susanna**-19/2 S1 and S3 disengaged-no extra support given. Whole class does whole thing together.

The finding of low challenge and low support in this study's classrooms is consistent with other findings in Australia (Newmann, et. al., 1996). Nonetheless, the content covered in classes across the KLAs still presented language challenges to ELLs. To meet these challenges ELLs were given little or no pedagogical support by teachers. P. Gibbons (2009) contends that

> From the perspective of a learner, a high-challenge classroom with low levels of support creates frustration and anxiety and may lead to learners giving up and ultimately opting out of school. Low challenge and low support is likely to lead to boredom, with similar resistance to school (p. 16-17).

Boredom among all students, and specifically the Sudanese ELLs, was observed on occasion in both classes, but was more apparent in Susanna's class in the lower scores for ELLs' Engagement (see Chapter Five, Findings, Classroom Responses). ELL boredom was recorded in the following extracts 6 (j) from field notes.

Extract 6 (j) Field notes

> **Susanna**-20/2 S1 doodling-including on his chair. Completely disengaged
> **Susanna**-27/2 [Susanna] very often seems to ignore kids' distracted behaviour

These notes are representative of others taken in Susanna's class and indicative of the frequently observed low levels of student engagement.

The low scores for the element of Higher Order Thinking are in contrast with the higher scores mentioned previously which both teachers achieved for the element of Social Support within the Dimension of Quality Learning Environment. That difference reflects the fact that the teachers' principal orientation to the ELLs in their class appeared to be pastoral, rather than pedagogical. It suggests that teachers attach certain meanings to their refugee ELLs and configure themselves relative to these children, due to those meanings, in ways which promotes pastoral, rather than pedagogical responses to them. (This issue will be taken up further later in this chapter) The following section further presents characteristics of the prevailing pedagogies in Margot's and Susanna's classrooms, specifically the employment of the Curriculum Cycle, in an attempt to illuminate the learning opportunities presented by ELLs' inclusion in all curricular activities.

6.2.2.i Curriculum Cycle

The Curriculum Cycle, as mentioned in Chapter Three: Methodology, was chosen as a focus of observation because of its close alignment with those socioculturally based pedagogies identified in the Literature Review as being supportive of the academic achievement of ELLs in mainstream settings. It also "makes explicit aspects of the genres valued in school literacy" (Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 2008). A positive feature of the pedagogical practices to which the ELLs were exposed was that both Margot and Susanna employed the Curriculum Cycle to varying degrees in their teaching repertoires. However, some of the less positive aspects of Margot's and Susanna's pedagogical practices indicated in their low scores for the elements of Substantive Communication and Metalanguage within the QTF dimension of Intellectual Quality, were exemplified in their implementation of the Curriculum Cycle.

The Curriculum Cycle as a pedagogical technique develops out of the correspondence between sociocultural, interactionist theories of learning and understandings about relationships between language and content articulated by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday,1985). SFL supports an understanding of language and content as being integrated; content being constructed, mediated and learned through the

medium of language which carries culturally coded ways of knowing. While the implementation of the Curriculum Cycle is meant to be flexible (P. Gibbons, 2009), of significance in the data in terms of addressing this study's research question, was the observation that in their implementation of the Cycle, both Margot and Susanna omitted or underutilised the stages within it which most support or scaffold ELLs in mainstream settings, that is, field building and joint construction. Thus the lack of 'designed in' scaffolding (Hammond & Gibbons, 2005) meant that there were few opportunities for contingent of 'interactional' scaffolding to occur (Hammond & Gibbons, 2005).

Within field building the QTF dimension and teaching tools of Substantive Communication and Metalanguage can be utilised to deepen curricular access for ELLs. The observed underutilisation of this stage and these tools (see Extracts 5.2 (a) and 5.2 (b) in Chapter Five: Findings, Classroom Responses) indicate that Margot and Susanna do not facilitate learning experiences that make language 'visible' to either ESB children or ELLs, despite their expressed understanding of the ELLs' learning needs as being language knowledge based. Use of Metalanguage within the Curriculum Cycle allows a teacher to explicitly draw attention to the ways in which particular aspects of language function within texts and cultures (P. Gibbons, 2009). While Margot's scores for Metalanguage were higher than those of Susanna, her use of this tool was usually confined to naming discrete grammatical elements, which Gibbons (2009) contends "by itself is probably of little use" (p. 62-63) for either ESB children or ELLs.

In addition, as reported in Chapter Five: Findings, Classroom Responses, the verbal interactions in both classrooms infrequently deviated from the teacher-centred IRE pattern, as the below extract 6 (k) from a Literacy lesson in Margot's classroom (6/4) shows.

Extract 6 (k)

1. T. A noun is a..? What are nouns? Nouns are …? Starts with n. Nouns are … S4? Want to have a go? Starts with n. Nouns are..?	1.Initiation
2. S4. Naming words.	2.Response
3. T. Naming words. Give me an example of a noun. Something in this room.	3.Evaluation & Initiation
4. S. [not S4] Computer	4.Response
5. T. Computer	5.Evaluation

6. S. Air conditioner	6.Response
7. T. Yes air conditioner …	7.Evaluation
8.S. Lollies	8.Response
9. T. Yes	9.Evaluation
10.S. Books	10.Response
11. T. Yes	11.Evaluation

This extract exemplifies the typical communication pattern observed at most stages of Margot's and Susanna's classes.

Margot and Susanna rarely moved from such an evaluative to a facilitative role (Kaje, 2009) in discussions. A facilitative role may have encouraged Substantive Communication or 'instructional conversations' understood as "student-to-student classroom interaction facilitated by a teacher that maintains a particular academic focus" (Kaje, 2009, p. 83). Because Margot's and Susanna's role in verbal interactions with all students was primarily evaluative, there was little teacher-scaffolded, sustained communication between teachers and students or between students themselves about content. The researcher even observed occasions in which students' attempts to engage in substantive communication, and thus literacy as a social practice, and to arrive at "a complex level of understanding of a given text" (Janzen, 2008, p. 1023) were curtailed by the teacher, perhaps due to pressure of time (see Chapter Five, Findings, Classroom Responses Extracts 5 (e) and 5 (f)). Thus, despite being included in all class activities and not marginalised by being exposed to a reduced level of curricular content, ELLs lacked opportunities both to produce Comprehensible Output (Swain, 1985, 2000; Swain & Lapkin, 1995) and "to "talk their way in" to the complex ideas and concepts embedded in a subject" (P. Gibbons, 2009, p. 35) due to the infrequency of opportunities for Substantive Communication in both classrooms.

Similarly, in both classes lack of field building through sustained, meaningful talk gave both ELLs and their ESB classmates few opportunities to draw on, or share their own knowledge, and thus to position themselves as experts (Kaje, 2009) in the context of Substantive Communication events. Her observations of the lack of field building prevalent in the study sites prompted the researcher to make the following reflective comment in her field notes during one of Margot's classes "Maybe loss of sight of need for extra vocab[ulary], cultural knowledge for second wave of Sudanese?" (Field notes: 2/3) Field building is not the only opportunity afforded by the Curriculum Cycle for teachers to draw students' attention to language and its relationship to content. In the absence of field

building, attention can still be drawn to language during the stage of joint construction. While this stage was implemented in a limited way by both teachers, schematic structure, rather than consideration of language and how it functions, was its primary focus of all observed events. This is illustrated by the following comments, extract 6 (l), made in field notes during and after observations of the implementation of the Curriculum Cycle in both classes.

Extract 6 (l) Field Notes

> **Susanna**- 12/3 Lots of talking by [teacher] but not a great deal/ any joint construction support for ELLs
>
> **Susanna**- 13/3 Does a lot of teaching orally
>
> **Margot**- 16/3 Emphasis on oral-none of kids' definitions or anything else written down … no actual joint construction

As illustrated in the field notes above, during their execution of this stage, neither teacher scribed the students' contributions to the joint text. Instead, this whole stage was implemented completely orally. Scribing in joint construction creates a context in which students and teachers and students and students can talk about language and employ Metalanguage in an authentic context and in which writing can be demonstrated as both process and product (P. Gibbons, 2009). These opportunities were actualised by neither Margot or Susanna. Oral implementation of joint construction may indicate the pressure of time within the timetable to cover all KLAs. It also suggests a perceptual division of language from content and the primacy or privileging of content. (This issue will be taken up later in this chapter).

6.2.3 Conclusion Prevailing Pedagogies

Contradictions and limitations to the possibilities for appropriate pedagogical responses to ELLs arise where teachers have some experiential knowledge or 'insider knowledge' (K. Johnson, 2006) garnered in their specific school sites, but lack received knowledge of SLA to mediate this. The observations discussed in relation to the preceding five issues exemplify these contradictions and limitations in the cases of Susanna and Margot, in that they demonstrate that despite their broad knowledge of their ELLs' learning needs these teachers did not respond pedagogically to this knowledge. This is not to deny the value of teachers' experiential knowledge, but to recognise its limits in responding pedagogically to the complex challenge of educating ELLs in mainstream classes. The successful education of ELLs in such contexts requires a theory-based response which transcends both experiential and 'insider' knowledge (K. Johnson, 2006). As Cummins (2000) contends "It is theory … that permits the generation of predictions about program

outcomes under different conditions" (p. 204). Obviously, knowledge that "informs activity is not just abstracted from theory" (K. Johnson, 2006, p. 240), but theory, in this case from SLA research, could provide a means through which Margot's and Susanna's experiential knowledge may potentially be organised, transformed and reframed (K. Johnson, 2006). This point will be taken up further in Chapter Seven: Implications of the Findings.

Similarly, Margot's and Susanna's observed focus on decontextualised, discrete skills as comprising academic English may reflect a lack of exposure to contemporary theories of functional linguistics. It is also probably influenced by the prevailing language teaching paradigms at the time of their initial teacher training some thirty years ago, before the development and wide acceptance of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday,1985) as a paradigm for understanding and teaching language functionally and integrated with content. Nonetheless, some scholars such as Valdes (2004) claim that much research still needs to be done to clarify "the kinds of language that will result in school success" (p.103). This contradiction combined with multiple classroom management issues, complicates teachers' capacity to respond pedagogically to their ELLs' need for academic language development support so as to build on the potential that their exposure to full curricular content presents. Issues arising from the lack of pedagogical differentiation will be the focus of the following section of this chapter, Section Three, Interrogating Pedagogical Practices.

Section 3: Interrogating Pedagogical Practices

6.3.1 Introduction

This section of the chapter will interrogate the indications in the data in regard to possible explanations for the observed lack of pedagogical differentiation for ELLs in both classes. It will then turn to a discussion of some of the issues which arise from these possible explanations. The imperative for pedagogical interrogation in response to their experiential language knowledge may have been made opaque, or less confronting, for Margot and Susanna because the Sudanese refugee ELLs in both classes (even when frequently disengaged, as in Susanna's class) did not present real management problems to their teachers. In addition, as Second Phase learners, they were conversationally fluent and socially at ease with their ESB classmates. Both teachers mentioned that the current ELLs were not the same as the Sudanese New Arrivals of some years earlier who presented obvious learning and management challenges. Nonetheless, the ESL teachers at both schools made comments to the effect that the current ELLs give the appearance of coping with the challenges of the mainstream class, when in reality they are not. Their comments included those following in extract 6 (m).

Extract 6 (m)

> *"They* [ELLs] *say they understand and they really don't understand, so unless they've got small group support or one-on-one at times then they are going to try to make you think they understand, because they want to be as good as their peers."* <u>Gail</u> [Q 1]
>
> *"They* [ELLs] *can't cope with the language demands* [but] *they can cope in the classroom"* <u>Ellen</u> [Q 1]

Comments similar to Gail's (above), made by a teacher of African refugee ELLs elsewhere in Australia, were also reported in a recent study of teachers' experiences with such students (Oliver, et al., 2009). Such comments suggest that if ELLs are not presenting management problems, teachers may not be conscious of the challenges that the content and language demands of class activities present to them, and the consequent need to differentiate pedagogically for them. Such a lack of consciousness may support teacher responses of a social, pastoral nature, rather than of a pedagogical nature, as teachers may primarily attach a meaning of social, rather than educational, disadvantage to these students. In interrogating further the observed lack of pedagogical differentiation two foci: Attitudes to Culture and Attitudes to Language will now be employed. The following section justifies their use.

6.3.2. Foci of Attitudes to Language and Culture

The lack of differentiated instruction for ELLs observed in Margot's and Susanna's classes, and their comments in interviews in relation to ELLs, are considered by the researcher to be indicative of aspects of Margot's and Susanna's site-specific 'configurations of the self' (Lye, 2004), as were their creation of nurturing environments, knowledge of language based challenges for ELLs and their exposure of ELLs to all curriculum content. The data from interviews in particular will be drawn on in attempting to understand these configurations or 'possible selves' (Kamler, et al., 1994) because the researcher concurs with P. Gibbons' (2009) claim that "the way in which teachers talk about students grows out of how they construct their students as learners and how they see their own identities as teachers" (p. 2)

Factors impacting on the lack of pedagogical decision making and differentiated pedagogy for ELLs observed in Margot and Susanna's classes can be grouped around two, at times, intersecting foci: teacher attitudes to culture, and teacher attitudes to language (both in the wider context of teaching ESB children and in the specific context of teaching refugee ELLs). Teacher attitude to culture and attitude to language as an entity are supported in the literature as important elements affecting the pedagogical practices of mainstream teachers with ELLs. For example, in the USA de Jong and Harper (2005)

identify mainstream teacher 'assumptions' about language and literacy development and about culture as being central to their practices with their ELLs. Similarly, in Australia the Association for Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (ATESOL) identifies language and culture as the foci of its professional standards for teachers of ELLs in mainstream settings. It subdivides these foci into three aspects: Dispositions toward language and culture, Understandings about language and culture and Skills in language and culture. In addition, the elements of the Quality Teaching Framework used to guide the classroom observations because of their consistency with research in relation about optimal learning conditions for ELLs are underlain by these foci. Various other scholars identify these two factors as being important in teachers' successful work with ELLs (Antuñez, 2002; Ives, 2008; Lucas, Villegas & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008).

6.3.3 Stated inability to meet ELLs' needs

As discussed earlier, there are a number of issues which indicated the potential that exists for ELLs' learning in Margot's and Susanna's classrooms. Nonetheless, when in Interview Two, Q 16, Margot and Susanna were asked "Does what you're able to do in the mainstream class meet the needs of the ESL kids? Are you able to give the ESL kids the assistance they need in the mainstream class?" they both replied that they could not. Margot explained this with reference to the pressure of having other children in the class *"with their own set of problems"* [I 2, Q 16]. Their responses were consistent with the results from a study in New Zealand (Haworth, 2009) which found that the needs of ELLs competed with the needs of other students for the teacher's attention in the mainstream class. Trying to meet ELLs' needs thus was a source of stress for the teachers in Haworth's study. In contrast, in this study, Margot and Susanna reported little feeling of stress in relation to meeting ELLs' needs. Margot indicated this when she commented outside interviews that experience had shown that her original expectations of her ELLs *"I thought they'd be hard work"* had been inaccurate. Possible explanations of this apparent contradiction between the teachers' knowledge of the ELLs' needs, statements that they could not meet these needs and their not expressing this as a source stress, are explored in the following section under the foci of attitudes to culture and language. Attitudes to culture as expressed in attitudes to ELLs' L1 are considered first.

6.3.4 Issue 6: Attitudes to Culture

6.3.4.i Attitude to L1 use

Intersections between teachers' attitude to culture and attitude to language were demonstrated in both the observed pedagogical actions and interactions of Margot and

Susanna with their ELLs, and in their comments and answers to questions during the two interviews. The literature shows that teacher attitudes to their students impact on their interactions with them, and consequently on the students' chances for educational success (P. Gibbons, 2009). The theoretical perspective of the Monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 2002) suggests the importance of teacher attitudes, and their expression through pedagogical actions, to ELL opportunities for academic success. The impact of Margot's and Susanna's attitudes to culture, particularly that of their ELLs, was demonstrated in relation to the question of the academic utilisation of the ELLs' L1 as a tool for mediating the learning of English. Teacher attitudes to this issue appeared to intersect with a lack of SLA knowledge about the role of the L1 in learning an L2.

Margot's and Susanna's attitudes to the Sudanese ELLs' L1, Dinka, encompassed attitudes to the ELLs' culture and mirrored the pervading power relations in the wider society (Cummins, 2001). As reported in Chapter Four: Findings, Interview Responses, in the interviews, and in their observed classroom interactions with ELLs, both teachers expressed, to differing degrees, a fundamentally deficit view of the L1 in terms of its potential as an academic tool for building literacy in the dominant language. Margot made the following comment about L1 use in the classroom. *"I think they're* [the ELLs] *speaking their own language at home, but I think if they're going to cope educationally and get through and do whatever they want to do they need to be speaking English."* [I 1, Q 10] Susanna, in the multicultural school, had direct experience of the use of L1 in the school by different groups of New Arrival ELLs during the course of more than ten years there. Margot, on the other hand, had no direct experience of the use of L1 by any ELLs. She had, however, heard from other teachers in her school about its use by the Sudanese New Arrivals some years previously. In the interviews Susanna emphasised that her current Sudanese students are Second Phase learners, not New Arrivals, and for that reason L1 use was not really an issue of relevance in their education. However, with the New Arrivals, according to Susanna, "*When they don't have much English you've got no choice at all* [but to employ L1 use]." [I 1, Q 10]

In general terms, then, Susanna expressed an 'instrumental' (Leung, 2005) view of L1 use in the school setting. On the other hand, Margot saw no role for the L1 in the classroom at all, and made some comments that implied that she believed its use may be detrimental to ELL socialisation. She said *"I don't think it's a bad thing for them to be doing, speaking English and it probably, maybe, makes them feel more included."* [I 1, Q 10] An instrumental view of L1, as expressed by Susanna, stresses the use of the L1 as a temporary bridge to learning English and acquiring access to curricular content, and as such, is a deficit view, promoting subtractive bilingualism. Margot's failure to see any role

for the L1 and her contention that by using English the ELLs feel *"more included"* or more socially accepted is a more extreme deficit view of the L1. The fact that the ELLs in this study are Second Phase learners, and thus socially fluent in English, may also intersect here with lack of SLA knowledge and these cultural attitudes to make the possible use of the L1 as an academic tool less visible to these teachers.

Cummins (2001) claims that schools replicate power relations prevalent in the society in which those schools are found. Hence, Margot's and Susanna's attitudes to Dinka as an educational tool may reflect the influence of what Clyne (2005a) terms Australia's "persistent monolingual mindset" (p. XI). This theorist contends that all education and content presented in Australian classrooms is influenced by this mindset which "sees everything in terms of monolingualism [in English] being the norm" (Clyne, 2005a, p.XI). Similarly, Liddicoat and Crichton (2008), claim that this normalisation of English monolingualism in Australia is characterised in educational settings by "Neglect of the "non-English" competence and capacities of learners … construction of learners' second language as a deficit and of English language learning as remediation …[and] the "invisibility" of the linguistic and cultural context of English" (p. 367). Pillar (2010) goes further, claiming that the nature of Australia's monolingual mindset "ignore[s] or denigrate[s]" non-English L1s (www.languageonthemove.com/blog/2010/02/03/ monolingual -mindset-in-the-lucky-country, para. 5). As English monolinguals, Margot's and Susanna's attitudes to ELLs' L1 may to some extent be an expression of these wider social influences. Nonetheless, while similar in general terms, in that both expressed a deficit view of the L1, Margot's and Susanna's views were quite different in degree. This may be reflective of differences in the sociocultural environments of their different schools. This point is taken up in the following section.

6.3.4.ii Attitudes to L1 use and sociocultural environment

The teachers' own attitudes do not, of course, develop in isolation from the contexts in which they are working. The observed differing degree of deficit expressed by Margot and Susanna may also be indicative of the 'insider knowledge' the teachers possess specific to the unique sociocultural environment of each school. At Susanna's school the Sudanese are just the latest of a long list of immigrant communities which have arrived in successive waves since the 1970's. Lack of L1 use at this site was more related to curricular pressure, than to fears of the negative effects of L1 use on the students' socialisation. The comments of Bruce, the Principal of Susanna's school, given below, suggest this perspective, which Clyne (2005b) terms the "Crowded curriculum fallacy" (p.

6). They also reflect the positioning of the L1 as a social, rather than academic tool as expressed in extract 6 (n) below.

Extract 6 (n)

> *"The older ones* [Sudanese refugee ELLs] *quite happily chirp away at the basketball ring in Dinka and no-one would think anything of it … I certainly see a value in it* [L1 use]*, but we wouldn't have any time to do activities in it."*
>
> <u>Bruce</u>

In contrast, at Margot's school the current ELLs, although Second Phase learners, are members of the first significant wave of immigrants in this overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon student body, and due to their different physical appearance, are a more obviously distinct group. David, Margot's Principal, like Bruce, the Principal at Susanna's school, was proactive and sincere in his efforts to create a school culture accepting of diversity, where prior to the arrival of the Sudanese, David said *"a lot of them* [the school community] *had never seen a black person in their life."* Nonetheless, the researcher considers that Margot's belief that L1 use may be detrimental to socialisation was an expression of her desire to see the Sudanese assimilated, rather than integrated, into the school, and of 'fear of naming' (Nieto, 1996) derived from a well-intentioned desire of teachers of diverse children to maintain an appearance of egalitarianism (Gerston, 1999). This 'fear of naming' was interpreted by the researcher in Margot's repeated references in interviews to the ELLs being *"westernised'* and of their wanting to be "*just like everyone else."*

In addition, the researcher observed two occasions in Margot's class when ESB children in an activity (of eliminating everyone except a chosen person by giving clues) used the words *"Sit down if you have black skin"* as a contextually appropriate, factual clue about one of their refugee ELL classmates. Both times Margot paraphrased their clues but altered *"black"* to *"dark."* In the same activity on another occasion, a child gave the clue *"sit down if your skin is white"* and Margot made no comment. In contrast, at Susanna's school during a mathematics activity to practice giving directions around their classroom to a visitor (who would not have known the students' names), one ESB child suggested *"go straight and then turn left at the black kid"* referring to the position of one of the ELLs' desks. This use of vocabulary remained unremarked upon and unchanged by the teacher. Similarly, in a maths activity in which children had to suggest units of measurement for different objects, when hair was mentioned most children suggested *"centimetre."* In response to this, S1 laughing and pointing to his tightly curled hair said *"What about mine?"* Susanna replied smiling, *"Yeah, don't even know if yours would make one*

239

centimetre!" It may be that Margot's 'fear of naming' may be related to the lower percentage of diverse children in the student body of her school.

In general terms, then, the attitudes to L1 use in these two socioculturally very different sites demonstrated an absence of knowledge of SLA research about the importance of bringing the L1 into the classroom as a means both of promoting academic progress and positive identity affirmation (Cummins, 2000). Such an absence of SLA knowledge may intersect with features specific to the schools' sociocultural environment as well as with wider societal attitudes and power relations. Together these impact on educational provision for refugee ELLs. Site specific issues over which the teachers have no control included lack of access to bilingual aides and materials. Margot's attitude suggests that she may be operating within a monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 2002) reflecting normative ways of thinking among the teaching force, despite the fact that David, her Principal, is bilingual and bicultural, committed to multiculturalism and has some training in ESL methodology.

The following diagram, Figure 6.1, represents the levels of attitudes which may influence the use or otherwise of ELLs' L1s as an academic tool in these mainstream classes.

Figure 6.1 Officially Monolingual Society / Sociocultural environment of individual schools / Mainstream class- insider knowledge, management, beliefs / Use of L1 in class
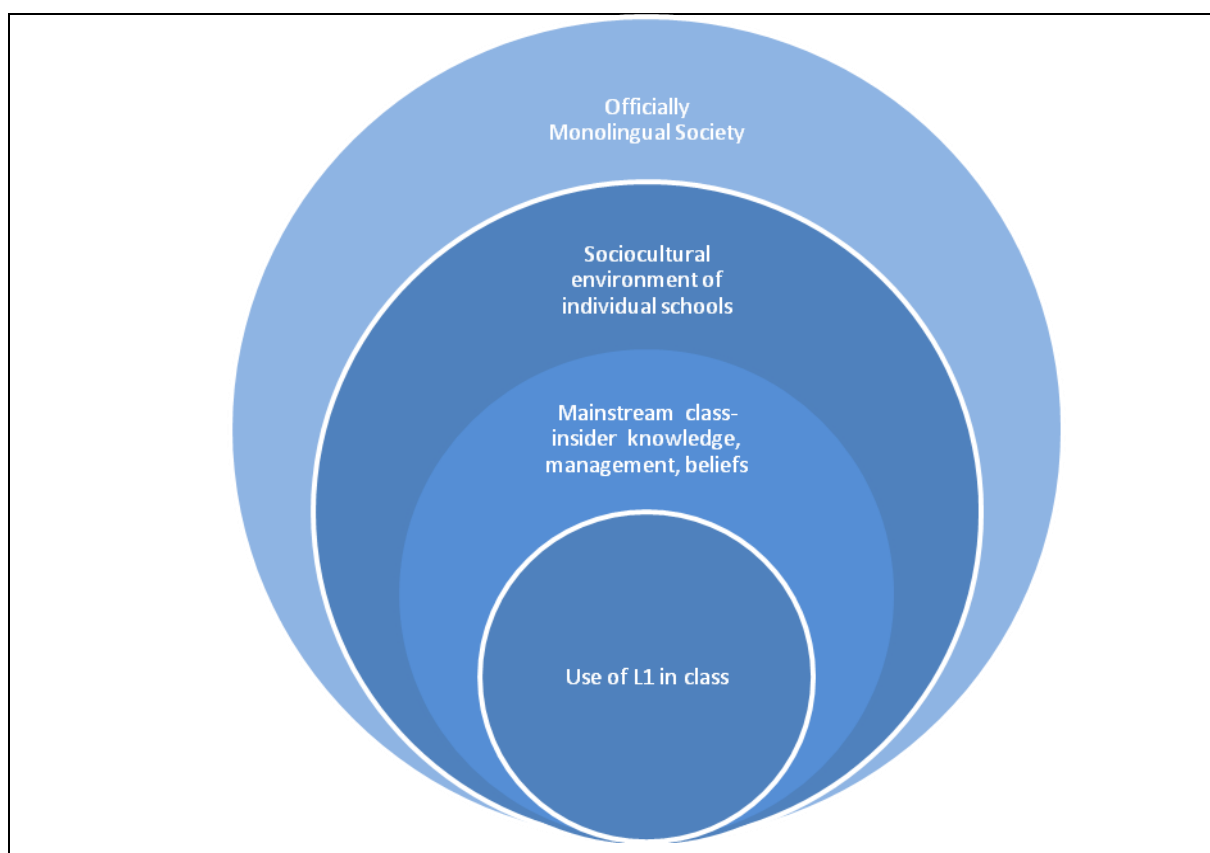
Figure 6.1 Levels of attitudes influencing classroom use of the L1

In Figure 6.1 the outer circle indicates that attitudes prevalent in the wider, officially monolingual society form the contextual umbrella under which attitudes to L1 use in the mainstream have their genesis. These are then transferred to, and possibly transformed, first within the contexts of the sociocultural environments of individual schools (the second circle) and then by teachers' beliefs and insider knowledge of their own classes (the third circle). This transferral and possible transformation is ultimately expressed in the use or otherwise of L1 in individual classrooms (the innermost circle).

6.3.4.iii L1 as Cultural Capital for school success

A conceptualisation of L1s as encoding different cultural ways of knowing was expressed by none of the interviewed teachers. Rather, teachers talked about the L1 in terms of the children's cultural identity. When viewed in this way, the L1 becomes an exoticised cultural artifact, like food or national dress (Lee & Oxelson, 2006) rather than an instrument for making, carrying and sharing meanings. Attitudes to culture and language then, and their impact on educational provision for ELLs, may intersect in relation to L1 use. Attitudes to L1 suggest attitudes toward the speakers of that language (Corson, 1997) and to the type of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990) they possess which can be employed for school success. Teachers' attitude to the L1 may be influenced by the fact that the Sudanese ELLs come from a language group in which there is no tradition of literacy (de Jong & Harper, 2005). Margot and Susanna, with the very best of will toward their ELLs may consider that these students have limited cultural capital due to the language they speak and its distance from the prestige, and education-system sanctioned language, English. Attitudes to the cultural capital of ELLs were expressed by the teachers in interviews. Some of their responses are given below in extract 6 (o).

Extract 6 (o)

> Referring to opportunities for real life use of mathematical knowledge such as weighing produce at the supermarket *"they* [ELLs] *wouldn't be doing that sort of stuff, but then I think a lot of our own kids don't get to do that hands on stuff with busy parents."* [I 2 Q 13] <u>Margot</u>
>
> *"I don't know that there really would be a quiet place where he* [S 1] *could do his homework.''* [I 2 Q 13] <u>Susanna</u>
>
> *"I don't know if much of the modelling* [of reading and literate behaviour] *goes on, but I do know they take the homework part of it fairly seriously from what I've seen.''* [I 2 Q 13] <u>Susanna</u>

241

These comments reveal that the teachers consider that their ELLs are not in home environments which would support school success. Thus a deficit perspective is suggested in the teachers' attitudes to their refugee ELLs' cultural capital for school success.

This unconscious orientation to ELLs' cultural capital may have been manifested in Margot's and Susanna's pedagogical decisions, in that in neither class at any time, was the Cultural Knowledge of the Sudanese refugee ELLs, understood here as "things such as beliefs, languages, practices and ways of knowing" (Amosa & Ladwig, 2004, p. 1) drawn on. In this study, Cultural Knowledge was the lowest scoring element of the QTF for both Margot and Susanna. This result is consistent with the findings reported elsewhere in the Literature. For example, in Australia, the longitudinal Systematic Implications of Pedagogy and Achievement in New South Wales public schools (SIPA) project (2004-7) which assessed classroom and assessment practices using the QTF found Cultural Knowledge to be the "least observed element of the QTF in both classroom and assessment practices" (www.newcastle.edu.au/research/ multicultural-education.html). Similarly, in the USA on a much smaller scale, in a study of how two exemplary mainstream teachers of ELLs encouraged the ELLs' classroom participation and curricular access, Kaje (2009) found that "neither [teacher] created opportunities for CLD [Culturally and Linguistically Diverse] students to make specific connections to their cultural or linguistic funds of knowledge during lessons observed" (p. 150). The findings internationally then suggest that teachers need systemic support and training to be able to draw on students' Cultural knowledge and 'legitimize' (Amosa & Ladwig, 2004) it in a meaningful way. This issue will be taken up in the Chapter Seven: Implications of the Findings.

The lack of utilisation of the ELLs' cultural and linguistic resources in Margot's and Susanna's classes must be placed within the context of the teachers' general pedagogical approach to mainstream teaching. As discussed earlier in this chapter, their pedagogy (especially their observed lack of field building) reflected culturally accepted norms of what constitutes knowledge and assumed that these norms were shared by all children in the class. As neither teacher employed Substantive Communication to any significant extent, all students were given limited opportunities to connect new learning to their existing knowledge. Hence, the data show that to differing degrees a deficit view of the L1, and hence of ELLs and their cultural capital, was present in both sites. A recent study in Australia of the attitudes of teachers of refugee ELLs similarly found evidence of deficit thinking amongst teachers in regard to their ELLs (Oliver, et al., 2009).

The researcher observed no actions on the part of the teachers in the study sites which demonstrated understanding that ways of knowing, described in the QTF as Background and Cultural Knowledge, and carried in language, can be harnessed as a tool for L2 learning through appropriate pedagogical responses. This was probably also due in no small part to the fact they did not have the support of received expert knowledge of SFL or SLA that may make this significant challenge somewhat less problematic. The attitude of deficit toward the L1 meant that no specific pedagogical interrogation or decisions were required of Margot and Susanna in relation to its use. As a result, none was spoken of in interviews or observed in either classroom.

6.3.4.iv Attitudes to Culture and the 'Pastoral' Home/ School Relationship

Attitudes to L1 and to culture and cultural capital were also expressed by Susanna and Margot in interviews when they were asked about their contact with the parents of their refugee ELLs. Their comments about limited parental involvement in the school appeared to align with their emphasis on the students' needs being pastoral, rather than academic. For example, Susanna made the following comment which implies that her pastoral concern may act to obscure the need to push and scaffold the ELLs cognitively and linguistically. She said *"I mean if some of these kids* [ESB students] *had had to cope with what they're* [the ELLs] *coping with they* [ESB students] *wouldn't be nearly as good* [academically]*"* [I 2]. The following comments from Margot and extract 6 (p) from field notes also indicate the prevalence of pastoral care in Margot's and her school's orientation to ELLs.

Extract 6 (p)

> 3/2- At Assembly [Gail, ESL] teacher asked for parent assistance to cover [students'] books-Didn't mention for whom-but obvious.
>
> Later Margot commented that when the parents came to help with covering the ELLs' books *"They* [the ELLs] *went and helped to cover them and that sort of thing, so they got to choose … so that had a bit of ownership of that …"* <u>Margot</u> (comment)
>
> Nonetheless, despite positioning the ELLs as needing special pastoral support, <u>Margot</u> also commented that the ELLs and their families are *"a lot less needy than they used to be."* [I 2, Q. 13]

Reasons for the observed lack of parental involvement or contact with teachers are complex and multifaceted. Parents' own cultural conceptions, and manifestations of, their relationship to schooling and teachers (de Jong & Harper, 2005) and teachers' subconscious beliefs about the degree of cultural capital that parents have to contribute to their children's school success, may interact at these two sites. According to Arias and Morillo-Campbell (2008) "differences in cultural norms and cultural capital, can limit

parents' communication and school participation" (p. 1) particularly if the school defines parental involvement in "a deficit-based perception of ELL [ELL] families" (p. 1). Teachers' emphasis on the pastoral needs of ELLs at both sites suggested such a deficit based perception in regard to the Sudanese parents', and thus, to their children's cultural capital.

6.3.4.v Conclusion Attitudes to Culture

In these study sites the evidence suggests that in the absence of SLA knowledge Margot and Susanna tended to make invisible or minimise the possibility of using the L1 as an academic tool and a building block toward additive bilingualism in the L1 and the socially dominant language, English. Harnessing the opportunities that the L1 offers for maximising the learning potential of ELLs in mainstream classes where no teachers speak that L1 and there are no bilingual aides, constitutes a huge challenge for any mainstream teacher, especially without the support of sound theoretical knowledge. While Margot and Susanna did not respond to this challenge pedagogically, they demonstrated their genuine goodwill and concern for their ELLs, although from a deficit perspective, by responding to, assigning value to the L1, as a cultural artifact important to student identity as a member of their ethnic community.

The observed lack of pedagogical differentiation in both classes may be explained then, at least in part, by Margot's and Susanna's attitudes to culture and language as they relate to the ELLs, their L1 and their perceived lack of cultural capital. The evidence also suggests that lack of pedagogical response is a reflection of the teachers' self-efficacy for teaching ELLs which may be related to a perceptual separation of language from content. These questions will be discussed in the following section under the focus of Attitudes to Language.

6.3.5 Issue 7: Attitudes to Language

6.3.5.i The separation of language from content

The data show that Margot and Susanna possessed some experiential knowledge of language consistent with the findings of SLA research, yet frankly stated that they could not meet their ELLs' learning needs. They also demonstrate that while saying they could not meet the language based needs of ELLs in the class, Margot and Susanna expressed ambiguous, but tending toward low, expectations of ELLs, in terms of their capacity for achieving academic success. This is consistent with the findings of another recent study in Australia (Oliver, et al., 2009). Some of Margot's and Susanna's comments are given in extract 6 (q) below.

Extract 6 (q)

> *"I think they sort of fit in the group, they don't sit outside the group."* <u>Margot</u> [I 2, Q 12b]
>
> Of her ELLs, *"I treat them the same in terms of behaviour."* <u>Susanna</u> [I 1, Q 9]
>
> *"I don't expect them to hand me up the same as what the others do, but I expect them to make an attempt at that."* <u>Susanna</u> [I 2, Q 16]

High teacher expectations coupled with appropriate pedagogical support are identified in the literature as having a correlation with student achievement (Benard, 1995; Edmonds, 1986; Gutman & Midgely, 2000; Tkatchov & Pollnow, 2008). However, only one of the non-observed, interviewed teachers (and interestingly one of the bilinguals), expressed high academic expectations of her ELLs, saying *"I'm looking for effort, but I'm also looking for achievement"* Lucy [Q. 7]. These low expectations, which from Margot's and Susanna's perspective, appear to have no relationship to their pedagogies, are perhaps best interpreted in the light of the more generalised attitudes both teachers expressed toward 'language' as an entity. As indicated in the preceding discussion of their whole class pedagogies, that attitude appears to dichotomise curricular content and language mastery as being separate or independent of each other. This orientation was reflected in their previously discussed lack of field building across KLAs.

In dichotomies one element is usually privileged over another (Davies, 1994). In this case it was content over language. Consequently, the observed pedagogies reflected little consideration of the nature of language as an artifact (Lantolf, 2007) for mediating the learning of content. The exception to this was the KLA of Mathematics where the exception of multiple representations 'message abundancy' (P. Gibbons, 2002) of content was also observed. The impact of language knowledge on the learning of content was mentioned in interviews by the teachers only in relation to this one KLA. Interestingly, they had both also named this content area in interviews in responses to questions related to the nature of ELLs' learning needs. Some of their comments are given below in extract 6 (r).

Extract 6 (r)

> *"… they* [ELLs] *still need that* [ESL support] *even if it is just … interpreting maths questions."* <u>Margot</u> [I 2, Q 16]
>
> *"… when it is pure maths they seem to catch on to that OK, but once you move on to the problem solving all the stuff that you've actually got to read the question to do the answer, they can't read the questions."* <u>Susanna</u> [I 1, Q 2]

Consistent with these remarks, Mathematics was the only KLA in both classes in which pre-teaching of content-related language in the form of 'vocabulary' was observed, as the following extract 6 (s) from the researcher's field notes, taken during Margot's and Susanna's Mathematics classes, demonstrate

Extract 6 (s)

> **3/4 Susanna**-explains wording 'in total' gives a clue that you need to look carefully for all information
>
> **23/3 Margot**- introduces/explains term 'odd number', writes down numerator and denominator on the board

Although the integration of language and KLA content was mostly confined to teaching vocabulary in Mathematics, these occasions were an exception to the prevailing binary or dichotomous perception and teaching of language and content. However, even in these Mathematics classes the teachers did not enact any differentiated pedagogies for ELLs. Vocabulary was taught on a whole class basis. Thus generally, in Margot's and Susanna's classes there was no mediation or differentiation for ELLs and scant attention was paid to language and Metalanguage. In other words, ELLs as a distinct group of learners, were not visible in the class. As has been reported in the literature of other teachers (de Jong & Harper, 2005; Kong, 2009), both Margot's and Susanna's focus as mainstream teachers was very much on developing content mastery in all their students, as witnessed in their preparation of students for the coming NAPLAN tests.

6.3.5.ii Content Teaching and Standardised Testing

Both teachers' teaching style was largely consistent with what K. Johnson (2006) describes as a "positivist paradigm that defines good teaching in terms of performance on standardized tests and conceptualizes learning as internal to the learner" (p. 247). (It must be noted that the researcher's field work was undertaken in the term leading up to NAPLAN) Internationally, in the literature teachers have reported feeling that the pressure of preparing students for standardised tests negatively affects their pedagogical and curricular content choices (Black, 2006; Gandara et. al., 2005; Mathison & Freeman, 2003; Menken, 2005; Reeves, 2002, 2006).

In the interviews in this study, however, contrary to these reports in the literature, neither Margot nor Susanna mentioned that her teaching style, pedagogies or content choices were affected by NAPLAN. In response to question 18 in Interview 2, "Does the accountability of preparing the children for NAPLAN … affect in any way what you teach? Does it limit what you do?" the teachers made the following comments.

Extract 6 (t)

> *"We have to have them ready* [for the exam]." <u>Margot</u>
>
> *"We can afford to stop that* [reading groups] *for a while* [to do NAPLAN preparation]" <u>Margot</u>
>
> *"I'm not a big believer in NAPLAN."* <u>Susanna</u>
>
> But *"*[I] *do have that in the back of* [my] *mind because you want them to do as well as they can."* <u>Susanna</u>
>
> *"I just go through the paper so that they know this is the kind of question they are going to get."* <u>Susanna</u>

These comments express a pragmatic response to NAPLAN on the part of the teachers, but do not indicate that they consider preparation activities for NAPLAN as outside their usual or desired pedagogical repertoire, or as impacting greatly on the teaching of content in other KLAs. This orientation to NAPLAN typified Margot's and Susanna's predominant pedagogical focus across all KLAs, which emphasised getting the children to get the "right answer" (Kaje, 2009, p. 83) rather than exploring multiple options and pathways for arriving at answers, conclusions or conjectures that may have aided ELLs in the development of language mastery.

Conversely, their pedagogies suggest that they view content learning as independent of students', including ELLs', control of academic language (P. Gibbons, 2009) and knowledge of the cultural assumptions underlying that content. Hence, ELLs' academic performance in acquiring the content of the curriculum is independent of language mastery. This point reinforces the contradiction in the data discussed previously, that is, that in interviews, teachers identified ELLs' learning needs as language knowledge based, yet the classroom observation data revealed minimal pedagogical differentiation for ELLs aimed at meeting these language needs. This contradiction suggests that teachers may believe that content can be learned by ELLs within ordinary class activities based upon a monolingual approach and without any differentiated instruction for them or attention to language and its cultural bases in texts.

Some monolingual general literacy practices are of benefit to ELLs (Hammond & Gibbons, 2005; Watts-Taffe & Truscott, 2000). However, alone they are not sufficient to meet ELLs' specific learning needs (Grant & Wong, 2003). For this reason, the pedagogical practices observed in Margot's and Susanna classrooms which appeared to dichotomise language and content are of concern given that the ELLs in this study were in Year 3. From Year 4 onwards school language becomes increasingly complex (Cummins, 2000; P. Gibbons, 2009; Janzen, 2008) and characterised by features such as high lexical

density and nominalisation. To access curriculum content students need control over the language and registers which articulate it. Thus academic success flows from mastery of academic language (Lucas, et. al., 2008).

The 'Grade 4 slump' in academic results due to the increasing complexity of academic, curricular language, associated with students from lower socio-economic groups (Chall, Jacobs & Baldwin, 1990) is also found amongst ELLs (Cummins, 2000). Cummins (2000) states that a pedagogical approach which compartmentalises and drills aspects of academic language may render good results in early grades because discrete skills can be acquired simultaneously with conversational proficiency. Yet, as curriculum becomes more complex in Year 4, it can become inaccessible to ELLs without the support of SLA research-derived differentiated instruction. In light of this, the observed lack of use of Metalanguage by the study's participating teachers becomes significant for ELLs' chances for academic success beyond Year 3. Janzen (2008) reports low results for ELLs in the US as a cohort in 4th, 8th and 12th grade testing "in almost all categories of achievement, including reading, writing, history science and mathematics" (p. 1010).

In Australia, in contrast, there is no tracking of ELLs as a group of learners and hence their performance as a group is invisible (Michell, 2009). According to Michell (2009)

> Over the last decade, public reporting of ESL student data has been progressively wound down ... So since the turn of the century, Australia, which prides itself on its cultural diversity, has had no ability or desire to report on the student target group that constitutes a key aspect of that diversity in schooling (p. 3).

Michell's contention highlights the macro-environmental influences within which teachers are expected to meet the learning needs of these children, and within which teachers must position or 'configure' themselves in relation to ELLs.

6.3.6 Issues arising from the separation of language from content

An attitudinal orientation to language and content which views them as separate and independent entities was demonstrated in Margot's and Susanna's comments in interviews and in their observed pedagogical practices. Given that they identified their ELLs' learning needs as based around language knowledge, Margot's and Susanna's dichotomisation of language and content has significant implications for the ways in which they position themselves in relation to the ELLs in their mainstream classes. Issues related to teacher positioning, or configuring of the self (Lye, 2004), in relation to ELLs which result from the observed dichotomisation of language and content will be taken up in the following sections.

6.3.6.i Issue 8: Teacher configurations of self as content, rather than language teachers

The teachers' distinction between language and content identified in previous sections of this chapter has significant implications for teachers' identities and how they position themselves in relation to ELLs and to teaching them. If teachers posit themselves as principally teachers of content (Janzen, 2008; Kong, 2009) then this separation may make opaque for them the link between their own pedagogies and the development or otherwise of ELLs' English language capability. Such opacity was suggested by Susanna's comments, discussed in the Chapter Four: Findings, Interview Responses, in which she accounted for the observed disengagement of her ELLs in terms of their *'learned helplessness'*, rather than the lack of additional pedagogical support given to them observed by the researcher.

The data do, nonetheless, provide some support for Susanna's belief in the ELLs' *'learned helplessness.'* The researcher made the following comments (extract 6 u below) about ELLs in Susanna's classes in her field notes.

Extract 6 (u) Field notes taken in Susanna's class

> **19/2 [S1] not engaged, not trying. I helped-he wanted me to do it.**
>
> 27/2 S1 and S2 don't attend to explanations. It's as if they just want to wait for individual assistance.
>
> 5/3 When Susanna asked me [the researcher] if I would assist a maths group of which S1 was a member, he said to me "I need help" before looking at the sheet.

The researcher in no way underestimates the importance of teachers' 'insider knowledge' (K. Johnson, 2006) in relation to particular students. Nonetheless, relying solely on this knowledge, in the absence of theoretical knowledge, may complicate any attempt by teachers to interrogate the adequacy of their own pedagogies. In Margot's case, the ELLs were observed by the researcher to be hard working and performing on par with, and demonstrating levels of engagement on par with, their ESB classmates. Of her ELLs Margot commented *"They're not my ones who struggle."* Given Cummins' (2001) contentions about ELLs and the Grade 4 slump, however, that situation may change if the non-differentiation of pedagogies continues in the face of increasing linguistic and cultural complexity in curricular content. The binary separation of language from content in the perceptions and actions of the teachers involved in the study leads to another issue, that of Margot's and Susanna's self-efficacy. This will be discussed in the next section.

6.3.6.ii Issue 9: Teachers' Roles. Mainstream teacher as "Content" teacher

As reported earlier, in interviews the teachers identified the learning needs of their Sudanese refugee ELLs as being language knowledge based. When asked by the researcher whether they could meet these needs pedagogically in their mainstream classes both Margot and Susanna answered that they could not. This contention was borne out by the lack of pedagogical differentiation for ELLs observed in both classrooms and by their comments that having ELLs in the class did not affect their whole class pedagogy, so according to Margot, was *"not a problem at all"* [I 1 Q 2]. These responses reflect these teachers' attitudes to language and content as separate entities, perhaps reflecting a lack of familiarity with the expert, received knowledge of SFL. Within this dichotomous framework, teachers viewed learning of content as necessary for school success. Content learning was thus privileged above language learning. However, as Early, Potts and Mohan (2005) point out "Teaching ESL learners curriculum content is challenging and requires a deep understanding of the demands of language as a medium of learning" (p. 75). The data from this study suggest that in the absence of 'deep understanding' of the demands of language, the challenge of responding pedagogically to ELLs for Margot and Susanna was great. This was especially so in the context of their overriding response to these children being of a pastoral nature.

The prevailing dichotomous language and content framework may also explain to an extent what appears to be a type of binary and contradictory self-efficacy which Margot and Susanna demonstrated in regard to their ELLs. Self-efficacy is essentially "teachers' beliefs about their capability" (Gibbs, 2003, p. 2). Both teachers expressed in their interviews low self-efficacy for meeting ELLs' language knowledge based needs. Nonetheless, at the same time, they expressed reasonably high self-efficacy for teaching content to all children. Maintaining this binary, dichotomous organisation of self-efficacy may afford a type of identity protection, or role delimitation, for Margot and Susanna as teachers of content. Haworth (2008, 2009) notes that a teacher's professional identity may come under threat when she is faced with the challenge of teaching ELLs for the first time, as in Margot's case.

Dichotomisation of self-efficacy may allow Margot and Susanna to assign ELL content learning difficulty to factors external to their pedagogies and to place the responsibility for ELLs' language development outside these as well. Such a position has serious implications for the ELLs in their classes because of the inseparability of language as medium of learning and the content learned through it. It does not recognise or act on the need to 'push' ELLs beyond their current level of language mastery if they are to be 'pushed' beyond their existing knowledge of academic content (Kong, 2009; Lucas, et. al.,

2008). To 'push' the ELLs forward, to make content comprehensible for them and to foster the development of their academic English, mainstream teachers need to provide significant scaffolding for ELLs which integrates language and content. As discussed earlier, limited scaffolding was observed in Margot's and Susanna's classes. When present it was related to content and schematic features of text, rather than to addressing the language demands present across the KLAs. (see Chapter Five: Findings, Classroom Responses, Section 5.2)

In a study of mainstream teachers of ELLs in schools with small enrolments of ELLs in New Zealand Haworth (2008) found that catering for the needs of ELLs in mainstream classes "is likely to involve some renegotiation of the class teacher's primary identity, but this is unlikely to be easy, given the demands of the mainstream context" (p. 423). At this study's sites Margot and Susanna may have been able to avoid this renegotiation of identity by identifying the needs of their ELLs as language based. Within their framework of dichotomising language and content, and identifying themselves as teachers of content, they were thus able to place this responsibility outside the ambit of their pedagogies.

This positioning of themselves as teachers of content, and the privileging of content learning above language learning, was also reflected in Margot's and Susanna's lack of familiarity with, and understanding of, the *ESL Scales*. The teachers' level of knowledge of the *ESL Scales* was consistent with other reports in the literature. For example, Woodhead (2001) reported on a school based project to find ways to support mainstream teachers to integrate the *ESL Scales*, and thus language and content, into the mainstream class. She found that mainstream teachers "were very well aware of the ESL students' progress in relation to the content, but not very well informed in relation to their English language development" (p. 17). This was very much what the data revealed in this study also.

6.3.6.iii The ESL teacher as "Language" teacher

Due to this dichotomisation of both language and content and of domains of self-efficacy for teaching ELLs, meeting the language knowledge based education needs of ELLs became solely, in Margot's case, and principally, in Susanna's case, the responsibility of the ESL teacher. The literature suggests that teachers may subordinate ESL as a discipline to content areas (Arkoudis, 2005; Davison, 2006; Haworth, 2008). The data from this study showed that the Margot and Susanna had different working relationships with their schools' ESL teachers and different attitudes to the work the ESL teachers did with the ELLs. As discussed in Chapter Four: Findings, Interview Responses, Susanna at

the highly multicultural school noted the benefits of ESL withdrawal, saying that after withdrawal classes dealing with *"good, productive kind of stuff"* [I 2, Q 16] her ELLs returned to the mainstream class *"back on track"* [I 2, Q 16], more focused, and thus better able to learn content.

Margot, on the other hand, although she recognised the ELLs' continued need for withdrawal, framed the time they spent there as taking time away from content learning. She commented that she wanted to speak to the ESL teacher about the timing of the withdrawal, *"I need to see Gail* [ESL teacher] *because if it's* [ESL withdrawal] *going to be on that time every week, they'll miss science and that's not something I like them to miss."* [I 2, Q 16] Haworth (2008) classifies attitudes such as Margot's, as viewing ESL as "taking class time" (p. 419). Interestingly, she contends that such attitudes reflect a moderately high self-efficacy for teaching ELLs and the "primacy of the mainstream goals within the school context" (p. 420). The data from this site support this interpretation (within the dichotomy of self-efficacy observed) in that Margot had high self-efficacy for teaching all students content.

The dichotomisation of self-efficacy and orientation to the ESL teacher as responsible for language development in two different sociocultural environments is demonstrated in this study's data. It suggests the pervasiveness of the separation of language from content in Margot's and Susanna's orientation to knowledge and learning in general, and to ELLs in particular. However, differences in those sociocultural environments were perhaps reflected in these mainstream teachers' professional relationship with the ESL teacher. In Susanna's case where ESL and ELLs were much more visible elements in the schools' sociocultural environment, she worked in an ongoing pattern of interaction with the ESL teacher. ESL and ELLs were a much less visible element of Margot's school environment. Margot demonstrated no knowledge of what the ESL teacher was teaching the ELLs when they were withdrawn. When asked by the researcher if the ESL learning would be related to the content being taught in the mainstream class, she replied *"I would hope so. I would hope so"* [I 2, Q 16].

While some researchers (Arkoudis, 2005; Davison, 2006; Janzen, 2008) have characterised the relationship of ESL teachers and mainstream teachers as problematic due to the power differential to which Janzen (2008) refers, the researcher observed no difference in professional status in these two sites. The relative positions of the ESL teachers in the two sites would best be described in terms of degree of visibility to staff, students and parents as part of the mainstream of the school. The ESL teacher at Susanna's multicultural school had a much higher profile in that she worked with every teacher in the school because ELLs formed a much higher percentage of the overall

enrolments there. The question of the mainstream teachers' self-efficacy, referred to briefly earlier will be further explored in the following section.

6.3.6.iv Issue 10: Teachers' Self-Efficacy

Margot and Susanna both appeared to maintain a dichotomised self-efficacy in regard to teaching ELLs which was related to their dichotomisation of content and language, and to the privileging of content within that dichotomy. They positioned or 'configured' themselves primarily as teachers of content. 'Teacher of language within the mainstream' did not appear to be within their configurations of self relative to their refugee ELLs. As such, they are able to place the responsibility for meeting the language knowledge learning needs of ELLs outside their own pedagogical practices. In so doing they assigned to their schools' ESL teacher principal responsibility for ELLs' language development. This decision may have acted to make unnecessary for them any interrogation of their pedagogies in relation to ELLs and their learning outcomes. These dichotomous relationships and their outcome in terms of educational provision for ELLs in Margot's and Susanna's classes are represented graphically in Figure 6.2 below.
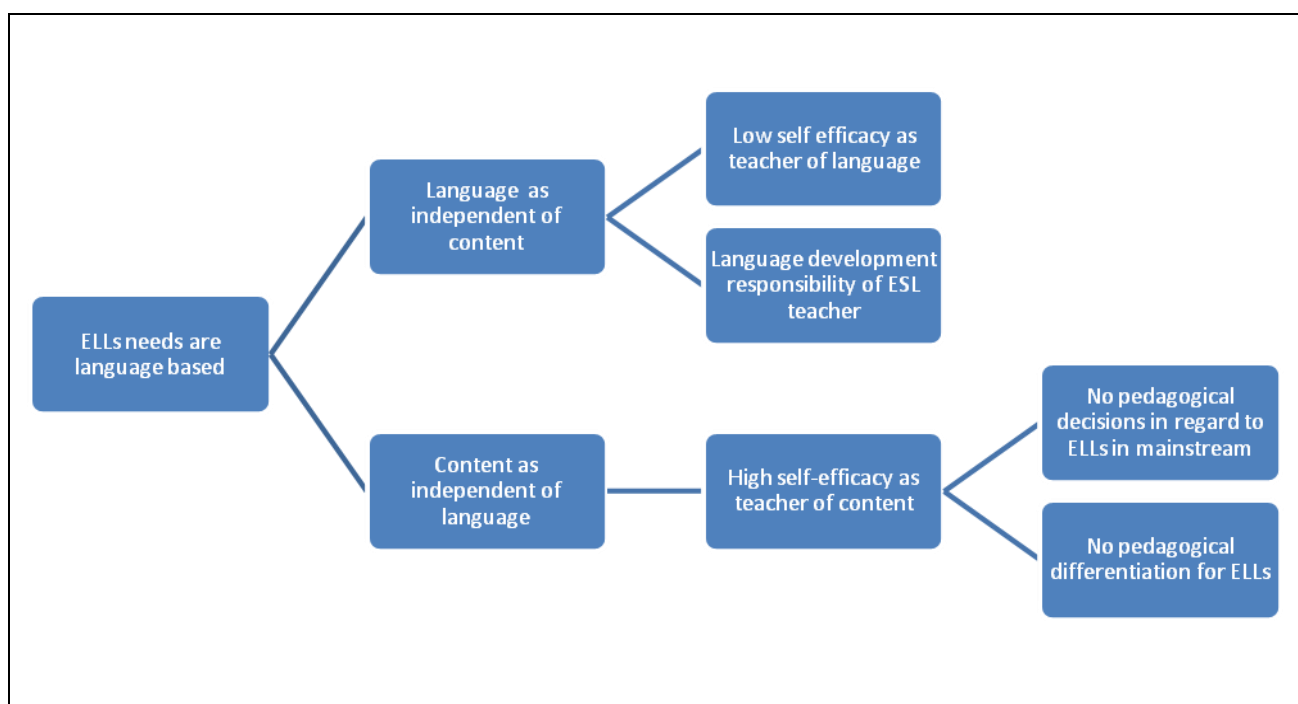
Figure 6.2 Dichotomisation and educational provision for ELLs

The left hand cell represents the positive identification by Margot and Susanna of the learning needs of ELLs as being language based. This knowledge co-exists with the teachers' perceptual dichotomisation of language from content represented by the next two cells to the right. As a result of this dichotomisation, teachers position themselves as teachers of content, rather than language. The two cells to the right above indicate that

according to their conception of themselves as "non" teachers of language they have low self-efficacy in that domain and hence place the responsibility for ELLs' language development within the domain of their schools' ESL teachers. The single cell below indicates that teachers have high self-efficacy as content teachers. The final two cells branching from this cell express the previously mentioned outcome of this complex of factors, that is, that Margot and Susanna do not make pedagogical decisions in relation to meeting their ELLs' learning needs and do not differentiate pedagogically for them.

6.3.7 Chapter Conclusion

The mainstream primary classroom is an immensely complicated and fluid environment. It is an environment which represents great potential for the development of the linguistic and curricular knowledge of ELLs. Nonetheless, that potential can only be actualised by the implementation of theory-supported pedagogical responses from teachers. In the two sites in this study, such responses were not observed. The reasons for this are myriad and intersecting. Margot and Susanna appeared to maintain a conceptual dichotomy between language and content within which content learning was privileged over language development, and within which the inextricability of language from content was obscured. In the absence of exposure to the received expert knowledge of SLA research, this dichotomisation appears to be a significant determiner of Margot's and Susanna's minimal pedagogical response to their ELLs. It appears to intersect with other factors such as teachers' attitudes to language and culture, normative ways of thinking in the specific sociocultural environments of their schools and their 'insider' knowledge of particular ELLs.

Dichotomisation of language and content supported the observed dichotomisation of Margot's and Susanna's self-efficacy in relation to ELLs. These teachers had low self-efficacy for teaching language to ELLs. In contrast, they had relatively high self-efficacy for teaching content to all students. Consequently, in general terms, they 'configured' or positioned themselves as teachers of content. In this way they were able to place the responsibility for meeting their refugee ELLs' language needs outside the realm of their own pedagogical practices in their mainstream classes. This removed any impetus or necessity for interrogating the adequacy of their own pedagogies for meeting the learning needs of ELLs, and ultimately to the answer to this study's overarching research question: that is, that Margot and Susanna respond pastorally, rather than pedagogically, to their refugee ELLs

6.3.8 Limitations of this Discussion

This discussion makes no claim to have established direct causality relationships, but rather has sought to establish the myriad factors that co-exist and intersect within these sites which may contribute to the nature of existing educational provision for refugee ELLs there. Due to the limited nature of the study's sample, two mainstream primary teachers in non-metropolitan Australia, the discussion has necessarily been restricted to being a very 'situated' one. Consequently, the researcher makes no claim of generalisability in relation to its contents. She also owns her subjectivity in this interpretive process and recognises that alternative interpretations of the data are possible.

Chapter Seven: Implications of the Findings

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the implications arising from the findings from this study of two teachers of ELLs in mainstream classes in non-metropolitan Australia. As demonstrated in the study's data, and consistent with other research (Reeves, 2004, 2006), Margot and Susanna were very welcoming to the refugee ELLs in their classes. Their actions toward them were characterised by inclusiveness. The data also showed, however, that while socially inclusive, they enacted minimal pedagogical differentiation to cater for the distinct learning needs of their ELLs. As previously considered in the Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings, this contradiction between their social, or pastoral, and academic responses to ELLs implies a number of contributing factors. The researcher contends that this contradiction indicates that Margot and Susanna must have the support of thorough professional learning if they are to cater adequately for the academic needs of their ELLs. According to Janzen (2008), ELLs and their chances for academic success "are invariably affected by … the professional education of their instructors" (p. 1031). Attempts to improve learning outcomes for ELLs must be centred on the provision of professional learning opportunities for teachers working with them.

Due to the limited nature of this study's sample, this chapter presents implications in relation to what appropriate professional learning for Margot and Susanna might look like. It makes no claims to generalisability beyond these two teachers, but suggests that there may be some applicability to other teachers in their non-metropolitan area. Based on the results of interviews and observations, and in light of the substantial body of literature that addresses optimal teaching practices for ELLs, this chapter considers how the gap between Margot's and Susanna's current practices and those optimal teaching practices for ELLs may be addressed through professional learning opportunities. To do so, it is divided into three principal sections: Implications for local education authorities, Implications for Professional Learning, and Exploring the Components of Appropriate Professional Learning for Mainstream Teachers of refugee ELLs. The last section of this chapter considers the overall impact of the study to propose Implications for Further Research.

7.2 Implications for local education authorities

7.2.i Commitment to professional learning for teachers

As demonstrated throughout this study, the challenge of teaching ELLs in mainstream classes is substantial and may be especially problematic for teachers whose teacher training occurred many years ago, as is the case with Margot and Susanna. Both these teachers indicated in their comments and responses to the demographic questionnaire (see Section 6.1.2.i) that they believe they have had inadequate professional learning opportunities in this area. Indeed, the literature indicates that even some current pre-service programmes in Australia are considered by trainee teachers as inadequate preparation for working with ELLs (Louden, 2006; Miller & Premier, 2009). The findings of this study indicate that despite their teachers' efforts to create a nurturing classroom environment and expose them to all curricular content, the refugee ELLs in Margot's and Susanna's class do not appear to be experiencing educational equity because of the limitations inherent in the nature of these teachers' pedagogical practices relative to those students' learning needs.

Even if representative of only a small percentage of teachers working within the same area in non-metropolitan Australia, this finding should be of concern to local education authorities in terms of its implications for the long term academic achievement of the ELLs in that area. It is in conflict with the aim of ELLs' inclusion in mainstream classes which was, and continues to be, to increase ELLs' educational equity with ESB students (Teese & Polesol, 2003). Hite and Evans (2006) contend of ELLs in mainstream settings that "[their] academic success will depend largely on the abilities of the regular classroom teachers to address their academic and linguistic needs" (p. 106). Addressing academic and linguistic needs implies certain dispositions on the part of teachers, as well as the enactment of pedagogies derived from their access to received, expert theoretical knowledge in the areas of language and SLA.

Supporting teachers to acquire this theoretical knowledge and transform and reshape it within their own pedagogical practices, is the moral and practical responsibility of local education authorities. Political will and financial commitment by these authorities is essential if they are to provide teachers such as Margot and Susanna with the "rigorous continuous professional development" (Leung, 2005, p. 46) for working with refugee ELLs in mainstream classes, which this study indicates they require. ELLs in Margot's and Susanna's classes will not experience educational equity without it. Nonetheless, the development of the requisite political will and financial commitment by local education authorities in the non-metropolitan area of this study may be rendered difficult due to the

area's much lower degree of ethnic diversity than that found in metropolitan areas in Australia.

Due to this demographic reality, adequate professional learning opportunities for non-specialist staff working with ELLs may be relegated to the status of a 'sideshow' (Cummins, 1997) to mainstream education and consequently given low priority relative to competing educational demands in the area (Allard, 2006). This perspective was suggested in comments made by Bruce, Principal of Susanna's school, about his experience of the local education authorities with the first wave of Sudanese ELLs. He said, *"I don't think* [they were] *prepared in terms of logistics or resources and I think they relied on us to make them look good, like 'We are doing this job for these refugees", but I think they could have come aboard a bit quicker with the resources."* This perceived reactivity by local education authorities seems to deny teachers the organised, proactive, systemic support they need to respond to refugee ELLs' educational needs.

ELL students' needs may also be considered by local authorities to be addressed through existing literacy programmes due to the previously mentioned positioning of ESL within the *Literacy for All Plan* in Australia which serves to recast English language needs as literacy needs (Hammond, 1999; Lo Bianco, 1997, 2002; McKay, 2001). According to Ives (2009) "For policy and educational purposes ESL/D [English as a Second Language/Dialect] students seemingly merge into the general school population once they no longer present as struggling English language speakers" (p. 7). The inclusion of Second Phase ELLs or 'Long term English Language Learners' (Freeman & Freeman, 2009a) in the NAPLAN testing regime may serve to reinforce this positioning. The specific needs of ELLs as a group, and thus of their non-specialist teachers, are blurred or made invisible (McKay, 2001) in such a climate. This invisibility would appear to be further entrenched in the initial drafts of the Australian National English Curriculum which make scant mention of ELLs (see www.acara.edu.au).

Hence, if teachers like Margot and Susanna are to receive the professional learning opportunities they require to be able to work successfully with refugee ELLs, it is essential to name and make English as a Second or Additional Language as a discipline, more visible to mainstream classroom practitioners and principals (McKay, 2001). In so doing, teachers may become more aware of the distinctions between the language knowledge-based learning needs of ELLs and literacy-based needs and thus of the need to differentiate pedagogically for these children. In turn, this may create awareness of their own need for systemic, professional learning support to meet this challenge. Teachers' awareness of these distinctions is crucial to the success of any professional learning

endeavours. Internationally a number of studies have reported ambivalence amongst mainstream and subject specialist teachers to receiving training for working with ELLs (Milner, 2005; Reeves, 2004, 2006). This may be due to the perceived increase in workload that such professional learning and development may imply (Garcia Narvaez, et. al., 2005). Dedicated, caring teachers like Margot and Susanna will be more willing to take on a potential increase in workload if they understand why it is necessary and its relation to the wider social and political issue of educational equity for all their students.

Oliver, et.al. (2009) believe that in Australia mainstream and subject teachers "… need to petition their schools and district officers [local education authorities] so that they may receive relevant professional development programs to assist them in meeting the challenges of working with [ELLs]" (p. 36). In order to do so teachers need the support of the advocacy of national professional organisations, such as the Australian Council of TESOL Associations (ACTA), and state professional organisations, such as the Association for the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (ATESOL) in naming and making ESL more visible in both the educational and the public arenas. Such advocacy is currently being undertaken in ATESOL NSW 's response to the draft national *Australian Curriculum: English* (see ATESOL Newsletter, 36(2)). ESL related advocacy is, however, a complex task because such issues can become confounded within the public arena with issues such as immigration policy and media-driven "Back to Basics" perspectives. The researcher in no way underestimates the complexity of the task.

Were teachers, principals and local education authorities to have the requisite awareness of ESL-related issues, and the latter the political will to prioritise them, and thus furnish teachers with thorough professional learning to address these in classrooms, two important considerations would arise. These are i) developing appropriate models of professional learning for hard working, time-poor teachers and ii) defining appropriate content in order to maximise the chances of the application of the knowledge base of that professional learning to specific classroom contexts. Careful consideration must be given to both as there is no guarantee that exposure to professional learning opportunities will automatically result in teacher implementation of pedagogical change for ELLs in their classes. To maximise the chances of professional learning resulting in transformed classroom pedagogies it is essential that any professional learning validates the positives which exist in teachers' current practices with ELLs (Nechochea & Cline, 2000). The provision of professional learning opportunities is considered in the following section.

7.3 Implications for Professional Learning for teachers

Close consultation between local education authorities and mainstream teachers such as Margot and Susanna is required in the development of site-appropriate models of professional learning. Programmes developed in response to teachers' expressed preferences are more likely to be successful in leading to change at the classroom level and in academic outcomes for ELLs. Such programmes would need to dovetail with Margot's and Susanna's existing teaching commitments and be underpinned by a systemic commitment to provide them with adequate release time to undertake training, reflect upon it and adapt its content to their particular situations and 'insider knowledge' of their ELLs (Janzen, 2008). This would ideally occur with the support and ongoing co-operation of individual schools' ESL specialist teachers.

Local education authorities' commitment to the provision of professional learning opportunities for their staff must include the allocation of adequate funds available to allow the employment of experienced, specialist qualified ESL theorists and teachers to facilitate that learning. The learning opportunities for staff would optimally be ongoing or 'continuous' (Leung, 2005) rather than 'one-shot' (Gonzalez & Darling-Hammond, 2000). Studies carried out in the USA in relation to mainstream teachers' preferences for ESL related professional learning have reported a desire on the part of teachers for ongoing training (Gandara, et.al., 2005; Gonzalez & Darling Hammond, 2000) or 'regular orientation sessions' (Stanoshek-Youngs, 1999). Continuous professional learning is in contrast to the "one day" one-off "not very current" training for working with ELLs that Susanna reported having received, and which did not result in the use of observable ELL related pedagogical actions during the course of this study.

Respondents to Gandara et al. (2005) also "expressed a desire and need" (p. 15) for repeated opportunities to observe and interact with other mainstream teachers with experience of achieving successful outcomes for ELLs. In Australia, Kirk and Cassity (2007) contend that teachers of ELLs "need to participate in networks both to share experiences and build a knowledge base" (p. 55). At Susanna's school one member of the Executive had spent a day observing and interacting with teachers in a metropolitan area who had had more experience with African ELLs. This visit was made on the initiative of Bruce, the Principal, with no support from local education authorities. Initiatives at the school level are, of course, laudable and important. However, they are obviously inadequate for supporting teachers to acquire, and internalise, the deep expert, received theoretical knowledge that this study indicates is required by Margot and Susanna, and perhaps other teachers like them. Such theoretical knowledge would extend and transform their existing experiential knowledge.

Once appropriate models of professional learning were addressed in this non-metropolitan area, it would become necessary to define the cultural, belief-related, theoretical and pedagogical knowledge and skills which would form the content of that learning. Figure 7.1 provides a model of components of appropriate professional learning for teachers of refugee ELLs.
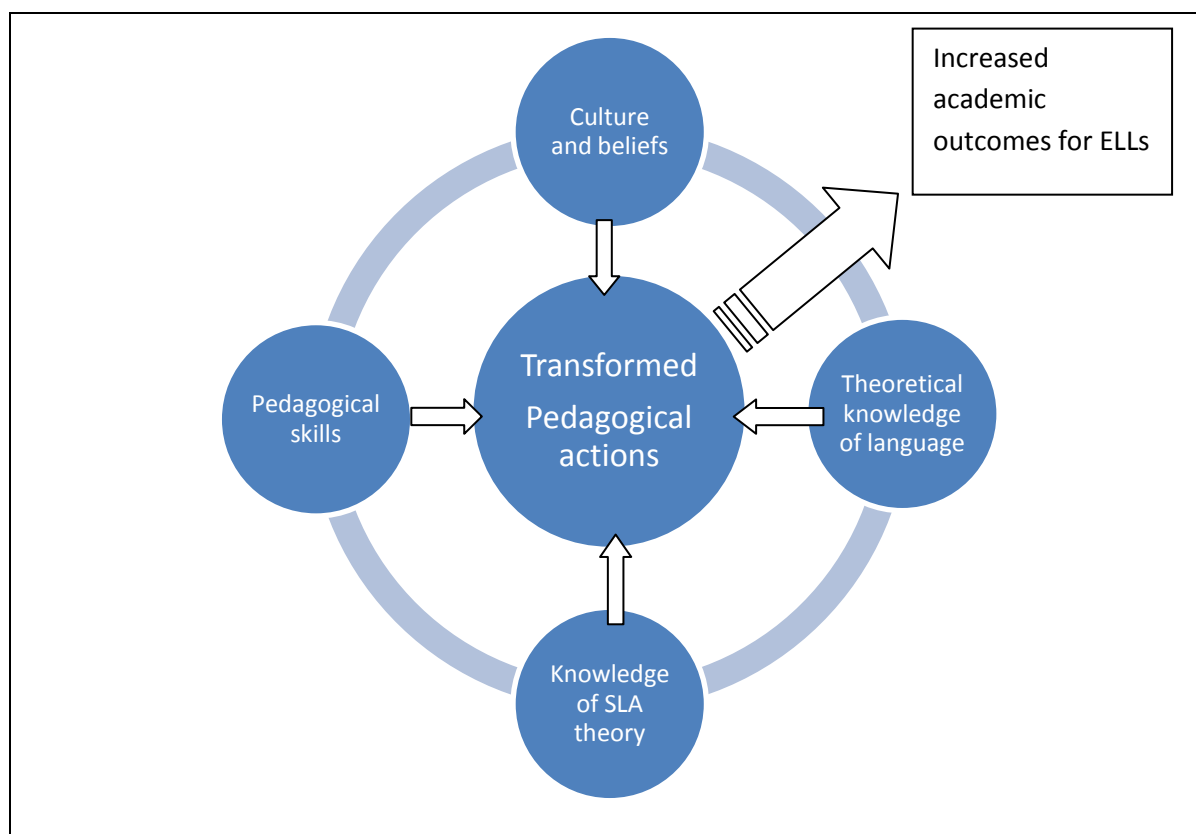
Figure 7.1 Model of components of appropriate professional learning for mainstream teachers of refugee ELLs

This figure represents four components necessary to actualise adequate professional learning for Margot and Susanna: culture and beliefs, theoretical knowledge of language, knowledge of SLA theory and pedagogical skills. These components are, of course, not totally discrete, and as such, they are represented by the linked outer circles. In successful professional learning they would optimally converge, and be expressed in, the transformation of Margot's and Susana's pedagogical actions toward their refugee ELLs. This is represented by the arrows converging on the inner circle of Transformed pedagogical actions. Transformed pedagogical actions would ideally lead to increased academic outcomes for ELLs, represented by the arrow extending outside the circle of professional learning.

The following sections of this chapter consider the implications for each of the components of professional learning represented in the model proposed in Figure 7.1.

Moving around the outer circle in a clockwise direction, first to be considered are the implications for culture and beliefs suggested by the findings of the study.

7.4 Exploring the Model of components of Appropriate Professional Learning for Mainstream Teachers of refugee ELLs

7.4.i Implications for Culture and Beliefs

Teacher beliefs about, and attitudes toward, the culture of ELLs have been shown in this study and others, to influence their interactions with ELLs and their parents. While Margot and Susanna were genuinely concerned for, and inclusive toward, their ELLs, some of their beliefs and attitudes towards ELLs and their families expressed in interviews and reported in Chapter Four: Findings, Interview Responses, could be described as deficit imbued. Their comments indicated that these teachers may be operating within a 'monolingual mindset' (Clyne, 2005a) or, as discussed in the Chapter Two, Literature Review, a 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin, 2002) which constitutes an "awareness matrix, action matrix and thought matrix" (Gogolin, 2002, p. 132). Deficit beliefs formed within such a mindset or habitus are significant to the education of ELLs because of their relationship to teacher expectations of students. Thus Margot and Susanna need "practical support and professional development" (Oliver, et. al., 2009, p. 5) which addresses their cultural attitudes and beliefs and provides them with "support in learning how to understand what students bring to the classroom" (Gonzalez & Darling-Hammond, 2000, p. 7). According to Nieto (2000) professional learning that does not include such components "will result in repeating the pattern of failure that currently exists" (p. 196) in the education of ELLs internationally.

The researcher believes that in Margot and Susanna's case, due to their genuine good will and concern for their ELLs, these issues may be best dealt with in the non-confrontational context of the knowledge component of professional learning. As a result, cultural learning experiences would be 'designed-in' (Hammond & Gibbons, 2005), or integrated with, the content outlined in the following sections of this chapter. These experiences would seek to make visible to Margot and Susanna their own beliefs about ELLs and their possible non-empirical bases. Visibility may be the first step toward transformation. Accordingly, in the following description of theoretical content, opportunities to integrate concepts of culture and beliefs into professional learning are outlined.

7.4.ii Implications for Theoretical Knowledge of Language

The data from this study show that Margot and Susanna maintain a binary conceptualisation of language and content, in which they clearly privilege content over language in the classroom. Consistent with this conceptualisation, they configure themselves principally as teachers of content, rather than language. This is consistent with research carried out with mainstream and subject specialist staff elsewhere (Harklau, 1994; Harper & de Jong, 2004). Such configurations of self may have significant impact on the academic outcomes of ELLs given that mainstream teachers are the principal language teachers of the majority of primary aged ELLs (Hite & Evans, 2006). Hence, as long as Margot and Susanna are not addressing ELLs' language learning needs in class because of this dichotomous configuration of self, opportunities to truly open up curricular access, and thus educational equity, for those children are limited "no matter how friendly, egalitarian and caring the environment" (P. Gibbons, 2002, p. 59) of their classrooms. One of the primary aims of professional learning development, then, is to facilitate these teachers' access to expert, received theoretical knowledge which might make visible, challenge and transform their configurations of self. At the same time, any professional learning opportunities for Margot and Susanna, and indeed any other teachers in their situation, must validate the positive aspects of their current practices with their ELLs (Necochea & Cline, 2000).

In interviews, despite their primary 'configuration of self' as teachers of content, Margot and Susanna demonstrated experiential knowledge of the language-based learning needs of their Sudanese ELLs. Yet, while possessing this knowledge, they did not appear to relate those language needs to the ELLs' capacity to learn curricular content across the KLAs within their classrooms. According to Harper and de Jong (2004) ELLs require teachers who possess both "an understanding of the language learning needs of their students as well as the language … of their subject areas and their classrooms" (p. 155). While Margot and Susanna to some extent possess the former, they did not demonstrate a deep knowledge or understanding of the latter. Indeed, their observed pedagogical actions demonstrated little evidence of understanding of the "extraordinary language and literacy demands" (Harper & de Jong, 2004, p. 102) that attempting to access curricular content makes on ELLs. Janzen (2008) argues that monolingual teachers display a tendency to look 'through' rather than 'at' language. Hence the language of curricular content is implicit and unexamined for them.

If the language of the curriculum remains implicit for teachers due to their lack of exposure to theoretical knowledge of language, then it will obviously be difficult for them to make it explicit for ELLs. However, the literature indicates that effective teachers of

ELLs explicitly integrate language and content in their planning and classes (Cloud, Genesee & Hamayan, 2000; Harper & de Jong, 2004). Such integration is problematic if teachers do not consider the language education of ELLs as part of their mainstream teaching responsibility and within their area of expertise, or in other words, within their configurations of self in the school context. Consequently, professional learning for Margot and Susanna must actively seek to develop their language expertise and confidence (de Jong & Harper, 2005; Janzen, 2008; Langman, 2003; Wong Fillmore & Snow, 2000).

Mainstream teachers of ELLs require, and should receive, as a matter of course, explicit training in language knowledge. There are a number of descriptions in the literature as to the nature of that language knowledge. Giambo and Szecsi (2005), for example, contend that in terms of pre-and in-service training "A solid understanding of the interconnectedness of language and culture is fundamental for teachers of ELLs" (p. 109). Similarly, de Jong and Harper (2005) stress the importance of "making the linguistic and cultural foundations of teaching and learning visible and explicit" (p. 118) to teachers. This conceptualisation of language is one which offers opportunities for Margot and Susanna to explore and reflect on their cultural assumptions about literacy learning. Their explorations and reflections, in the light of theoretical language knowledge, may support attitudinal change. Attitudinal change, in turn, may support the goal of transforming theoretical language knowledge into observable pedagogical change.

Teachers working with ELLs also need training in specific aspects of language such as syntax, semantics, phonology, morphology and pragmatics (Wong-Fillmore & Snow, 2000). This knowledge intersects with orientations to language which emphasise links between language and culture, to form the extensive knowledge base of language education this study indicated is required by Margot and Susanna. The researcher contends that Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1985) provides a paradigm within which these perspectives on language coalesce and reinforce each other. Hence SFL is an appropriate paradigm within which to formulate and present the language knowledge component of professional learning for Margot and Susanna. It also provides a means for situating the 'discrete language skills' (Cummins & Yee Fun, 2007) such as syntactical features, that contribute to control over academic registers, in the context of meaning making specific to particular contexts of culture and situation (P. Gibbons, 2009).

If Margot and Susanna were assisted to notice, understand and develop control over theoretical knowledge of language within the SFL paradigm, their implementation of explicit teaching of language across KLAs would potentially become somewhat less

problematic than it currently is. With control over theoretical knowledge they would be better equipped to analyse the language demands of the texts that students are exposed to, and expected to produce, in the various KLAs. SFL's emphasis on interconnectedness may also support a conceptual shift towards a reconfiguration of themselves as teachers of language embedded within, or intersecting with, their configuration of self as teachers of content. While language knowledge would be an essential element of training for Margot and Susanna, in order to fully meet ELLs' learning needs they also need exposure to the complementary received, expert theoretical knowledge derived from SLA research. This is addressed in the following section.

7.4.iii Implications for Knowledge of SLA theory

In addition to a sound knowledge of language, Susanna and Margot need the support of an explicit knowledge of SLA research outcomes. The literature reports many misconceptions held by monolingual teachers, like Margot and Susanna, about the L2 acquisition process and its challenges (Harper & de Jong, 2004; Jimenez 2005; Penfield, 1997). Such misconceptions may be of a "problematic nature" (Harper & de Jong, 2004, p. 152) with regard to teachers' construction of their ELLs and to the educational opportunities afforded to ELLs in such teachers' classes. Sound training in SLA knowledge, however, may serve as a tool to counter teacher misconceptions by making explicit to Margot and Susanna the distinct nature of ESL learning needs. Teachers' need for such theoretical knowledge is supported widely in the literature (Cummins, 2000; E. Ellis, 2003; Freeman & Freeman, 2009a, 2009b; Harper & de Jong, 2004; Hite & Evans, 2006; Oliver et al., 2009). It may be particularly beneficial for teachers like Margot and Susanna who are monolingual in the school-sanctioned language as research indicates that a correlation exists between SLA training and teacher sensitivity toward language related issues (Giambo & Szecsi, 2005; Griego Jones, 2002; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004).

The field of SLA knowledge is extensive, so professional learning for Margot and Susanna would necessarily be somewhat restricted to those outcomes most relevant to their mainstream classroom practice (Hite & Evans, 2006). Outcomes included would be those that their observed pedagogical practices indicated may be most needed as a base for extending and transforming their current practices. However, these concepts should be dealt with at length in an attempt to make apparent to them that teaching practices based on the normalisation of monolingualism and monoculturalism are inadequate for meeting the academic needs of ELLs. Pedagogical practices based on foundations of monolingualism deny ELLs opportunities to take advantage of the rich potential which

inclusion in mainstream settings presents them for building their linguistic and cognitive skills (Chamot & O'Malley, 1996; Hammond & Gibbons, 1995, Truscott & Watts-Taffe, 2000).

Principal among the SLA knowledge most relevant to Margot and Susanna is the fact that the linguistic development paths of L2 learners are different to those of children learning in their L1 (Ives, 2008; 2009) and that there will be variation between ELLs based on their prior experiences and levels of literacy achieved in their first language/s (Harper & de Jong, 2004; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Exposure to such knowledge would be very useful for Margot and Susanna, working in the Australian context where, as reported in Chapter Two: Literature Review, according to E. Ellis (2003) ESL teaching is constructed as "the teaching of English" rather than as "the teaching of a second language" (p. ii). In this context, ELLs' language learning trajectory can be confounded with monolingual literacy trajectories and lead to misinterpretations of ELLs' academic performance and its possible causes (Ives, 2008; 2009). The culture of standardised testing prevalent in Australia, characterised in the NAPLAN may serve to support such misinterpretations (Ives, 2009). The researcher contends that this culture makes more pressing the need for teachers to be able to distinguish between L1 and L2 literacy pathways.

Key to elaborating these different developmental pathways is the theory of the two distinct proficiency domains, BICS and CALP (and their developmental time frames) put forward by Cummins (1979, 1981) and the third domain of 'discrete language skills' (Cummins & Yee-Fun (2007) or "the rule governed aspects of language" (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007, p. 800) such as grammar, spelling and phonology (Cummins & Yee-Fun, 2007). As discussed previously, Margot and Susanna have some valuable experiential knowledge of the BICS/CALP distinction. However, they do not possess a deep received theoretical knowledge of these distinctions. Received theoretical knowledge of this would expand on, and refine, the experiential knowledge they expressed in interviews. Knowledge of this SLA finding may also impact on the ways they presently account for any learning difficulties experienced by ELLs and act to limit their observed tendency to assign reasons for such difficulties to factors solely extraneous to adequate, SLA theory based instruction (Vollmer, 2000, Walters, 2007). For example, Susanna often accounted for her ELLs' academic difficulties as being due to *'learned helplessness'* (see Chapter Four: Findings, Interview Responses, Section One). It is, then, essential that teachers are encouraged to interrogate their pedagogical practices relative to ELLs' needs and academic performance. Deep knowledge of the distinct L1 and L2 pathways may provide Margot and Susanna with a framework for doing so. The researcher, however, acknowledges that

there may be a multiplicity of non-pedagogical factors contributing to Second Phase ELLs' academic difficulties. Significant amongst these, in some cases, may be the impact of transgenerational trauma. For this reason, it is important that Margot and Susanna are also aware of this phenomenon and are able to consider it in tandem with interrogation of their own pedagogical practices when trying to understand aspects of their refugee ELLs' academic performance.

Another key aspect of training in SLA knowledge for Margot and Susanna would be the existence of L1 to L2 transfer of skills and knowledge, the theory of Linguistic Interdependence (Cummins, 1984). Due to this interdependence relationship ELLs can "draw… on L1 language and metacognitive resources" (Genesee, et.al., 2005, p. 371) in acquiring the L2. Knowledge of this transfer is important for teachers of Second Phase ELLs or 'Long term English language learners' (Freeman & Freeman, 2009a) who do not have literacy in their L1, because it positions all L1s, including those with oral literacy traditions, as valuable knowledge and cognitive resources, rather than as deficits to be overcome. Nieto (2000) claims that for monolingual teachers of ELLs to be able to teach them successfully, professional learning experiences must involve "above all … challenging one's attitudes toward the students, their languages and cultures, and their communities" (p. 196). As mentioned earlier, both Margot and Susanna demonstrated, to different extents, deficit attitudes toward the ELLs' L1, Dinka. Hence, exposure to the theory of L1 to L2 transfer of knowledge and skills provides contextualised opportunities to make visible and challenge the basis of their existing notions of their refugee ELLs' cultural capital for school success.

The Linguistic Interdependence theory supports the use of the L1 in the classroom wherever possible, even if the teacher does not speak that language (Freeman & Freeman 2009a).This is significant for Margot and Susanna who both seek to nurture their ELLs in the classroom, as there is evidence that when teachers express interest in a child's language and treat it as a resource this has positive academic outcomes (Franquiz, & de la Luz Reyes, 1998). These teachers could easily incorporate such actions into their socially inclusive efforts, especially if they have knowledge of the theory that accounts for the success of such actions. Classroom use of L1s is also consistent with the QTF's identification of the pedagogical practice of drawing on learners' background knowledge as a central element of quality education for all children. In the case of ELLs, this knowledge may be best cognitively schematized and/or articulated in their L1s. Thus classroom L1 use actualises the engagement of ELLs with cognitively challenging material which may be beyond their present level of English.

In addition to the identified key SLA concepts of differing L1 and L2 pathways, linguistic interdependence and Cummins' (1979, 1981) and Cummins and Yee-Fun's (2007) proficiency domains, other SLA theories and findings of relevance to mainstream teachers of ELLs could also be included in professional learning. Of most relevance to supporting Margot's and Susanna's classroom practice is Swain's (1985) theory of comprehensible output. This theory is relevant as it provides a theoretical basis for these teachers to reflect on their facilitation of opportunities for ELLs to produce meaningful language and receive feedback and support in attending to form from teachers and peers in the course of KLA content teaching. As such, this theory would serve to foreground the pedagogical skills which the study's data indicated Margot and Susanna need support to develop.

Exposure to theoretical knowledge of SLA, then, should be an essential element of professional learning for these experienced mainstream teachers. In conjunction with knowledge and understanding of language within the paradigm of SFL it would provide a basis upon which Margot and Susanna can begin to conceptualise their responses to the learning needs of ELLs, and perhaps to begin to develop another configuration of themselves as teachers of content and language. Their responses to ELLs' needs will optimally involve the transformation of theoretical knowledge into observable pedagogical actions. For this reason, professional learning would also include a component of dealing with pedagogical skills which move beyond slight modifications and accommodations to usual teaching practice. The nature of pedagogical skills in professional learning for these teachers is considered next.

7.4.iv Implications for Pedagogical Skills

This study's literature review demonstrates that there is much agreement about the types of pedagogies that best serve ELLs' learning needs. These pedagogies are based on sociocultural theories of learning. While this study yielded no new data to add to, or challenge, this knowledge base, it did, however, indicate that Margot and Susanna also require professional learning support in the area of ESL-relevant pedagogical skills. This finding is consistent with other findings internationally. For example, Freeman and Freeman (2009a) claim that in US mainstream class settings "Rarely do teachers use approaches that have been proven to be effective with English language learners" (p. 9). These researchers argue that in addition to SLA knowledge, teachers of ELLs need knowledge of "best practices in order to be effective" (Freeman & Freeman, 2009a, p.12). Such best practice must be empirically-based and consistent with the SFL paradigm and the findings of SLA research if it is to assist teachers to move beyond 'knowing what' ELLs' needs are to 'knowing how' to address them (Janzen, 2008). Pedagogies would

require explicit modelling and exemplification during training. Margot and Susanna would need repeated "occasions to connect theory and practice in tightly integrated ways" (Gonzalez & Darling Hammond, 2000, p. 7) and consequently to practice, reflect upon and refine their understanding and pedagogical expressions of this connection during the course of ongoing professional learning opportunities.

Teachers deserve and require such concrete exemplification and support. Even in the draft of the new Australian National English Curriculum the 'how to' of best practice for ELLs in mainstream classes is markedly absent. The draft states only that "Those learning English as an additional language need time, support, targeted and explicit teaching and exposure to English before reaching the expectations outlined in the Australian Curriculum: English" (www.acara.edu.au, 2010, p. 4). However, no examples of 'targeted and explicit teaching' are given. This omission acts to place the onus for discerning what this 'targeted and explicit teaching' may entail on teachers who, like Margot and Susanna, may not have adequate professional education in ESL-related issues. Consequently, the need for professional learning that "connect[s] theory and practice in tightly integrated ways" (Gonzalez & Darling Hammond, 2000, p.7) becomes more pressing if the ELLs in their classes are to receive educational equity.

Based on observations of their existing pedagogies during this study, the researcher believes any pedagogical training to assist Margot and Susanna to develop 'best practice' and the 'knowing how' could best be developed around a focus on the QTF element of Substantive Communication. Instances of Substantive Communication were very infrequently observed in either teacher's classes during the period of this study (see Chapter Five, Findings, Classroom Responses, Section 5.1.2.ii). The researcher contends that a Pedagogical Skills component of professional learning focused on Substantive Communication would facilitate opportunities to contextualise and model a repertoire of pedagogical practices which actualise the knowledge bases of SFL and SLA.

Learning opportunities in facilitating Substantive Communication would make apparent to teachers the centrality of ELL (and ESB children's) talk in L2 developmental pathways. Such training has the potential to modify and extend the dominant IRE communication pattern observed in both classes. It would provide Margot and Susanna with a theoretically supported base upon which to begin the process of 'handing over' (Dufficy, 2006) opportunities to all learners to engage with each other and with language in the course of cognitively challenging activities. This pedagogical change would represent a large shift in their practices, and those to which their students are accustomed. Accordingly, it may be beneficial for Margot and Susanna to receive training in techniques

to maximise the outcomes of group work interactions between ELLs and their ESB classmates, and thus the linguistic and cognitive outcomes for ELLs (Genesee, et al., 2005). Their exposure to Swain's (1985) theory of comprehensible output acquired in the SLA theory content section of professional learning would provide sound theoretical support for the development of these pedagogical skills.

The study showed that Margot and Susanna use designed-in and contingent scaffolding techniques and Metalanguage in a limited way in their classes. Training in Substantive Communication would provide a means of extending and transforming their use of scaffolding and Metalanguage across all KLAs, embedded in the knowledge base of SFL. In so doing, they would be able to take advantage of the opportunities provided during Substantive Communication to scaffold ELLs along the Mode Continuum (Martin, 1985) from spoken language towards more written, academic language. Equally importantly, Substantive Communication provides opportunities for ELLs to draw on their background knowledge, as identified in the QTF, in their L1. This gives them a means to link L1 knowledge to that being acquired in the L2, and also to position themselves as experts with cultural knowledge that may be of benefit to the whole class.

Consequently, the development of the teachers' skills in the facilitation of Substantive Communication should be the centre of their training in ELL-relevant pedagogical change. Substantive Communication provides a framework in which both SLA and SFL knowledge bases may be integrated into practices which present ELLs with high challenge and high support to build their cognitive and linguistic control over curricular content, and thus ultimately to increase their academic outcomes. Having explored the model of components of appropriate professional learning for teachers such as Margot and Susanna, proposed in Figure 7.1, attention will now turn to a discussion of the implications for further research suggested by this study's findings.

7.5 Implications for Further Research

This study suggests a number of areas in which further research is required. For example, although increasing numbers of students from refugee backgrounds are settling outside metropolitan areas in New South Wales (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008) they continue to constitute a small minority of school enrolments there. Due to this, it may be easy for local educational authorities in these areas to overlook addressing issues pertaining to ELLs' special learning needs. Consequently, replication of this study on a larger scale, both in the same non-metropolitan area in which Margot and Susana work, and in other comparable areas in Australia, may be beneficial to draw attention to the issue of educational equity for ELLs in non-metropolitan areas.

Larger studies may yield data to indicate whether the findings of this study are representative, or atypical, of the situation of other mainstream teachers of small numbers of ELLs in these areas. If data from larger studies were to demonstrate that Margot's and Susanna's situation is not atypical, this would demonstrate empirically to local education authorities the necessity of addressing ELLs' learning needs through the provision of professional learning support for mainstream teachers within their jurisdictions. As such, larger studies may potentially contribute to an improvement in educational equity for these students in non-metropolitan areas.

During the course of this study it became apparent that more research also needs to be conducted into the specific needs of Second Phase ELLs, those whom Ives (2009) describes as "seemingly merg[ing] into the general school population" (p. 7) for educational purposes, due to their English needs not being as immediately obvious as those of First Phase learners. The dynamics of acquiring literacy in a second or additional language (Woods, 2009) and the nature of the semantic and cultural processing involved in that acquisition need to be more fully addressed through research. Similarly, teachers' understanding of the Curriculum Cycle stage of field building and the use of background and cultural knowledge in supporting the process of literacy acquisition in an additional language, also need further exploration.

The researcher believes it imperative that further investigation be conducted into the nature of transgenerational trauma and its possible impact on the observable behaviours and outcomes of Second Phase refugee ELLs in educational contexts (see Chapter Two: Literature Review, Section Three). Data rendered by studies in this area would serve to amplify understandings of the specific learning needs of this group. If widely disseminated, outcomes of such research may assist in making these students as a separate group of learners more visible to teachers and local education authorities.

Parallel to research into refugee ELLs' needs, it would be beneficial if more investigations were to be conducted in relation to teacher professional learning for working with ELLs. Research could involve the implementation and evaluation of the model of Components of Appropriate Professional Learning proposed in Figure 7.1. Identification and exemplification of the optimal content of such learning, for example, in the areas of SLA, SFL and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) is also required. In particular, research into best practice in supporting monolingual teachers of ELLs is necessary.

In the course of such research factors impacting on the development and successful implementation of professional learning experiences for non-metropolitan teachers might be identified and exemplified. In line with investigations into teacher professional learning,

research into the systems which local education authorities have in place for the dissemination of new educational information and professional support materials for mainstream teachers could also be conducted.

7.5.i Chapter Conclusion

The learning outcomes of the refugee ELLs in Margot's and Susanna's classes are greatly influenced by their teachers' capacity to cater for them pedagogically. The implications of this situation were considered in this chapter. The principal implication was that in order to cater pedagogically for these children, and thus to facilitate educational equity for them, Margot and Susanna require and deserve the support of ongoing, thorough, professional learning opportunities in the areas of culture and beliefs, language knowledge, SLA knowledge and pedagogical skills. Only access to such professional learning will provide them with the means to reconfigure themselves as teachers of content and language, and consequently to actualise the potential for ELLs' linguistic and academic development which exists within their inclusive, nurturing classrooms. Local education authorities must furnish Margot and Susanna with this professional learning if they are to provide all children in the schools under their jurisdiction with equitable access to a quality education.

A number of implications for further research suggested by the study's findings were considered in the final section of the chapter. These include i) the replication of this study on a wider scale in the region in which it was undertaken, ii) implementation and evaluation of the model of components of appropriate professional learning for mainstream teachers of refugee ELLs proposed in Figure 7.1, iii) investigation into optimal content of professional learning and factors impacting on its implementation and iv) further research into the possible impact of transgenerational trauma in the education of Second Phase refugee ELLs. The following, final chapter of this thesis will address the conclusions of the study.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions to the Research

This study had its genesis in the researcher's desire to investigate the everyday lived experiences of mainstream primary teachers of refugee ELLs in a non-metropolitan area in Australia in which these students form a small minority within schools' enrolments. To guide the investigation of these two teachers' lived experiences (and, incidentally, those of their ELLs) the following research question was developed.

How do two mainstream primary teachers in non-metropolitan Australia respond to the refugee ELLs in their classes?

Two sub-questions were designed to investigate the research question:

i) What knowledge of SLA research and attitudes do they draw on to determine their classroom practices with refugee ELLs?

ii) What classroom practices do they employ with refugee ELLs?

The findings of the study indicate that the two teachers' principal response to their refugee ELLs was a social, or pastoral, one. This response was of a very positive nature. Margot and Susanna both created nurturing classroom environments for all their students. They displayed genuine interest in, and concern for, the well-being of all their ESB and ELL children. This was reflected in the fact that they both achieved their highest QTF scores in the dimension of Social Support, part of the element of Quality Learning Environment. The actions of both teachers toward the refugee ELLs in their classrooms were characterized by attempts to be inclusive. Although refugee ELLs sometimes chose to exclude themselves, opportunities were provided for them to participate in an integral fashion in all classroom social and curricular activities. At no time were they marginalised within the classroom as a result of the actions or attitudes of the teachers. Margot and Susanna publically acknowledged, in words and actions, ELLs' efforts, contributions and full membership of their classroom communities. In summary, the data show that the configuration of self as pastoral caregiver is a significant one for these teachers in regard to the refugee ELLs in their classes.

Margot's and Susanna's pastoral response to their ELLs is reflected in their inclusion of ELLs in all curricular activities. Nonetheless, while ELLs are included in these activities, the teachers employ minimal pedagogical differentiation to assist them to fully access curricular content. Hence, refugee ELLs are exposed to the same pedagogical practices as all other students in the class. Margot and Susanna were observed to employ aspects of the Curriculum Cycle to a limited extent in their teaching. However, their observed

pedagogical practices, in general, did not achieve high scores in the QTF dimensions which correspond to what is understood as best pedagogical practice for ELLs. These dimensions included Higher Order Thinking, Metalanguage and Substantive Communication, which comprise the element of Intellectual Quality and Background Knowledge and Cultural Knowledge from the element of Significance. Consequently, the two teachers' observed limited use of these pedagogical practices, combined with their observed minimal pedagogical differentiation for ELLs, made ELLs' access to curricular content and thus educational equity, problematic in these sites. Hence limited educational equity for ELLs existed despite the supportive, nurturing environments observed in both teachers' classrooms.

A possible explanation for the teachers' limited pedagogical response to their ELLs was found in their lack of theoretical knowledge of SLA and of language. Margot and Susanna both demonstrated some experiential knowledge of the SLA theory of BICS/CALP (Cummins, 1979) and recognised that ELLs' learning needs were language knowledge based. However, they had not had opportunities to be exposed to received, theoretical knowledge in relation to this and other SLA research findings or to similar theoretical knowledge of language. They thus did not have a theoretical basis upon which to develop an understanding of ELL language and cognitive development pathways, nor of the interconnectedness of language and content in opening up curricular access to ELLs.

As a result of the lack of a theoretical base, the teachers demonstrated a dichotomous perception of language and content. This perception was manifested in another significant site-specific configuration of self for Margot and Susanna in which they positioned themselves as 'teacher of content' rather than 'teacher of language.' This configuration of self appeared to allow them to assign responsibility for ELLs' language learning outside their own classrooms. As a result, any ELL difficulties in acquiring content knowledge could be attributed to factors external to their own pedagogical practices. Thus, lack of theoretical knowledge of SLA combined with their configuration of self as teachers of content appears to account for the apparent contradiction between Margot's and Susanna's pastoral and pedagogical responses to their refugee ELLs.

8.1 Contribution of the Study to the Field

This study contributes in a number of ways to the theoretical, methodological and knowledge base of the field of ESL in the mainstream in Australia. It has demonstrated that sociocultural theory of learning and the theory of cultural capital can be drawn on to explicitly link SLA research outcomes to effective pedagogies for the optimal instruction of

ELLs in mainstream settings. Its research design has further linked these SLA research-supported pedagogies for ELLs, to the outcomes of research into productive mainstream pedagogies (Newmann & Associates, 1996; Newmann, Marks & Gamoran, 1996) through its use of the QTF coding scale (New South Wales Department of Education and Training, 2006) to record classroom observations. The study's findings have demonstrated that a methodology employing a data gathering tool derived from mainstream pedagogical research, and chosen because of its intersections with SLA research-supported pedagogies, can render a number of valuable insights, such as those following, in relation to the education of ELLs in mainstream classes.

Principally, this study has provided insight into the lived experiences of two members of a previously under-researched group, that is, mainstream primary teachers of refugee ELLs in a non-metropolitan area in Australia. Incidentally it has also provided insight into access to educational equity for some members of a relatively new group within the Australian student body, refugee ELLs who live outside metropolitan areas. In doing so the study has highlighted the complexity and multiplicity of the challenges that these two teachers face in adequately meeting these Second Phase ELLs' specific learning needs. It has also proposed a relevant model of professional learning to support teachers in meeting these challenges. In addition, importantly, it has given a forum to Margot and Susanna, and to some of their colleagues, in which to voice their understandings of their reality.

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Appendices

a. Information letter to teachers

INFORMATION LETTER TO TEACHERS

TITLE OF PROJECT: Exploring the pedagogical decisions of mainstream primary teachers of refugee English Language Learners (ELLs) / English as a Second Language (ESL) students.

SUPERVISOR: Dr Lorraine McDonald

STUDENT RESEARCHER: Jackie Coleman

PROGRAMME IN WHICH ENROLLED: PhD

Dear…………………………….

You are invited to participate in this study which has the purpose of identifying the pedagogical decisions that mainstream primary teachers make in relation to their refugee ELL/ESL students. The study will involve classroom observations of KLA classes and interviews with teachers.

Participation in the study will involve no risk or inconvenience to participants.

Participants will be observed and audio-recorded on various occasions in the course of teaching their ordinary KLA classes. No special class preparation is required. Each participant will be interviewed at least twice after the observations. Interviews will be audio-recorded and between 45-60 minutes in length.

Potential benefits to the participants in this study will include having a forum in interviews in which to explain and reflect on their specific teaching situations and practices. In addition, they may contribute to the creation of a greater awareness of the general situation of mainstream primary teachers with refugee ELL/ESL students in their classes. This awareness, in turn, potentially will contribute to the development of improved preparation opportunities and in-class support for the mainstream primary teachers of these students.

The study's participants will be free to refuse consent altogether without having to justify that decision, or to withdraw consent and discontinue participation in the study at any time without giving a reason.

Confidentiality of all participants will be guaranteed and ensured by the use of pseudonyms for them and their school locations. These pseudonyms will be known only to the researcher and her supervisor and will be stored securely during the study and after its completion. As such, individuals and locations will not be identifiable in any report or publication that arises from the study.

Any questions regarding this project should be directed to the Supervisor or the Student Researcher.

Dr Lorraine Mc Donald, Ms Jackie Coleman
Tel: (02) 97014269
School of Education
ACU, Strathfield Campus,
25A Barker St.
Strathfield NSW, 2135

A copy of the results of the project will be available to all project participants.

This study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at the Australian Catholic University.

In the event that you as a project participant have any complaint or concern about the way you have been treated during the study, or if you have any query that the Supervisor and Student Researcher have not been able to satisfy, you may write to the Chair of the Human Research Ethics Committee care of the nearest branch of the Research Services Unit.

NSW/ACT:Chair, HREC
C/o Research Services
Australian Catholic University
Strathfield Campus
Locked Bag 2002
STRATHFIELD NSW 2135
Tel: 02 9701 4093
Fax: 02 9701 4350

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

If you agree to participate in this project, you should sign both copies of the Consent Form, retain one copy for your records and return the other copy to the Supervisor or Student Researcher.

Lorraine McDonald

....
Supervisor

....
Student Researcher

b. Participant Consent Form

ACU National
Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Sydney Canberra Ballarat Melbourne

Strathfield Campus (Mount St Mary)
25A Barker Road Strathfield NSW 2135
Locked Bag 2002 Strathfield NSW 2135 Australia
Telephone: **02 97014269**
Facsimile: **02 97014240**
Email: **lorraine.mcdonald@acu.edu.au**
www.acu.edu.au

CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF PROJECT: Exploring the pedagogical decisions of mainstream primary teachers of refugee English Language Learners (ELLs) / English as a Second Language (ESL) students

SUPERVISOR: Dr Lorraine McDonald

STUDENT RESEARCHER: Jackie Coleman

I .... have read and understood the information provided in the Letter to Teachers. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in being observed and audio-recorded during the teaching of KLA classes and to be interviewed and audio-recorded on at least two occasions for approximately 45 minutes to one hour on each occasion. I realise that I can withdraw my consent at any time without comment or penalty. 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 SUPERVISOR:……………..…………………….…..
DATE:………………………..

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

b.i Australian Catholic University Ethics Approval

Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Sydney Canberra Ballarat Melbourne

⊖ACU National

Human Research Ethics Committee

Committee Approval Form

Principal Investigator/Supervisor: Dr Lorraine McDonald Sydney Campus

Co-Investigators:

Student Researcher: Ms Jacqueline Coleman Sydney Campus

Ethics approval has been granted for the following project:
Exploring the pedagogical decisions of mainstream primary teachers of refugee English Language Learners (ELLs). (Exploring the teaching decisions of mainstream teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL) students)

for the period: 13 November 2008 to 30 April 2009

Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) Register Number: N200708 90

The following standard conditions as stipulated in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans* (2007) apply:

   (i)   that Principal Investigators / Supervisors provide, on the form supplied by the Human Research Ethics Committee, annual reports on matters such as:
- security of records
- compliance with approved consent procedures and documentation
- compliance with special conditions, and

   (ii)   that researchers report to the HREC immediately any matter that might affect the ethical acceptability of the protocol, such as:
- proposed changes to the protocol
- unforeseen circumstances or events
- adverse effects on participants

The HREC will conduct an audit each year of all projects deemed to be of more than low risk. There will also be random audits of a sample of projects considered to be of negligible risk and low risk on all campuses each year.

Within one month of the conclusion of the project, researchers are required to complete a *Final Report Form* and submit it to the local Research Services Officer.

If the project continues for more than one year, researchers are required to complete an *Annual Progress Report Form* and submit it to the local Research Services Officer within one month of the anniversary date of the ethics approval.

K. Pashley.

Signed: Date: 13 November 2008
(Research Services Officer, McAuley Campus)

(Committee Approval.dot @21/11/2007)   Page 1 of 1

305

c. Quality Teaching Framework Coding Descriptions

Coding scale overview chart
Intellectual quality

	1	2	3	4	5
Higher-order thinking	Students demonstrate only lower-order thinking. They either receive or recite pre-specified knowledge or participate in routine practice, and in no activities during the lesson do students go beyond simple reproduction of knowledge.	Students primarily demonstrate lower-order thinking, but at some point, at least some students perform higher-order thinking as a minor diversion within the lesson.	Students primarily demonstrate routine lower-order thinking a good share of the lesson. There is at least one significant question or activity in which most students perform some higher-order thinking.	Most students demonstrate higher-order thinking in at least one major activity that occupies a substantial portion of the lesson.	All students, almost all of the time, demonstrate higher-order thinking.
Metalanguage	No metalanguage. The lesson proceeds without the teacher or students stopping to comment on the language being used.	Low metalanguage. During the lesson terminology is explained or either the teacher or students stop to make value judgements or comment on language. There is, however, no clarification or assistance provided regarding the language.	Some use of metalanguage. At the beginning of the lesson, or at some key juncture, the teacher or students stop and explain or conduct a "mini-lesson" on some aspect of language, e.g. genre, vocabulary, signs or symbols.	Periodic use of metalanguage. The teacher or students provide commentary on aspects of language at several points during the lesson.	High use of metalanguage. The lesson proceeds with frequent commentary on language use.
Substantive communication	Almost no substantive communication occurs during the lesson.	Substantive communication among students and/or between teacher and students occurs briefly.	Substantive communication among students and/or between teacher and students occurs occasionally and involves at least two sustained interactions.	Substantive communication, with sustained interactions, occurs over approximately half the lesson with teacher and/or students scaffolding the conversation.	Substantive communication, with sustained interactions, occurs throughout the lesson, with teachers and/or students scaffolding the communication.

Quality learning environment

	1	2	3	4	5
Explicit quality criteria	No explicit statements regarding the quality of work are made. Only technical and procedural criteria are made explicit.	Only general statements are made regarding the desired quality of the work.	Detailed criteria regarding the quality of work are made explicit during the lesson, but there is no evidence that students are using the criteria to examine the quality of their work.	Detailed criteria regarding the quality of work are made explicit or reinforced during the lesson and there is evidence of some students, some of the time, examining the quality of their work in relation to these criteria.	Detailed criteria regarding the quality of work are made explicit or reinforced throughout the lesson and there is consistent evidence of students examining the quality of their work in relation to these criteria.
Engagement	Low engagement or disengagement. Students are frequently off-task, perhaps disruptive, as evidenced by inattentiveness or serious disruptions by many. This is the central characteristic during much of the lesson.	Sporadic engagement. Most students, most of the time, either appear apathetic and indifferent or are only occasionally active in carrying out assigned activities. Some students might be clearly off-task.	Variable engagement. Most students are seriously engaged in parts of the lesson, but may appear indifferent during other parts and very few students are clearly off-task.	Widespread engagement. Most students, most of the time, are on-task pursuing the substance of the lesson. Most students seem to be taking the work seriously and trying hard.	Serious engagement. All students are deeply involved, almost all of the time, in pursuing the substance of the lesson.
High expectations	No students, or only a few, participate in any challenging work.	Some students participate in challenging work during at least some of the lesson. They are encouraged (explicitly or through lesson processes) to try hard and to take risks and are recognised for doing so.	Many students participate in challenging work during at least half of the lesson. They are encouraged (explicitly or through lesson processes) to try hard and to take risks and are recognised for doing so.	Most students participate in challenging work during most of the lesson. They are encouraged (explicitly or through lesson processes) to try hard and to take risks and are recognised for doing so.	All students participate in challenging work throughout the lesson. They are encouraged (explicitly or through lesson processes) to try hard and to take risks and are recognised for doing so.
Social support	Social support is low. Actions or comments by the teacher or students result in "put-downs", and the classroom atmosphere is negative.	Social support is mixed. Both undermining and supportive behaviours or comments are observed.	Social support is neutral or mildly positive. While no undermining behaviours are observed, supportive behaviours or comments are directed at those students most engaged in the lesson, rather than those students who are more reluctant.	Social support is clearly positive. Supportive behaviours and comments are directed at most students, including clear attempts at supporting reluctant students.	Social support is strong. Supportive behaviours or comments from students and the teacher are directed at all students, including soliciting and valuing the contributions of all.

Significance

	1	2	3	4	5
Background knowledge	Students' background knowledge is not mentioned or elicited.	Students' background knowledge is mentioned or elicited, but is trivial and not connected to the substance of the lesson.	Students' background knowledge is mentioned or elicited briefly, is connected to the substance of the lesson, and there is at least some connection to out-of-school background knowledge.	Students' background knowledge is mentioned or elicited several times, is connected to the substance of the lesson, and there is at least some connection to out-of-school background knowledge.	Students' background knowledge is consistently incorporated into the lesson, and there is substantial connection to out-of-school background knowledge.
Cultural knowledge	No explicit recognition or valuing of other than the knowledge of the dominant culture is evident in the substance of the lesson.	Some cultural knowledge is evident in the lesson, but it is treated in a superficial manner.	Some cultural knowledge is recognised and valued in the lesson, but within the framework of the dominant culture.	Substantial cultural knowledge is recognised and valued in the lesson with some challenge to the framework of the dominant culture.	Substantial cultural knowledge is recognised and valued throughout the lesson and this knowledge is accepted as equal to the dominant culture.
Inclusivity	Some students are excluded, or exclude themselves, from lesson activities throughout the lesson.	Some students are excluded, or exclude themselves, from the majority of lesson activities except for minor forms of inclusion in one or two instances during a lesson.	Students from all groups are included in most aspects of the lesson, but the inclusion of students from some groups may be minor or trivial relative to other groups.	Students from all groups are included in a significant way in most aspects of the lesson, but there still appears to be some unevenness in the inclusion of different social groups.	Students from all groups are included in all aspects of the lesson and their inclusion is both significant and equivalent to the inclusion of students from other social groups.
	1	2	3	4	5

d. Demographic Questionnaire

1. Please tick the appropriate **age group for yourself**.

30-40_____   40-50_____   50-60_____   60+_____

2. Please tick the appropriate **number of years experience** as a teacher.

10-15_____   15-20_____   20-25_____   30-35_____   35+

3. Do you have any **formal ESL qualifications**? Yes_____   No_____

If yes, please name the qualification here. _____

4. Have you participated in any professional development opportunities related to **ESL in the mainstream class?**

Yes_____   No_____

If yes, please describe the type of professional development below

_____

5. Do you speak a language other than English ? Yes_____   No____

If yes, please tick your ability level   Basic _____   Moderate_____   Fluent_____

e. Transcript Margot-Interview One

R= Researcher M= Margot

Question numbers are given in ( )

R. (1). Can you please tell me a little bit about the class?

M. They're very poor listeners, very bad listeners, absolutely poor! They're very hard to get through to and that means then that they have difficulty following instructions. Very few independent workers.

R. How do they compare to other classes you've had?

M. Last year's were very babyish in their ideas, but they listened very well. I had one child last year who was extremely difficult behaviour-wise, but the other 29, even the kids who had problems with literacy, and they were as severe as the ones this year, but their other behaviour, they were good listeners, but these kids aren't. And we were told to be prepared for it, so obviously whatever they were doing in Year 2 didn't work, I'm not having a go at the teachers I'm just saying they tried really hard but …

R. So it's been a problem with this group all the way through? What do you think is the best way to approach teaching them? How do you think they would learn best?

M. Like, we're all racking our brains, I'm trying some different things in maths. I was doing some maths, we didn't do one today, where they have to listen to me giving an instruction and do a written response, because I thought that might engage them. I felt today when we walked through the page slowly that they were better at listening so I may need to keep doing that a lot. The BookWeb, they're not coping with because for that they really need to listen to their instructions in the small group and then be able to go and apply it, but they're showing me, not just that the little slower groups, but the ones that are capable and have shown that they're capable in the testing at the end of last year, that they can't apply. So they obviously haven't really heard and understood the instructions. They're not writing in sentences which they should be. I understand that little slower ones need a lot more direction and that's quite normal, the three little Sudanese ones.

R. Is there anything different about them [the Sudanese refugee ELLs]*? (9). Do you have the same expectations of them as the rest of the class?*

M. They are, like the girls listen well. S4 actually I gave her an award yesterday, because she was the one girl in the class I really felt listened well and the written work that she handed up that she had to do independently was excellent, so she obviously listened to whoever was working with her and applied it in writing really good sentence answers. And one of the little boys, he listens in my little group when he's reading and goes and applies that the best in his group, so he's listening quite well, S4 too. They're not my three who don't appear to listen and understand. Those are three who do and maybe they've had to work harder at it and have a better …

R. And those three have done all their schooling in English?

M. They've done it all here and they have all been taken out for literacy until this year when I said I didn't feel S6 needed it. I feel she's in the middle of the class and she doesn't need to be withdrawn any more and she's showing me she is coping.

R. So you don't think she needs any extra support in any way?

M. Yes, she still gets support. The three of them still go to some ESL support. Well, it was Friday afternoon last week, but I need to see [ESL teacher] *about that because if it's going to be that time on every week they'll miss science and that's not something I like them to miss.*

R. And what sort of stuff do they do in that [ESL withdrawal/support]*? Have you had time to talk to* [ESL teacher] *about it?*

M. [ESL teacher] *is doing that. She hasn't talked to me but it will be literacy based. So it would be writing, spelling.*

R. And would that be based on the topics that you're doing in class?

M. I would hope so. I would hope so. If they're doing narrative now, and that's what they're doing when they leave the room in literacy time, so I would hope that they keep working on that. The first couple of weeks they spent covering their books, which was important to them because, you know, they like to be like everyone else.

R. I was thinking about the home school relationship. Why is it that the parents don't cover the books? Is it that they don't understand that it is required?

M. [ESL teacher] *says it is not in their culture to cover books, I mean I've had other Sudanese kids before who have covered their books but, and I guess we've got like* [ESB child]*, I took his books home and covered them because there are some, and I guess we've got some money that we can use to help the Sudanese kids. They* [the Sudanese ELLs] *went and helped to cover them, they picked the paper and that sort of thing, so they got to choose, they didn't just get them handed to them, so they had a bit of ownership in that.*

R. Do you have much to do with their parents, or have you over the time that they've been here?

M. No. The only dad who I've had anything to do with was S7's, who's in Year Five, and she's a good little athlete and it was mainly so that, like he couldn't get her to carnivals and I'd pick up and take, that sort of thing. So they don't tend to come along because their command of English isn't all that good and they are all working at it, but I've noticed the two girls did their homework and they do want to be, you know, like everyone else. They certainly did their homework. S5 forgot to bring his in.

R. He seems on task to me most of the time.

M. Yes, I think so. I've put him there next to S4 and I don't know if that's a good idea. I might have to move him. I think they're tending to distract each other a little bit, most of the other moves have worked. [goes on to talk about ESB child in the class with behaviour problems]

R. (2). So you've got a lot of kids with fairly complex situations I guess. Does having the ESL kids, do you think, affect in any way the way you teach the class?

M. Not really. I think the way that I've got them each in a different group for the reading, I can sort of have a really close … I haven't heard S4, other than hearing her first. You would have heard her read it yesterday. [Teacher's aide] has told me that she is going well and I can tell from her sentence answers and things that she is coping fine. The other two, when they're reading to me and understanding, they're at a level with the other children, so it's not a problem at all.

R. So how long will they keep getting ESL assistance?

M. They really only need to get it for about 18 months. Then what we do here is that we add it all up every child from a non-English-speaking, like if they've got a grandparent who speaks a language, if they hear another language even from grandparents, they qualify for some funding, so we put all the funding in one bucket and then see where it's most needed and they go out in groups. So there are children …

R. So who makes that decision? The staff?

M. David, [principal] *and* [ESL teacher] *make the decision … New arrivals get fairly intensive, and we do get a few. We get a lot of doctors that come over like from India and come here to the hospital to work for a number of years. They have all learned English, a lot of them have been at International Schools so they come with a fairly good grasp, but the grammar is what gets them, and it's the same with the Sudanese kids the grammar does stop, you know.*

R. It was interesting today doing the maths, seeing the way that they three of them seemed to have trouble with that left right concept.

M. They did, they did.

R. So, I was wondering because you said they'd had all their schooling in English…

M. Yes, they did. You'd think that they would have picked that up [the difference between left and right] *in kinder or Year One or Year Two, but that's the important thing … you have to do a lot of talking about the language of position, or the language of anything …*

R. Like the way you went up and showed them?

M. That was because S5 was saying "That's the right side, it's there" and of course he's right. So it's so confusing for them, they're very motivated, they want to learn and I mean S4 said this morning "I have no lunch". Now there are other kids they wouldn't know what to do but she knew to come and say and then we just organised her some lunch. So they're pretty, they became westernised pretty quickly.

R. (3). Did you have any of the first lot of kids who came through, who if they'd had any education had had it in the refugee camps? Was that First Wave of Sudanese kids different to these kids? [current ELLs]

M. We had heaps, we had heaps and heaps.

R. Did you personally have any?

M. I, no, now who did I have last year? We had a lot of, we had a S5's big brothers. We had some huge issues, because we had all the years, we probably had about 18 new arrivals, families who the boys had seen, the kids had seen their fathers killed and stuff like that. But we had different tribes too, and they were at each other in the playground these big boys, there'd be fisticuffs, it was quite scary.

R. Very demanding of you.

M. Very scary at the start. Then we had a teacher to teach that unit who was a special needs teacher who just didn't work out … she just was no good at it at all. They'd been brought out of the camp and put in a room and they were basically trying to climb out. We then got an older male teacher [name] *who'd been a principal years ago, and had taught overseas, a lot of experience. He got the boys, got his car with the bonnet up ... so that's how we sort of coped with getting them. They literally one day when they were in the room with that lady and pulled down the blinds trying to get away from her.*

R. So how old were these kids?

M. They were like Year Five and Six when they came and then they were going out on the playground and you were trying to hold them apart.

R. Was the fighting between themselves, or between them and the other kids?

M. Between themselves. That would start and we had to say to the other kids "If they start a fight you've got to walk right away because the teacher's out there."

R. So did you get training on how to deal with these kids? … Was there a counsellor here?

M. We got, they came and, well nobody really knew. We had a little girl too, and it did happen sometimes, the little girls if they came from, if … if one spoke "Dinky" [means Dinka, the L1 of most Sudanese ELLs] *and the other one spoke something else well, they ostracised one little girl, who were the children of the dad who killed his wife, they were here that was horrific* [tells more about a recent tragedy in which the father of some of the school's Sudanese ELLs- no longer at the school- murdered their mother-could possibly identify location]

R. So it must have been extremely stressful for you all.

M. We all hated being out there, because these boys were violent, they grew up with violence, that's all they knew.

R. (4). How did you go from that situation? How did you go about working out what those kids' needs were?

M. Well, I don't know how they coped up in primary, well because [teacher's name] *had them. He had them all the year, all the time. He was great with them, fantastic, he just knew how to, I mean you'd go over there sometimes and* [teacher's name] *would be asleep at his desk, and the kids would be playing, but you know, social interaction. They're now in high school, a couple of them are a S5's brothers. We got some of them to come back from high school to do with the Journey programme* [a personal development programme] *that* [name] *runs. We had them come in and*

talk to the children about their life, because what used to happen, you could take them to the computer room and they would find a site that had like a bloodshed and violence and they would laugh, and the other kids would think "Why are they laughing?", but it was the only way they knew to cope with seeing something horrific, and teachers found that challenging and that came up as "Like, what do we do when this happens?"

R. *Did the teachers feel resentful towards the kids do you think?*

M. *No, nobody did. David's* [principal] *always been very available if you're feeling like you need them to have time out you can send them, and they did get more ESL, like they were out for bigger blocks of time when they were younger. We had other ESL teachers here as well.*

R. *I was interested to see that the Sudanese kids seem to speak to each other in English when it's just the three of them.*

M. *And they used to not do that. They used to speak in their own language.*

R. *(10). What's your opinion of the use of the first language in the classroom?*

M. *Well, see they've got to learn German* [as a LOTE] *as well, but they love it. I think they're speaking their own language at home but I think if they're going to cope educationally and get through and do whatever they want to do they do need to be speaking English as much conversationally. So I don't think it's a bad thing for them to be doing, speaking in English, and it probably, maybe makes them feel more included. I noticed last year when we had our celebration of talent they love to dance, they do love to dance. And one year the kids with* [teacher's name] *wanted to get up and dance and I said "Yes." Then as they get up and dance, we thought "They'll get up there and do something wonderful" … and they got up there with the baseball caps and everything and did the American thing and everyone is going "Like, how disappointing!" We thought we were going to get something interesting and all we got ….. and we thought "They're very Americanised!" When they first came we used to have to let them go home for lunch because if they didn't have any lunch and they couldn't go home I'd say "Come on I'll give you a sandwich, this is lettuce, this is cheese, this is tomato", but it hardly took them any time and they were eating meat pies and sausage rolls.*

R. *But they maintain the culture at home?*

M. *Yes they do.*

R. *(5). There is a belief in some sections of the community that the Sudanese have developed a sense of entitlement. Have you seen any evidence of that? Do you think that exists?*

M. *Yes, definitely. I think it does. In the early days they go to Father* [parish priest] *almost weekly and say "I don't have any money" or they'd come to David* [Principal].

R. *But they would have been getting some Centrelink payment?*

M. *They would have had money. What they were doing, some of them were sending it home. Yet they get given things, uniforms and they don't look after them and they think "I'll just get another one." If they need socks they come and ask for socks.*

R. Where do you draw the line on that?

M. That's the thing!

R.Would you do that to another kid?

M. No, and that's the thing. Even with excursions like they don't tend to pay for things, David says "Don't bother chasing them up for the money for a program" and I say to him "Well other families are paying" and I tended to give them the note and sometimes they'll put money in and sometimes they won't. But certainly [recounts a story of principal's generosity toward the Sudanese community that may identify study location] *… I do certainly think it's there, more in the parents. I think we have done the wrong thing, like just handing out. Some of the mums took them shopping and I think that's great, take them and show them where to get the stuff that they want, but I do think it is there and their children I don't think, like they won't have a hat and you give them hat after hat …*

R. It's a difficult cycle to break, isn't it?

M. It is. We did find out that they have to look after their own clothes, wash their own clothes. I don't know whether that still happens. But that certainly did happen in the early days and that can cause resentment I guess if they think, I mean it's not going to continue forever. You would hope they become Australian citizens. They will then sort of be like … They have been brought in. We had a problem with head lice and the parents had to be brought in and we had to bring in someone who could interpret to talk to the parents about cleanliness.

R. It was amongst the African kids? Not the whole school?

M. Well the other kids were getting them, but it was certainly coming, it was felt, that it was coming from the Sudanese.

R. By the staff? Not by the parents, gossiping or anything?

M. There wasn't any gossip because it is very hard to pinpoint … We had to get them to come in and talk about that. And we had to get used to their body odour. It is quite different to our kids, particularly as they get a bit older they do smell differently, they tend to not use deodorant and stuff like that, so they were spoken to.

R. And did the other kids, the kids who sat around them complain?

M. I have never had a child complain, but I would think that up in Year Six it would be more of an issue. We noticed when they fell over and bled, you got a shock because the blood, because it's on a black skin it looks different and so silly little things, but they were things that we had to get used to, they bleed differently, like it looks different on dark skin.

R. (6). Do you think the kids have any skills that come from that refugee experience that they can use in their learning? Or do you tend to see it more as challenges?

M. I can't sort of see any particular skills. They all tend to be fairly good at running, probably they have had a lot of practice in running! Some of them haven't been in camps, some of them got out.

See these little ones they got out when they were little, so their memories of the camp would be secondary. They probably didn't see a lot of the violence, very few of them have a dad, like very few of them have a dad, some of them do, some of those dads are well and truly employed, some are learning. A lot of them have had to come out here and have operations … and that would have all been done free of charge … and one of the other mothers had to have a hernia operation, and they had to get over that in their culture that is something to be proud of, to have a hernia.

R. And why is that?

M. We don't know why. One of the other little girls she also had a hernia and we had to get across to them that it's actually quite a dangerous thing because she had a very big tummy and the little girl had a protruding tummy and the medical staff had to come in here with interpreters to convince the family that the mother needed the operation and so did the child. So that was, yeah, well in their culture they probably don't call it a hernia.

R. Yeah.

R. (7). In your experience, how long does it take for an ESL kid to acquire proficiency in English?

M. Mmm, I wouldn't say that … they can speak it better, like I wouldn't say, there's one girl in Year Six and one in Year Five, I wouldn't say they're proficient, conversationally they are and they learned the swear words really quickly. They're very good. S7, who I had last year, used to get into violent tempers and she would swear at them in English and in her own language. She used to get really angry and I would get her sister and she would say "She has a problem with anger management". So, they've got the language! That was S7, her big sister and she was funny, they come with no age and S7 was a particularly good runner, particularly good, but she kept saying she was a year younger than she actually was. And when I took her to [sporting event] and someone challenged her age. I said "This is what her mother said. Her mother said that she was 10." And they said "But you can see she is not" and I said "That's what she wrote on the form" and then she might have been an 11 whatever … Then last year when she was here I said "Look S7, you are not that age." We found another document that had that she was a year older I said "You have got to run in the right age group" and she said "I want to run with the 11s" and I said "If you run against the 12's you will actually do better because the girls as they get older get slower." So she did and she did really well and she did extremely well. So they're not really sure of their [age].

R. I thought that was interesting yesterday when you are doing the religion thing that S5 said "What if someone doesn't know how old they are?"

M. Mmm

R. So in terms of English do you see a difference between English conversation and the English required to succeed at school?

M. Particularly grammar.

R. So the conversational comes … ?

M. A lot easier, a lot quicker. Applying it again even to write a sentence, to construct a sentence, you know, it's a lot harder for them I think, because I'm not sure how their language flows, you

know, where the verbs and everything is, because when they're doing German they have to understand that a sentence in German ... but they tend to cope with that and they all love the German, even though they don't listen.

[Bell goes]

R. *O.K. Thanks you very much for that.*

M. *I thought they were going to be hard work … getting the three of them, they have never been together. The girls have been together because they are sisters and I was surprised to find out that S4 is the older one I thought from the way that she copes S6 was properly the older one.*

R. *S4 seems a bit more mature on the surface anyway.*

M. *Mmm, but that's not so.*

R. *(8). So have they* [the Sudanese refugee ELLs] *contributed something to the school that you value, as a group?*

M. *Well, I think it's good for kids to mix with different, you know. They are well accepted by the other children so you know, so in that respect they give the other kids, allow them give them an experience of dealing with kids from a completely different culture. When they were here at first there was huge interest in them and they were very popular. The kids sort of took to them very quickly.*

R. *And the parents chipped in to try to support the community?*

M. *The parents were really helpful, we had mums who took them shopping, it's a very supportive community.*

R. *But there hasn't been a backlash? People haven't …*

M. *No.*

R. *What about the common idea that they've always got their hand out?*

M. *I don't think, I mean we have seen it here, but I don't know that it's general knowledge, it is not general knowledge, people probably think they pay. Though they don't have to pay their school fees because I think the diocese decided that they'd be responsible for their education.*

R. *So are the parents aren't aware of that?*

M. *They wouldn't know. They don't know that there are a lot of parents who don't pay their school fees or pay minimal. And nobody knows what anyone else pays. That's part of the diocesan policy.*

R. *So you haven't sensed any general …*

M. *No, I think they are very accepting.*

f. Transcript Susanna- Interview One

R= Researcher S= Susanna

Question numbers are given in ( )

R. (1). *You've been teaching these kids for four weeks. Can you please tell me about the children in your class?*

S. *They are a very mixed ability group. I think that mostly they are from a variety of backgrounds. There were five new children that came into the class, so trying to accommodate them in was hard. There were two Sudanese, there's one from Korea and two that had come just from different schools.*

R. *So what challenges do they present you? … Does this particular make-up of the group present you? What sort of learners are they?*

S. *The thing I find with these ones mostly is that there is a such a broad range. You always have that range. But there's a lot of kids down in that bottom group, more than your normal, there's only 22 kids, but probably a third of those struggle quite markedly. So there is the mixture of that they struggle with their work, but a lot of the reason is that they don't actually listen, so you've got the behaviour.*

R. *Why do you think that is, is it this particular collection of personalities? Maturity or what?*

S. *There are a few whose personalities clash. There's a couple who are quite vocal and run the show so I think there's that, so some of it is just their nature, that's just them, and I tried to curb that down a little bit. That's the hardest part was a lot of them, because you're trying to curb the behaviour, but not stamp out the spirit, they're lovely kids, but!*

R. *Where to put the limits?*

S. *That's the hard part … the difficult part at the start of the year, I always feel like the wicked witch of the west because you think you've got to set the bar somewhere. I figure you set it higher and try to get them to go there and then you sort of negotiate where it is a little bit, because some of them don't have the academic skills, and I'm still trying to find a way to figure out who can do what and who can't.*

R. *And that takes a long time?*

S. *A new lot come in, you're trying to peg where they're up to.*

R. *Can you tell me a little bit maybe about the Sudanese kids in the class?*

S. *There's three of them in here, one has been here since kinder, so he's gone right through with them. The other two have just arrived, arrived at the school, not just arrived in the country, both of them have siblings here.*

R. *And they've both had all their schooling in Australia?*

S. *Yes S1. has been down in Sydney, she was down there with her mum and from what I can understand was in* [suburb], *found it very difficult, was the story that I got anyway, that she*

318

wasn't making friends down there and found it very hard. She seems very happy to be back with the brothers, which is good, but therefore there are some pretty big gaps in what she hasn't learnt. We also have S2, her sister's been here, I taught her sister a few years ago , but I think when they arrived there wasn't a place for one more in the kinder, so she went to the state school, and then it's only this year that space has opened up. She's been there since kinder, and they don't seem to be too many gaps there, she seems quite on the ball.

R. She seems very bright to me, and very confident.

S. Yeah, very confident, too confident in some ways, you can see little bits that she hasn't got, but it tends to be more in grammar and those sort of things, and there's a lot of other kids who don't have that as well.

R. I was interested this morning when S2 was correcting her home work, of course he had to tell her everyone that she got wrong, and she'd just go" Huh" and laugh. She wasn't too concerned about it.

S. Yeah

R. What about S1 and S3 as learners? From what I can see their behaviour is very distinct from S2's.

S. Yeah, well from what you can see her writing is quite good, there don't seem to be many gaps in what she's got. Whereas the other two, the mixture I think, of not having the academic, so they're behind from that point of view. I find a little bit with them too is they're just so used to someone stepping in to help them, that they don't tend to listen, or think they need to listen because someone will come and help anyway.

R. That's very much with S3 when he comes to his tub he asks me what he wants [to get out] *and expects me to get it for him.*

S. And you do this stuff, you try to remember things like to tell them, I repeat it, and I write it, which helps some, but then again, I don't know that he reads it.

R. Would you do that anyway? Or do you do that more because of the ESL kids?

S. I think I do it more because of the ESL kids. I didn't do it so much before but it helps some of the others as well. The same with me too. I get to places sometimes and think "What was I going to do?" Interestingly enough the kids that you're writing it for don't particularly use the prompt. It seems to be the others who do, they get there and look up and go "Ah, yes!"

[Another teacher comes in to pump up a ball. Interview suspended for three minutes]

R. (2). Does having ESL kids affect the way you teach the whole class? If it does, how?

S. It does in terms of you have to spend a lot more time with that group of kids so the rest of the class are getting less of your time in some respects. It evens up a little bit in that there's usually some sort of aide that comes with that, although there aren't specific aides, so someone like S3 I

don't think there's any specific funding for him, he probably would get funded under ESL but not under …

R. Special needs?

S. Yeah, he was. Not as much as he needs, he may get some funding now because they've just done some testing on him and his eyes aren't good, but again he's got glasses.

R. Where are the glasses?

S. He had them in the first couple of weeks and I had to pester him to wear them so again it's sort of the disorganisation of them again. They don't seem to learn, although S2 seems to keep her stuff relatively in check so I don't know whether it's a Sudanese thing or an individual thing, but I know there was a similar thing for [name of other refugee ELL] *last year. Her brother was the same everywhere and I don't know whether it is just as I said, the fact that they have always gotten the help, so it is that learned helplessness in a way. You know like they just expect that someone else would do it.*

R. (5). There is a belief in some sections of the community that the Sudanese have developed a sense of entitlement. Have you seen any evidence of that? Do you think it still exists?(8). Have they contributed something that you value to the school community?

S. Like I was saying to you before, initially when they first arrived, the first group of people seemed to be under the impression that people would just drop everything to help them and I think that's because that's what had happened, you know like they'd come in, people had gone out of their way to help them to the point where they must just think "Well, that's Australia, that's great!" Ad whether that's a big shock to them to find out that not everyone is that helpful and that that wears off after a while too. I guess if they come in and everyone is almost falling over themselves to help them they must have been thinking "Wow this is a great place and you really don't have to do much at all!" And they were given a lot, uniforms, shoes, a lot of things have been given to them.

R. Is there still that expectation amongst them that they will get hats and the uniforms?

S. It's a learned thing, it's almost … It's not just them with that mentality, it seems to be there's a group of people who learned that system and don't ever seem to move out of it. So that social welfare system, they seem to stay within that to a degree. And again, I don't know how much is that that's what they've learned since they've come in. People have shown them how to get all the things they need which is good, but in some ways they're still that learned "Oh, someone else will do it for me."

R. And do you see that in the classroom?

S. Well you look at S3 and S1, they will basically wait, they'll make no attempt, and they know that someone is going to come around and point "This is where we're up to."

R. Is that just because of those two kids, who they are? Or do you think it might be because, I'm just thinking about this one with the rhymes [Dr Foster went to Gloucester] *if they've been exposed to them?*

S. Well, probably not, so to them it doesn't make much sense. I don't think most of the class knew that rhyme anyway, so there's that. And I think there is a lot and you also have to take into account that they're basically, as are all ESL kids they're translating constantly in their heads so therefore they're tired, they tire quicker.

R. Yeah S3 just seemed to check out, he had his head on the desk.

S. So you tend to leave that as well, but again I think sometimes when they first arrived sometimes, I think people coped by just letting them colour in or whatever because they really couldn't do much more than that and then that's what they've gotten used to and now they find it really hard when you're going "No, sorry mate, we're actually, you're capable of doing this!"

R. (9). So you think that you have the same expectations of these kids as the rest of the class everyone else in the class?

S. I treat them all, would want to treat them, the same in terms of behaviour I expect. There's no reason why they can't give me the same behaviour. I do let some things just go through to the keeper when you can see they're tired and that kind of thing. Academically, no they can't, so I don't expect the same from them, but I do expect them at least to have a go.

R. And is this because these two kids, you know them personally? So a kid like S2, you'd expect the same academically from her?

S. Pretty much, yeah because she can do it, but you're constantly on the lookout for where the gaps might be because you know this could be some things with her, just in terms of the ESL part of it, just the fact that at home they've not got people who are natural English speakers so therefore they're not going to get necessarily the proper grammar, but that's not necessarily…

[student comes in and interrupts looking for sport equipment-interview suspended for one minute]

R. (10). What do you think about the use of first language in the classroom?

S. Sometimes they have done that, so they will speak with each other in it. I found then it doesn't always tend to be about their work they tend to go off so that they're just holding a conversation about something else and you don't know what they're talking about. But initially when they first arrived, this was a few years ago, so some of them did speak with each other.

R. And in the room say if S1 needed S3 to explain something to her in Dinka, how would you feel about that?

S. Yeah, well it would probably be helpful, but at this point I'm really trying to, it's sort of at that assessing part of the year when you're trying to work out just what she can and can't do and then I might move into some sort of peer tutoring and that sort of thing. But some parts that you think that's fine you don't mind them helping each other, because it is that learning process, but that other times it's an actual pretest kind of thing, you want to see what they know without them copying and at the end you want to see what they know without them copying and in between I don't mind. To me that's the best kind of learning where they're chatting about it with each other … although I think at this stage with S1 and S2 they are already a fair way through, they're not like

new arrivals anymore. When they don't have much English at all you've got no choice and you do need to call on others to say "Can you ...?", and we've done that in the past to say "Can you tell him, ... can you ask that?" just so that you know that they're understanding what they're meant to be doing. But now these kids, a lot of these kids, have been here since they were born, so they've grown up with English but then there's still at home, so I guess they're bilingual in terms of ...

R. (7). So in your opinion based on your experience, long does it take an ESL kid to become proficient in English?

S. Mmm

R. To cope with the playground English and all that sort of stuff?

S. They seem to do it fairly quickly, I guess it's that immersion thing, it is either sink or swim, and they seemed to sop it up a lot quicker than what adults do. It doesn't really seem to take them too long.

R. How long? Can you put a figure on it? Two terms? A year? What about more formal English?

S. Generally, you will find particularly the ones coming in kinder, the first term they're fairly reticent, but a lot of that is confidence, a sort of reticence shyness sort of thing, you find them that they seem to come ... I guess because they're starting right at the beginning the written part, of the written language part of it, anyway is starting to see the written bit of it. I think it's harder when they come in further up the chain because you're way past "a e i o u" and that's sort of where they are.

R. Have you ever seen kids who've come in a little bit later, have any of them ever reached their Stage level in English in the time that they've been here?

S. The deficit is usually fairly big. I don't know that they've ever actually caught up, but you can see big strides being made. [Name of refugee ELL] last year came in and he started reading last year. He was reading basically kindergarten readers, but he was a non-reader before that so that's how far behind he was with that. But a lot of it then becomes confidence and once he started to think that he can do things it just seemed to click in ... from the testing, what they did on S3, he tested as being down on a lot of things.

R. Even though he's had all his schooling here?

S. Mmm. I'm not sure that that is so right myself, I think there's a lot more there than he gives. I get the tiredness part and those are the things that I guess there is a sort of, and I don't know whether it's a learned one or all part of his personality, or whether it is the fact that he is a more happy-go-lucky kind of kid and I don't know how much of that is his personality and how much of that is background. You get the impression that at least some of its background because most of them seem to be the same.

R. "Them" meaning the Sudanese?

S. Most of the Sudanese kids seem to be, and yet you have other kids who have come in and have been quite on the ball like S2's sister. A few of them have caught up to the point where they are good at, they never got into the top group of readers, but they certainly would be age appropriate, but a lot of them don't. Maths sometimes they catch up in because it's not so language based, but then they find it difficult because it then has to go on to problem solving when there's a lot more reading than maths, when it is pure number they seem to catch on to that okay, but once you move on to the problem solving all the stuff that you've actually got to read the question to do the answer, they can't read the questions.

R. When the first lot of kids came through, did you have any of them that were literally straight from the camps?

S. Yeah a couple of them were I think.

R. (3). And were the first wave kids different to these kids? [current ELLs] *How was that experience? Did you feel that you are adequately prepared for them? (6). Did … do they have any skills that come form the refugee experiences that they can use for learning?*

S. No, I don't think Australia was adequately prepared for them to be honest. They were children who remembered things … there was something … yeah, a Mass, a Year 6 Graduation Mass, would have been one of the first years the kids were here. There was some music, sort of like some water music … and then there was Liturgical dancing, it was to do with water so they had material and they were carrying it down or whatever, but there was just this hum and suddenly one of the Sudanese kids, frightened as, cowering away and what was wrong? Sounded like the planes coming! And it never dawned on anyone that it even sounded like that and we couldn't work out why he was so frightened. Blue material? So it was "What's wrong, darling?", "The planes are coming!"- the hum of the thing! And another, I did the same, not with that kid but with another. I hit the desk of one kid, probably a little louder than I intended to, just like this [hits the table]*, you know, that kind of thing, louder than I intended to and this kid jumped, tears came to the eyes! It wasn't until later* [teacher's aide] *was with me then and she came in later and said, "Oh, Susanna, he was really upset by that because of the loud noise, just the loud noise was like the bombs dropping" … so how bad do you feel when you've just traumatised literally this kid? And he wouldn't have told me, it was only that* [teacher's aide] *had him one-on-one … so there's those things you're just not consciously aware and then something happens you just think "My God, of course!" And then you've also got the things too, like you don't know the culture. I would say to kids "You look at me when I'm speaking to you!" and yet in other cultures some cultures that's disrespectful.*

R. (4). So how did you know? How did you go about working out what those kids' needs were and trying to meet them? Educationally, how did you deal with having them in the room?

S. In the room? The first lot? I think initially it basically took all of the ESL time so none of the other children who had any ESL issues really got much time, because from what I can understand they didn't really come with any sort of funding. I would have thought that the new arrival would have come in with some sort of funding time, but it didn't seem to be. I know initially there was a unit over at [name of other primary school] and that was meant to prepare them so all this stuff's been done so that by the time they arrived to us they really should have had a lot of the 'pre' stuff. But

in my experience it didn't work. The kids were still landing in on you without much idea what was going on. So that was a bit hard because you were expecting them to know a bit more than they did.

R. And did you talk to Ellen [ESL Teacher] *about that? About what you should be doing in the class? Did she spend her time in here or how did you negotiate that?*

S. It was a bit of a mixture, she would come in and try to work out, she takes them to do some sort of testing, testing as in do they know their vowel sounds and the sounds, so it wasn't any huge, big testing regime or anything it was just that smaller; what letters do they know, don't they know. So it's a mixture and always has been with that of some that she withdraws them to do specific, particularly if it is like that. So … S1 is withdrawn and occasionally once or twice through the week, because they'll go right back to basics with her which is just way above her so …

R. Below?

S. Yeah, sort of got it right back down to some of the letters, those sort of things. Some of those things they need the one-on-one or the small group to work it and secondly I think it can be a bit embarrassing for them if it's that really low. I've found that what works the best with them is to try to make it look like they're doing what we're doing, but they're not necessarily. I'll go into reading groups fairly soon and then that way everybody is reading at their level. They're all reading a book that they're not trying to read what the rest of the class is reading.

[bell rings]

R. Okay. Thanks, Susanna. Anything else you'd like to say?

S. No.

g. Transcript Margot-Interview Two

R= Researcher M= Margot

Question numbers are given in ( )

R. (11). Maybe you can tell me what this class is like now nearly at the end of the term as a group? Where are they at now?

M. They have moments when they are settled. The best times are moments, like yesterday, when I was reading to them from the Bible, telling them a story. They like that the best. They are still very babyish. They don't have any self-control, very little, there's probably two or three, who would have good self-control … that have good guidelines [in their families] *for the kids, exactly what they should be doing, real sensible. Otherwise, there are a lot of little people with no boundaries, but they are getting better, I mean, they are lovely. They are enthusiastic. Their maths skills, I think are pretty good compared to the class I had last year.*

 R. (12b). Do you see [S 4, S5 & S6] *as a group within that?*

M. I think they sort of fit in the group, they don't sit outside the group. Like, they are really good with their mentals, maths, what pulls them up sometimes … is the language of maths. So when we do the NAPLAN we're allowed to read questions in maths out to them. So that they don't get caught up, for any kids. We can read it to the whole class, if we want to.

R. Just to the question?

M. Yeah, just the question, no numbers. But you can read the question to them, you can't explain it, but you can read it and there are kids like [name-ESB child], *he would be way below their level. So, they certainly fit well within the group.*

R. (18). I was wondering how much of your time goes into accountability procedures, preparing the kids for NAPLAN and programming? Does it affect in any way what you teach? Limit you? Does it have any impact on what you're able to do in the class?

M. It takes up a lot of, we say that all the time! You spend more time programming than you need to preparing your lessons. You write up the programme then, you barely look at it. I liked the old way that we did it … you wrote down what you were doing and then you put it into the programme, a sort of post-programme, you knew what you were going to, what you were going to do, but you write it. Like the HSIE [Human Society and Its Environment] *programme and I have just gone way off it because it didn't really suit the kids. And I'm going to have to write that into my evaluation, the things that we were going to do, didn't really work, so I chose other things* [talks about the unit she changed to].

R. And changing is not a problem?

M. Well, it doesn't seem to be as long as you write it up.

R. And what about things like, I noticed you have started preparing for NAPLAN, do you find that that cuts into other things that you might be wanting to do?

M. In a way, but when I talked [other Year 3 teacher] *we said we are going pretty well with Book Web. We can afford to stop that for a little while, because last year, we found that we read all the books, we reached a point at the end of the year when we had to go back and find other stuff, so we know now that we have time for this. We need to have them ready, because last year we went into it fairly, because it was early, in early May. We did preparation last year but probably not as much, we didn't have the NAPLAN, we had their practice test, to do and the writing to do.*

R. So, are you conscious of what is on the test when you are doing your literacy program?

M. Well, we don't know what's on the test.

R. Well, given the ones you've seen I mean, I know it's the first year of NAPLAN.

M. We assume, see last year for the writing, they only gave one type of writing, whereas the old Basic Skills was two and you didn't know what you are going to get until the day, so you tried to prepare them for everything and then you opened it up on the day and thought, "Oh, it's a film review." They are only in Year Three, but they have to do it, a book or film review, or it is whatever, but last year, they sent us a flyer thing and said get them to write a story about Lost and then when the real one came, so we practised writing a narrative and then when the real test came, it was called Found and I had a couple of kids in the class who said "That's the same as Lost, like, I can rewrite my story which I wrote before" which we worked on. We'd worked on the stories, sort of fixed them up and they'd gone back and added more interesting phrases. I don't think these kids are, they'll write a narrative, some of them will do quite well, others will be ... the little ones who go up to, to the room [for Literacy and ESL withdrawal] *aren't going to do terribly well, I don't think.*

R. So you've got the final word on who goes up to the room?

M. It was suggested to me that those kids go and then I asked to have a look at what [ESB child] *was doing and when I looked at her writing because they were doing writing up there, and when I looked at it I said to* [teacher's aide] *"This is easily as good as what I'm getting in class, better than some. Do you really think that she…" They were put there based on a test at the end of Year Two, a SWELL* [reading programme] *test, spelling and stuff.*

R. And does that include [S4, S5 & S6], *or are they there because they are ESL kids?*

M. No, that included them.

R. So they are there on the basis of those results?

M. Yes, but S6 was also on their list, but what she was doing in class, I didn't consider. They didn't start that until about week 3 I think, and I just didn't think she needed to be there, her reading rate, her fluency … the others all do need to be there I think, probably.

R. So you see that the extra help that they [S4, S5, S6] *get in the room mainly being as literacy for all of them, rather than specifically ESL type stuff ? (15). Is there any cross over between ESL and literacy techniques?*

M. No, it is literacy time. They are supposed to get ESL time, the three Sudanese kids, but it tends to be that when [ESL teacher] *sends for them it is a Friday afternoon.*

R. Yeah, she was telling me she has one-to-one stuff with them sometimes.

M. Yes, but they have probably been about twice because we have assemblies on Friday afternoons every second week. Last Friday we came back and I said if they had been well-behaved, they had been dying to watch the Narnia video. I said to them "If you settle quickly and we get the spelling test done I'll mark and you can watch Narnia" and S5 said 'Oh no, now we go up to [ESL teacher]*." I said "You make the decision on what you want to do" and he said "I don't want to go. I want to watch it" so I said "Tell* [ESL teacher]*."Because I have asked her can we have another time because Friday afternoon is a waste of time to do anything. Like they're supposed to do, there's these ESL Scales that they are supposed to do, and it's not a good time. Actually on her timetable that is kindergarten's time.*

R. She told me that they come sometimes on Friday.

M. Yes, but I need to talk to her about that again because it would be good, they still need that, even if it is just, even if it is interpreting maths questions.

R. I was going to say, what specific ESL things do you think those kids need?

M. Well, I think it would certainly help their maths. They are pretty good at maths, but where they get caught is that, like we noticed didn't we? The left and right … the language of maths and [ESL teacher] *does, she's got a thing about maths, she has always liked maths, if there is going to be extension maths, so I probably need to talk to her about that because … I mean S5 is going pretty well up there, I think?*

R. (16). So do you find that you have the time to do that type of thing in class, say with S4 and S5, is it possible to you to get around and do that? Does what you're able to do in your [class] *meet their needs? Can you give them the assistance they need?*

M. I would prefer for them instead of going out of that class for that time I wish that I had had the help of one of either [ESL teacher] *or* [teacher's aide] *because then they can take, like a high group and I can then have time to go and be with those kids, but when they are there for just that short amount of time in reading, like I haven't heard S6 I haven't had her group for a while. I have had a S 5's group,* [teacher's aide] *has been taking S4's group. I have kept S5 because I have sort of needed to keep* [ESB child] *under control, because* [ESB child] *has his own little set of problems and if he doesn't have a connection with the person he will do nothing.*

R. So he [ESB child] *and S5 get on well, do they?*

M. No, they don't!

R. So you keep them separate in the group?

M. Yes, they're in the same group that they have to be kept separate … S5 gets really angry and so does [ESB child]*. S5 can be quite fiery if he gets angry …* [ESB child] *will prompt S5 and S5 will prompt* [ESB child] *and neither of them need to be prompted and then you've got poor little* [a

struggling ESB child] *and I have to say to them 'Don't prompt him, let him sound it out' and* [another ESB child] *who is just* [herself]! *… Yes, there is just not enough time to do a lot of one-on-one, especially when you have a child like* [ESB child] *who you've just got to keep an eye on and* [two other ESB children]. [goes on to talk about rearranging seating in class and these children's behaviour on an excursion].

M. Luckily [ESB child's] *mum came and she said 'I know how you do it!'*

R. Neither do I!

M. So you find it difficult because you have so many subgroups ... So many different needs and you sort of have to have that extension stuff there ready for kids like [ESB child] *who is very bright, very good.*

R. Mmm. S4 and S6, they are biological sisters?

M. They are sisters.

R. How big is the age difference between them?

M. Now is S6 the older one?

R. Is it a matter of months?

M. No, it's a year or fourteen months or something like that.

R. Why are they in the same class then?

M. I don't know. They were put into kindergarten together. They came here together, so they both started school together and that is why they're together. I think if, whichever one is the older one, I did look it up but now I have forgotten, because their birth dates were a bit funny ... They don't know when they were born. They have been made up. We have had this over the years, people not being sure when they are born, and the date has to be produced, so they started school together. I think if she was in Year Four she wouldn't be coping as well I think. I remember [last year's teacher] *had them both, the two girls, and he gave one of them a medal and he said "I think next year should give the other girl one" and I said "Well, I don't think it works like that!" I usually let the children have a say in who they think should get the medal. They determine the criteria and we put it up next term, hang it up, how can you win the medal. There are kids in there who will have already had the medal.* [ESB girl] *got the medal, she's not a kid I would give the medal to!*

R. They get on okay, S4 and S6?

M. Yes, they seem to get on really well. Yes, they seem to be really good. And they've got the big sister.

R. (13). How do you think, or do you think, that their home life in terms of culture, I'm thinking, is different to that of the other kids?

M. I think it's become very westernised since they have been here, yeah, very westernised.

R. But do you know if, I think you told me last time that they speak their language at home? But their parents have both come along in their English?

M. Well, I don't know how well along the women have come, the men certainly have because most of the men have undertaken some sort of training so they can get work. They seem to be quite, their culture is to work, not to just laze around. Yeah, that seems to be their culture, get a license, get work.

R. (14). Do you think there are maybe any experiences that the other kids have had or have at home that help them with their learning, that maybe these kids don't have? Do you think that much of the behaviours that we associate with school success goes on in their homes?

M. Yeah, I think like shopping, you know we say to the parents at the beginning of the year, "Take your kid shopping, let them look at labels, let them weigh out stuff", they wouldn't be doing that sort of stuff, but then I think a lot of our kids don't get to do that hands-on stuff either with busy parents. They seem to do a lot of, like, travel, like if you listen to them someone is going to Perth … like they seem to have stable, like they seem to look after their, they are a lot less needy than they used to be, like you would have them here every second day "I need another pair of socks" but I think they've become better at, and certainly food wise, they are into, they are quite westernised.

[bell rings]

h. Transcript Susanna-Interview Two

R= Researcher   S= Susanna

Question numbers are given in ( )

R. (11). Tell me about the class and where the class is at now.

S. They're a bit more settled in, which is good! I think it's a bit of a hard jump from Stage One to Stage Two, there's a lot more to do, so I think it takes them a while to get used to the fact that I want them to do the next lesson now!

R. What about the composition? As a group of kids? As a group of learners?

S. To a degree I think they've started to work out what's allowable and what isn't, so you're seeing a bit of that. Probably the strategies, they don't like being on 'time out'. Just sometimes I feel like I'm not being very positive. So you have to keep trying to go back to that one for that those kids who are doing the right thing. So I've seen a bit of a difference in a few, I'm starting to get a bit more work out of a few of them.

R. (12). What about S1 and S3? How would you place them compared to where they were at the start of the term?

S. S1 in some ways seems to be going backwards, she seemed more interested and wanting to do more earlier. Now she seems to go straight for the 'It's too hard!' She doesn't seem to say 'It's too hard', but she just doesn't seem to come out of that trance, isn't it? She's just in a world of her own. [ESB child] *is a bit the same … there's a few that way. I'm sure they must learn through osmosis because they don't appear to be listening to what you're saying.*

R. And what about S3?

S. He seems to go in fits and starts. On the occasions when he puts his mind to it, you know he came in, in reading time and said "Ms [surname] *I've read this whole book and I didn't make any mistakes", and he by hook or by crook was going to read it to me, bad luck that there were three kids waiting to be helped! I said "Okay, pick your favourite page and read that to me" and he read it really well!*

R. Well, he said to me when I said "Take that book in to do your worksheet", "I don't think I'll need it."

S. Yeah, so I think he is more capable than he lets on is my thoughts, and I think then part of it is that, part of the problem with them they've got enough of the cunning sort of stuff that they do put across sometimes that they can't do stuff and they actually can, but initially I tend to think I don't want to push them because if they don't get it it's going to make it even harder because you don't want them to think "My God, I can't do it". But I do think they get away with several weeks of "Poor thing, they really can't do this", but then as you get to start a bit more you think "Hang on!" and then it's sort of the start of the push. My guess with them is that S3 is far more capable than what he lets on. I think he's quite good. I mean he is still in the bottom part of the class but better than the stuff that you get. S1 is a little bit the same because she'll sure surprise you with some of the things. You know if she writes something down, spelling and those sorts of things she

can put some things that's quite good down and yet other times it is rubbish, so they're hard. Whereas S2 keeps up quite well, so she seems to be quite with it and she's just where the rest of them and she's working in the reading. I put her on the red level to start with, she probably could have coped with the blue but there's not a great deal of difference in them and I just thought for her if she goes in with the red she'll work through it very quickly. That way she'll get a certificate every week, she'll finish a book every week if not quicker. So she'll be getting that positive reinforcement from that and then she can move up onto the next one as well.

R*. So it's very interesting to me the kids, there's such a difference in personality and aptitude and yet all of them have been in Australian schools for all of their schooling, haven't they? It just makes you wonder, there's so many factors for any child that comes into the classroom.*

S*. Yeah, but it really does show up in that one in that they've all come as refugees, they've all come from similar circumstances from that point of view, but then family dynamics and whatever is very different too.*

R*. (13).That's something that I wanted to ask you, again it's a generalisation, but how do you think their lives at home might be different, or if you think it would be different, substantially to that of the home life of anyone else in the class?*

S*. From what I can see, the bigger brothers and sisters of a lot of them seem to have a lot more say in their lives, like they seem to look after them.*

R*. The lives of the little ones?*

S*. Yeah, I've noticed in the afternoon they stand up and wait for the high school ones to pick them up and then they walk them home. They appear to have a fairly … in amongst other families, it doesn't seem to be so much individual units. A few of the families seem to blend in a bit around the place, but they also seem to be around in the streets a little bit on their bikes and those kind of things, which is good in some ways, but in others it's a bit scary … and they don't have a great deal of street sense! Cars aren't such a problem where they've come from, so their street sense isn't that good I've found.*

R*. And what about in terms of discipline? Do you think the Sudanese parents discipline their children differently to anyone else? Or do they discipline their children? You hear people say they let their children run wild on their bikes on the street.*

S*. They do from that point of view, but in terms of other stuff I think they're fairly strictly disciplined. I think they realise the importance of an education, probably far more than the others because they just take education for granted pretty much, which is probably the way it should be in some respects. It should just be that your kid goes to school and that's just what happens, but yeah, I think that they are fairly strictly disciplined.*

R*. What about with things like making them do their homework and that sort of things …? (14). Do you think that much of the behaviours that that we associate with school success, like making them do their homework, modelling reading goes on?*

S. I don't know if much of the modelling goes on, but I do know they take the homework part of it fairly seriously from what I've seen.

R. Although S3 doesn't have his homework.

S. But I think they're different, they're sort of out at [another suburb] as well ... there's quite a few, a lot of younger ones at home, so I don't think mum's got the time to make them do that. So from what I, just the bits and pieces you hear, they do seem to be given responsibilities that you feel aren't necessarily ones that a child should have, you know like in terms of, like you said they're in charge of their clothes.

R. It must have been [other teacher] *who told me that.*

S. So in one way you tend to think, "Well that's a bit too big a responsibility for a child, I think." Whereas I don't think they take enough responsibility in other areas, but for S3 I don't know, I don't know that there really would be a quiet place where he could do homework from that point of view. I think the other part is he wouldn't attempt to do it anyway, so if no one is telling him to come and do it, and he'd do the "No, I don't have any."

R. How's his parents' English?

S. I've not spoken with them, so I don't know. I'll probably try to get them up early next term because I don't know if they are aware of things like his homework and I just thought with his glasses those sort of things is just more important, get that sorted out, getting settled in and see if that improves.

R. He seems happy in the class.

S. He's doing most of what we're doing, but I don't expect him, and there are a few others, I don't expect him to finish it, but I do expect it to be attempted.

R. But then today when he didn't appear to be listening in maths and he made the joke about his hair being too short to measure ...

S. So as I say, which is probably a good thing, in many cases there is more going on than you think but it just is frustrating that more often than not they're not looking at you, they don't appear to be on the planet.

R. Yeah, I've spent a lot of time just watching what they're doing what you're giving the group instruction.

S. And they're not paying attention, and that's the part that I'm finding with S1, is that she is just not ... yeah, in terms of, she's just not on the ball at all. The only time that it seems to work is if you say "You've done nothing there!", but you can't keep pushing that line at her either.

R. Yeah, you're quite firm with both of them.

S. Well you're trying to find that middle ground, that bit where if you just constantly open your mouth every time it's to go mad on them, they're not going to care, "Well I'm never going to win the incentive scheme things anyway." But now that I know them and I know what the things are,

next term I'll probably move to some individual incentive schemes with them. I've got a little thing there where you can put a sticker, I like to do the ones where they've got to string together a few awards before they get something rather than just the instantaneous. I think they should be past that. This year I'm finding it's just the finishing of things and more the starting of things. They seem to not get, you know the pencil is never there, or the pencil is there and they'll still get up and go wander to look for a pencil, so they are more evasion tactics and so I think they're trying to avoid that because they can't do it, but when they're pushed to do it you find they've got it right.

R. I've noticed that one of the techniques that you use with them is if you're doing something and you notice that one of them has it right you ask them a question so they get that reinforcement from the class. But I've noticed that you do it because it's fairly infrequently that it happens.

S. Yeah, because I think if you don't that's what becomes a bit entrenched, "They're the smart ones, they're the naughty ones, they're that and this one is …" And they do seem to be a bit like that, you know one will say "I am always naughty."

R. Like a badge of honour?

S. That is sad … you've got to try to find a way of counteracting that because otherwise they just use that as an excuse, "I am just naughty" and I worry about that one with [ESB child].

R. (15). That's one thing that I wanted to ask you, so all the things that you do with the general class and with the kids with an ESL backgrounds. Do you see any crossover between general literacy techniques and ESL techniques? Or are they two separate things?

S. There is a bit of crossover I think, but because there's such a high ESL population here you'd probably have to be a bit more aware of, you'd have to use the cues a little bit more than you would use with that sort of thing, like writing on the board what books they need to get out, that sort of thing. It is only in recent times that I've done it and that has more come from here, because in other places it's only been one or two kids and you could actually supervise that they got those out. Whereas here there's so many of them that get there and don't know what book they're supposed to have. So it's sort of, I just think it takes a while for them to get into those sort of routines, so in one way.

R. (16). I guess what I'm asking is, if there wasn't ESL assistance outside the classroom, does what you're able to do in the mainstream class meet the needs of the ESL kids? Is it possible for you to give them the assistance they, given their background, need?

S. No, because there's too many gaps in terms of grammar and those sorts of things more, you know we were talking today about who is Jesus and someone says "Who [is] *Jesus?" And it just isn't there because it's not from their language. You find it and that's the main parts that* [ESL teacher] *looks at, she picks up more of those fine little things than what I can in the bigger group. That's not saying that they're the only ones that have that problem, having said that, but particularly with the ESL backgrounds, because they're not necessarily hearing English being spoken grammatically at home either. Most of them are coming from where it is fairly good, but there still are those things their parents can't teach them that because they don't know it.*

R. And also the vocab. They don't come to school with the same vocab. as a five-year-old who uses English at home.

S. Yeah, so I would find it very difficult. I mean [ESL teacher] *tries to do a mixture I think of some stuff in-class, some withdrawal and I think that's the kind of band wagon that is being pushed at the moment, with all aides and with all stuff, that they should be in the class at all times assisting you here. But the other part to that is, that some of those sorts of things it just doesn't work because they are kids that are very easily distracted anyway, they'll take any opportunity to avoid work, so someone around them will be straight over to that. I find they do need the mixture of someone being able to take them out, solely one-on-one and I think they come back in from that, I find with S1 in particular will come back from time with* [ESL teacher] *big smile on the face and really happy because she's actually achieved something in that time. Whereas often in here, but it's more not that she can't half the time, like I try to make sure I'm fairly, like I don't expect them to hand me up the same as what the others do, but I expect them to make an attempt at that, but I wouldn't expect them to do the whole thing. Yet I'm not going to say that to the whole class because then it's a bit like 'Oh, well they're not smart enough to do all of that', when it's got nothing to do with smartness really. I mean if some of these kids had had to cope with what they're coping with they wouldn't be nearly as good. But I find those times out, because it's pitched exactly at the level that they need at the time, then she comes back with a real sense of achievement. So often she'll come back with good productive kind of stuff and then that seems to channel her back in, she seems to be better when she comes back in, from just being that one-on-one, back on track kind of stuff and she's not been distracted in there. Whereas here that's half the time why she hasn't started sometimes, she either distracts herself, or someone is doing it.*

R. (17). How will you judge when to raise your expectations of these kids?

S. I don't know, because that's fairly common across the lot, because there's such a broad range of, not even with the ESL, like there's the ESL components, but there are other kids in here who are really at the bottom of … which in one way is a good thing because it's not just the general perception that 'All ESL people are dumb, they are always in the bottom group' which I think would happen very easily. So it's nice that there is actually a few of your blonde haired blue-eyed, so I think of that that's good that it's not just the Sudanese kids, not that they think probably in terms of ESL. But you do find with the ESL stuff, that there are the gaps, like they can appear quite good but when it comes to written down that's when you come to see a few. I find with [non-Sudanese ELL] *she's quite good until it comes to the actual written part and then she lacks confidence number one, but she really doesn't get it. The comprehension is just not there. Whereas her reading she can actually read okay, I'm only just realising that there's bigger gaps than I thought.*

R. So they speak [language of non-Sudanese ELL] *at home?*

S. I imagine it would be a bit of a mixture from there. And they go back to [country of child's birth] *fairly regularly.*

R. So one of the things I wanted to ask you about, you've been spending time getting them ready for NAPLAN and programming, I looked at your program the other day. (18). Do you find that that

kind of accountability of preparing the kids for NAPLAN, and doing programming, does that affect in any way what you teach, does it limit what you do, does it enhance what you do?

S. *Yeah, depends on the way you look at it I suppose. I find it very difficult in terms of programming because in a normal, (whatever that means!) class, or even in a different area perhaps where you may not have the socio-economic problems as well, differentiation in there, you're only talking one or two kids. Here you have one or two that you don't have to differentiate for. In* [this suburb] *there are just so many kids that you have to take different things into account for, which you do anywhere. I think that it just seems magnified here because you've got more of it, more of it happening and then we of course have the* [children from school for those with a specific disability which is located nearby] *coming in* [for maths classes] *as well, so you've also got the* [name of disability] *stuff that you've got to … if they arrive, they arrive. If they don't they don't, you've just got to play that one by ear.*

R. *At this school compared to other places you seem to have a fairly relaxed attitude to NAPLAN.*

S. *Well mostly because, I am not a big believer in it, I think someone should get sued to be honest! I just think sitting eight-year-old children for a, you know they're babies, so my biggest concern is that they're not going to get in there and have an absolute fit because they don't know how to shade the bubbles, all that kind of thing and that's a skill in itself. To assume that you can just send one practice sheet of filling in bubbles and then it's done, that might be fine if you've got an A class somewhere. That might be all you need and that would be fine, but filling in bubbles is a skill. I must admit that I sit there and do them and there's a couple of the questions that I think "What is the answer to that?"… and there's one or two that I've looked at and I thought "I wish I had the answer book here", because the kid will give you an answer and you think "Well if that was in class I'd give you that" because they've backed it up with a really good answer and you just think 'Yeah". So I'm not a big believer in NAPLAN.*

R. *So you don't programme thinking "I must cover the use of this and this?"*

S. *No, but I do have that in the back of my mind because you want them to do as well as they can but I don't want to frighten them either and I don't see the point … and I suppose that's it, I think some people, it doesn't bother me that I wouldn't be known as the teacher that had all sixes in her class, because that's just never going to happen here and I think for some people that is possibly the thing that starts to happen.*

R. *Do you think your attitude would be different if the executive here's attitude was different?*

S. *It would be, because you'd be being pushed to do it. My belief here is that if I can just get them, I want them to do the best that they can but I don't want to frighten the life out of them. I don't really think that if you're teaching some of that towards it, well they are basic skills. But I don't think some of the stuff in that is basic, so if you're constantly seeing that they can't get this, can't get that. I want them to get what they can get, so mostly I just go through the paper so that they know the kind of questions that are going to be asked. Like, they've never been asked to sit for 45 minutes in a row to do something anyway, so I want to give them practice on that. I did it with their writing just so they know this is how long they've got. "You've got enough time to write I don't want just two sentences there", but the writing they did is just woeful really, it's not good.*

R. Yeah, their spelling wasn't very good today.

S. Yeah, when it goes back to they have to do it for themselves, that is the only part that I find here, you end up having to spoon feed them a lot and therefore you're not developing those high thinking skills, logical thinking skills as well as you would like to but until they can do the basic skills.

R. And that is because of the nature of the kids?

S. Yeah, so getting to those kids that actually do have those good logical thinking skills I find just as big a worry or as big a difficulty as your remedial work, you know, because you're just not getting to spend the time with those kids. Behaviour stops it too, and also they're not the kind of kids you can say "You're really good you've got extra work to do" because they almost see that as being a punishment. It's a different style of teaching for different places.

R. But you must like it, because you've been here for a long time.

S. I enjoy it, it's quite hard but I prefer kids who what you see is what you get, here some days you're ready to kill them, but they're honest.

R. Thanks, Susanna.

i. Extended Transcript 5.2 (a) Margot 16/3

[Using the Smart Board, Margot displays an Information Report about the Humpback Whale from a commercial Primary English web site.]

T. We've spent a lot of time doing Procedures. We now need to look at doing an Information Report so we're going to have a look at … how to write an Information Report. And it tells us here. Here the blue writing [on the screen], *read it please.*

S. May include a definition, a classification or brief description.

T. And what part is that? Have a look at the orange writing here.

S. Introduction

T. So your intro contains a sentence or two that tells the reader what you're going to be talking about. So, if you were doing spiders, what would a good introduction be?

S. I'm going to be talking about spiders.

T. Mmm, yes. That's just you introducing yourself really, so not really. You still need to tell them something, it might be a definition, a classification or a brief description. I'm going to tell you about spiders. Is that a definition? Does it tell you what a spider is?

Ss. No

T. A definition is, for example … Give me a definition of a spider. A spider is?

S. A spider is a small creature that makes webs.

T. Very good. Excellent.

S. A spider is, can be all different colours

T. Yes?

S. Some are deadly and some are ….

T. No, no, you didn't, we need to use the words spiders

S. Some spiders are deadly and some aren't.

T. OK. So it's very brief, not a lot of information.

S. Spiders are not an insect.

T. A spider is not an insect. Is that true?

Ss. Yes

T. OK. Who's got something else?

S. I'll be taking you through a spider, explaining about spiders, how many webs they have and everything.

T. Mmm. Is that a good introduction? Remember it says a definition, a classification or a brief description. So we can't include "I'm going to" or "I will tell you". That's not really part of a good information report.

S. Spiders have eight legs

T. That could be a good introduction as well. So, think about that. Then the next part tells you, in the middle part you're describing spiders. So what's it [the website] *tell you? That you have to have?*

Ss. [reading] *Facts about the subject set out in paragraphs.*

T. And if you're doing an animal you have to have … ?

Ss. [reading] *Appearance*

T. What does that mean? [asks various ESB children by name]

S. What it looks like

T. Exactly. The next thing is [habitat, movement, behaviour, life cycle-answers as to meanings given orally by ESB students, but none is written on the board].

T. The very last bit of your information report is the …?

T. Conclusion where you've got a summary or a comment. And it says that's optional so you don't always have to have a conclusion, but it's always good.

S. Thanks for reading?

T. Now. Do you say that sort of thing? Not in an Information Report. They won't give you marks for doing that. So what sort of comment would you make if you've written all about spiders? At the end, a short comment?

S. Spiders bite?

T. All spiders?

Ss. No

T. Who can give us one?

S. Some spiders are venomous and some aren't.

T. Yeah, that's fine to say something like that, Watch out spiders bite. Now we're going to have a look at an example of somebody's about Humpbacks. Are you able to read that? [from the screen] *There's no way I can make it bigger. If you can't see come up to the front. There's plenty of spaces. I find it hard to read from this screen. I think it's the kind of typing they've used. A child wrote this, this is a child's sample where they've typed it up. So this is their introduction.*

Ss. [reading text in unison] *Humpbacks are a type of whale. Whales are large mammals that live under the sea, but come to the surface to breathe.*

T. So, that's very good and then they've done headings. You may do headings, you don't have to do headings, but sometimes you can. You can do headings like appearance.

Ss. [reading in unison] *Every humpback has individual markings like individual finger prints. Humpbacks have a large, bumpy head with two blowholes. They are black and grey on top and white underneath with long white flippers. Humpbacks grow up to 16 metres and 45 tons in weight.*

T. So there's lots of information there, isn't there, about humpbacks. That's a really good example of an Information Report … Later we'll be writing an information report with a partner about either a man-made or natural site in Australia. Do you remember we saw, looked at all those pictures, images last week?

Ss. Yes

T. And I said we would be picking things and I said we would be talking about that. That's not what we're going to do today … Today you're going to write an Information Report for me about dinosaurs**,** but you're going to use this sort of a format for it [example text about humpbacks]. *So we start with an …?*

Ss. Capital

T. We always start with a capital. How do we start?

S. We start with the title and with a comment.

T. Right and it's going to be on dinosaurs. So you're going to start with the title and the introduction where you make a statement about dinosaurs. Now the middle part is where you have your ...? What do you have?

S. Information?

S. Facts?

[Telephone rings]

T. [while walking to answer telephone] *Go back to your seat and get out your draft book.*

[Students start talking to each other at their desks about dinosaurs and the task while T responds to telephone]

S. [to other Ss] *Is the* [indistinct] *a dinosaur?*

T. *I want you to use information out of your head.*

[students continue speaking]

T. [To class] *You don't need to talk about what you know about dinosaurs. Will you listen please? You are not going to be talking about it! Your draft book, please!*

T. *I want you to write about these two dinosaurs.* [gives out Basic Skills Primary Writing Assessment 2003 test]. *Stop talking! Open it up in the middle. That is going to help you. Have a look at the sheet. That is going to help you. It tells you "Use the information in these pictures to write about these dinosaurs, diplodocus and allasaurus. I'm waiting for* [ESB child] *to open his sheet and look at it. Look at your sheet! Write in sentences, use paragraphs." Who can think of a really good introduction?*

S. *Dinosaurs are fossils now?*

T. *Well, almost.*

S. *Dinosaurs have been extinct for many years.*

T. *Excellent. That could either be your introduction or your conclusion because it's making a general comment about dinosaurs.*

S. *Dinosaur is a type of reptile*

T. *That's a good introduction too. Are we clear now? So you're doing a general thing about dinosaurs but you're using these two as examples. … Any more questions before we start writing?*

S. *Can you go back to the page so we know what to do?* [T puts model up on Smart Board]

T. *Yeah, I'll go back. I tried that before.*

S. *It says "Home" down the bottom.*

T. *Alright. There we go; Introduction, description, conclusion. That's clear.* [displaying screen on Smart Board] *You can put headings if you want.*

S. *Can the back row people sit up the front so we can see the board better?*

[class budgie happily chirping while children work independently]

j. Extended Transcript 5.2 (b) Susanna (27/2)

T. [concluding previous lesson] *Close that book, put it to the top of the desk. All those things out of your hands and ready to listen. With the rain starting who remembers this rhyme?* [Nursery rhyme "Dr Foster" written on board] *Or have you ever heard of this one? OK, read me my rhyme about Dr Foster.*

Ss. [In unison with teacher leading]
Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain/
He stepped in a puddle/
Right up to his middle/
And never went there again.

T. When we're writing a story there needs to be lots of things in it, but one thing is really important and that is that we have a beginning …?

T. [with students] *a middle and an end to our story. Nursery rhymes or these sorts of rhymes are really good for that because they've got a beginning, they've got a middle and they've got an end. What happened in the beginning of this story?*
[No response]

T. Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain. So we know all about what's happening. Here's our beginning. Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain. What was the problem? What happened to him while he was there?

S. He stepped in a puddle.
[pause as child from another class enters with a message]

T. He stepped in the puddle and it was right up to his middle. That's the middle part of our story, and then what happened at the end?

T and Ss. He never went there again.

T. So our end tells that that he didn't go there again. So our story has to have a good structure. So let's have a look at this story. Here's a story that I wrote about Dr Gloucester, Dr Foster. This was my structure. It's Dr Foster, he's from Gloucester, so we know who, we know where. We know what's happening, there's a shower of rain. So now I can make this like my structure. When someone builds a structure they just build the rooms, if someone's building a building they just build the rooms, there's nothing in it. People have to come in and they have to fill all the rooms in. If someone comes in and builds a new house there's nothing in the rooms. Does the builder build a bed in there? No, mum and dad have to put the bed in there when they get to it. So when we put a structure there's just the bare bones there. All you've got is the house, then you've got to come in and you've got to furnish the house, so you decide this is the sort of bed I want in here, the wardrobe ... even in the bathroom. Same with a story. Here's the bare structure of our story and we're going to put the rest of the information in.

T. So listen to this one, close your eyes. See if you can picture this. "There was a rich and important doctor named Dr Foster who worked in Sydney. He used to charge his patients so much money that when he gave them the bill many of them immediately fainted and had to be treated again which cost them even more money. Dr Foster had six houses, a private aeroplane, ten Rolls Royces, but no friends. One day he saw an advertisement in the newspaper and it said "Come to

341

Gloucester, England and make new friends. We organise special friendship weekends for lonely people." Dr Foster called his private secretary and asked for her to organise for him to fly to England to attend one of these friendship weekends. [Ss very disengaged] *You two stay in at lunch time, please! His secretary tried not to giggle, flying all the way to England to try to make friends. You see, she knew why nobody there would be friends with Dr Gloucester."*

T. Eyes open! There's my new beginning to the story. So, Dr Foster went to Gloucester. We've only done that little bit, so this was the beginning of my story, but see how it had a whole lot of other parts in it? We've now met Dr Foster, we know why he's going to Gloucester. What's the next part that I'm going to have to put into my story? My plan is Dr Foster went to Gloucester in a shower of rain, so I've already learnt about Dr Foster, and I've told you why he had to go to Gloucester. What's the next part of my story going to have to be? Emily? [ESB student]

S. Why he went to Gloucester.

T. We already said why he went to Gloucester. He went there to go to a Friendship weekend, didn't he? So, what's the next part of my story going to have to tell?

S. That there was a shower?

T. That there was a shower of rain. So, somehow now I'm going to have to put into my story about how it's raining. So I might say, "When Dr Gloucester, Foster landed at Gloucester, the rain was pouring down. So he went outside and he got a taxi and he got the taxi to take him to the castle where the Friendship weekend was going to be held. So from these two lines [of original rhyme] *I've already told you two, three, four paragraphs worth of things. Now what's going to have to happen?*

[no response]

T. Dr Foster was walking along. When he got pulled up out the front of the castle, he got out and started to meet some friends. The people were there and they showed him some room and he was living in a room with all sorts of good things in it. Now I could go on with my story to tell all the things that Dr Foster was doing. And what's going to have to happen? He's going to have to walk outside and he's going to have to step into a big puddle. So maybe people were looking outside and saying "Oh, look how much it's raining. I don't like the rain" and Dr Foster to be smart said "Oh, I love the rain. I'm going to go outside. I'm going to go outside and go running through the rain." And so that's what he did. He went outside, and he started running through the rain and suddenly … what's going to happen to him?

S. He died! [other children laugh]

T. Crash! Straight into a great, big puddle and it was right up to his middle. Well Dr Foster was so embarrassed!

S. That he never went there again.

T. That he didn't know how to swim, he was spluttering and he could hardly get out of this puddle. Someone had to jump into the puddle to help him out.

S. [non-Sudanese ELL] *And then they make friends!*

T. [No response to previous comment] *And as he crawled out of the puddle he went "I'm so embarrassed that he just crawled straight back in, rang a taxi to get him and we went home and … ?"*

Ss. Never went there again.

S. [non-Sudanese ELL] *I was about to put that the person who helped him, they make friends.*

T. [does not respond to previous student contribution (24)] *Who can think of another nursery rhyme? Robert?*

S. Jack and Jill

T. Jack and Jill. Let's say that everyone together.

[Ss say rhyme in unison with T leading]

T. So, what did we start with? What was our beginning?

Ss. Jack and Jill went up the hill

T. So, that's the beginning. Tell me a story about that. Why are Jack and Jill going up the hill to fetch a pail of water? Let's hear that we can make that into a story. Mori? Who's Jack? Who's Jill?

S. They didn't have any water to wash their clothes, so they went up the hill and it was two kilometres and there was a big cliff.

T. That's as far as we need to go on that. Who were they?

S. They were hitchhiking.

T. Who might they be? Do they live down there? Are they farmers? Do they live in the middle of the city? Where are they? Who are they?

S. Farmers.

T. So Jack and Jill were farmers who lived down the land and Mori was telling us that they ran out of water … What happened when they were up there, S1?

[no response]

T. S3?

[no response]

S. He fell down and broke his crown.

T. How did that happen? So we know the next part of it. It says Jack fell down and broke his crown and Jill came tumbling after. How did that happen?

S. Jack was walking along and fell down over a rock and hit the water.

T. Oh no, so Jack was walking along with Jill and they got up to where there was a stream, is that what happened? And they went to get the bucket of water, that's a pail of water, isn't it? And just as he got his water he stood on a rock and it was wobbling and he was standing there wobbling on the rock and then he grabbed on to Jill because he was about to fall, but Splash! Both of then fell into the water and started rolling and rolling and then they climbed out of the [indistinct]. *They were sopping wet and Jack still had his towel on*

S. And his towel fell off! [Ss laugh]

T. Oh, I hope not! Then they started to walk over and they both fell down … What happened next? Isn't it funny? People can't even give us one simple part but they can be silly.

[bell rings]

T. Let's finish. So Jack fell down and he pulled Jill with him and they both went rolling away. Jack fell down and broke his crown. What's his crown?

S A. He doesn't have one. He's not the king of the world.
[Ss laugh]

SB. He must have a wooden crown because he lives in a farm and he thinks he lives in a great, big castle, but he like, lives in a farm with all farm animals.

T. Well it could be that he broke a crown. Does anyone know what the crown of your head actually is? The crown of your head is this part. [indicating her head]

S C. So he broke his head?

S 2. No, the crown fell off first and his head fell off.

S. [non Sudanese ELL] *The crown fell down?*

S. No!

S. [non Sudanese ELL] *So, the head fell down first?*

T. Sh!! [annoyed]

[Ss very restless to go out for lunch]

T. In our story we could make it whatever way we wanted. Fell down and broke his crown, could be that he broke the top of his head or if we wanted we could have him with a pretend crown on his head and that's what he broke. Doesn't matter too much because it's our story, we can make it say whatever we like. So Jack fell down and broke his crown and Jill came tumbling after because he grabbed hold of her and they were both rolling down. So what happened in the end? Up they got and home they trot as fast as they could caper, they went to bed to mend their head with vinegar and brown paper. So we have to tell ... why would they use vinegar? Because the water all got spilt they had to find something else in the cupboard. Maybe that could be the reason why. Now you're going to fold your arms and we're going to sit there until you are quiet, because all the time we did that [referring to the lesson] *someone played with something, talked about something, kicked their seat. There wasn't one second of that lesson where I had every person doing as they were asked to. I don't take very kindly to giving you a reminder and you just keep going anyway.*

[T and S say prayer together before Ss dismissed for lunch]

k. Sample completed Curriculum Cycle Proforma and QTF Coding Grid- Susanna

* Listen to tape carefully
After Recess "Dr Foster ... "
(White USB)

Date: 27/2

Teacher: ~~Miss~~ Susanna
as for all

Descriptive: [pedagogies, ELL involvement, group work, physical positioning, adaptations for ELL, equal expectations]
↓
no

no extra assistance given
all kids seated normal spots — all ELLs present.

Susanna 27/2

<u>Demographic</u>

All class present
Range of ESB kids + various ESL kids
+ Sudanese ref. ELLs.

<u>Reflective</u>

Is lack of scribing due to time pressure ?
    - takes more preparation
S completely dominates speaking
All emphasis seems on schematic stuff
and nothing on lang. or relation to purpose
IRE dominant

this rhyme said most kids in class
wouldn't know it

Curriculum Cycle

Field building
- Dr Foster → no explanation of context
  No vocab discussion
  no b'ground knowledge drawn on

→ minimal, all spoken

Modelling/deconstruction
[sorting, sequencing parts of text, flow charts, evaluating text models, comparing examples,
cloze, vocab. Building, use of metalanguage, purpose, audience]

None   no   none

There is deconstruction — terms of beginning,
middle, end → extension of the Dr Foster
rhyme in S's oral reading of story (listen
tape). Nothing written or sections marked a
text on board
Few chances for kids to contribute. No subst.
v. disengaged   comm.
Schema, no metalang.

* later when kids start discussing "crown".
S. responds (in joint const.) no.

Joint construction
[T as scribe for kids to construct texts, key structural words given/reinforced to ELLs,
involvement of ELL in process?]

All Oral. → Completely disengaged. *until
                    (all. kids) kids began to
No scribing here at any point   discuss
- Some responses to Ss   between
                                      selves what
                                      'crown'
                        ∄. attempted S. comm. means

347

Susanna 27/2

<u>Independent construction</u> [special support for ELLs, equal expectations?]

Didn't get up to this stage. — bell rang —
kids super restless

Coding sheet

Teacher: Susanna   KLA/Subject: Overall

Date: 27/2

Intellectual quality

1.4	Higher-order thinking	1 ·	(2)	3	4	5
1.5	Metalanguage	(1)	2	3	4	5
1.6	Substantive communication	(1)	2	3	4	5

Quality learning environment

2.1	Explicit quality criteria	1	(2)	3	4	5
2.2	Engagement	1	(2)	3	4	5
2.3	High expectations	(1)	2	3	4	5
2.4	Social support	1	(2)	3	4	5

Significance

3.1	Background knowledge	1	(2)	3	4	5
3.2	Cultural knowledge	(1)	2	3	4	5
3.4	Inclusivity	1	2	3	4	(5)

→ (See Field Notes).

348

I. Sample completed Curriculum Cycle Proforma and QTF Coding Grid-Margot

Beginning writing process

Date: 16.3.09

(listen v carefully to this recording

Teacher: Margot

Descriptive: [pedagogies, ELL involvement, group work, physical positioning, adaptations for ELL, equal expectations]

No grp work

No adapt. for ELLs

* (S4 & S5 at literacy withdrawal with Gail) → S6 present is fully involved

Kids in rows, answering orally

Nothing written — all oral

No vocab building

<u>Demographic</u>

Only kids who are not withdrawn for
Lit. present. Are those kids doing same
thing there? ~~FR~~

<u>Reflective</u>

Not a great of support for anyone in
achieving this task, incl. S6 who is
present (doesn't go to literary Withdraw.)→
See M's interview comments
No real chances for Subs. Comm. (see
notes indep. const.

Curriculum Cycle

Field building

Absolutely none about humpbacks before reading off screen. (* — or spider or before doing dinosaur one later).

In sense that points them out

Modelling/deconstruction

NO   NO

[sorting, sequencing parts of text, flow charts, evaluating text models, comparing examples, cloze, vocab. Building, use of metalanguage, purpose, audience] — No .

Kids read off screen. No use of metalanguage. No word banks. Draws attention to schematic features (like Susanna?) Intro, body, concl. Nothing written. Kids respond to M's questions, but no real subs. comm. → comes back to this aspect several times

Joint construction

No   NO.

[T. as scribe for kids to construct texts, key structural words given/reinforced to ELLs, involvement of ELL in process?]

Kids reasonably involved, S6 at same level. Joint construct. limited to kids giving isolated sentence examples — Nothing written — Why?

V.P* Kids attempt own field building
/ Subs. comm. at end. stage (Listen
No carefully)

<u>Independent construction</u> [special support for ELLs, equal expectations?]

No real, extra support for S6, but expect... seem
Same.
Given support of visual of dinosaur
pamphlet from 2003 Basic Skills Test

Coding sheet

Teacher: __Margot__   KLA/Subject: __Overall__

Date: __16/3/09__

Intellectual quality

1.4	Higher-order thinking	(1)	2	3	4	5
1.5	Metalanguage	(1)	2	3	4	5
1.6	Substantive communication	(1)	2	3	4	5

Quality learning environment

2.1	Explicit quality criteria	1	(2)	3	4	5
2.2	Engagement	1	(2)	3	4	5
2.3	High expectations	1	(2)	3	4	5
2.4	Social support	1	2	(3)	4	5

Significance

3.1	Background knowledge	(1)	2	3	4	5
3.2	Cultural knowledge	(1)	2	3	4	5
3.4	Inclusivity	1	2	3	4	(5)

352

m. Excerpt from Susanna's school newsletter

SCHOOL FEES. Thank you to those who have already paid their fees. We have a number of large bills to pay early this term including one for over $10,000 dollars for textbooks, exercise books and stationery supplies being distributed to the children this term. Like many family budgets we pay off our larger bills over the course of the year (e.g. Insurance is $14,000) and rely on those families who are punctual in their payment of fees to maintain our income stream. I would like to acknowledge our refugee families who have been very conscientious in their efforts to pay the school fees according to their means.