Culturally Responsive Pedagogic Practice: A Case Study

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Abstract

Scotland's inclusive framework for education provides guidelines designed to ensure that all pupils in state-funded, faith-based, and independent schools are afforded a quality education. In some schools in Scotland, the number of Muslim pupils may outweigh White Scottish pupils, as is the case of the urban Catholic school at the heart of this research. Adopting a bounded case study methodology with a unique combination of methods, this thesis explored the experiences of staff and pupils in an urban Scottish Catholic primary school with a majority of culturally diverse learners. To meet the needs of their diverse learners, this school has adapted and implemented certain aspects of culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP). The aim of the research was to explore the perceptions of staff and pupils around the challenges to and benefits of the implementation of a culturally responsive pedagogy. Online focus groups, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews with the staff, and a Ketso®-based focus group with pupils provided information about their experiences with CRP practices. In addition, a document analysis of several key Scottish education policies and guidelines was conducted to explore the extent to which they support this work. Finally, a content analysis of the school's primary communication platforms was conducted to examine how the school shares its culturally responsive practice with the public.

The study's main findings were: 1) The school implemented a culturally responsive practice from the ground up. With leadership from the headteacher, they started from a place of requiring to address the needs of the diverse learners rather than setting out to implement a specific pedagogy. 2) The lack of a shared understanding of relevant CRP terms and their definitions by stakeholders, as well as the lack of specificity of terms used in policy documents, can determine whether the implementation of a such a pedagogy is successful. 3) The difference between being responsive versus being reactive is an important distinction as the latter can result in an uneven response to a critical event. Preparation is needed to be responsive. 4) The recognition of the intersectionality of pupil identities in educational guidelines and policy is just as important as planning culturally responsive learning. If educators only focus on one identity, for example, the students' religion, they may miss addressing intersecting and potentially confounding gender and ethnic inequalities. 5) The tenets of CRP can contribute to inclusive practice by helping teachers incorporate the cultures of the learners in their classroom. Recent Scottish

legislation advocating anti-racist education, further aligns with CRP and its goal of empowering pupils to address inequities through the development of cultural competence.

As countries with historically less ethnic diversity begin to welcome immigrants and refugees, the importance of schools responding to these diverse cultural identities will be paramount. This unique bounded case study exploring how one school implemented CRP within the framework of Scottish educational policy and principles, will be of interest to other schools facing a similar increase in diversity. Acknowledging and understanding how staff and pupils in this school responded to the implementation of CRP will help other schools anticipate and address issues that may arise.

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Abbreviations

CRP – Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

CRE – Culturally Responsive Education

CRT – Culturally Responsive Teaching

CritRT- Critical Race Theory

CfE – Curriculum for Excellence

CPD – Continuous Professional Development

HT – Headteacher

IGO – Intergovernmental Organisation

IMF – International Monetary Fund

NGO – Non-governmental Organisation

PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

TIMMS Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

UN – United Nations

UNCRC – United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

US – United States of America

UK – United Kingdom

WHO – World Health Organisation

WTO- World Trade Organisation

XCC - (Study location City Council)

XXX- School in stud

Explanation of terms

Selecting a term to describe the group of learners under consideration in this study was not unproblematic. The school had adopted CRP, a pedagogical approach that originated in the US, to address issues faced by African American students. Understandably, the predominant terms used in the American literature are race and racism. On analysing the literature from Scotland and the UK, and in talking to participants of the study, the terms used in Scotland were inconsistent. They included: ethnic diversity, minority ethnic, black and minority ethnic and culturally diverse with race, anti-racist and racism each appearing only occasionally. Each of these terms is context dependent and contested and sometimes used interchangeably within documents which causes unhelpful ambiguity. Within my thesis the focus is on CRP, culturally diverse learners, and the intersectionality of identities within a culture. I have therefore chosen to mostly refer to these learners as culturally and ethnically diverse as those terms better encompass the UK context.

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I dedicate this thesis to my son, Declan, who inspires me every day to make sure I leave the world a better place than I found it. I love you 3000!

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Research Rationale and Context

As forced and voluntary migration to Western countries continues to rapidly increase, communities must work on strategies to welcome and permanently house families from diverse cultures (Arar et al., 2019). Schools are at the centre of that work as education has the power to change lives (Harrington, 2016; Park-Taylor et al., 2007). Across the globe, approximately six million school-age children have been forcibly displaced and many of those children will not have had any formal education prior to, and/or during resettlement (Daniel & Zybina, 2019). Schools are therefore tasked with educating learners who may not speak the language and whose family structure and educational values may be significantly different from their own. Since 2015, the UK has been working to resettle refugees through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation as well as the Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme with a commitment to housing 20,000 refugees. Scotland pledged to house at least 10% of that goal, which it had already exceeded by May 2019 (Migration Scotland, 2020).

The increasing numbers of refugees to Scotland, particularly from the Middle East and Africa (Hodes et al., 2015), present a necessity for us to understand how pupils from differing cultures experience school in Scotland. Many of these families are Muslim and choose to send their children to Catholic schools since there are, as of yet, no publicly-funded Islamic schools in Scotland (Parker-Jenkins, et al., 2017). The development of Scotland's education system reflects changes in international legislation such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which specifically calls for inclusion and equity as part of a transformative agenda (UNCRC, 2003). Scotland's focus on the rights of the child has evolved from a commitment to ensuring all pupils, regardless of ability, receive an equitable education; to a broader social justice framework that commits to including socioeconomic, cultural, and ethnic identities in its goal of education for all (Riddell & Weedon, 2017). As the number of culturally diverse pupils continues to increase throughout Scotland, it will be important for educators to share best pedagogical practices to ensure that each pupil's right to an inclusive education is achieved.

In addition to addressing the academic needs of these pupils, research suggests that positive interpersonal relationships between teachers and peers, are key to the successful integration of migrant children (Eurydice, 2009). If these children are provided with an inclusive environment, they are more likely to develop 'insider' status in their new country and gain social capital which can then extend to their families (Bourdieu, 1984). The reality, however, is that many immigrant children and families in the UK and Scotland experience racism in their schools and communities through explicit hate speech (Burrell & Horschelmann, 2019), implicit biases of teachers (Wingfield & Karaman, 1995), and/or insititutional racism (Osler & Starkey, 2005) because of the colour of their skin and/or their religious beliefs.

For Muslim immigrants in particular, messages from the British government which purport to 'promote Britishness' often end up fostering Islamophobic attitudes against the cultural contributions of recent immigrants (Lahmar, 2019; Osler, 2009). Deficit approaches, which view the identities of ethnically diverse pupils as 'other', reinforce inequalities as something to be overcome by the dominant culture (Paris, 2012; Kumashiro, 2002). Alternatively, researchers propose that acknowledging and fostering the multiple identities of Muslim immigrants such as language, nation, religion, and gender can lead to inclusive practices that respect the rights of all learners (Shah, 2019; Miah, 2017; Brah, 1996). A strength-based approach, which focuses on the competencies of diverse pupils, can help address discrimination and social injustice (Rychly & Graves, 2012).

1.2 Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Within education, it has been argued that there should be a shift from a multicultural view of education that seeks to inform learners about other cultures, to one of responsiveness, which acknowledges, validates, celebrates, and effectively educates all cultures present in the classroom (Gay, 2015; Banks, 2013). One proposed approach to enacting this philosophical change in practice is Culturally Responsive Pedagogy. This is an approach to teaching and learning that aims to incorporate students' cultural background into instructional strategies and course content to improve their academic achievement (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Howard, 2001). A primary aim of culturally responsive pedagogy is to create learning environments that allow students to use cultural elements, cultural capital, and other knowledge from their experiences to enhance their schooling experience

as well as empowering them to challenge any racism that they might experience. Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) focuses on incorporating a learner's culture into their education, rather than education into their culture (Pewewardy, 1993). It stresses the rights of all learners to have their culture valued (Hoque, 2017). To do this effectively, learners must see themselves in the teaching and learning and identify with the context of the curriculum. Although many teachers want to work effectively with children from diverse cultures, they are often lacking the skills to do so, particularly with recent immigrants (Suarez-Orozco, 2001). They simply cannot teach what they do not know (Howard, 2006). Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes are inconsistent, at best, on addressing cultural competency (Ohito & Oyler, 2017; Pantić et al., 2011). So, the question becomes, how are teachers and staff supposed to respond to learners whose backgrounds they may know nothing about particularly for teachers in Catholic schools, who may have little or no understanding of other faiths?

1.3 Research Objectives

The research on responding to diversity in the classroom has mostly focused on prescriptive pedagogies and practices that purport to tell schools and teachers what to do (for example, Rychly & Graves, 2012; Grant & Asimeng–Boahene, 2006; Gay, 2002). Much of this work originated in the US, where CRP was introduced as a way to address the long-standing educational inequities between White and Black students; therefore, the recommendations were based on that specific historical context. Schools in other countries, such as England (Hoque, 2018) and New Zealand (Hunter et al., 2016), have since applied various forms of CRP with their ethnically diverse pupils, but with inconsistent results. Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) pupils in England are culturally different than Maori pupils in New Zealand and Black students in the USA, so arguably, what may have worked in some schools in the US, would not necessarily work in other contexts. An increasing number of migrants to the UK and Scotland are from Muslim backgrounds, which presents a challenge of navigating multiple identities (Hoque, 2017).

Religious identity, although often viewed as an important aspect of culture, has not been researched as much in terms of how schools respond to religious culture in the classroom. To date, very little research has been done to see how this is accomplished with learners of

other faiths in denominational schools in the UK in general, and Scotland in particular. Moreover, within a religion such as Islam, there are various sects that practice differently, so trying to respond to Muslim pupils in the same way is problematic (Modood & Ahmad, 2007). Essentialising culture refers to an assumption that everyone in a cultural groups shares the same characteristics (Dutro et al, 2008). This view ignores the intersectionality and complexity of identities mentioned above and leads to 'othering', which perpetuates a deficit mentality that anyone different than the cultural norm can be treated the same (Kumashiro, 2002).

Schools are individual contexts; therefore, research needs to be done on individual schools as cases to which others find better understanding of the issues, can compare these to their own experiences and contexts and apply what works best for them (Mejia, 2009). A desire to explore how this strategy works in practice and how it affects learners, teachers, and parents became the backdrop to my thesis and provides necessary understanding as to how this approach might work in different school and country contexts.

This thesis is a comprehensive case study of one Scottish Catholic primary school that, through the leadership of the headteacher, set out to make their school more inclusive for their predominantly Muslim learners. They did not set out to *do* CRP. They saw a need and over the past nine years worked to adapt their teaching practices, communication with families, and community engagement to engage their diverse learners. They later found that what they were doing was essentially a form of CRP and were eager to reflect on their practice through this pedagogical lens. The aim of this research is to capture the microcosm of one unique school's experience with CRP. By adopting an in-depth approach using a bounded case study (Adelman et al., 1976) the thesis provides a rich description to help other practitioners decide what might be applicable to their context (Mejia, 2009). The study includes a document analysis of relevant Scottish educational guidelines and policies, a content analysis of the school's communication platforms, a Ketso®-based focus group with pupils, and focus groups and interviews with staff. These complementary methods provide a strong basis to answer the following research questions:

'What do the lived experiences of pupils and staff suggest about the effectiveness of a culturally responsive pedagogy?'

'What methodologies can be used to discover how a school can implement a culturally responsive practice in the context of inclusive education in Scotland?

1.4 Structure of Thesis

In order to address these questions, the thesis is organised into nine chapters. This chapter as you will have seen provides an introduction to the rationale and context for this research. In order to understand Scotland's response to global migration and the effect of that on education, **Chapter 2** provides an overview of global education from WWII to the present with a focus on how supranational movements in education impact on countries such as Scotland with an emphasis on a global knowledge economy (Bottery, 2004). The race to improve economies in the Global South has, in effect, produced an overqualified workforce that has struggled to find work, leading to a significant increase in migration (Hill & Kumar, 2009). A discussion of how that migration has affected education and vice versa is presented here with a focus on how countries may struggle to provide services, including education to recent arrivals (Gitlin et al, 2003).   As many of those arriving to Scotland are from Muslim backgrounds, the chapter concludes with an examination and evaluation of the UK and Scotland's experience of educating and supporting refugees and asylum seekers from culturally and ethnically diverse backgrounds.

Chapter 3 examines the arguments for a proposed shift from a multicultural focus in education designed to teach *about* other cultures, to a culturally responsive focus that endeavours to include all cultures (Banks, 2017) , which led to the development of CRP. The role of pupil identities and their intersectionality in education are discussed as a foundation for cultural responsiveness (Shah, 2009; Irizarry, 2007). Misconceptions about CRP are explored in order to avoid the trivialisation of the work as it is applied to other contexts (Jackson, 2015; Sleeter, 2012). Consideration is given to an example from practice from New Zealand, a smaller nation similar in population size to Scotland, who implemented CRP to address the cultural diversity of the Māori people. The challenges involved in implementing and sustaining CRP are outlined as well as critiques of the pedagogy itself, with a focus on the lack of discussion around racism and its impact on learners (Konstantoni et al., 2017; Paris, 2012). The concept of White privilege is discussed as the overwhelming majority of teachers in Scotland are White (Gov.Scot,

2022). The proposed solution of cultural competency and bias training is critiqued as a prescriptive fix that is not necessarily practical (Galloway et al., 2019; Neri et al., 2019).

Chapter 4 provides a brief overview and discussion around the specifics of Scotland's education system and its unique elements, including the structure of non-denominational and denominational schools, curriculum legislation and educational frameworks. Curriculum for Excellence (Curriculum Review Group, 2004), The Additional Support for Learning (Scotland) Act (Scottish Government, 2017a), and Framework for Inclusion (STEC, 2014) are focused on with regards to the social justice principles within their remit and how they may support CRP. In addition, the standards from the General Teaching Council for Scotland are reviewed to understand the educational standards which teachers are expected to adhere to and how CRP fits within those frameworks (GTCS.org.uk, 2021).

Chapter 5 outlines the methodological underpinnings of this thesis, my reflexive positionality, and the methods and the rationale used in the case study. Through a social constructivist lens, I approached this work focused on the reality constructed by the participants in this research (Crotty, 2014). To address the concerns from researchers about the lack of critical engagement with racism and oppression in how some educators implement CRP, I used Critical Race Theory as a lens through which to view and interpret both my qualitative data and document findings (Gillborn, 2015; Milner & Howard, 2013). The bounded case study is qualitative in nature and the findings are designed to be transferable, rather than generalisable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To ensure a comprehensive bounded case study of the school, I conducted a document analysis of relevant Scottish educational policies and guidelines with a focus on social justice and inclusion; a content analysis of the three primary communication platforms used by the school, and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) report for 2017 (Howard & Lipinoga, 2010); and qualitative focus groups and interviews. Together these methods help to better understand the framework that educators work within to implement new practices (Bowen, 2009).

Chapter 6 presents the findings from the document analysis of relevant policies and guidelines as well as a content analysis of the public-facing school communication, and the school's HMIE 2017 inspection report. The following educational policies and guidelines were chosen for their impact on teaching and learning and inclusion of social justice principles: Education (ASL) Scotland Act (2004, 2009, 2016), Standards in Schools Act (2000), GIRFEC (2014), and Education (Scotland) Act (2016), in addition to the

Curriculum for Excellence, Framework for Inclusion, GTCS standards, and the Education Institute Scotland (EIS) Anti-racist Education brief (2018). The communication platforms analysed are the school's website, Twitter feed, and handbook.

Chapter 7 presents the thematic analysis findings of the Ketso®-based pupil focus groups, as well as the staff focus groups and interviews. Several themes from this data are identified including uncertainty around the definition of key terms, the distinction between reactionary versus responsive practice, and how the intersection of pupil identities is addressed in the school. Through the words of the pupils and staff, the school's implementation of CRP is explored and discussed in relation to the literature.

Chapter 8 presents an in-depth discussion of all of the findings in the case study and how they highlight gaps in the literature around what CRP involves and how it is implemented. The theme of 'uncertainty' is discussed in terms of CRP-related words, but also around the language used in Scotland's educational policies. The vagueness of language presents both a challenge in terms of gauging success and determining outcomes, and also an opportunity to implement practices that work for the specific context of the school. The theme of 'reactionary versus responsiveness' is discussed through accounts of the world events that most affected the pupils' experience of racism and how the teachers and school addressed those concerns. The final theme of 'individuals in the collective' explores how the pupils' different identities are responded to and how the intersectionality of religion and gender plays a significant role in teaching and learning.

Chapter 9 concludes the study with a focus on the implications of this research for schools seeking to improve their practice, and Scottish schools in particular as the pupil demographics continue to become more diverse. Recent guidelines around anti-racist education are discussed as further support for a culturally responsive practice. A list of recommendations for future research, policy, and practice is presented with a focus on engaging all stakeholders in any implementation of a new practice.

In summary, the aim of this case study is an in-depth exploration of how a school implemented a responsive practice to a unique situation. Through a document analysis, focus groups, and interviews, the study provides a rich, detailed example of what one school did to try and address the diversity of their learners. It presents an opportunity to reflect on how practice was shaped and implemented from the ground up, rather than from the policy down. The findings suggest that by focusing on what is best for learners, CRP as a practice is possible. This research can benefit other schools around the world

experiencing similar contexts, by allowing teachers and staff to choose what research-based aspects of the implementation might work best for their school instead of trying to adopt an entire pedagogy or policy at once (Brown, 2017; Bryk, 2016).

Chapter 2 – The Role of Education in Globalisation and Migration

This chapter explores how the influence of neoliberalism has homogenised education practices often at the expense of cultural identities. Instead of a focus on the rights of learners, this approach stipulates a set of standards to be measured in the pursuit of economic growth (Ingleby, 2013). As a result, there is greater concern placed upon teachers to meet those standards, rather than to support and encourage their learners as individuals (Ingleby, 2021). In this environment, it may be more difficult to implement pedagogies and practices that support the rights of the learner. Before exploring the lived experiences of culturally diverse pupils in Scotland, it is important to understand the global educational factors that drive local policies and practices.

As the world has become more culturally interconnected through technology and globalisation, the field of education has responded with a focus on a competitive model to improve excellence and quality in educational practices (Zajda, 2018). These finance-driven reforms have resulted in an increase in inequities where those who have the resources, hold the power; and those who do not, are often oppressed or ignored. Educational organisations now resemble businesses, some of which are publicly traded (Klees, 2009). Countries that depend on international organisations such as the UN and World Bank are expected to use the imposed curriculum and implement recommended reforms. Many of these take a one-size-fits-all approach to education, ignoring the cultural traditions and norms of many citizens (Shields, 2013). While the goal of international aid organisations originally was to ensure that all countries could educate their citizens to participate in a growing local economy, the result has been that education policy focuses on global economic competition rather than the social and welfare needs of its citizens (Spring, 2015). The increased competition means there are more people qualified to work in jobs that do not exist. This saturation of the job market can lead to an increase in voluntary migration in order to find work. In addition to migration, conflicts and poverty in certain parts of the world have led to an increase in refugees settling in Western countries. As Scotland welcomes more culturally diverse migrants and refugees into schools, it is important to discuss those policies that view the learner as a means to an economic end, rather than a unique individual with the agency to self-determine their future (Patrick, 2013).

2.1 The Globalisation of Education

The globalisation of education refers to the influence of intergovernmental (IGOs), non-governmental (NGOs), and multinational organisations on local educational policies and practices (Shields, 2013) resulting in international model of curricula, organisation, and pedagogy (Spring, 2015). Many researchers agree that globalisation over the past 30 years has been driven by the ideology of neoliberalism, which stipulates that the market forces encourage competition which leads to more innovative and efficient policies (Lingard, 2019; Friedman, 2000). In a capitalist society, economic growth is often more important that social justice as social states are transformed into corporate states (Agamben, 2001). Spurred by unprecedented global economic development in the early 20th century, albeit uneven and geographically scattered, early work in international education was rooted in human capital theory, which justified education spending on the grounds that it would later yield an economic return (Mincer, 1958). As formal schooling was being instituted around the world to help nations compete globally, an unintended consequence emerged and to this day, remains- education is so mainstream that students often study a standard curriculum that varies little according to their own national and cultural context, but to a homogenic world view of social and educational progress (Meyer et al., 1992). In effect, the demand for competition has resulted in education becoming a global enterprise (Baker & LeTendre, 2005), which has resulted in inequalities within states and between states (Hill & Kumar, 2009). Those inequalities are most often experienced by marginalised groups who do not have access to the same educational opportunities as those from the dominant cultural group.

Formal schooling is mostly organised and controlled by governments; therefore, it stands to reason those educational systems will be involved in political issues of democracy (Apple & Aasen, 2003). A nation's education standards and curriculum are influenced by a number of factors including economic needs, competition in the global market, and political ideologies. During the past 30 years, educational practices in Western countries have become increasingly homogenised with a focus on measurable outcomes (Henry, 2001). A shift occurred in Western countries from post-WWII welfare policies that funded education to protect citizens from market-forces, to one of post-welfare where market forces drove the system, creating a standards and accountability-based educational system. (Tomlinson, 2008). In effect, global capitalism challenged the sustainability of greater

education spending, which resulted in education being an economic policy (Bell & Stevenson, 2006). In order to compete globally, third-world countries, who rely on international aid, are held accountable to those same standards, regardless of their unique educational and cultural needs. It is suggested that if a one-size-fits-all approach to education is mandated by the state or external agency, the results often expose inequities between socioeconomic groups, ethnic groups, ability groups, and cultural groups. It is therefore important to explore the origin of, as well as the scope of influence and power that those agencies hold.

Many aspects of a country's educational policies are not determined by its national government, but rather by international organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); the World Bank; the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the World Trade Organization (WTO) and its General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS); that may not share the same goals, policies, and practices as local education agencies (Spring, 2015). Although the intention of the international organisation focus was to combat the nationalistic messages communicated through individual education systems that led to World Wars I and II (Lerch & Buckner, 2018), this imbalance has resulted in conflicts and wars in regions where education exists solely to reinforce inequity and marginalisation of those without power (Spring, 2015; Freire, 1970). Considering that many nations, including the UK, still adhere to the doctrines produced by these organisations, it is worth exploring how their influence is perceived and experienced by marginalised groups.

2.1.1 United Nations and International Aid Agencies

The United Nations was founded in1945 to promote good will between countries and coordinate a range of international affairs including aid and development. It provided a charter from which international education policies would emerge. Although Europe and North America had already begun to provide universal education over the previous two centuries, the United Nations declaration of education as a human right set out to extend this notion globally through the 1948 proclamation: (UN, 1948, Article 26)

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory.

> Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Although almost unanimously ratified by the UN General Assembly, the declaration lacked support to enforce it, and therefore progress was not made until years later (Shields, 2013).

From its outset, the UN was financially supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Originally founded to stabilize international trade and to finance the reconstruction of countries decimated in World War II, these fiscal organisations would go on to play an important role in international development and specifically education (Kapur et al., 1997). The World Bank was designed as a lending body primarily for infrastructure financing. Its high rates of return from investing in social sciences led the bank to begin issuing education loans in 1963. During this time, a new economic activity known as a 'knowledge economy', which described the exchange of knowledge, information, and ideas as opposed to manufactured goods, was emerging (Drucker, 1968). The World Bank took a vested interest in human capital theory and a knowledge economy, believing that investments in education would create a productive workforce that would be able to repay the initial loan and interest (Shields, 2013). However, the results were not as expected, and in the countries where that investment in education did not yield the desired result, governments were left with large debts and growing interest (Jones, 2004). Multinational organisations encouraged investment in schools which led to an oversupply of qualified workers, many of whom either could not find work, or were paid significantly less than Western countries (Brown & Lauder, 2006). These practices have played a role in global migration patterns as workers move to other countries to find work. This will be explored further in the next section.

At about the same time, international aid agencies began to emerge. Beginning with USAID in the United States, and soon followed by the UK, Denmark, Australia, Japan, Norway, Germany, and Canada, these agencies' mission was to provide funding and

technical assistance to developing countries to foster a self-sustaining economy to compete with Western nations (Shields, 2013). Much of that assistance ended up going to the former colonies of the wealthy nations, who did not benefit from global industrialization. Rostow's (1960) modernization theory argued that investments in education would put developing countries on the path to development, eventually transforming them into industrialized societies similar to those in Western Europe and North America (Shields, 2013). That theory, in conjunction with the notion of human capital, proposed to turn former colonies into developed industrial nations with the support of international aid agencies targeting education as a means to this end (Shields, 2013).

After several decades of work guided by modernization theory, priorities shifted away from solely relying on economic growth to reduce poverty as the primary goal of international development work. Economic growth was eventually seen as one factor in the reduction of poverty along with human rights, equity, and inclusion (Shields, 2013). Humanitarian and banking organisations such as UNDP and the World Bank began to emphasize equity and inclusion in education, requiring that all individuals had access to education even if no immediate economic benefit emerged. This philosophy laid the groundwork for The World Conference on Education for All, EFA (1990), which was initiated by a number of international organisations with the goal of every country providing free, compulsory education to all its citizens by 2000. Shields (2013) argues that the goal itself is clear, but the challenge lies in its attainment.

The EFA declaration also emphasizes social equity and inclusion, with special attention to the rights of indigenous groups, linguistic minorities, disabled people, and gender, which received particular attention; stipulating that 'the most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls' (World Conference on Education for All, 1990, pg. 5). The focus on equity and education for girls remains a core part of the EFA agenda to this day (World Education Forum, 2000); however, gender inequities are still prevalent in nearly every society. The UN's Division for the Advancement of Women has proposed several recommendations since 1990 regarding gender equality.

Despite the UN's recommendations and charters, there is still a world phenomenon of the subordination of women who are routinely disadvantaged and marginalised in many aspects of society compared to their male counterparts (Charlesworth & Chinkin, 2000). For example, a 2011 Trustlaw poll indicated that the world's most dangerous countries to be a woman are: Afghanistan, Congo, Pakistan, India, and Somalia. The poll looked at six

critical factors in evaluating countries: 'sexual violence, non-sexual violence, cultural or religious factors, discrimination, lack of access to resources, and trafficking' (Walker, 2018, p. 118). It can be argued that when researching youth from these cultures, that there is a need for greater attention to be paid to the intersection of gender and ethnic identity. This concept will be explored in Chapter Three.

Other examples of the impact of global organisations are the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The UN General Assembly unanimously approved its Millennium Goals in 2000. The overarching goal was to eradicate world poverty, through targeting developing countries, which both The World Bank and OECD supported. Its specific education goals were:

> *Target 2.A: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.*

> *Target 3.A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015 (UNESCO, 2007).*

As with the other goals and recommendations listed above, these are too general to be measured accurately due to ambiguous language, which begs the question whether they are useful. It is unclear how 'suggestions' from international organisations concretely help gender and economic inequalities, let alone prevent discrimination and violence towards women and marginalised communities.

In 2005, UNESCO was tasked with putting together a framework for sustainable development within the decade. Contrary to The World Bank and OECD, the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) put a focus on the negative impact of economic growth on the environment and addressed the need for social justice (Spring, 2015). The member states did not all agree on the new education goals as there was conflict between the idea of schooling for a knowledge economy, and one for environmental and social justice. However, significantly the SDGs were for all nations, whereas the MDGs focused on developing countries. UN data (2015) suggests that education is nearly universal, and the gender gap has narrowed; however, there is still great concern that inequality, poverty, climate change, and mass forced migration will prevent the attainment of the SDGs (Suarez-Orozco, 2020). But without any enforcement and repercussions, members can choose whether to participate, which suggests the increasing likelihood that several nations will not adhere to the goals, ultimately continuing the cycle of inequality.

As stated previously, the global knowledge economy advocated by organisations such as the World Bank, WTO, IMF, and GATS is criticised by postcolonial critical theorists for its neoliberalism focus on cultural imperialism with regards to education (Shields, 2013; Robertson, 2005). It is argued that the concern with the global commodification of knowledge, particularly in science and technology, make it more likely that the elite will benefit. Crossley and Tikly (2004) argue that globalised education systems remain focused on the elite, are not relevant to local variances, and are at odds with indigenous communities.

The increasing influence of the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is serving to strengthen and push this conventional curriculum by concentrating on a few subjects that are deemed to be more important than others (Spring, 2015). PISA ranks countries by their scores on standardised tests in reading, mathematics, and science, and are designed to gauge how well the students master key subjects in order to be prepared for real-life situations in the adult world (OECD, 2018). The tests equate educational success with economic growth, which implies that the universal purpose of education is economic rather than social or individual fulfilment. Perhaps not surprisingly, most industrialised countries and an increasing number of developing ones are operating under the 'global governance' of PISA (Varjo et al., 2013). The problem with this is that there are so many other factors outside of school that influence academic achievement, such as cultural and economic factors. Using global standards to compare nation-states that have significant geographical, cultural, and economic differences, in addition to the inequalities within the country, is not a valid indictor of educational attainment (Spring, 2015).

The global knowledge economy, in its attempts to improve economic competitiveness through investment in education, has not necessarily led to improved employment and economic growth (Bottery, 2004). Instead, a greater supply of qualified labour increases competition for a limited supply of jobs, creating a 'race to the bottom' in terms of wages and working conditions (Hill & Kumar, 2009), resulting in lower salaries and fewer returns on educational investments (Brown & Lauder, 2006). Ultimately, competition for resources can reproduce social inequalities, economic exploitation, gender biases, prejudices, and forms of racial and ethnic discrimination, which are the root causes of conflict, especially in developing countries (Bush & Solterelli, 2000). Workers are faced with uncertainty and governments are less likely to provide the social safety nets available in the past (Giddens, 1999). In summary, the position of national governments is weakened

by the increased power of international organizations and their binding declarations, which limit policy options open to them and commit them to global free trade (Verger, 2009). The instability created by these practices also increases the likelihood that people will migrate to other countries perceived as more stable.

The discussion above indicates that nations that accept educational resources from international organisations are doing so at the risk of homogenising education for their citizens, which, as outlined above, tends to result in inequities in the distribution of those resources. Social justice and diversity issues may be ignored because of the focus on a narrow definition of academic attainment (Bell, 2006). Countries which use a common curriculum in all public schools regardless of the location and population needs, risk leaving behind those students who cannot access the learning for any reason.

2.2 The Role of Education in Migration

As families migrate to Western countries, the use of a homogenised educational curriculum designed to increase employment of its citizens may not be accessible to newcomers from different cultures. To be truly inclusive the host country may have to move away from a solely human capital approach focused on individual upward mobility, to an approach that recognises and incorporates the collective cultures of its newest residents as its educational goal.

Migration can be simplified into two realities: forced or unforced migration, both of which provide challenges for the migrants and the host nations. Forms of migration include seasonal work, informal or undocumented migration, guest-worker migration, refugee accommodation, refugee resettlement, internally displaced persons, and non-asylum immigration (Culp & Zwarthoed, 2018). Migration, especially that of refugees, is often due to past colonization and imbalances in economic and political power, which result in a lack of human security such as poverty, hunger, and violence (Castles, 2004). Globalisation has reinforced inequalities and therefore led to an increase in migration (Piketty, 2014). Ironically, there has been little done by international organisations to address the challenges of global migration (Bhagwati, 2003), due likely to the fact that nations are not forced into compliance. The 1990 UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Family has not been ratified by most countries so there is little cooperation (Banks, 2017). There have been more recent efforts

by the UN to hold forums and summits regarding migration, but they do not have decision-making powers (Betts, 2011). The United Nations Convention, set out in 1951, stated that all refugee children should be afforded "the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education" (UNHCR, 2016, p. 4). While the intent to include may be admirable, this is actually highly problematic since it is advocating for the use of a unified approach to a diverse group of learners. It has been suggested that the reason for this approach stemmed from thinking that refugees were only temporary and might go home at some point or move on somewhere else; therefore, no further considerations towards the implementation of that education existed (Ficarra, 2017). Moreover, refugees who stay in the host country are described as needing to 'assimilate' into the local culture, and as such, would be expected to receive the same education. There are several problems with this viewpoint starting with the fact that it ignores the situations that forced them from their homes, and the cultural identities that may differ from the local norm. In addition, the idea of assimilating invokes a sense of conforming to the dominant culture, which can lead to increased further marginalisation (Gitlin et al, 2003).

Education is a concern for migrants and their children entering a nation, but also to those adults and children who are already resident in nations receiving migrants. Research on views towards adult refugees indicates a prevalence of negative attitudes by the general public (European Social Survey, 2016), with respondents citing a fear of violence and terrorism and job loss (Pew Research Center, 2015). Individuals undergo a potential change in self-identity to accommodate information about and experiences with the cultures of the newcomers (OECD, 2019). Migration often determines diversity within a community. Whether the community response to that diversity is welcoming and inclusive or threatening, depends on how schools approach cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity (Besic et al, 2020). If education systems are not focused on ensuring that communities are well-equipped to deal with the challenges as well as the benefits that diversity brings, there is a risk that those in the dominant culture may respond to increased diversity by expressing feelings of racial intolerance and prejudice (Dustmann & Preston, 2001).

Banks (2017) outlines the conflict that exists when a host country of one political type encounters migrants from countries with divergent political systems. There is a struggle between multicultural acceptance and assimilation into the host culture. He highlights the discrimination experienced by Māori students in New Zealand, Muslims in France, Chechens in Russia, and Mexicans in the United States as a result of cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious differences. While some countries such as the US and Canada have

been diverse since their founding, other countries such as Japan (Hirasawa, 2009), Korea (Moon, 2012) and Germany (Eksner, 2017; Luchtenberg, 2009) are still coming to terms with the idea of being multicultural. The historic diversity of other European countries such as England, France, and the Netherlands, came as a result of colonial immigration after WWII (Banks, 2009). However, most European nations do not view themselves as multicultural in terms of citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2005). Most recently, the growth of the Muslim population in England, France, and Switzerland, has presented a challenge for Europeans, many of whom view Islam as a threat to European civilisation and culture mainly due to terrorism by extremist groups (Bawer, 2006). The primary challenge for these host countries is how to incorporate new cultures and ethnicities, while retaining a unified identity.

In the past five years, there has been a significant surge in undocumented migrants to Europe and the United States. The majority claim refugee status since fleeing from conflict-torn countries such as Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Somalia (Hodes et al., 2018). Overall, 69% of international migrants originate in the Global South, that is, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean (Banks, 2017). Children represent a significant portion of global migration flows, especially within refugee populations. According to a 2016 UNICEF report, 1 in 8 immigrants worldwide is a child, as is more than one in two refugees – a proportion that has doubled between 2005 and 2015 (UNICEF, 2016). At the end of 2020, more than 33 million children were forcibly displaced (UNICEF, 2021). Thus, the role of schools in the integration of young people into a new community is crucial. Immigrant children spend most of their day at school, immersed in a community of teachers and other students likely from a majority culture. Dominant cultural norms are transmitted both explicitly through curriculum and school structure, but also implicitly through attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours (Ross, 2003; Apple, 1979).

Studies have found that interactions with peers and teachers at school are the key to the successful integration, as well as the welfare, of immigrant children (Eurydice, 2009; OECD, 2006). Without opportunities to interact with diverse peers, children and adolescents are often likely to display prejudiced attitudes (McGlothlin & Killen, 2010; Rutland, et al, 2005) and justify their own and others' identity-based exclusion of 'outsiders' (Killen et al., 2010; Crystal et al., 2008). Through researching contexts in which youth see themselves as members of a shared collective (e.g., a classroom, culture), further insights into when, and how, diversity promotes positive interpersonal and intergroup effects can be achieved (Gaertner et al, 2016). Although explicit teaching

methods may be needed to reduce the most persistent biases, general instructional practices can provide solutions to negative intergroup dynamics (Brown & Juvonen, 2018). However, while teachers can help students develop positive and inclusive attitudes, they also may, consciously or subconsciously, contribute to and legitimise the power dynamics of the dominant culture. The inherent bias of schooling systems, effectively institutional racism, is widely researched (See for example, Osler & Starkey, 2005; Graham & Robinson, 2004). Educational quality is strongly influenced by class and race, and as such, that quality varies considerably according to location. Immigrants and refugees do not necessarily choose the new community they end up in. For this reason, it can be argued that all schools need to be prepared to respond positively to cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity. Simply saying, 'we were not prepared for this' is not going to be an excuse in a country with high rates of mobility.

School is where newly arrived immigrants and migrants not only learn the language skills, but the culturally relevant skills needed to "fit in" with the dominant culture (Park-Taylor et al., 2007). The understanding of being an 'insider' or 'outsider' is also learned at school. 'Insiders' have cultural and social capital as a result of being the dominant culture, which allows them to navigate the school system openly and effectively, while immigrant families, outsiders, have to rely on others to give them necessary information (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Bourdieu, 1984). For many students, support comes from networks of other recent immigrants who have knowledge of the school structure and can help new students and their families navigate their new surroundings (Goldstein, 2003). Some researchers have argued that proficiency in the language of the host country is key to the success of recent migrants (European Commission 2008; Bernstein, 1971). It is suggested that when students and their parents can understand the dominant language, they are more likely to engage with learning. Understanding the host language is one thing, but proficiency is another. More research has shown that incorporating the learner's home language at school creates a more inclusive environment that respects both cultures. This will be explored in Chapter three.

In addition to facing prejudice at school, immigrants and refugees, as well as other minorities, often experience extreme nationalism from the community. The US and UK are both dealing with this rise, resulting in negative attitudes, and even hate crimes against migrant groups and individuals (Burrell & Horschelmann, 2019; Feteke, 2012; Cooley & Rutter, 2007; Wodak & Van Dijk, 2000). Huysmans (2006) argues that once young migrant people are negatively stereotyped, then all forms of exclusion can be justified.

Systemic biases in educational and vocational systems affect the potential contributions of these young people. Mergner (2005, p.137) suggests that in order to best address the social issue of youth migration, educators need to 'build solidarity with the stranger'. Immigrants and refugees are by no means the only students who experience prejudice and stereotyping at school. Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) students experience racism and prejudice routinely based solely on the colour of their skin. Immigrants and refugees have the additional label of 'outsider', which can embolden those who choose to hate (Dryden-Peterson, 2020). Education is regarded as one of the most effective devices by which the acceptance of minority rights and tolerance towards minorities can be strengthened; as well as the integration of minorities into mainstream society (Bekerman & Tatar, 2012). While that may be true for some; it is not for most. It is suggested that educational systems need to move away from a doctrine of multiculturalism, where educators highlight the differences of newcomers, to one of transculturalism, which focuses on the competencies of culturally diverse students who may come from a variety of situations (Hoerder et al., 2006). This transition uses culturally responsive and sustaining methods to view curriculum through critical lenses such as anti-racism, feminine, and anti-oppressive pedagogies (Bromseth & Darj, 2010; Dei et al., 2000; Giroux, 1994).

The United Kingdom ranks 11th out of 38 countries on an international scale measuring the effectiveness of integration policies for minorities in education; a score described as "halfway favourable" (Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), 2015). Some researchers warn that the UK has an increasingly assimilationist agenda, particularly since the terrorist events of 9/11 and the 2005 London bombings (Law & Swann, 2011; Gillborn, 2008), and most recently, Brexit (Osler & Starkey, 2018). Populist messages of 'Take Back Control' as well as anti-immigrant Xenophobic messages were communicated by the British Independence Party (Berry, 2016). The British government enacted educational measures through the Ajegbo Report (Ajegbo, 2007; DES, 2007), which purported to teach students how to live together in a diverse country. Essentially, it was designed to 'promote Britishness, shared values, and patriotism through the teaching of citizenship and history' (Osler, 2009, 2008). It can be argued that this focus on promoting a British identity, ignores the cultural contributions and influence of recent immigrants. Forcing students to renegotiate their identity rather than acknowledging and fostering multiple identities, leads to essentializing all new immigrants into one 'other' culture and imparts a view that the host country's values are superior and should be adhered to (Miah, 2017; Parekh, 2000). An increasing number of schools in the UK are emerging as multi-ethnic, multicultural,

and multi-faith which pose challenges of developing and sustaining inclusive practices that are sensitive and responsive to issues of ethnicity and identity (Brah, 1996). Although technically a part of the United Kingdom, Scotland's unique situation of devolution has allowed it to follow a less-contentious path regarding immigrants, particularly within its independent education system. This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the effects of globalisation on education include a neoliberal understanding of education as an economic policy designed to increase the wealth of already wealthy nations (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Baker & LeTendre, 2005). Third-world countries out of necessity have sought support from international organizations such as the UN, The World Bank, and OECD, but this support comes with the expectation of achieving similar educational standards, regardless of their unique contexts. Although these organisations continue to argue for equity in access to education, the results vary across nations due to poverty, conflict, governmental structure, and systemic injustice. That imbalance is often reinforced by the global actors in power (Spring, 2015). Voluntary and involuntary migration has increased, primarily to Western countries, leading to more culturally diverse cities. With that diversity, comes the need to educate children from different cultures, ethnicities, national backgrounds, and with different languages. Scotland and the UK state their intent is to adhere to doctrines from these agencies, so it is important to understand how they strive to achieve equity in local contexts. The following chapter explores the educational response made by Western countries to increasing diversity. It will be argued that there needs to be a shift from a multicultural approach of how to teach 'others', to a culturally responsive approach that meaningfully includes everyone in education and in society.

Chapter 3 – From Cultural Awareness to Cultural Responsiveness

With the recent increase in refugees being settled in Scotland, the number of minority ethnic learners has increased significantly, many with English as an additional language, thus requiring schools to find ways to teach and assimilate these pupils (Migration Scotland, 2020). Many of these families are Muslim, the reasons for which will be discussed below, and they choose to send their children to Catholic schools since there are, as of yet, no publicly funded Islamic schools in Scotland (Parker-Jenkins, et al., 2017). This presents a challenge in that the majority of teachers are Catholic, with little or no understanding of the Muslim faith. In addition to working with pupils who may not be proficient in English, they may also have religious and cultural traditions and values that are different from the White Scottish Catholic ones taught in the school. Although many teachers want to work with children from diverse cultures, they are often lacking in the skills to do so, particularly with recent immigrants (Suarez-Orosco & Suarez-Orosco, 2001). In order to be 'responsive' to, rather than just 'aware' of, the diversity in their classroom, teachers need to understand the different cultural identities and how they may intersect. The Catholic primary school at the centre of this research is uniquely diverse in terms of religion and ethnicity; however, it is unlikely to stay unique as Scotland is projected to welcome more refugees, thus increasing the diversity of learners in schools. This chapter explores the concepts of culture and identity, with a particular focus on Muslim learners, who may face additional challenges of racism and Islamophobia in schools. This is followed by a discussion of the use of culturally responsive pedagogy in an effort to address ethnic diversity and the potential challenges of implementation.

3.1 Muslim Immigrants in the UK

After devolution in 1999, the Scottish Government projected a more democratic, pluralist model of citizenship that welcomed immigration and argued for race equality (Meer, 2015). While England tied English language to immigration requirements, Scotland identified itself as a multilingual country. Its commitment to linguistic pluralism is evident through the New Scots Strategy, which outlines provisions for integration and inclusion in post-migrant communities (Scottish Government, 2018d). In 2015, the UK Prime Minister and the Scottish First Minister expanded the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation (VPR)

Scheme and pledged to resettle 20,000 refugees in the UK (Martzoukou & Burnett, 2018). Scotland pledged to rehouse at least 10% and as of May 2019, had resettled over 3000 refugees (Migration Scotland, 2020). Scotland's local authorities also support the Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme (VCRS) and are committed to accepting 300 children, which is 10% of the UK goal. The Scottish city of Glasgow has received 10% of all UK asylum applications since 2000 (McBride et al., 2018). Scotland has maintained a focus on race and racism through the Multicultural and Anti-racist Education (MCARE) policies adopted through the Race Relations Act (1976) and the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000). Some research has found that Muslims integrate into society easier in Scotland than in England due to lower fears of terrorism, lower numbers of settlement, and positive and welcoming features of Scottish society such as tolerance and civic nationalism (Homes et al., 2010), however, it is unlikely to be true for everyone (Davidson & Virdee, 2018).

South Asian migrants, predominantly those from Indian and Pakistani Muslim backgrounds, historically settled in Scottish urban areas for retail and shipping work and to attend university (Muñoz, 2009; Bailey et al., 1995). Glasgow has the highest number of Muslims in Scotland; 42% of the Scottish Muslim population live in Glasgow (Hopkins, 2018), with its Southside constituency identified as 18.9% Muslim (Elshayyal, 2016). In addition, 28% of ethnic minorities enrolled in Scottish schools are in Glasgow City (Scottish Government, 2020b). Many Muslim families choose to send their children to Catholic schools in the absence of Muslim public schools. This choice is motivated by the belief that their child's faith will be taken more seriously and cultivated in religious school. They appreciate that a belief in God will be integrated into school instruction and that the school's community climate will be more infused with moral values they consider most important (Merry, 2005). While literature around Muslim pupils' experience in Catholic schools is sparse, Agirdag et al. (2017) argue that Catholic schools should pay greater attention to the specific cultural, psychological, and academic needs of their Muslim pupils, and adapt the school's practice accordingly by offering a form of multicultural education. However, using an umbrella term such as 'multicultural' may not address the unique and intersecting identities within Muslim culture; therefore, this research on cultural responsiveness provides insight into how this unique school has addressed these challenges, which may provide examples of good practice or lessons learnt for other schools.

Hopkins (2018) argues that while most research has been done on 'British' Muslims, the research is typically centred around ethnic and religious settlements throughout England, and thus cannot be generalised to Muslims living in other areas of the UK. For example, Scotland has its own education system and a unique history with regards to migration and diversity, and as such, the BAME population in schools in Scotland should be studied separately (Hopkins, 2008). Dunlop (1993) warns that there are assumptions that racism in Scotland does not exist and that it is an English problem, which can lead to complacency among government leaders around the need for racial equality (Hopkins, 2008). In fact, several studies have identified multiple accounts of everyday racism and discrimination in Scotland, including Islamophobia (Hussain & Miller, 2006; Hopkins, 2004; Bowes et al., 1990). Islamophobia also affects women more than men as seen through misogyny, sexism, and stereotyping (Hopkins, 2018; Najib, 2017).

Many young Muslims in the UK experience Islamophobia in their daily lives (Elani & Kahn, 2017). This form of oppression incorporates religious, ethnic, cultural, and racial prejudices (Mondon & Winter, 2017; Dunn et al., 2007). The UK has a counter-terrorism policy that includes a strategy called 'Prevent', which states that educators, as well as other professionals across a range of sectors, have a duty to 'prevent' terrorism and to report pupils 'at risk' of radicalisation through the Channel Programme, "a confidential, voluntary multi-agency safeguarding programme that supports people who are vulnerable to radicalisation" (UK Government, 2017, p.1). While this policy does not officially single out Muslims, it has undoubtedly been understood to refer to this group (Shah, 2019). One of the biggest consequences of this focus is the Islamophobia that Muslims of all ages experience. They are often seen as a 'threat' as illustrated by the global 'war on terror' (Allen, 2010; Abbas, 2005). Carr and Haynes (2015) argue that the government's inability to tackle anti-Muslim racism is, in effect, a result of the dismantling of a wider approach to addressing racism in general.

Finlay and Hopkins (2020) in their work with Muslim young adults in Scotland found that the UK's Prevent programme created feelings of fear and insecurity in young Muslims. They feel stigmatised and tend to withdraw from participating in the public sphere; consequently, they are chastised for not integrating with society (Hamid, 2017). Interestingly, the participants in that study referred to their experiences with Islamophobia as a result of UK governmental policies in general. Contrary to Muslims in England, Hopkins (2004) found that Muslims in Scotland were proud to be affiliated with the Scottish nation while openly practicing their religion and thus identified themselves as

Scottish Muslims. One reason for this may be that Scotland's politics are seen as more progressive and inclusive than England's, especially with regards to migration and immigration (Hepburn & Rosie, 2014).

It is important to understand the effects of educational inclusion or lack thereof, on academic achievement. The Muslim community asserts that Muslim students educated in the British state system remain low achievers because of experiences of marginalization and racism (Shah, 2019, 2006). There are approximately 3.3 million Muslims in the UK; 34% of which are 0-15 years old (Office for National Statistics, 2018). The Institute of Race Relations (2016) highlights that, while many minority groups in the UK experience poverty, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups were most likely to be in the 'persistent poverty' group in 2015, and that 38.5% were eligible for free school meals and one-third were living in overcrowded housing conditions in 2013. Consequently, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils often perform below average on public tests in England (Abbas, 2006, 2004; Modood, 2003). In Scotland, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Indian pupils outperform their White counterparts on National Exams (Scottish Government, 2020c), which suggests that other factors, such as poverty, play a bigger role in academic achievement than ethnicity alone. Since data in the UK is collected by ethnicity and not religion, it is difficult to identify whether there is a connection between faith identity and achievement (Shah, 2009), although in Western Europe generally, ethnicity for many minorities operates as a proxy for religious background (Agirdag et al., 2017). Minority groups in Western nations often experience poverty, which exacerbates their marginalisation. In England and Wales, Pakistani groups tend to live in environments with poor education and high unemployment, while Bangladeshi groups tend to live in areas with barriers to housing and other social services (Karlsen & Pantizis, 2017). Therefore, it is important to understand the complexity of factors that may contribute to a pupil's academic success. It is not just being Muslim, being poor, being Black or South Asian, or identifying as a certain gender, but the intersection of those circumstances and identities that may determine marginalisation. This is particularly important for teachers working with diverse learners.

Teacher bias, whether conscious or unconscious, is a concern for many marginalised students, as deeply held prejudices may affect the amount of time, attention, and feedback that teachers give to Muslim students (Wingfield & Karaman, 1995). Many researchers argue that teachers should acknowledge and confront their own biases, but also help empower their students as they confront Islamophobia and bias from members of the community as well through the media (Hoque, 2018; Osler & Starkey, 2018). BAME

learners in general, and Muslim learners, in particular, do not often see themselves portrayed in a positive light in the media, or in literature and curricular materials (Shah, 2009). This presents schools with an opportunity to focus on positive and strength-based messages. Teachers need to respect and critically engage with students' rights, voices, and needs as different from their parents and communities (Parker-Jenkins et al., 2005). There is a lack of research on teacher voices on their practice of working with Muslim students (Sirin & Fine, 2008; Merry, 2007), which is needed to understand how teachers view cultural differences and whether they would be willing and able to implement a responsive practice. While there are several qualitative studies which conclude that some teachers are Islamophobic and racially biased (Sirin & Fine, 2008; Allen, 2007; Sheridan, 2004), there are also just as many that describe caring teachers who are committed to their Muslim students (Cristillo, 2008; Sarroub, 2005). Research that only looks at the injustices and discrimination, misses the constructive and positive work that Western schools are doing with their diverse students (Niyozov & Pluim, 2009); thus, hearing more of the experiences of teachers in Western schools is vital. However, Abbas (2002) asserts that teachers are only one factor in a Muslim pupil's success or failure in school; they argue economic status, gender, language, and parents' education are far more significant. Arguably, this intersectionality in identity is the case for all learners; therefore, the exploration of how identity shapes culture and vice-versa, is important for educators to understand.

3.2 The Role of Identity in Culture

Identity constructions occur through a series of complex interacting forces (Shah, 2019) which are fluid throughout one's lifetime. That fluidity makes it difficult for immigrants and refugees who are trying to navigate their home culture with their new home country. Schools play a crucial role in the fluid and developing identities of young people, so they need to be safe spaces where pupils can explore and discuss different facets of their individual and collective identities (Hoque, 2017). A person's social identity reflects the networks and social categories to which they belong, such as religion, gender, and ethnicity (Al Raffie, 2013). Those categories have an inherent boundary that separates them from those who are not in that particular group, which can lead to an 'us' and 'them' mentality (Hogg et al., 1995). Turner and Hogg's (1987) self-categorization theory stipulates those individuals strengthen their social identity by emphasizing similarities within the group and differences with other groups, suggesting that the collective group identity will

supersede one's individual identity. People's sense of identity tends to depend on the context in which they are in. For example, if they are in a religious setting, then they might first identify themselves by their religion regardless of what other identities they may have (Patrikios & Curtice, 2014). In essence, people are not independent individuals moving from one context to another but can be identified as individuals based on their participation in various collectives (Heinrich et al., 2010). This suggests that to understand identity, one must also understand the collectives individuals belong to, in this case, their cultural collective or collectives.

Jahoda (2012) argues that culture is a social construct as evidenced by the vast number of definitions presented over the past century. Without an agreed upon definition, scholars and social scientists use it in many different contexts to mean many different things. While the spirit of the term generally refers to characteristic behaviours that are common to groups of people, Lang (1997) argues that trying to define the term is a futile gesture. Baldwin et al., (2005) refer to culture as fluid, and suggest that those who attempt to define it, should do so with a multidisciplinary, historical approach. Hammond (2015) defines culture as how we make sense of the world, suggesting that 'everyone, regardless of race or ethnicity, has a culture' (p.15). It can be argued that in order to research the use of a culturally responsive pedagogy, it is important to have a common understanding of its meaning. In reality though, as is the case with other terms such as inclusion, the vagueness of definitions is a key characteristic of the field. This ambiguity may be a barrier to diverse learners accessing and engaging with a school's culture. Pupils who do not belong to the dominant cultural group may have difficulty finding themselves and their communities in the curriculum (Nieto, 2000) and may therefore disengage from school. Many pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds identify with a third culture, a hybrid of their national identity of origin and their new national identity. They have spent a significant part of their youth as part of a culture other than their parents, but they still do not feel a part of that new culture (Sabry & Bruna, 2007) but somewhere in between. Jabbar and Mirza (2019) describe the need for cultural branching in schools, where teachers understand their diverse students' home culture; understand the role that culture plays in their classroom; and the need to be culturally competent to bridge the gaps. This will be explored in more detail in the next sections.

Identities are not just based on culture and ethnicity; they are based on experiences and relationships with others (Irizarry, 2007). People can self-identify as a form of relational identity, but more often they are put into categories which have been socially constructed

such as race and ethnicity (Gee, 2017). Giddens (1996) described self-identity as having to be created and continually reordered against the backdrop of shifting experiences of day-to-day life. This is of particular interest in Scotland, where inclusive education strives to challenge labels in order to remove barriers to learning (Barret et al., 2015). Shah (2009), in her work with British Muslim pupils, states that the desired outcome for British students with diverse backgrounds is the right to equality as British citizens with multiple identities. She posits that religion, as an identity, has not been studied as thoroughly as other forms mentioned above. Young British Muslims must navigate their identities within the context of alienation and discrimination as well as being labelled 'radicalised' by certain far-right groups and tabloid media (Hoque, 2017). In addition, many are also excluded from their religious community for appearing to be too 'Western'; thus, they experience a third culture; neither British nor Muslim.

The feeling of 'belonging' is connected to how one views their identity (Isakjee, 2016). Yulal-Davis (2006) refers to the 'politics of belonging' as a set of potentially exclusionary political discourses that seek to identify who belongs, and who does not. Esposito (2002) posits the question as to whether Muslims can retain both their faith and their identities and do so in a manner that enables them to also accept and function within the secular, pluralistic traditions of Western countries. This suggests that educators need to understand the desire for the Muslim community to retain their faith identity and promote it within their youth (Shah & Iqbal, 2011).

3.2.1 Religious Identity

Cultural characteristics can be influenced by shared religious beliefs, shared religious identity, and shared religious practices (Durkheim, 1995). As mentioned previously, cultural competency discussions to date have primarily addressed racial, ethnic, or linguistic dimensions of culture; the literature includes very little consideration of the role that religious identity, belief, or practice may play in the development of cultural competence (Dallavis, 2013). In faith-based schools, religious identity can play an explicit role in the development of a culturally responsive pedagogy (Dallavis, 2011). The two most researched faiths in the UK are Catholics and Muslims. The fundamental tenets for each religion are different, as is the role that faith plays in the schooling of these youth. One key difference between the two groups is the continuing visibility of Muslims as an identifiable minority, arising from skin colour, language, clothing, and religious practices (Parker-Jenkins et al., 2017). In the UK, they are considered part of the Black and

Minority Ethnic (BAME) population, which is, in itself, a marginalised population due to racism and prejudice (Shah, 2019; Bush et al., 2006).

There are important differences within religions that should be recognised by teachers working with children from these faiths, especially with regards to bullying based on religious identity. Muslims should not be treated as a singular minority (Modood & Ahmad, 2007). Historically within Islam, there have been four main sects, each with their own schools of thought about the interpretation of the Quran and Traditions (Sunnah): Ahmadiyya, Sunni, Shi'ah, and Khawarij (Al-Ansi et al., 2019). The Sunni and Shi'ah sects are the most common today; however, the Ahmadiyya sect, formed originally in India and then Pakistan, has its headquarters in the U.K. and is active. This sect has been routinely persecuted by other Muslims who challenge their belief that Mohammed was not the final prophet sent to guide mankind (Hanson, 2017). Educators should be aware of these differences with their pupils so that if there are issues with bullying, they will understand where it comes from and be better able to diffuse the situation.

Research on UK students in Catholic Schools shows that many have fractured identities when it comes to religion. Hervieu-Leger (1998) describes this as religious *bricolage*, making creative and resourceful use of whatever materials are to hand regardless of their original purpose. They might pick and choose what aspects they want to follow and perhaps ignore certain teachings that they do not agree with. Ironically, recognising that young people are active *bricoleurs* addresses, to some extent, the criticisms made of faith schools that they encourage indoctrination and pose a threat to the rights of the child (Marple 2005; Parker-Jenkins 2005). Hanemann (2018) argues that Catholic schools should not simply be trying to transmit a Catholic identity, but must also prepare students to manage personal decisions and conflicts that arise outside of the school, acknowledging that these pupils are citizens of a liberal society whose values may conflict with Catholic teachings. Catholic schools are attempting to provide pupils with the tools to maintain a Catholic identity in environments that might be hostile to religion (Hanemann, 2018). Denominational schools, such as Scotland's Catholic schools, were historically viewed as primarily focused on the needs of the collective social group, whether that group was a majority (Patrikios & Curtice, 2014). As the numbers of Catholic children enrolled in these schools have dropped, and the numbers of Muslim and other faiths have increased, schools will need to adapt to be culturally responsive to the religious identities of all students.

A more modern Islamic religious identity has emerged which many Muslim pupils are openly embracing as a sign of individualism (Ryan, 2014). For instance, many Muslim girls are choosing to wear the Hijab as a fashion statement rather than a religious duty. This projection of faith identity, referred to as Muslimness, is a challenge to racism and an attempt to establish a personal identity (Shah, 2009). In the Scottish context, Muslim pupils attending a Catholic school have the additional challenge of navigating their own religious identity while participating in religious traditions of another group. The additional challenge of doing so within the context of a Catholic school needs to be further researched considering the increasing number of Muslims in Glasgow, and the likelihood of those pupils attending Catholic schools (Denessen et al., 2005).

In addition to the broad needs that ethnic learners may have, researchers working with Muslim students in England have expressed a concern as to whether the educators working with these students are fully aware of the backgrounds, family structures, and religious commitments that affect these children at school. Hoque (2018) in his research with young Bangladeshis in London posed a series of questions to focus his research on how CRP was implemented in schools. Two of the overarching questions in Hoque's work are relevant to the current research which aims to hear the perspectives of Scottish Muslim pupils and their teachers regarding culturally responsive pedagogy.

> *Are we aware of the wider social, community, and cultural issues that many of our pupils are living through?*
>
> *How do our pupils understand and negotiate complex notions of culture, community, nation, faith, religion, and spirituality?* (p. 182-183)

His research looked at the importance of identity and how its complexities manifest in British Muslims. He found that there was a disconnect between the stated policy of *giving all students the space to explore and discuss their identities within citizenship lessons* outlined in the Ajegbo Report (DES, 2007) and practice due to teacher prejudice and general lack of cultural awareness. This suggests that the vagueness of the policy allows teachers to decide what specific identities are addressed, leaving open the possibility that those who are marginalised may not have access to that space.

In response to an increasing number of diverse English schools, Shah (2009) studied the idea of Muslimness with Pakistani and Bangladeshi students in an English school to examine the challenges of developing and sustaining inclusive policies responsive to issues of ethnicity and identity (Shah, 2006; Abbas, 2005; Vincent, 2003). The research looked at

how Muslim learners experienced their identity in schools and as a result, what were the implications for their schooling; and were there any challenges for school leaders/teachers in managing 'Muslimness' particularly with regards to achievement and inclusion. Shah (2019) argues that the impact of racism and marginalisation on the identity constructions of Muslim youth must be addressed. Researchers working with Muslim students in England argue that teachers need training to engage their pupils in difficult ethical and sensitive discussions around identity, beliefs, citizenship, culture, 'Britishness', diversity, religion, community, etc (Hoque, 2017). These questions are helpful to bridge the link between student identity and the role it plays in school belonging and achievement particularly in Scotland where less research has been done.

As with other types of identity, religious identity is fluid and there are various ways in which people can express that identity (Modood, 2007). As mentioned above, the Muslim religion has different sects which vary in how one practices their faith. While the Catholic religion does not have different sects, there may be differences in how individuals practice their faith as well. In the Catholic primary school within this case study, the majority of students are not Catholic, but Muslim. There are also Sikh students, another 'visible minority' whose religion is seen as being central to their identity (Nesbitt, 2011). Sikhs are from the Punjab region of India and thus are Panjabi-speaking. Language and literacy are a key focus for Sikhs because the ability to read and write in Panjabi is not just a community tradition, but one that leads to the religious order. Those who are not proficient are often shamed and threatened from within their own culture (Jaspal & Coyle, 2010). Thus, their heritage language, which stems from their religion, defines their cultural identity (Yu, 2018). The intersection of language and religious identity is an important factor in cultural responsiveness.

3.2.2 Language Identity

In addition to faith identity, many diverse pupils in Scotland speak a language other than English at home. This is another important factor in whether they will achieve academically in an English-speaking school. National and Cultural identity are increasingly tied to language policies (Wodak & Boukala, 2015). In addition to other ways mentioned above, identity is constructed through social and linguistic interactions (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Research has shown that moving between countries and school systems has an impact on a learner's sense of well-being, identity and the social skills needed to participate in a culturally and linguistically diverse setting (Ward et al., 2001).

Children with low levels of English tend to become 'othered' and are often negatively stereotyped, which can lead to a deficit approach by educators (Tereshchenko & Archer, 2014).   Researchers argue that if English is considered as the most significant language in school, then learners may construct monolingual identities (Kenner & Ruby, 2012). Therefore, biliteracy should be viewed as a positive resource for learners (Anderson et al., 2017; Schneider, 2016).

The major focus of English as an Additional Language (EAL) research has been the underachievement of linguistic minority children (Liu et al., 2017). The term seems to suggest that learning English is the end goal; however, researchers caution that pupils are also learning English in order to obtain academic content knowledge (Anderson et al., 2016). While contributing factors such as race, gender, and social class have been studied extensively (Strand et al., 2015), the role of pedagogy in effective teaching of EAL learners has not been researched as much (Murphy & Unthiah, 2015). The language of instruction may not be as important as the teaching practices grounded in pedagogy (Cheung & Slavin, 2012). Learners in multilingual classrooms, especially newly arrived migrant children, benefit from teachers using their first language (Liu & Evans, 2016; Kenner & Kress, 2003). This does not mean teachers need to be fluent in another language, but simply willing to use it with their pupils (Garcia & Wei, 2014).

In addition to easing the transition to a new culture, maintaining one's heritage language helps preserve cultural identity and traditions as well as being associated with a positive ethnic identity, which leads to fewer mental health issues and higher academic achievement (Evans & Liu, 2018). Research has confirmed that the rapid loss of one's heritage language is associated with low self-esteem and identity crises resulting from a lack of communication with family and community (Liu et al., 2017). Conteh and Meier (2014) argue that recognising heritage or home language as well as providing opportunities for EAL learners to use their home languages, is crucial to their development of a healthy sense of self and identity. Essentially, the home language should not just be confined to maintaining heritage identity, but as a structure for communication particularly in the development of new friendships (Evans & Liu, 2018).

Researchers argue that teachers should be working with their EAL learners to maintain the multicultural and multilingual practices of their changing communities (Paris, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1995). They suggest focusing on three interrelated factors to do so: the language patterns and characteristics at home and at school (Orellana & Reynolds, 2008;

Lee, 2001); the cultural knowledge of students (Linan-Thompson et al., 2018; Ladson-Billings, 1995); and the language and literacy practices at home and at school (Moje et al., 2004, 2001; Orellana et al., 2003). Translanguaging is the practice of allowing students to use their own language resources to make learning meaningful (Palmer et al., 2014; Garcia & Sylvan, 2011). The teacher does not need to be bilingual for this to succeed; nor do they actually have to participate (Garcia & Wei, 2014). This practice just asks them to allow pupils to refer to concepts in their own language to help others understand the meaning (Linan-Thompson et al., 2018). Translanguaging may include code-switching, where the student uses different languages in different contexts, translating, and vernacular forms of languages, all of which are often devalued in school (Goodman & Tastanbek, 2020; Garcia-Mateus & Palmer, 2017).

Migrant pupils' backgrounds are often not always available, and as such, assumptions are made about abilities and capabilities solely based on not having English as a first language (Devine, 2009). Arnot et al. (2014) argue that bilingual tests should be used to assess EAL pupils when they begin schooling in order to accurately assess their strengths and weaknesses. Inevitably, this would not be possible for certain languages, ie., Roma, and others without having the resources to properly analyse those tests. Schools need time to respond effectively as diverse pupil populations continue to grow (Schneider & Arnot, 2018), but there does need to be a response. In addition, EAL children may not have access to English outside the school environment and therefore will be trying to not only learn a new language and curriculum but will be doing so with little or no support at home (Grant & Mistry 2010). EAL provision in the UK varies from school to school and as such, there are a wide variety of outcomes in the achievement of these pupils (Evans et al., 2016). Official European Union principles "establish linguistic diversity and multiculturalism in Europe as a cultural wealth to be safeguarded and promoted" (McKelvey, 2017, p.80). It is unclear how the UK's withdrawal from the EU will affect this convention.

Despite the evidence supporting multilingual classrooms, children in Scotland and the UK are most likely to learn in a monolingual classroom due to a lack of resources that would support linguistically diverse teachers (Hancock, 2017; McLeod, 2008). Costley (2014) argues that this practice has led to the mainstreaming of ethnolinguistic identities of pupils, where they are classified as simply as EAL without reference to other factors such as migration or ethnicity. In addition, there is a need to acknowledge that pupils will have varying levels of competence as English speakers and therefore, one size does not fit all

(Leung, 2016). Hoque's (2018) research with British Bangladeshi youth highlighted the importance of language as a part of one's identity. Retaining their mother tongue helped maintain a bond with their families, communities, and religion.

The key principle for the education of EAL students is that they should have equal access to the curriculum by being educated in the mainstream classroom (Harris & Leung, 2011). It is recognised that bilingual learners have strengths that can be built upon given additional support in the classroom (Foley et al, 2013). As such, linguistic minority pupils are put in age-appropriate classes regardless of their proficiency in English (Leung, 2012). Effectively, that responsibility has been solely given to EAL teachers; yet those pupils are in mainstream classrooms and need support there as well.

In Scotland, language issues are specifically referenced by the Code of Practice for the Additional Support for Learning Act (2004). It lists EAL as one of the additional support needs and identifies in-class EAL provision as an example of how local education authorities can fulfil their legislative obligations (Scottish Executive, 2010). The local authorities, such as Glasgow City Council, are responsible for the implementation of EAL services (McKelvey, 2017). The Scottish Government launched its Language Strategy in 2012 which recommended the teaching of two languages during primary school, and the teaching of Scottish Gaelic and both European and non-European allochthonous languages (Scottish Government, 2012). The strategy has been criticised for its approach since there are few provisions for languages other than French, German, and Spanish taught in secondary school suggesting that the implementation was not inclusive in meeting the diversity present in the country (McKelvey, 2017). In 2016, approximately 5.75% (39,342) of Scottish pupils had English as an additional language, with the most common languages spoken other than English, being Polish, Urdu, Scots, Punjabi and Arabic (Scottish Government, 2016a). This is the case in the school at the centre of this study, which, according to the school handbook (X school, 2020), has over 20 languages spoken in its community.

3.2.3 Gender Identity

While faith and language identities are a key component of culture, the intersection of gender identity must also be looked at, particularly in Muslim communities where gender norms are embedded in the religion. Gender refers to the social construct of masculinity and femininity, including the roles and behavioural expectations of boys, girls, men, and

women (Bonifacio, 2020). One's gender identity is composed of their understanding of membership in a gender category; their perceptions of contentment for their gender; felt pressure for gender conformity; and overall attitudes towards gender groups (Egan & Perry, 2001). Like other forms of identity, gender identity can be contextual and fluid depending on culture, time, and place, which makes it a factor in youth migration (Bonifacio, 2020; Heckert, 2015). The intersection of gender and ethnicity adds to the complexity of identities, particularly for girls and women in diverse cultures (Atewologun & Singh, 2010). Women are often viewed as the keepers and guardians of cultural practices that strengthen and solidify ethnic identities; often at the expense of their own autonomy and identity (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992).

For some Muslim women and girls, any nonconformity with a cultural view of being a proper woman, can lead to violence (Dunne et al., 2020; Durrani et al., 2017). In Pakistan, 'Ideal' male citizens are viewed as protectors and enforcers of the nation's moral code on women (Durrani et al., 2017). Saigol (1995) defines the need to control relationships between women and unrelated men in order to preserve the woman's role as reproducers of a racially pure collective. This is done through the limiting of space; definition of marriage as the only justified framework in which women can express their heterosexuality; and equating women's bodies as property. Failing to adhere to such a code often results in violence. In the UK, Muslim women, who were visibly Muslim, have suffered a greater share of post 9/11 anti-Muslim violence than their male counterparts (McKenna & Francis, 2019). In addition to physical threats, among British South Asians, first generation British Bangladeshi women and female Pakistani Muslims have the lowest rates of educational attainment and participation in the labour market (Jarvis & Lister, 2017). However, second and third generation Muslim women are increasingly participating in public spaces, including the Higher Education sector, the workforce, and in civic engagement (Hussain et al., 2017).

Scottish-Pakistani women often face the same policing of their morality even though they live in Scotland and feel, at least partially, included in Scottish society (Emejulu, 2013). They continue to experience restrictions, both in their private and public spaces, which Emejulu argues is due to the limits of a Scottish multicultural society. Squires (2008) argues that in the UK, as a whole, feminist activists tend to take a race-neutral approach, while anti-racist activists tend to take a gender-neutral approach; therefore, the intersection of ethnicity and gender, especially for women, is often overlooked. Several researchers argue that while the policymakers in Westminster and Holyrood may address each

inequality separately, there has not been enough work on resolving intersecting inequalities (Bassel & Emejulu, 2010; Squires, 2008; Bagihole, 2002); and therefore, Scottish Pakistani women must choose between aspects of their identities in order to be included in public spaces (Emejulu, 2013). Despite the adversities faced by these women, it is important for educators and researchers not to view Muslim women as victims, but to acknowledge the need for greater voice and representation in society. It can then be argued that educators have an increasingly important role in empowering young Muslim women and girls.

While research on the impact of minority students' gender on teachers' attitudes showed Primary school teachers had more positive attitudes towards ethnic minority girls than ethnic minority boys (Glock & Klapproth, 2017), there is evidence of teacher bias against Muslim girls, including the assumption that they have low self-esteem, are submissive, and uninterested in work due to family preventing them from pursuing a career (McKenna & Francis, 2019; Bowlby & Lloyd-Evans, 2012). There is often a notion that girls who choose to wear the hijab are oppressed and being forced to obey parental and/or religious rules (Perry, 2014); however, extensive research has shown that Muslim girls are asserting their identity and wearing the hijab by choice in order to challenge stereotypical assumptions and demonstrate their independence (Alemany, 2016; Haw, 2010, 2009).

In summary, culture and identity do not refer to just one aspect of a person, but rather the intersection and interaction of those aspects; therefore, the role of identities in a pupil's culture should be of great importance to educators if they are to be responsive and inclusive of the cultures present in the classroom. While CRP incorporates culture into the learning, this has not always been the practice. As Western nations experienced increasing diversity in the 1960's, education systems responded by trying to teach *about* other cultures, which subsequently reinforced stereotypes around the 'other'. The arguments then for the proposed need to shift to CRP are discussed in the next section.

3.3 Multicultural Education

Multicultural education (MCE) is an umbrella term first used UK in the 1960's and 1970's as a response to the shortcomings of both exclusionary and assimilationist forms of schooling for recent migrants from colonies (Banks, 2009), and in the US as a response to the civil rights movement (Holm & Zilliacus, 2009). During the 1960's and 1970's, languages, literacies, and cultures of diverse learners were seen as deficits to be overcome

and eradicated by the dominant White culture (Paris, 2012). Assimilation was done according to class and race, which essentially segregated and excluded marginalised youth (Zhou, 2001). Multicultural education sought to recognise cultural differences and work towards equality for all students (Banks, 2013); however, there were several concerns about the implementation of those models. Firstly, they were designed for children of legal migrants who chose to, and were supported to, live in a new country; not those who were forced or relocated due to conflict. Secondly, it was premised on the ideal that those children and families would stay permanently in the host country, which up until recently was the case. It is now possible to go back and forth, or to move on to other countries (Castles, 2009). Increasingly, migrants see themselves as members of transnational communities, that is, groups that live their lives across borders (Portes et al., 1999). In addition, families may have to flee or be relocated, or perhaps do not have citizenship or the right to live in a close, safe country. Families fleeing across borders are different from those who choose to move to another country for a new job; however, their need for a quality education is the same. Yoshikawa (2011) stresses the need for schools to offer equal opportunities for children whose families might be in a precarious situation.

Another significant shortcoming of multicultural education during that time was that the problems of migrant children were blamed on cultural dissonance instead of racist exclusion. As will be noted throughout this thesis, ignoring racism and its effect on all minority ethnic students, disempowers these students. Many educators called for anti-racist education that addressed the attitudes of White students and their parents (Klein, 2012; Tomlinson, 2012). Banks (2012) argues that by ignoring children's cultural backgrounds it may isolate them and undermine the values and culture of their parents and communities, often resulting in low self-esteem and failure. However, critics of MCE argue that its focus on equality led to the concept of the American 'melting pot', where cultural and ethnic differences are ignored in lieu of a common American identity (Payne & Welsh, 2000). This concept of colour-blindness is often used to justify the erasure of racial differences in pursuit of equality; however, the reality for Black Americans is not one of equality or equity, but rather prejudice, discrimination, and racism. This suggests that MCE has, however unintentionally, has accomplished the exact opposite of its original goal (Dixson, 2018).

Critics argue that a general view of multiculturalism focuses on views "other than my own", which further reinforces the idea of others as having a deficit (Lorcerie, 2004). The term, othering, was defined by Kumashiro (2000) as referring to anyone who is

traditionally marginalised in society; essentially, other than the norm. Deficit approaches to teaching and learning viewed the languages, literacies, and cultural identities of many students of colour as deficiencies to be overcome and replaced with practices from the dominant culture (Paris, 2012; Paris & Ball, 2009; Lee, 2007). Oppression stems from deficit views of other cultures. Using language that encourages strength-based views is seen as an important step forward in addressing oppression. Kumashiro (2002) warned that focusing on the marginalising of the 'Other' instead of the privilege of the norm, will only serve to reiterate the idea that the 'Other' is the problem. The norm refers to what society considers the social construct of 'normal'. In order to develop a critical consciousness, one must critique and possibly unlearn what we thought to be normal (Britzman, 1998).

Research has suggested that the most effective methods in teaching minority ethnic learners, whether recent immigrants or not, come from not only an acknowledgement of racism, but a comprehensive pedagogy which includes promoting cultural awareness for all students, teacher cultural competence, and a fundamental understanding of the role which racism plays in education and society (Ambe, 2006; Gay, 2002; Banks, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995).

3.4 The Ongoing Evolution of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Since one cannot be separated from one's culture, the role of culture in education is paramount (Tinker-Sachs et al., 2017; Ayers, 2008). Many students, families, and teachers in homogeneous, most often White, communities, need to be explicitly taught the benefits of cultural diversity. Prior to 1995, educators and researchers, primarily in the US and UK, used the term *multicultural education* to describe the process of teaching about ethnically diverse students, defined as having a background, ethnicity, and experiences that differ from the dominant Western culture (Gay, 2015, 2002; Jabbar & Hardaker, 2013; Nieto, 1995). As mentioned above, that process acknowledged teaching 'others', but did not necessarily focus on teacher training on cultural competence, or how to promote positive views of ethnic diversity. The general term, multicultural education became concerned with assimilating different cultures into one 'other' as well as ignoring the identities within cultures (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Sleeter & McClaren, 1995). Some researchers argue that multicultural education is teaching *about* diverse cultures to a classroom containing

students from the same culture, which continues to perpetuate deficit thinking and 'othering' (Kumashiro, 2002). Culturally Responsive Pedagogy, on the other hand, responds to the cultures that are actually present in the classroom. There is a need for both, as there are many places in the world where only one culture of students is taught. Research has found that a lack of diversity in a school leads to more discrimination and victimisation (Ramirez Hall et al., 2017; Seaton & Douglass, 2014). Acknowledging that there may always be areas with little racial or ethnic diversity, it is then vital for students to understand and appreciate the diversity that exists throughout the world, even if it is not present in their school. Therefore, Culturally Responsive Pedagogy is one means to the ultimate objective of multicultural education for all (Rychly & Graves, 2012).

Ladson-Billings (1995) initially used the term Culturally Relevant Pedagogy to describe three domains of teachers' work designed to address the inequities in schools that African American children experienced: students must experience academic success; students must maintain or develop cultural competence; and students must develop a critical consciousness through which they can challenge the current social order. She defined *academic success* as related to the intellectual growth that students experience and noted that the goal was for students to "choose" academic excellence. *Cultural competence* referred to the ability of students to not only appreciate and celebrate their own culture, but at least one other throughout their schooling. *Critical or Sociopolitical consciousness* referred to taking the learning outside of the school walls and applying it to real-world problems.

While Ladson-Billings' work focused on pedagogy, Geneva Gay's (2002) work with multicultural education focused on teaching; specifically, the attitude, knowledge, and skills that educators needed to work with all ethnic groups, including African, Asian, Latinx, Native American, biracial, and recent immigrants. She examined five essential elements of *culturally responsive teaching (CRT): "*developing knowledge of cultural diversity; including cultural and ethnic diversity in the curriculum; demonstrating caring about culture and building learning communities; communicating with ethnically diverse students; and responding to ethnic diversity in the delivery of instruction" (p.2). She argued that CRT is epistemological and methodological, as well as ideological and ethical. It encompasses what to teach, why to teach, how to teach, and to whom to teach with respect to cultural, racial, social, and ethnic diversity. It is commonly understood that there is no universal way to teach diverse students; a plurality in instructional practices is needed (Bennett, 2014; Banks & Banks, 2012; Gay, 2010).

Ladson-Billings later revisited her own work and proposed the term *culturally adaptive teaching (CAT)* after several other scholars had adapted and expanded the original concept to address inequities with all marginalised students (Ladson-Billings, 2014). Beauboeuf-Lafontant (1999) argues that culturally relevant pedagogy should be more political, since students of colour are ignored in political discourses. Dixson (2003) suggests that a feminist perspective should be included to achieve greater academic equity. As discussed in previous sections, these suggestions around the intersection of identities in culture are important for educators to understand critically in order to respond effectively in the classroom. One of Ladson-Billing's (2014) major reasons for re-evaluating the term was due to her observations that teachers were leaving out the critical consciousness work in their supposed practice of culturally relevant teaching. This idea emerged from Paris' (2012) theory of *culturally sustaining pedagogy*, which suggested an interest in sustaining the richness of the pluralist society, including languages, literacy, and culture, both marginalised and dominant, that students embody. This framework views students as subjects with strengths, rather than objects with only deficits (Ladson-Billings, 2014). One of the biggest challenges with this framework is educating and empowering students about the political and social forces that are responsible for the inequity. This work builds on what Freire referred to as *conscientization,* where learners are not only deeply aware of their own sociocultural reality but understand they can change that reality when needed (Freire, 1970). This concept will be explored further later in this chapter.

The terms "culturally relevant" and "culturally responsive" are widely used in educational practice, with the former being a paradigm guiding the pedagogy, and the latter focused on teaching methods and practice (Aronson & Laughter, 2016). For the purposes of continuity, I will refer to Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (CRP) throughout this thesis; however, there is an important argument to be made about the use of terminology with regards to implementing change in a school setting. Galloway et al. (2019) studied how the language used to describe the work affected how the teachers implemented the changes. The sole use of terms such as culturally responsive or relevant pedagogy resulted in policy and practice that maintained student outcome gaps by avoiding language that specifically criticised race and power. They found that although the term 'culture' was used extensively, issues of race and racism were omitted. This will be discussed more fully later in this chapter in section 3.5.

One of the original goals of CRP was to bridge the discontinuity between students' cultural experiences at home and at school (Lovelace & Wheeler, 2006). It is widely agreed that

one of the reasons why minority students in general, and recent immigrants in particular, often perform poorly in school is that although their cultures might be 'celebrated' occasionally, they are not utilised as a resource for learning (Nykiel-Herbert, 2010). Pewewardy (1993) and Ladson-Billings (1995) argued that the problem stemmed from trying to insert culture into education instead of inserting education into culture. Gay (2015) asserts that students should never be put in a position of having to sacrifice indigenous or home-based cultural heritages in order to get an education. In effect, educators should start with the student's culture as an asset and design learning around that. Research suggests that this does not mean individualising education, but rather adjusting to a more collective orientation instead of the normal individualised focus (Buda & Elsayed-Elkhouly, 1998).

To further the importance of incorporating learning into a student's home culture, Ladson-Billings discussed the importance of teachers attending community functions and using community services in order to fully understand the culture of their students. Aronson and Laughter (2016) found that extending CRP beyond the classroom represented a double benefit: bringing students' extracurricular lives into the classroom was closely associated academic skills and concepts, critical reflection, and cultural competence. They also found that taking CRP back to the community was a common means for critiquing discourses of power. Marginalised families who may not be engaged with the school system may hear only negative or inaccurate stories about the education system (Gorski & Zenkow, 2014; Meier, 2014). Finding ways to engage families through CRP provides a trustworthy and caring way to demonstrate how school can play a role in making the whole community a better place (Aronson & Laughter, 2016). For example, when teachers visit a pupil's home, they can take away 'funds of knowledge', defined as the accumulated skills and cultural practices that families use to function within a given community (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992), which can then be used in the classroom to establish links between the funds of knowledge and the curriculum (Esteban-Guitart et al., 2019). The limitations with this approach include the time and resources it takes to implement as well as the focus on the family instead of the learners. In order to address those limitations, a new concept of 'funds of identity' was developed which emphasises the lived experiences, identities, and meaningful artefacts of the students (Esteban-Guitart, 2016; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014; Esteban-Guitart, 2012). These funds may include people, interests, spaces, or places, such as a church or mosque. The teacher links these aspects of the students' lives to the learning to not only legitimise cultural practices but ensure that they are a part

of educational practice (Esteban-Guitart et al., 2019). As described above, each student has intersecting identities, one or all of which, they may use to define themselves. Researchers suggest multiple ways of accessing those identities, including home visits, family interviews, student inventories, and arts-based methods such as photo-elicitation and drawing (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014; Bagnoli, 2009).

The idea of bridging a student's home culture with the school setting may be new to some communities, and therefore, may be resisted by those suggesting that it is beyond their remit as a teacher; however, examples from other countries can illustrate how this process is considered a part of teaching, rather than an extra task to be completed. The Māori and Pasifika communities in New Zealand are examples that considers school to be an extension of family, which allows for greater understanding of the culture on the part of educators. Examining the Māori and Pasifika experiences might contribute to understanding how a similar country in terms of population size, such as Scotland, can implement CRP.

3.5 Culturally Responsive Pedagogy in International Settings

While research on CRP has predominantly been done in America, a few other countries have also looked at how this practice might positively impact upon their marginalised and/or indigenous populations. In New Zealand, CRP has been used to address the underachievement of the indigenous Māori and Pasifika students.

Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the British Crown and the Māori in response to the arrival of European settlers. Its core principles include partnership, protection, and participation (Webber et al., 2018). The NZ curriculum acknowledges the treaty and has incorporated those principles into education policy and practice (Herbert, 2002); however, there are inconsistencies as to how it is used (Severinsen et al., 2020). For generations, the Māori have utilized cultural pedagogical principles called *ako* and *whakawhanaungatanga,* which are said to closely resemble the core principles of Ladson-Billing's culturally relevant pedagogy (Glynn et al., 2010).

> *Ako encompasses the collaborative and reciprocal nature of the learning process, where the roles of teacher and learner are fluid and*

interchangeable, and where both parties expect to benefit and learn from the culturally validated relationship and its associated responsibilities, to support and care for each other.

The second concept, whakawhanaungatanga, can be understood as building and maintaining cultural interconnectedness and collective identity with other people in one's whanau (extended family), hapu (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribe) (p. 119).

These principles were at the centre of a study looking at four different teachers' experiences implementing CRP through the Māori principles to design learning inquiry-based science lessons. The findings suggested that all four teachers using the Māori principles were able to build respectful and trusting relationships with their students. They also found ways to switch their role from teacher to learner and be willing to adopt an 'unknowing' position with respect to Indigenous knowledge and expertise (Glynn et al, 2010).

To address a gap in academic achievement between Māori and non-Māori students, the New Zealand Ministry of Education (MOE) stated that in order for Māori students to be successful, their identity, culture, and language must be valued and included in teaching and learning practices (Webber et al., 2018). Their suggestions include family and community partnerships as well as designing a framework to collect cultural information so as to work with the student to define what success means to them. As is the case in other countries, teacher expectations for Māori students can influence how they view themselves (Severinsen et al., 2020); therefore culturally competent professional development for teachers, is recommended in order to demonstrate their understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi (Wilson, 2017).

The Pasifika is a diverse group including some born in New Zealand, and those who have migrated from the Pacific Islands, or who identify themselves with the islands and/or cultures of Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga, Niue, Tokelau, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, or mixed heritages (Benseman et al. 2002). Pasifika students, like Māori students, are often underachieving and disengaged with the educational system (Civil & Hunter, 2015). Hunter et al. (2016) examined five studies, conducted over a period of three years, looking at themes of language, family, and respectful relationships with these students. They were interested in how CRP was used to engage Pasifika students in New Zealand.

Language is a key component of the Pasifika culture, as it is in so many other cultures. Many of these students only spoke English at school, which was often a challenge to navigate since parents were unable to help with schooling. Evidence showed that when teachers and educators drew on the language of their Pasifika students, those students were more engaged with learning and developed positive identities. Western countries tend to do the opposite; they insist on teaching English to those for whom it is not a first language. This inevitably lengthens the learning process because to even assess what a student knows, there must be a common language. While it might not be possible for every teacher to learn a second language, having some dual-language staff members would allow teachers to quickly assess students and get them started at their own level instead of assuming they do not know anything because they cannot speak English. The challenge, in the Scottish context, as well as other countries, is the funding needed to secure additional staff members who can fulfil this role. This among many other challenges of adhering to a culturally responsive pedagogy will be addressed in later sections.

Family is also a central aspect of the Pasifika culture. To address this, teachers and educators in the studies strived to make the classroom more of a family structure. They focused on building collaborative relationships to improve learning through group work and encouraged family participation in schools. The latter was often challenging due to language barriers and family structures. The children in these families often have extensive work responsibilities at home in addition to their studies. When teachers understood and acknowledged this reality, students felt respected. Teachers also took advantage of the extended family knowledge and experience to help their students succeed. This is an essential component of culturally responsive pedagogy, and one that does not rely on funding or policy. Schools and teachers can form relationships with parents to use their 'funds of knowledge' to support students at school (Paris, 2012). Yosso (2005) argues that a reciprocal approach to learning between families and schools reflects students' realities and can better inform how the school operates.

All the studies showed the importance of teachers getting to know their students' culture as a sign of respect. Knowing how to pronounce names was mentioned as a way for students to feel welcome at school. Teachers also made concrete efforts to incorporate cultural practices into the daily curriculum. Students said that they felt 'normal' when they were working on problems that were real to them. The values of the Pasifika including language, family, and respect, made up these students' cultural capital. When teachers and educators bridge home and school using CRP, students feel engaged and successful, as has

been documented in several other studies around the world (Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005; Alton-Lee, 2003).

It is important to acknowledge that these examples are different from diverse pupils migrating to Western countries; however, the Māori and Pasifika experience demonstrates how certain aspects of CRP could be implemented in other settings. There is an argument to be made that it does not have to be an all or nothing approach; thereby allowing schools to determine how best to use it in their setting.

Similar to other studies in America, one of the questions about the research on CRP is the lack of clarity among teachers as to what CRP actually involves. In an evaluation of a professional development program for CRP in New Zealand, Meyer and colleagues (2010) found that while many teachers' academic expectations for Māori students had improved as a result of the project, quite a few were vague about academic expectations, and several continued to engage with culture in celebratory ways such as adding Māori terms for days of the week, which puts into question whether the results indicated an improvement in student learning. Bennett (2013) in her work with preservice teachers in America found similar results. Teachers could give a basic definition of CRP but could not elaborate. In addition, their understanding represented a tokenistic and celebratory approach. It was only after working one on one with diverse students that their understanding broadened, suggesting that the quality of interaction between teachers and students is a crucial component of CRP. As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, the vagueness of terms and different understandings on the part of educators, makes defining and implementing CRP a challenging, complex, and potentially problematic task (Siope, 2013). In addition to the multiple definitions in existence, its implementation requires school leaders and educators to honestly look at, and question, the beliefs that guide their practice (Howard, 2006). It is therefore useful to study schools that have applied principles of CRP to explore how different perceptions of the term affect the desired outcome. Teachers are at the heart of this work and play a significant role in whether this practice can be successfully implemented.

3.6 The Role of Teachers in Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Woodrow stated that "democracy is either 'born' or 'denied' in the classroom" (1997, p.8). The lack of an inclusive culturally responsive pedagogy can result in educators teaching *about* culture and ignoring what students bring into the classroom, instead of incorporating

the students' cultural identities into all facets of their education (Sleeter, 2012). Researchers caution against teachers using "quick-fixes" to acknowledge cultural diversity; that is, token examples of being interested in a student's culture (Jabbar & Mirza, 2019; Patchen & Cox-Petersen, 2008). These examples include learning a few words in a student's language; or "celebrating" multicultural or diversity week. Sleeter (2012) warns that culturally responsive pedagogy understood as *cultural celebration* tends to relegate culture to the margins of instruction, ignore academic expectations for students, as well as the lived culture of the school and classroom, and ignore power relations altogether. This *trivialization* of culturally responsive pedagogy involves reducing it to steps to follow rather than understanding it as a foundation for teaching and learning. A culturally responsive pedagogy demands that culture is deeply rooted in curriculum, problem solving, and student autonomy (Jackson, 2015).

Educators must understand that culture is not homogeneous or fixed. The *essentializing* of culture assumes that all individuals within a cultural group share the same characteristics. This is a superficial and dangerous understanding of culture (Dutro, et al., 2008), and fails to understand the intersectionality of one's identity (Irizarry, 2007). Intersectionality refers to "the ways in which race, class, gender, age, sexuality, disability and other categories of difference interact and the implications of these interactions for relations of power" (Konstantoni et al., 2017, p.1). Two students from the same region, who may identify as a certain race, are still two separate individuals with unique identities.

Many researchers argue for ongoing, well-researched trainings, given by culturally competent educators with time built in for reflection (Rychly & Graves, 2012), suggesting that without such explicit training, teachers cannot claim to be culturally competent and may do more harm than good. When culturally competent teachers of any background work with culturally diverse pupils, the results are positive. Lee (2010) found that even more important than a teacher's background matching that of the student was that the teachers held high expectations for students and believed in their abilities to succeed. The fact is approximately 94% of teachers in Scotland are White (Scottish Government, 2018d), so while ongoing efforts to recruit teachers of colour is important, in the meantime, White teachers must engage with work on cultural competency. However, it should be stated that these arguments do not include a plan for implementation including cost and time considerations, which are often practical barriers to engaging with the work. Moreover, changing educator mindsets is a barrier that may be the most difficult challenge to overcome (Milner, 2010).

A recurring theme throughout the research is the need for explicit teacher training both preservice and in-service (Bennett, 2013; Sleeter, 2012). The beliefs and attitudes of teachers determine the way they view their role as educators, effectively influencing how they interact with students (Sugimoto, Carter & Stoehr, 2017; Molle 2013). Teacher judgments and perceptions can also influence student achievement; therefore, placing immigrant students, who may be experiencing additional difficulties, at risk for failure (Mantero & McVicker, 2006; Burant & Kirby, 2002). A predominance of the research suggests that teachers must first have a deep understanding of their own culture before they teach students from diverse backgrounds (Saint-Hilaire, 2014). According to researchers (see for example, Grant & Asimeng-Boahene, 2006; Nieto, 2004), teachers will be unable to fully do the work of culturally responsive pedagogy if they do not first confront and investigate their own attitudes and beliefs about other cultures. Teachers must come to terms with their preconceived notions of the abilities of students from diverse backgrounds in order to address and overcome the stereotypical underachievement of diverse students (Grant & Asimeng–Boahene, 2006). This aspect of cultural competency needs to be taught and reflected on over time. Ongoing professional development around White privilege and systemic oppression can offer White teachers an opportunity to reflect on their attitudes on race while learning about the experience of people of colour (Galloway et al., 2019; Palmer & Martinez, 2013). It is a first step to changing both conscious and unconscious biases that exist in the classroom. Resistance to change, particularly teachers' personal and pedagogical beliefs can be a particular challenge with the resistance stemming from a lack of understanding and belief in CRP, as well as a lack of know-how of implementation (Neri et al, 2019). It is important to reiterate that there is no shortage of literature stating *what* teachers should do, but very little discussing *how* this work will be supported and facilitated. Where formal cultural competency training does not exist, it is important to ask how the work can be done, and by whom.

Gay (2002) argued that much of the preparation starts with an attitude of caring and respect that places teachers in a partnership with ethnically diverse students that is anchored in honour, integrity, resource sharing, and a deep belief in the possibility of overcoming barriers. "Caring" in this sense refers to a teacher's refusal to accept underachievement because of their sincere belief in the students. She focused on three important tenets of knowledge necessary to ensure that level of caring: "knowledge of interest"-information about ethnically diverse groups; "strategic thinking"- how this cultural knowledge is used

to redesign teaching and learning; and "bounds"-the reciprocity involved in students working with each other and with teachers as partners to improve their achievement.

In addition to caring and empathy, Gay (2002) insisted that teachers must have a comprehensive factual knowledge of their diverse students, including which ethnic groups give priority to communal living and cooperative problem solving; how different ethnic groups' view children interacting with adults in instructional settings; and the implications of the role of gender in different ethnic groups (Gay, 2002). This should include not just the overall ethnic group, but the different sects within. However, just being positive and caring or addressing the needs of each student does not necessarily mean one is a culturally responsive teacher, especially if they are not actively addressing the structural inequalities that impact the learners' experiences (Whipp, 2013). Teachers need to understand how conflicts between different work styles may interfere with academic efforts and outcomes, and how to design more communal learning environments. This level of knowledge requires in-depth, specific training on how diverse cultures experience learning and teaching. At the school level, building administrators should have resources available to ensure that teachers can learn about the cultures of their actual students, rather than a general training about various cultures that may or may not be in the classroom.

In addition to having an in-depth knowledge of the students, researchers argue that culturally responsive teachers need to be able to recognize and redesign poorly written curricula: including textbooks, classroom symbols, and media. Several studies agree that the challenges to the implementation of CRP are partially due to the lack of culturally relevant curriculum and resources (Underwood & Mensah, 2018; Aronson & Laughter, 2016; Esposito & Swain, 2009). However, these recommendations seem out of touch when the reality of the governmental role in choosing curriculum and setting budgets means that there is neither time nor money, let alone willingness or even competence, for teachers to redesign curricula (Neri et al., 2019; Borrero et al, 2018).

Teachers working in schools where a specific curriculum has been adopted are more likely to implement it as a one-size-fits-all approach, ignoring the specific contexts where they work (Sharma & Lazar, 2019). Teachers who are involved in curriculum planning and development act as agents of change whose students will benefit from their judgement (Schlein, 2013). However, as stated previously, there is little guidance on how to adapt existing resources if this is not an option, thus leaving it up to each individual teacher, which can result in a wide variety of experiences for learners. The standardisation of

educational policies and practices, which serve to enable comparison and competition, inevitably blocks the development of differentiation which is a foundation in cultural responsiveness (Hviid & Martsin, 2019).

In her work with teachers of African American students, Ladson-Billings (1995) found that successful teachers encourage students to act as teachers, where knowledge is continuously recreated, recycled, and shared by teachers and students. Their teaching was not dependent on state curriculum or textbooks, and the content of the curriculum was always open to critical analysis. She argues the need to teach preservice and in-service teachers how to do deep cultural analyses of textbooks and other instructional materials, revise them for better representations of culturally diversity, and provide many opportunities to practice these skills under guided supervision; however, it can be argued that many teachers do not have the opportunity or time to engage in such work. A culturally responsive curriculum counteracts the traditional views that place Western powers at the centre of historical contexts (Bergeron, 2008).

The research suggests that culturally responsive teachers will engage students in discussions about how representations, or lack thereof, of diversity, affect them in their relationships with others and view of themselves. The knowledge, ideas, and impressions about ethnic groups that are portrayed in the mass media is referred to by Cortes (2000, 1995, 1991) as the societal curriculum. In the classroom, this can be evidenced by the choice of books on shelves; audio and visual aids such as commercials, supplementary videos, and music; and online content that students encounter in their everyday lives. Whether or not media is used as part of the curriculum, students are aware of its influence and meaning in their lives (Gay, 2015). For many students, mass media is their only source of knowledge about cultural and ethnic diversity (Gay, 2002). In the case of Muslim students, the media plays a strong role in perpetuating negative stereotypes of Muslims by highlighting the differences and promoting exclusion (Shah, 2009). As mentioned previously, the 'War on Terror' waged through the news media continually portrayed Muslims as terrorists and oppressors of women, among other disparaging labels (Dreher & Mondal, 2018). However, the recent trend of global polarisation manifested through the election of Donald Trump in the US, to Brexit in the UK, has resulted in a new form of media influence. The 'attention economy' (Crogan & Kinsley, 2012) refers to how information is filtered and communicated resulting in a variety of polarised news streams. It can be argued that the recent resurgence of the nationalistic policies is a form of global Islamophobia that seeks to keep 'others', mostly migrants, out of the UK (Dreher &

Mondal, 2018). While the 'free speech' debate is outside the purview of this thesis, it is likely that teachers will be faced with this argument and will need to be able to effectively respond to it.

While school-specific ongoing training is vital to address the actual needs of the schools' diverse community, the research consistently states that teacher preparation programmes must also offer substantive training in Culturally Responsive Pedagogy (Gay, 2015). This will ensure that all teachers have had a certain amount of general cultural competency training, which can provide the basis for the ongoing professional development at building level. Gay (2002) argues for a focus on teaching the communication styles of diverse ethnic groups because of the cultural nuances embedded in the communicative behaviours of such groups, making it difficult to understand, accept, and respond to these students without a cultural knowledge of communication styles. She adds the need to address "contextual factors, cultural nuances, discourse features, logic and rhythm, delivery, vocabulary usage, role relationships of speakers and listeners, intonation, gestures, and body movements" (p.111). It is important to state that this research was done in the U.S. in a very different context to Scotland and the UK. It can be argued that cultural competency training may look different in various cultural contexts; however, the overall recommendation to train educators in this work, is valid in any context. Understanding that face-to-face interactions may not be possible, researchers (see for example, Hixon & So, 2009; McMillon, 2009) have suggested using pen pals-either through letter writing or online through email to join preservice teachers with students from diverse backgrounds. People who have only ever lived in one area are not going to have much experience people outside of it, therefore, this practice could be effective in forging relationships with a wide range of diverse people. It is argued that while travel may be prohibitive for many reasons, a letter or an email is accessible to all.

As can be seen above, the majority of studies looking at the role of teachers in creating an inclusive, responsive environment all claim to know what 'teachers must do', so the inevitable question is if the education scholars all know this to be true, then why is nothing changing? It can be argued that the answer to that cannot be found in the literature because it differs for every country, city, and school. It would seem then that in order to meet the challenges of implementing such a change, researchers need to understand the unique circumstances that different schools and educators face. Ultimately, a decision to implement a new practice such as CRP is made by school leadership.

3.7 Culturally Responsive School Leadership

The effectiveness of a school's response to its cultural diversity will come down to the organisational structure that supports it, including the administration in the school. In the UK, that role is filled by a headteacher, whose responsibility is to be more of an instructional leader than a manager of teachers (Jones, 2007). Researchers (see for example, Winterbottom et al., 2017; Danielson, 2007; Terry, 2005) argue that headteachers help shape the school culture through empowering teachers to be more involved in policy, curriculum, and innovation. They encourage their teacher leaders to be reflective in sharing their practice with colleagues, in order to create a sense of collective responsibility (Mullen & Hutinger, 2008). These studies suggest that the role of the headteacher can determine the effectiveness of a policy; however, research comparing the outcomes of a specific policy implementation would need to be conducted in order to identify the factors which led to success.

In her later work, Gay (2010) acknowledged that all aspects of education, including policy, funding, and administration, must be transformed in order to also be culturally responsive. Research in the US has shown that building principals, similar to headteachers in the UK, have a significant impact on teaching and learning since they tend to be the most knowledgeable about resources, and have the most authority to encourage building-level reforms (Branch, et al., 2013). Culturally responsive school leaders are responsible for achieving a school climate that is inclusive to marginalised students. They do so through hiring teachers that share their vision; leading professional development to inform and support teachers with this work; and maintain a relationship within the local community (Khalifa et al., 2016). These leaders are anti-racist, transformative, and are committed to social justice, but also actively engage in identifying, protecting, institutionalising, and celebrating all cultures present in their school (Cooper, 2009). The limitations with this research include the fact that it is assumed that school leaders already possess these traits, with little or no mention about how others learn and progress over time.

Transformative Leadership Theory focuses on critical engagement with inclusion, equity, excellence, and social justice (Shields, 2010) as it builds on culturally responsive leadership. Transformative leadership begins with questions of justice and democracy and explores the relationship between individual good and public good. When the school

environment is inclusive and equitable, students can focus more on academics, thus increasing individual student outcomes. When the school addresses democracy and civic engagement, it strengthens society through the participation of caring citizens (Shields & Hesbol, 2019). Weiner (2003) goes further and argues that school leaders should use their position within the dominant culture to question, examine, and challenge power and authority and actively be a voice for change. While this concept is at the core of CRP, its broadness makes it difficult to enact. Mafora (2013) argues that in order to lead with a schoolwide social justice focus, headteachers should among other things:

- Treat teachers with openness and respect
- Be exemplary
- Place a focus on all forms of marginalisation
- Question and work to change administrative policies

As is the case with other guidelines around social justice, some of these suggestions are vague and open to interpretation. Moreover, they put the onus solely on the headteacher, which ignores the wider impact of government policy on school leadership (Bass, 2012). School leaders are expected to meet certain standards and adhere to guidelines and policies (Louis et al., 2016). While social justice standards are a part of headteacher standards in Scotland (GTCS, 2012), there is little guidance about how to implement those standards. This will be discussed in Chapter 6, where an analysis of Scottish educational policies and guidelines will be presented.

Previous studies have shown examples of how school leaders can leverage resources to help teachers be more responsive to their students. Teachers can be given time to visit their students' communities, which has proven to strengthen relationships with families. Parents and community members can be brought into the school to help create and resource culturally relevant curricula (Khalifa et al., 2016). However, as outlined in previous sections, while these strategies have proven successful in certain contexts, it does not necessarily follow that they will work in every school. Therefore, further research is needed to evaluate the role of the headteacher in the implementation of such a practice, and the how staff, pupils, and families respond to those practices being implemented in their specific context.

Day and Sammons (2013) suggest that effective school leaders combine transformational leadership with pedagogical leadership, which deals more with the day-to-day interactions

with teachers and pupils. This suggests the importance of relationships between headteachers and teachers, pupils, and families. In a recent study, Forde et al., (2021) found that when headteachers lead from a place of caring, they can adopt practices that show concern for individuals as well as implementing strategies to bring about transformation resulting in 'effective learning for all' (p. 226), which can also be described as inclusive. This study is of interest because it specifically focuses on caring, which Gay (2002) argues is at the centre of CRP in order to improve student outcomes. It is therefore important to define those outcomes to determine whether enacting a practice of CRP does, in fact, produce effective learning for all.

3.8 CRP and Student Outcomes

Currently, much of the literature on Culturally Responsive Pedagogy puts the responsibility for delivering, solely on educators (Gay, 2013). Many papers consist of lists of what teachers need to do in order to achieve its goals; however, without proper training and reflection, a to-do list will be ineffective. Ultimately, the success or failure of CRP will be evident through student outcomes. As mentioned above, the success of any educational initiative is defined by actual student outcomes, including standardised test results. In the case of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy, the fact that there are so many iterations of the term, as well as ever-developing definitions, makes it difficult to say with certainty what the desired outcomes are. Bottiani et al. (2018) conducted a systematic literature review of CRP in-service interventions and found that only 10 out of 179 articles reported results of an empirical study of interventions designed to promote student outcomes. Their review suggested that the wide variety of definitions of CRP made it difficult to accurately measure outcomes. The lack of a common understanding and definition of CRP has been mentioned throughout this thesis and has seemingly resulted in several studies that focus on what *should* be done rather than what has actually worked in terms of outcomes and equity. Bottiani et al. (2018) recommend using a set of well-defined, comprehensive indicators to gauge the effectiveness of implemented CRP practices.

At its basic level, CRP purports to ensure student achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical engagement. Student achievement can be measured quantitatively and represented as data based on test scores. However, many educators and researchers differ on whether the sole use of standardised test scores is a clear measure of student achievement

(Aronson & Laughter, 2016). The measurement of cultural competency and sociopolitical engagement is often done qualitatively through self-reporting or by observation with results that are subject to interpretation. Most of the studies on the effects of CRP on student outcomes have been done with small case studies and usually with one demographic of students who self-report their achievement, primarily African American students in the US. It is therefore of interest to conduct research with a variety of diverse schools in other Western countries such as Scotland, to determine whether the findings are similar. As each school's environment is different, it is likely that the implementation and success of CRP will look different at each school.

Byrd (2016) argues that one of limitations of studies about CRT is that they are focused on homogenous classrooms, primarily comprised of Black students. To try to address this limitation, they conducted research examining diverse student perceptions of CRT. They evaluated how school racial socialization, which they defined as messages to students encouraging positive racial attitudes and an understanding of the role of race and culture in society (Hughes et al., 2006), related to students' academic outcomes and racial attitudes. This research was unique in that it employed quantitative rating scales, had an ethnically diverse sample of students, and focused on student perceptions. The findings indicated that the constructivist methods used in culturally relevant teaching were positively associated with academic outcomes in addition to overall interest in school and feelings of belonging. The author noted that the more the students were aware of the racism that existed in their communities, the less they had a sense of belonging; however, it was seen to be counteracted by the effects of being culturally competent. Although the data was self-reported, the findings suggest positive outcomes, both academically and socially. While it is important to recognise that most of the research has been done in America, it is relevant to this study as it looks at the experiences of ethnically diverse students, who may not all be from the same ethnic background.

Research on culturally responsive practice in after-school programs in the US provides a possible blueprint that may be broad enough to incorporate into Scottish schools. McGovern et al., (2019) identified four categories of practices that youth leaders enacted to ensure responsiveness to their Latinx students: ensuring a safe space, serving as trusted allies, promoting cultural awareness, and developing youth leadership and planning skills. The four categories mirrored those found to be most effective in developing youth programs and have been used by other researchers in promoting cultural awareness and responsiveness (Simpkins et al., 2017; Eccles & Gootman, 2002). They are also similar to

Ladson-Billings' original tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy (1995), suggesting the importance of evaluating their use in any programme or institution claiming to be culturally responsive.

Creating a safe space, both physically and emotionally, is especially important when working with youth who may face racial or ethnic discrimination elsewhere (Eccles & Gootman, 2002). While every school will have safety measures in place to protect students from physical danger, the school environment must be welcoming and inclusive to foster students' sense of belonging. Stein et al., (2016) suggest that if schools and neighbourhoods are unsafe, there is a potential to inhibit the development of minority children. This is significant for the pupils in this study as young Muslims often experience Islamophobia at school (Elani & Kahn, 2017), so it is important to ask about whether these learners have experienced racial abuse, and if so, find out how does the school addresses it.

The term *ally* has become prevalent in the wake of George Floyd's murder in the U.S. in 2020. Scholars have specifically referred to social justice allies as those who work both the dominant and oppressive culture and whose purpose is to listen, speak, act, or not act, depending on the need defined by the minority culture (Reason, et al., 2005). Allies, in general, unite to achieve a common purpose. Patton & Bondi (2015) give the specific experience of Christians working with Muslim students as an example of a social justice allyship; however, they caution that the perspective of the ally is vital. Those who are trying to 'help' minority learners by teaching the ways of the majority group, are only helping to reinforce stereotypes and oppression; therefore, understanding the perspectives of the teachers in this school is vital to determining the extent of cultural responsiveness.

Awareness is another broad term that can mean different things to different people. While it may be a first step in cultural responsiveness; it should not be the only one. There is an important distinction between awareness and competence. Awareness implies knowing about cultural differences. The level of awareness is also important. Cultural competence means having a deep understanding of cultural nuances and how to effectively communicate cross-culturally (Cooper et al., 2011). This involves brokering between school and home, as well as among cultural groups within the classroom, helping teachers to become agents of change (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Engaging in this level of work is what Ladson-Billings referred to when describing the need for a critical consciousness as part of CRP.

The final aspect of the McGovern et al. (2019) recommendations is also related to the critical consciousness part of Ladson-Billing's (1995) definition of culturally responsive pedagogy, which states that educators need to empower students to engage with social justice issues inside and outside of school. Suggestions include putting youth in charge of cultural events to not only teach leadership skills, but to foster a sense of efficacy and agency (Simpkins, et al., 2017).

As part of their research on the implementation of CRP to address racial inequities in an American school district, Galloway et al. (2019) found that the educators in the study all had different understandings and practices of CRP. When the participants were asked about anti-racist and anti-oppressive pedagogies; however, the understanding and practice was clear, suggesting the vagueness of the term culturally responsive impeded the work and may have upheld the status quo. Other researchers have also called for the use of more explicit terms that can facilitate a dialogue about race and racism in order to address the structural roots (Irby & Clark, 2018; Dowd & Bensimon, 2015). Moreover, it is suggested that educators analyse current policies and practices using a critical race lens to determine who actually benefits from equity-focused policies (Chase et al., 2014). This debate within the field of CRP highlights the biggest criticism of, and challenge to, implementing the practice.

3.9 Challenges to CRP

While there have been positive outcomes associated with various implementations of CRP, the largest criticism from researchers is that the practices do not go far enough in addressing racism (Paris, 2012; Sleeter, 2012). There has also been some pushback from teachers who do not feel adequately prepared and/or who feel there simply is not time in their day to adhere to all the practices of CRP. Sleeter (2012) argues that these issues stem from policies that negate the importance of teacher education and preparation as well as marginalise the study of culture and racism in order resist transforming the social order. It is suggested then that the process of understanding and defining CRP should include an agreement of the goal. If the goal of CRP is to remove inequities from education, then it must take on a political discourse. Simply acknowledging a student's culture is not enough; they must foster agency with their students, whose input and perspectives can inform

teachers and enable them to be more responsive to the needs of their students (Daniel & Zybina, 2019).

Beauboeuf-LaFontant (1999) proposed the term "politically relevant teaching," emphasising that the central issue is often subordination of ethnically diverse students, rather than simply the existence of cultural differences. She argues that just highlighting culture ignores the structural constraints such as racism, sexism, and discrimination that affect the lives of marginalised students. Taylor and Clark (2009) assert that racism is not based on individual acts, but is grounded in societal structures, such as legal, political, and school systems, suggesting that students need to understand the systems of oppression that lead to the inequities in education and feel empowered to address those inequities. This was the point of Ladson-Billings' critical consciousness focus on her definition of CRP. If educators' conceptions of cultural responsiveness focus solely on generic terms like "diversity" and "multiculturalism", then their practice may reflect a token celebration of diversity, without attention to the systems and structures that create unjust outcomes for students of colour and other marginalised groups (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Ngo, 2010; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

As mentioned in a previous section, Paris and Alim (2014) argued that 'responsive' or 'relevant' did not go far enough in taking a critical stance to address structural racism in schools; thus 'sustaining' was used to explain the need to refer to racial and language diversity as a dynamic asset that can be cultivated in schools (2017). However, noticeably absent from many educational change and school improvement movements are frameworks that critically analyse race and power (Galloway et al., 2019). Researchers argue that better race talk in schools is needed in order to redress inequalities and oppression; for example, using a more specific term such as antiracism instead of social justice, which ignores the cause of much injustice (Galloway et al., 2019; Carter et al., 2014). When describing how culturally responsive pedagogy was enacted, educators focused on trying to authentically incorporate relevant cultural learning experiences for their learners, which is impactful, although without discussing race and systemic and structural racism, there is a missed opportunity to explore the causes of inequity in their lives (Galloway et al., 2019). This type of adjustment would seemingly require a commitment by teachers to raise their own critical consciousness in order to address these issues. It is unclear what type of training and support would be needed to undertake such a task; however, if CRP is solely viewed as a checklist to raise the achievement of pupils without requiring the educators to acknowledge and explore their own attitudes towards

oppression, then the original goal of CRP cannot be met (Pirbhai-Illich et al., 2017). It is important to acknowledge that much of the research on addressing and confronting racism in schools has been focused on American educational systems, which have a long history of structural racism (Blaisdell, 2016). In addition, as the concept of CRP was developed to address inequities among African American students in the US, to suggest that this specific work can be similarly implemented in countries with different histories and ethnicities would not be prudent. The work done in the US provides a foundation, from which necessary and relevant adaptations can be made for diverse learners in the UK.

Other challenges to fully implementing CRP include the fact that attention to deepening culturally responsive approaches to teaching has largely been replaced by standardisation and testing efforts in the US and other countries (Sleeter, 2012; Modood, 2007). Even without such a focus on testing and meeting standards, teachers simply do not have the time to research and design curricula that their diverse students can relate to. A 2007 study of 200 teachers in New York reported teachers' frustration with less time to forge meaningful relationships with students, pressure to closely follow a mandated curriculum, and pressure to organize their teaching in set ways that often contradicted their professional judgment (Crocco & Costigan, 2007). While these are typical complaints about teaching in general, the lack of time, resources, support, and training, that are all necessary for designing culturally relevant instruction make the resistance of teachers to CRP more likely (Brown & Crippen, 2017; Ebersole et al., 2016). The academic success component of CRP is not merely an automatic consequence of providing culturally relevant instruction; instead, academic success requires the student to have active engagement with the teaching and learning process. (Cole et al., 2016). Without flexible time for teachers to plan relevant learning, CRP ends up as just another educational theory that those with the time, resources, and willingness will do.

3.9.1 Conclusion

CRP was a response to multicultural education that had long focused on teaching 'about' other cultures in often superficial ways, as opposed to addressing and including the cultures found in the classroom. While its inception was in the US to address the inequities of Black students (Ladson-Billings, 1995), it has been used successfully in other countries such as New Zealand with indigenous Māori learners (Glynn et al., 2010). In

Scotland, the increase in refugees from primarily Muslim countries has resulted in a swift change in the demographics of its major cities, with many families choosing Catholic schools for their children, as they provide faith-based learning as part of the daily curriculum. Previous research on CRP puts teachers at the centre of the work and acknowledges the need for training around cultural competency (Gay, 2013). Much of that research provides lists of what 'should' be done in a culturally responsive classroom but does not describe 'how' that work is undertaken. The role of school leadership is vital both in taking the responsibility to implement the practice, but also in fostering agency among teachers to engage with the work themselves. As mentioned previously, Ladson-Billings argues that cultural responsiveness needs to be embedded within systems and institutions. It is not enough to just put the responsibility on teachers. As she noted, when such an important practice is left to one group to implement, it will not succeed. School leadership, councils, governments, and communities all have a responsibility to support local teachers with curriculum, policies, time, and resources to ensure that students' rights are adhered to. The next chapter explores Scotland's school structures as well as the educational provisions that support them.

Chapter 4 - Scotland's Education System

This chapter will give an overview of some of the key developments and initiatives in Scottish education. As the study takes place in a Catholic Primary School in a large Scottish city, it is important that the key drivers, both national and international, are presented as it is within these contextualised boundaries that school operates. The chapter will begin by outlining the Scottish school structure to provide a picture of the national context in which the school sits and in particular the place of Catholic schools within these structures. It will then go on to consider the international drivers that have influenced recent Scottish curriculum and legislation developments. As Scotland aspires to following an inclusive approach to education (Riddell, 2009), consideration will be given to the inclusive nature of the school system. Links between this and contemporary understandings of inclusion will be explored with particular reference to cultural responsiveness. A brief overview of teacher education and the General Teaching Council for Scotland Standards and their role in the development of the teacher will be presented. Teachers are responsible for turning policy into practice and so understanding the principles behind teacher education and how these offer opportunities to develop cultural awareness in teachers is important. Finally, a description of the case study school is presented.

4.1 Scotland's School Structure

Contemporary Scotland has national autonomy with regards to education. In 1999, a devolved Scottish Parliament was established with, among other things, a legislative authority for education (Donaldson, 2014). While the Scottish Government has political responsibility for education in general, the 32 local authorities in Scotland own the schools and are responsible for the daily operation of state-funded schools (McKinney & Conroy, 2015). In 2020 national statistics show that there were 702,197 pupils enrolled in all Scottish publicly funded schools (Gov.Scot, 2020d). Alongside government funded schools, Scotland has independent (private) schools, that as stated in the Education (Scotland) Act 1980, are required to be registered with the Registrar of Independent Schools and are fee-based alternatives to publicly funded schools (UK Government, 2018).

The most recent numbers from the 2019-2020 school year showed 28,724 pupils attended independent schools, including boarding schools, in Scotland (SCIS, 2020). Although the average fee for these schools tends to be lower than in other part of the UK, the cost is still a substantial part of parental income making it prohibitive for many families who might otherwise send their children to an independent school (Edward, 2018).

Faith-based or Denominational schools in Scotland are predominantly state-funded, and thus follow the Curriculum for Excellence, albeit with a Confessional Religious Education. The majority of these schools are Catholic schools located in the west central belt of Scotland (McKinney, 2018). The history of Catholic schools in Scotland can be traced to an increase in both Irish-Catholic immigration and Scottish Highlands migration during the late 18th and 19th centuries. Several independent Roman Catholic schools were created to meet the demands, but at that point they only received 10% of their funding from the government, which was inadequate (Bruce et al., 2004). In reviewing this situation, the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act effectively added Catholic schools to the state system to ensure funding. However, the Catholic Church maintained its influence with respect to staffing, curriculum, and inspection (McKinney and Conroy, 2015), and has continued to do so to the present day. There are 369 comprehensive Catholic schools in Scotland: 313 primary schools, 53 secondary schools, 3 schools for pupils who require additional support for learning, and 3 privately funded independent Catholic schools. They serve approximately 120,000 pupils, roughly one-sixth of all pupils in Scotland (McKinney, 2018). Teachers who work in Catholic Schools must be approved of in terms of religious belief and character by representatives of the Catholic Church.

Qualitative and quantitative research in the US has confirmed that students in Catholic schools seemed to enjoy an academic advantage over public school students, which researchers argue is because of an integrated approach to schooling that includes moral and spiritual development as well as academic (Rodriguez & Briscoe, 2019; Louie & Holdaway, 2009). In addition, class sizes tend to be smaller, which provides more time for teachers to spend with individual learners (Hallinan, 2008). Perceived academic success has been a factor in the continuing state-based funding for Catholic schools in Scotland (McKinney & Conroy, 2015), which may help to explain why families outside of the Catholic faith choose to send their children to these schools.

Dallavis (2011) argues that in Catholic schools, the relationship between the local church, school, and family puts religion at the core of the entire educational experience entirely.

The attention to student religious identity, belief, and practice, it is argued, can effectively narrow the gap between the cultures of home and school. Agirdag et al (2017) explain that in Catholic schools, shared experiences of beliefs and values through parents, school staff, and school peers, can boost self-esteem, academic motivation, and positive relationships, in marginalised students. However, as those schools typically focus solely on the Catholic religion, research that analyses the lived experiences of students from other faiths within a Catholic school community can offer insight into how culturally responsive pedagogy can bridge more diverse cultures of home and school and is missing from the literature.

As mentioned above, all schools in Scotland, including Catholic schools, follow national education policies and guidance that differs from the other three nations that constitute the UK. Within Scotland, key curriculum documentation includes Curriculum for Excellence. Alongside this, documents such as the National Framework for Inclusion offers guidance and support for all teachers, including student teachers and qualified teachers as they strive to implement inclusive practice. A brief analysis of those documents is presented below in order to understand how they offer a framework within which CRP can be used to address the focus on social justice and inclusion that each framework highlights. A more comprehensive document analysis is presented in Chapter six.

4.2 The Influence of International Legislation on Scotland's Curriculum, Legislation, and Frameworks

A significant piece of international legislation to be reflected in Scottish Education policy was the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). It is an internationally agreed standard to ensure minimal conditions for children adopted by the UN in 1989, ratified by nearly all State parties and ratified by the UK in 1991. It sits within the general framework of human rights law and covers a wide range of issues, from health to justice; however, it is not directly justiciable in domestic courts (Tisdall, 2015). One of the central commitments of the UNCRC is child wellbeing. This is also reflected in goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2015). It can be seen from the language used within the documents that there is an emphasis on an inclusive equitable education for all children (UN-SGD 4), these goals were a call for action for all nations:

> *Inclusion and equity in and through education is the cornerstone of a*
> *transformative education agenda, and we therefore commit to addressing all forms*

> *of exclusion and marginalization, disparities and inequalities in access,*
> *participation and learning outcomes* (UNESCO, 2015, iv).

Scotland's Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) emerged out of the Education (Scotland) Act 2000, which sought to strengthen Scotland's education system with a post-devolutionary goal of egalitarianism, inclusivity, and meritocracy (Hedge & MacKenzie, 2016). The emphasis on inclusive equitable education in the international documents can be seen mirrored in the key provisions of CfE , where they are set out in statements about values, purposes, and principles. The values reflect those inscribed on the mace of the Scottish Parliament: wisdom, justice, compassion, and integrity, and place a particular focus on pupils establishing their own views on matters of social justice and personal and collective responsibility. The purposes are stated as four broad capacities (4Cs): become successful learners; confident individuals; responsible citizens; and effective contributors to society (Curriculum Review Group, 2004). Further analysis of the Health and Wellbeing strand of CfE, as it relates to this study, will be provided in Chapter 6.

Scotland's National Framework for Inclusion (NfI) was the result of a consortium of Scottish universities that came together to develop the framework to support new and experienced teachers to provide fair and meaningful experiences for all learners (NfI, 2016a). The framework is posited on the values and beliefs of Social Justice, Inclusion, and Learning and Teaching Issues, which arguably could support a culturally responsive practice (Barrett et al., 2015). It takes into account the General Teaching Council for Scotland's (GTCS's) professional standards (GTCS, 2021, 2012), which among other commitments, articulates the values of

- o *Committing to the principles of democracy and social justice through fair,*
  transparent, inclusive and sustainable practices
- o *Respecting the rights of all learners as outlined in the UNCRC*

Inclusive education in Scotland is informed and supported by the UK's Equality Act 2010, which places a duty on public sector institutions to work towards the elimination of discrimination, harassment, and victimisation, and to promote equity by removing barriers to participation and meeting individual needs. Although the term *needs* features in some of the general legislation, the understanding of inclusion in Scottish schools has shifted from a focus on children's needs (or deficits) to a focus on children's rights to be acknowledged as fully participating members of the school community (Barrett, et al, 2015). The idea is that through inclusive classrooms, labels are challenged, and children learn to appreciate

and celebrate differences, but not categorize them, which, in turn, translates to breaking down barriers in adulthood.

In addition to other terms like culture and diversity, inclusion has taken on different meanings to different people in different contexts, which has made it difficult to measure its effectiveness (Berlach & Chambers, 2011). Armstrong et al., (2010, p.4) argue that this uncertainty around the definition results in inclusion meaning 'everything and nothing at the same time'. Anyone can use the term in a way that works best for them, which is problematic when an entire nation's educational framework, as is the case in Scotland, is based on such a term. Loreman et al. (2014) suggest that there are two main components of the definitions: education for all, where children learn in heterogeneous classrooms with their peers; and the removal of that which excludes and marginalises. Past definitions were most concerned with ensuring that students with disabilities could learn with their peers instead of in special schools; however, there has been a recent shift to ensure that in order to accommodate all students regardless of ability, gender, culture, poverty, refugee status or any other reason, that mainstream thinking and practices are expanded to include all learners (Shaddock, 2006). For the purpose of this study, a broad use of inclusion is defined as a focus on all learners, and how schools respond to the diversity of their learners.

The Scottish system of inclusive education is designed to provide all children with access to a common curriculum in equally well-sourced schools; this includes faith-based schools that, although they include a specific religious curriculum, still adhere to CfE and legislation including the Additional Support for Learning Act (Riddell, 2009). As more families from diverse cultures migrate voluntarily or involuntarily to the UK in general, and Scotland in particular, it would seem that there is an expectation that the principle of inclusion truly applies to every pupil enrolled in school. As mentioned above, without a clear definition of what inclusion means, as well as the vagueness of educational guidelines and policies, it is difficult to know if it is happening; therefore, research on the experiences of staff and pupils in those schools is important. Understanding how the staff and pupils define inclusion is key to determining whether such a practice is successful.

A UK report on evaluating educational inclusion focused on specific groups of pupils including, *'girls and boys; minority ethnic and faith groups, Travellers, asylum seekers and refugees; pupils who need support to learn English as an additional language (EAL); pupils with special educational needs; gifted and talented pupils; children 'looked after' by*

the local authority; other children, such as sick children, young carers; children from other families under stress; pregnant schoolgirls and teenage mothers; and any pupils who are at risk of disaffection and exclusion' (Ofsted, 2000, p.7). Armstrong et al. (2010, p. 4) argue that this list infers a need to manage groups of pupils perceived as 'problems', suggesting a deficit view that may end up reinforcing stereotypes rather than dismantling them. The issue of using explicit examples for additional needs instead of leaving it open to interpretation is a key issue in this study. If the framework is too broad, then each school could decide what is an additional support need and what is not, increasing the possibility that culturally diverse learners are left out of provisions. Conversely, as mentioned above, naming every possible label focuses on difference between pupils, which can lead to 'othering'. Scotland's definition of additional support needs will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

As discussed previously, Scotland's goal for inclusion is to ensure that all pupils have the right to an appropriate education through the dismantling of barriers. On the surface, there is little to disagree with here; however, in the new landscape of Black Lives Matter and the inequities faced by people of colour, the term *inclusion* is being challenged by the question of 'What is one included in?'. De Lima (2003) argues that if the cultural majority is creating policy around inclusion and social justice, then there is a danger of reinforcing race and equality as something to be excluded or included. Being included suggests that there is something to be included in. If that something is not beneficial to the person and reinforces the reason they felt excluded in the first place, then it can be argued that it should not be the norm (Ahmed, 2012). Inclusion also implies that at some point and by someone, a person was not included, which then raises questions about power and who holds it. In the case of BAME pupils, those who hold the power are typically White and male (Gillborn, 2005). The solution for some, may be to use a different term to discuss a school system where pupils are not labelled, and welcomed for who they are. For others, the idea of being welcomed by someone who does not look like them is the problem. This discussion refocuses the implementation of inclusion and cultural responsiveness on the institutions involved, in this case, education systems. It can be argued that there needs to be a discussion as to the reasons behind the exclusion, ie., racism, racialised identities, bias, poverty, access, and geography. The research on CRP argues that to dismantle injustice and barriers, there must be an understanding as to why they exist in the first place (Whipp, 2013; Sleeter, 2012). Although the majority of this research has been focused on the US, the current refugee and migration situation in the UK and Scotland in particular,

presents an opportunity to engage with these discussions here. Aligning inclusive educational practice with culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies can help normalise diversity through discussions about cultural barriers that exist and strategies to dismantle them (Esteban-Guitart et al., 2019).

The Scottish Government's New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018-2022 commits to the education of refugee children and adults. The 2015 OECD report noted that Scottish schools are inclusive towards immigrants, as shown by their relatively high performance in school compared to their non-immigrant peers. Scotland's main education union, The Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS, 2017), published a report that provides guidance for primary teachers on myths about immigrants and includes teaching strategies and lesson plans to support staff as they seek to make their classrooms more welcoming. As these immigrant communities are smaller in Scotland than those in England or Wales, there may be more of a uniform multicultural approach to teaching *about* diversity, rather than one that takes cultural differences into account (Mulvey, 2015). To explore that concept, McBride et al. (2018) conducted a study on the educational experiences of refugee children in Scotland. Among their findings was that overall education was working for these families; however, there was some variation between schools. The demographics of the school were influential as the presence of other children from different nationalities helped establish peer relationships and language development. One of the recommendations to this study was the need to ensure that schools are effectively resourced, since it was seen at the time to be dependent on the goodwill of the teachers and staff. In addition, the need for bilingual support and the recognition of gender differences was also highlighted. While some of these recommendations are aimed at local education policymakers, they also highlight the need for strong school leadership and teacher knowledge about the identities of pupils. In order to understand how the values and knowledge of teachers is developed in relation to meeting the needs of diverse learners, consideration will be now be given to teacher education.

4.3 Teacher Education Standards and Frameworks in Scotland

Research has consistently shown that teachers are the most significant in-school factor on overall student achievement (Pantić & Florian, 2015; Hattie, 2009). As such, their work is often measured through performative standards designed to improve teacher accountability and student outcomes. In Scotland, those standards were first developed by the General

Teaching Council for Scotland in 2012 who published The Standards for Provisional Registration (SPR) and The Standards for Full Registration (SFR) as well as The Student Teacher Code and The Code of Professionalism and Conduct. The impact of such teaching standards on inclusive practice and CRP is therefore important to understand in terms of how educators perceive and implement them. A document analysis of specific aspects of the standards relating to this study is conducted in Chapter six; however, they are referred to here in terms of their role in teacher education.

Standards for teaching often result in a standardisation of curriculum and practice where teachers act as policy translators, with little agency to affect change in their schools; yet that agency is often what is expected of them (Mifsud, 2018). One of the biggest areas of educational reform in Scotland is around 'closing the gap' between the highest and lowest achievers, the majority of whom live in areas of high deprivation (Florian, 2017). In response, Scotland's educational policies and guidelines are designed to improve outcomes for all learners through inclusive practice (Pantić & Florian, 2015; Ballard, 2012). The National Framework for Inclusion (Scottish Government, 2016a) outlines a clear mandate that teachers are responsible for the learning of all pupils in the class. However, there is very little guidance and resources provided to teachers to allow them to achieve that goal; thus, the outcomes vary depending on how a teacher understands the principles of social justice, inclusion, and equality.

The GTCS (2021, 2012) standards state that teachers at all levels should commit to social justice principles, including 'race, ethnicity, religion, and belief', which suggests that upon completing initial teacher education (ITE), that teachers will already be committed to this. However, this is often not the case as many ITE programmes focus on teachers' superficial knowledge *about* pupils' cultures, which can create a deficit mentality of the 'other' (Santoro & Major, 2012). While teacher quality in Scotland has been recognised as a strength of Scottish education (Scottish Government, 2011), a 2017 study of Scottish student teachers found that the majority had little cultural awareness, particularly regarding their power as the dominant cultural majority (Santoro, 2017). The findings suggest that although the lack of knowledge about their pupils' cultures can be addressed, the larger concern was the lack of understanding about the educational barriers associated with race and culture. They seemed to acknowledge privilege as only regarding socio-economic status, which considering the increasing cultural and ethnic diversity of pupils in Scotland, is a concern.

Researchers argue that ITE should emphasise teachers naming and critiquing the factors that result in inequalities in schools (Arshad, 2016; Santoro, 2017; Durden et al., 2014). This is inherent in the practice of CRP, suggesting that ITE programmes include a discussion of critical pedagogies to develop teachers' understanding of the structural barriers that lead to inequalities. Ohito and Oyler (2017) also stress the need for teacher education to develop a critical consciousness that values differences as a resource rather than a problem. It is important to note that even if ITE programmes include coursework around working with diverse learners and cultures, studies have shown that when novice teachers begin working with pupils, those aspects regarding social justice are often viewed as the least important (Pantić et al., 2011; Pantić & Wubbels, 2010). It then becomes a question of how schools can embed inclusive and responsive elements to ensure that all pupils can achieve, which still depends on school leadership and staff understanding and agreeing to inclusive practice.

Arguably, ITE cannot do everything; therefore, Continuing Professional Development (CPD) can offer schools a way to ensure that all staff have training and resources around a designated pedagogical practice. Much of the research on CRP suggests this approach as a way to work with teachers to reflect on their own attitudes towards the work, as well as learn new ways to address cultural diversity in the classroom (Galloway et al., 2019; Gay, 2012). Legislation and guidelines such as the Curriculum for Excellence and the Additional Support for Learning Act provide a framework for addressing social justice inequalities in schools; however, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, the broadness of those documents allows for different interpretations, and ultimately different implementations of practice. CPD with staff can address those differences towards the goal of ensuring a schoolwide inclusive practice. The school leadership is usually responsible for providing and/or accessing CPD opportunities (Khalifa et al., 2016), so it is important to examine how those decisions are made and what training is available. This will be done through an interview with the headteacher of this school.

4.4 The School

The school at the centre of this research is a Roman Catholic primary school is located in an urban centre in the West of Scotland. The catchment area of the school comprises residential and non-residential buildings with the postcode indicating quintile 1 (most deprived) on the Scottish Index for Multiple Deprivation scale (SG, 2020). According to

the most recent census results (Scotland Census, 2011), the school's postcode shows 15% of respondents identify as having Asian ethnicity, 16% are from countries outside the EU, and 7.5% identify as Muslim. The school is a part of a learning community that includes 11 primary schools and one secondary school. They also partner with 3 nurseries/early learning centres.

At the time the data was collected, there were approximately 300 pupils on the school roll. There were 11 classes, including three composite classes. The school has a co-located learning unit comprising two classes that support children who require additional support for learning. The teaching compliment within the school is comprised of 16.8FTE class teachers with an additional two teachers who support the English as an Additional Language provision in the school. The school has eight Learning Support Workers with two clerical staff, one of whom works part time. An integral part of the school is the many visiting instructors and specialist staff who offer learning opportunities for the children across a range of curricular areas including dance, sport, science and health. At the time of the data collection, over 85% of pupils in the school had English as an additional language, and 98% identified as minority ethnic, with the majority from the Muslim faith. Those identified as EAL may be considered 'New to English', bilingual, or having at least one member of the family who is non-English speaking, which can determine the level of support provided (XXX Handbook, 2020).

Information about the school can be primarily found on its website. Information from the school handbook and Twitter feed, will be analysed in Chapter six to examine how the school communicates their culturally responsive practice.

4.5 Scottish Education Conclusion

Scotland's educational frameworks including CfE and NFI aim to provide schools with principles and guidelines in concert with the UNCRC and UNESCO's Sustainable Development Goals including child wellbeing and inclusive education (Tisdall, 2015). All schools in Scotland, including the state-funded Catholic schools are expected to adhere to those guidelines. As many of these schools continue to experience an increase in cultural diversity due to recent migration, it is of interest to examine how those frameworks and guidelines address diversity. Key Scottish education documents include, at their core, the value of social justice to address inequalities and an explicit requirement for respecting the

rights of all learners. However, many of those guidelines include vague terminology and broad statements, which can result in an uneven practice on the part of teachers and leaders in how they are applied. The literature on CRP argues the need for cultural competency as part of ITE to help ensure a more consistent approach, but as there is no guarantee that every programme will offer such training, the need for school-based CPD on cultural responsiveness is evident.

Teacher professionalism and knowledge is developed and maintained through GTCS standards, which also state that teachers should commit to social justice principles (GTCS, 2012, 2021). This implies that teachers are ready to do this upon entering a school workplace, yet as discussed in this chapter, many seem to struggle with cultural awareness (Santoro, 2017). This further suggests the need for in-service CPD to help teachers respond to their learners. However, the staff of this school implemented a culturally responsive practice, without any formal training, in order to address the needs of their diverse pupils, 98% of whom identify as minority ethnic. Therefore, gaining an understanding of the experiences of teachers in this school working to implement CRP within the given national and international frameworks and national standards will help provide examples of how such a practice can be achieved from the ground up. Moreover, for CRP to be truly relevant to all learners, research is needed to ensure that all pupils, regardless of their background, enjoy the right to an appropriate education. This case study research contributes to the extant literature by exploring how Scotland's rights-based inclusive framework of legislation, policy and guidance addresses the specific needs of culturally diverse pupils within one school.

Chapter 5 – Methodology

In order to present a comprehensive example of how one school approached and developed a culturally responsive practice, I designed a bounded case study to explore the experiences of the stakeholders as well as examine the educational policies and guidelines that inform and support the work. This chapter outlines the theoretical underpinnings, methodological approach, and ethical considerations for this bounded case study. I present the theoretical frameworks used to conduct and analyse the research and discuss how my epistemological view aligns with the case study methodology. The chosen methods of a document analysis, focus groups, and semi-structured interviews are critically analysed and discussed in terms of how each process provides rich, rigorous, descriptive data around the school's implementation of CRP. Finally, I discuss the considerations relating to online research during a pandemic, as well as the provisions to ensure the trustworthiness of the data when presenting a single case study.

5.1 Theoretical Frameworks

The research process involves a series of decisions by researchers to achieve certain outcomes. Some of those decisions are based on philosophical underpinnings that make up our beliefs and assumptions, which can shape our research design, outcomes and interpretation. These allow us to understand our thinking, cognition, and self-awareness in order to make meaning of our research (Moon & Blackman, 2014). Those beliefs around the nature of truth and the nature of the world reflect the ontology and epistemology of the researcher (Berryman, 2019). Ontology refers to the nature of reality, that is, what can be known.   Epistemology refers to the nature of knowledge; that is, how we know what we know (Crotty, 2003). Barad (2007) refers to knowledge production as a combination of the two, referred to as *onto-epistemology*, suggesting the importance of their relationship to one another. Guba and Lincoln (1994) add methodology to the two asking, what can be known, how do we know, and how to we go about finding out.

The epistemological stance adopted by the researcher affects the relationship between the researcher and the communities of participants who are being researched, as well as determining the theoretical frameworks and methodologies used in that research (Hyde, 2021; Mertens, 2009). As both an educator and researcher, my epistemological stance is

one of a social constructivist. Constructivism refers to the subject constructing the reality of an object. It is the constructivist view that all meaningful reality is constructed between human beings and their world. Social constructivism adds the perspective that our culture shapes the way we see things and influences our view of the world (Crotty, 2014). From a social constructivist perspective, the teacher shares a space with students to co-create knowledge. It rejects the notion that that the more knowledgeable researcher empowers the powerless participants (Ladegaard, 2017). This epistemological stance is helpful when looking at culturally responsive educational practices in an inclusive environment, because it provides a framework for all participants, staff and students, to create meaning out of their own life experiences (Grier-Reed & Wiliams-Wengerd, 2018). A social constructivist viewpoint allows me to interpret my findings, not only from the individual perspective of each participant, but also through the interaction of the participants.

In addition to acknowledging the perspective of the researcher, it is important to adopt a theoretical rationale for educational research as it can help avoid the reinforcement of dominant ideologies (Ellis et al., 2011). Without having the specific lens through which data is analysed, there is a possibility that key underlying values and beliefs are ignored, thus preventing the emergence of new perspectives. For my research, I will be using a critical education research paradigm which explores how formal educational institutions, such as schools, reproduce and /or reduce inequality; who decides on what and whose knowledge is legitimate and worthwhile; and whose interests are served by education and the legitimacy of such interests (Cohen et al. 2011). Critical Theory emerged as an epistemological approach to go beyond accounts of behaviour in society to arguing that research should be conducted in order to change situations involving power relations (Moon & Blackman, 2014). The development of Critical Theory was influenced by Habermas, who argued that learning is providing individuals with the necessary skills to critically reflect on how different ideologies, such as politics, economics, and religion, affect their understanding and interpretation of reality, which ultimately can produce change (Bazeley, 2020).

As discussed in previous chapters, one of the main tenets of CRP is to help diverse learners become agents of change in their communities to address injustices, so arguably, those injustices must be named and openly discussed. Sleeter (2012) argues that issues of voice, power, and social class are often ignored in culturally responsive education; therefore, research around the implementation of CRP needs to explore if, and how, those discussions about oppression and injustice can be successfully accomplished. As my research involves

culturally diverse youth in a school with primarily White teachers and staff, it is important to explore the implementation of CRP through a lens that critically analyses race and power, as schools are often the sites of power struggles, where dominant groups maintain power over subordinate groups (Wiggan, 2011). Moreover, a framework for addressing race and power is often missing from the research on change in education (Galloway et al., 2019). To address this, I used Critical Race Theory (CritRT), which is one of several types of critical theories referred to as standpoint theories that focus on the concerns of a particular sector of society, including race theory, feminist theory, disability theory, and queer theory (New, 1998).

CritRT was originally designed as an epistemological and methodological tool to help analyse the experiences of underrepresented populations in American K-20 educational systems (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). Lynn and Parker (2006) explain critical race theory in education as a critique of racism, defined as a system of oppression and exploitation that explores the historic and contemporary constructions and manifestations of race in our society, which particular attention to how these issues present in schools. CritRT places race and racism the centre of analysis of narratives and counter-narratives (Milner & Howard, 2013), and acknowledges how visual racial markers can influence a person's lived experience. While CRP addresses many different identities, the pupils in my study are from ethnic minorities, so their racial markers differentiate them from other pupils who may experience injustice. It is therefore useful to use this framework to analyse the role of racism in schools and how CRP can address and counter racial and ethnic injustice. Solorzano and Yosso (2001, p. 472) outline five aspects of CritRT. They include:

1. Centrality and intersectionality of race and racism;

2. Challenge to dominant ideologies and deficit perspectives;

3. Centrality of experiential knowledge;

4. Interdisciplinary analyses; and

5. Explicit commitment to social justice

In reviewing the implementation of CRP at this school, it is important to note whether the role of racism is being addressed, considering that its frequent omission is the biggest critique of the pedagogy (Sleeter, 2012). There is a strong argument to be made that racism alone, whether intentional or not, is the reason for the disparities in education and thus requires a Critical Theory to fully understand the issues.

Critics of CritRT range from those who feel it is based on individual narratives and does not explain the success of other minority groups (Farber & Sherry, 1997), to those who feel its lack of pragmatism renders it just a phrase (Delgado, et al., 2017). The most common criticism is that it ignores other systems of oppression such as poverty, leading for some to insist on a focus of intersectionality with other identities. Gillborn (2015) argues that while it is important to understand how race interacts with other forms of oppression, it is also important to not lose sight of the undisputable effect of race. In this study, intersectionality is of great importance because the majority of pupils in the Catholic school are Muslim, so religious identity has to be looked at in conjunction with ethnicity, especially considering the effect of Islamophobia on this group (Hussain & Miller, 2006). Moreover, gender disparities within the Muslim faith can have an additional impact on girls, so that identity must also be considered and explored (Hopkins, 2018).

Gale and Thomas (2018) argue that CritRT can work in the UK to address the intersectionality of oppression through fact that racism is embedded in all aspects of society, both at the individual and system levels. Additionally, and most relevant to this study, is that the evolution of CritRT acknowledges that other minorities have become racialised, not simply by the colour of their skin, but by their ethnicity, culture, and gender (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012); therefore, even though CritRT was designed to address African American discrimination and racism, its focus on racial injustice can be applied to other contexts. Recently, in the US, nearly 20 states have enacted or proposed legislation to ban CritRT in schools (Gibbons, 2021), which is itself misleading, considering it is a theory used to explain events, not an event in itself. Opponents of CritRT in the US claim it paints all Black people as victims and all White people as their oppressors. This may impact how other nations view its purpose; therefore, the expanded focus of CritRT to look at ethnic, religious, and gender discrimination is important to explore the effects of racism on social systems at the individual, state, and macro-levels (Meghji, 2021). It is in this context of education as a social system that I am using CritRT as a framework.

While it is suggested that this framework be used when researching educational change, scholars warn that White researchers must be careful not to perpetuate misinformation about race when working with participants of colour (Milner, 2007). The key concern here is around producing inferential racism through legitimising expressed racial assumptions without critically examining them (Blaisdell, 2016; Milner, 2007). Critical race theorists argue that 'voice' is key to communicating the experiences and realities of those who are oppressed; however, I am not going into this research with a biased view that the

participants are oppressed. Although the literature clearly acknowledges that Muslim pupils experience racism and Islamophobia, it is important to give the pupils a chance to share their own experiences. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) argued that in order to analyse the role of education, those voices needed to be heard, and that work would be the first step towards achieving social justice. Lived experiences can be written as rich narratives that place the focus of the research on the voices of participants, allowing researchers to construct knowledge out of the words themselves, and the discourse between participants. Counter-narratives are equally important, as they allow the researcher to explore experiences that are inconsistent with those considered the norm (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

CritRT puts a poststructuralist emphasis on context, arguing that the diversity of individuals, in addition to the often-competing identities within themselves, gives the world its meaning (Moon & Blackman, 2014; Cohen et al., 2011). In this approach, the researcher must deconstruct the many meanings in a phenomenon or piece of research as well as understand their own perspectives. One's identity is constantly being revised, so a narrative approach to research allows participants to be reflexive when discussing their constructed identities (Giddens, 1991). My research involves pupils with cultural, ethnic, language, and gender identities that each influence their perspective and their learning. Interpreting the qualitative data means I am making sense of multiple meanings of those pupils and their teachers in a variety of contexts.

5.2 Critical Reflection and Reflexivity

Critical reflection refers to how adult learners makes sense of their experiences (Hyde, 2021). As a researcher, this is done through identifying my theoretical positioning; however, it is also necessary to be reflexive throughout the process, which involves being critically aware of my social location, in this case, my class, gender, religion, and race, and how this shapes my research questions (Priya, 2021). For my research, I need to be cognisant of the issues of religious intolerance including Islamophobia and anti-Catholic sentiments. The UK uses the term ethnicity to encompass a person's race, so I have embraced a more general idea of critical theory to include ethnic and religious identity. My challenge is to let these participants tell their stories without me, as the researcher, suggesting they focus on their ethnicity or religion. Milner (2016) suggests that researchers work through questions regarding critical race and cultural self-reflection. This work

should also extend to how researchers view their participants in relation to ethnicity and culture. However, critical reflexivity goes beyond stating the fact that I benefit from White privilege (Lockard, 2016). As mentioned above, researcher reflexivity helps guide the research questions to ensure that any potential bias is acknowledged and examined in relation to the interactions with participants. Moreover, it is necessary when conducting qualitative data analysis as it acknowledges the perspective in which the researcher examines and interprets the data (Sandelowski, 2011).

Prior to conducting my research in the U.K., I was an elementary and middle school teacher of gifted students in three different cities in the U.S and taught children from a variety of faiths including Muslim and Catholic. As I am a former member of the teaching profession and culture that I am researching, there is the potential for partial insider bias (Chavez, 2008; Sikes & Potts, 2008), which can affect my objectivity. I am conscious of and reflexive about this potential bias and its potential to impact this research. However, I also believe my experience as a primary school teacher provides me with a knowledge of the challenges and complexities of teaching, which may allow me insight into the particular challenges of moving between theory, policy, and practice, thus facilitating more meaningful interaction with the participants (Bell, 2005).

I have spent the past several years in reflection about my relationship with race and culture including attending workshops on Courageous Conversations About Race, racial inequities in education, and participating in school-district diversity teams in the US as an elementary school teacher. I have also been reflexive throughout this process by, in part, consulting with diverse audiences at conferences and through interactions with BAME researchers. I have been explicit to the stakeholders in this study about my role as an American White woman, living in the United Kingdom, seeking to understand and share the experiences of minority ethnic children living in Scotland. In this study, I give the participants the space to share their own experiences through a variety of qualitative methods, with the overarching research questions defined in the next section.

5.3 Research Questions

The school at the focus of this research has adopted an approach, which they claim has its roots in Culturally Responsive Pedagogy, in order to address the needs of the majority Muslim population in the school. This study aims to explore how they went about

implementing this pedagogy, and how it compares to the definitions of CRP throughout the literature. In order to gauge the effectiveness of the work, it is important to hear the experiences of the pupils and teachers.

Additionally, as this case study is designed around one school, the methods chosen should enable the researcher to present a detailed picture of the practice as well as the policies and frameworks in which the school applies that practice (Bridges, 2017). Ideally, policies have flexibility in how they are applied and interpreted in schools (Braun & Maguire, 2020); yet this school began with the practice, so the focus is on how a new pedagogic practice aligns with existing policies and guidelines, particularly Scotland's commitment to inclusive education. Analysing the policies in addition to observing their practice in a school deepens the understanding of the specific context which allows other educators and practitioners an opportunity to adapt and apply it to their own context, if relevant (Stenhouse, 1977).

With these aims in mind, the primary research questions for this study are:

'What do lived experiences of pupils and staff suggest about the effectiveness of a culturally responsive pedagogy?'

'What methodologies can be used to discover how a school can implement a culturally responsive practice in the context of inclusive education in Scotland?

5.4 The Case Study Methodology

In order to provide a holistic examination of a primary school that has implemented CRP, I have designed a narrative case study that seeks to combine document policy analysis with focus group and interview methods to evaluate the application of CRP in a particular school context. Case study methods are used to gain insight and understandings of phenomena that are new, not fully understood, or unexamined (Travers, 2001). Case studies have often been viewed negatively by researchers who argue that the findings are less rigorous and are not generalisable (Gioia, 2021). However, Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that the term *transferable,* rather than generalisable, is a better indicator of case study findings, as even a single observation can represent a significance that applies to different situations. In the context of this study, and where the examination of practice is a focus, a case study approach allows for the researched elements to come together

illuminating how one school approached CRP.   The chosen methods each add unique elements, both the perspective of the stakeholders as well as how relevant Scottish educational documents and guidelines relate to the practice (Stake, 1980). Yin (2014) argues that because a case study is unique, the study itself is revelatory, thus justifying the methodology. In effect, the key is understanding the case.

Adelman et al (1976, pg. 141) describes case studies as 'bounded systems' rather than a particular research method. They represent a particular focus around a piece of research that illustrates a full understanding of a case, which in this case, is one school. This research is not designed to be prescriptive or generalisable, but rather by its rich description and insight, offers practitioners and policymakers a glimpse of what may work in a given context. Bridges (2017) argues that small-scale studies, for example at school level, may influence policy decisions at that level, which take into account specific contexts rather than trying to work nationwide. Moreover, examining educational policies at school level as well as those at national level, helps to frame the qualitative research findings. Policies are shaped by competing interests of those stakeholders involved with the process; therefore, it is argued that research findings should be accompanied by a continuing dialogue of those involved in the normative context (Biesta, 2007). In this study, the pupils and teachers provide that dialogue. Stenhouse (1977) argues that teachers need to be researchers so that they can test and understand theories in their own context rather than blindly implementing a prescribed national policy. The teachers and staff of this school implemented practices that they deemed essential for their students, which is essentially, a form of practice-based research. To understand the situational context in which they practice, a case study is the most comprehensive approach.

My research is located in a unique context, but based on the changing national demographics in Scotland, the UK, and the rest of the world, it is likely that other schools will experience similar issues and will benefit from hearing the successes and challenges of this school. An individual's point of view provides a basis for understanding the points of view of other members of the group (Maxwell, 2012; Harper, 1992). In this case, other Scottish primary schools in general, and Catholic schools in particular, can benefit from the experiences of one school through the transferability of an in-depth case study.

In response to the criticism of less rigour in case studies, researchers have suggested a holistic approach that focuses on the depth of the investigation, the complexities involved, the contextual awareness, the data sources, and the methods of analysis (Harrison et al.,

2017). Through the inclusion of a document analysis of Scottish educational policies and documentation as well as those involving the school's communication around culture, I aim to provide a wider context for how this work can be done in schools. Although the school's decision to implement CRP was not due to policy or legislation, the application of CRP is influenced through Scotland's inclusive educational policies and guidance, such as the Curriculum for Excellence and the National Framework for Inclusion. Additionally, the school's 2017 HMIE report provides data on leadership, teaching and assessment, community engagement, and the focus on ensuring wellbeing, equality, and inclusion (Education Scotland, 2017). These categories arise from the new Quality Indicators included in How Good is Our School? (4th edition) (HGIOS4) and that underpin inspections in Scotland. On the ground, the inspection consisted of a team of investigators speaking with pupils, staff, parents, and the headteacher. The final report also includes evidence from pupil, parent, staff, and community partner questionnaires. Together, this report provides another piece of data to show the successes and challenges of working with a diverse community in Scotland.

Ultimately, this case study seeks to analyse those national and local external drivers that affect the school's implementation of CRP and then compare that with how the stakeholders at the school, including pupils, staff, and families, understand and perceive the implementation. It is important to know whether the educational policies support or hinder CRP by asking whether you can marry the policies with the practice. Equally important, however, is to capture the teachers' experiences and opinions about CRP as the teachers must enact the practice. Moreover, the pupils are at the centre of this work, and therefore, hearing their voices about how they feel about their culture and others and whether they feel welcome and included in the classroom, is the primary goal of this research in addition to being a primary aim of the school. Key to the qualitative approach used in this case study was to focus holistically on the different perspectives of, and interaction between, pupils and staff. As stated earlier, a rich description of this school as a single case, can help other school leaders and staff determine if it is relevant to their own case and decide what aspects are most applicable to their context (Mejia, 2009).

The experiences of how the stakeholders understand the implementation of CRP will come through three different qualitative methods to collect data: Ketso®-based focus groups with pupils, online focus groups with teachers, and online interviews with teachers and the headteacher. Using a variety of methods allows for participants to express their understanding in multiple ways. It is the analysis of that data in conjunction with the

document analysis, however, that will allow me to extend the knowledge beyond this case study (Bazeley, 2020), and contribute to a wider body of literature exploring the complexities of diverse youth identities and the role of teachers and schools in responding to them. The triangulation of qualitative data adds to the trustworthiness of the study as it provides multiple sources of information to help converge and corroborate the data (Eisner, 1991). Table 5.4 presents a timeline of how and when each method was carried out. The following sections describe the specific methods used in this case study.

Table 5.4 : Research Timeline

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┌─────────────────────────┐
│   Ketso-based focus      │
│   groups with pupils -   │
│   March 2020             │
└─────────────────────────┘
            ↓
┌─────────────────────────┐
│   Online focus groups    │
│   with teachers -  June  │
│   2020                   │
└─────────────────────────┘
            ↓
┌─────────────────────────┐
│   Online interview with  │
│   headteacher - June     │
│   2020                   │
└─────────────────────────┘
            ↓
┌─────────────────────────┐
│   Online interviews with │
│   teachers- September    │
│   2020                   │
└─────────────────────────┘
            ↓
┌─────────────────────────┐
│   Document Analysis-     │
│   March 2021             │
└─────────────────────────┘
            ↓
┌─────────────────────────┐
│   School Communication   │
│   Analysis- January 2022 │
└─────────────────────────┘
```
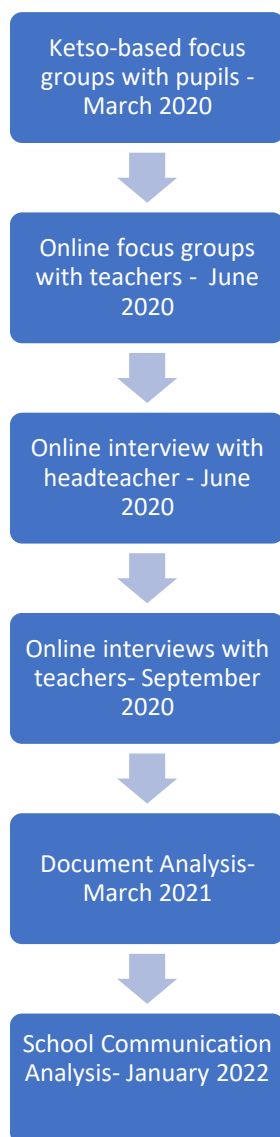
5.4.1 Document Analysis

Document analysis (DA) is an analytical method used in qualitative research to review and evaluate electronic and printed material documents (Bowen, 2009). Similar to other qualitative analyses, DA involves selecting, analysing, and synthesising data within the documents, and then organising the data according to theme through content analysis (Labuschagne, 2003). I chose to focus on the cultural, social justice, and inclusion content in each document as they are the most relevant to my research questions (see Table 5.4.1). Moreover, they add to the credibility and authenticity of the case study as they are written by the bodies responsible for decision-making (Fitzgerald, 2012). While several relevant policies and guidelines are analysed, Curriculum for Excellence and the National Framework for Inclusion are given particular focus. The curriculum guidance is most visible in the daily teaching and learning practice in Scottish schools and the framework underpins an inclusive approach to teacher education and lifelong understanding of inclusion.

School accountability is most often measured through national testing, teacher evaluations, and through inspections and reports (Hutchings, 2021). Education Scotland, a Scottish Government executive agency, conducts Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Education (HMIE) report on all schools in Scotland to support continuous improvement in practice (Education Scotland, 2020). These include a focus on how effective school leadership, professional learning, and learner participation are viewed not only from external inspectors, but also from the stakeholders in the school. One of the remits of the inspectors is to ensure that inclusion, wellbeing, and equality are embedded in the learning and teaching practices which underpin CfE (Thorburn & Dey, 2017). As these reports are public-facing, they can have an impact on families deciding where to send their children, as the results are often published as league tables, which serve to increase economic competition. The results of the 2017 HMIE report for the school are presented and analysed in section 6.1.

Table 5.4.1 Document Analysis

Document Selected	Data Analysed
Curriculum for Excellence	Health and Wellbeing Framework
Additional Support for Learning 2004	List of examples of support needs
National Framework for Inclusion	Values and Beliefs: Professional Values and Personal Commitment
National Framework for Inclusion	Professional Knowledge and Understanding
Standards in Schools Act 2000	2017 Statutory Guidance
Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) 2014	Wellbeing (SHANNARI)
Education Scotland Act 2016	Inequalities
Education Institute of Scotland	Anti-racist Education brief
General Teaching Council Scotland	2012, 2021 Professional Standards
2017 XXX Primary School HMIE Report	Wellbeing, Equality, and Inclusion
XXX Primary School	Website
XXX Primary School	Handbook
XXX Primary School	Twitter Feed

Bowen (2009) argues that documents should not just be taken as fact and should be critically reviewed as to the purpose and the target audience. In addition to analysing the documents for social justice themes related to the implementation of CRP, I used a critical lens to review the language of the guidelines and policies. Critical Discourse Analysis provides a basis for determining how language is used, its effects, and how it reflects the perspectives of those in power (Catalano & Waugh, 2020). The term policy, in this analysis, refers to how order is maintained by categorising people such that lived experiences are created by, rather than reflect, policy practices (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). In this study, the experiences of the pupils and staff are influenced by the policies and guidelines that inform the work of the school. Shore (2012) argues that while policies claim to be a practical way of ordering society, in effect, the policies themselves cause the injustice through classifying and grouping people. I chose the documents listed in Table 5.4.1 because they are used frequently to justify 'learning for all', which is a central theme

to my research. They are also the key documents that influence and shape practice in Scottish schools. By analysing the terminology used within them, I aim to discover if, and how, the rights of diverse learners with intersecting identities might be addressed in schools. For the purpose of analysing these educational policies, as opposed to a body of national lawmakers, I am referring to the Scottish Government in terms of Foucault's definition of government, which refers to 'any form of activity that aims to shape, guide, or affect the conduct of people' (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016, p. 5). In effect, all of the guidelines, policies, and frameworks analysed have been published and recommended by the Scottish Government through Education Scotland and all have a direct impact on pupils and teachers.

As part of the research looking at how the school implemented CRP, it is useful to analyse the communication methods and documents of the school to parents and the wider community to determine if and how the practice is shared outside of the school. A meaningful communication practice between schools and families is key to establishing strong partnerships, which is a factor in an inclusive community (Beneke & Cheatham, 2016). Howard and Lipinoga (2010) argue that communication between school and home should be free of 'pedagogical terminology' (p. 33), particularly when culturally and linguistically diverse families are involved. The school communicates information to families through the school website, and Twitter. In addition, the school handbook, which can be found on the website, provides detailed information on the vision and values of the school as well as the daily schedule, extracurricular activities, and curriculum. The analysis will focus on the use of terminology and images used to exemplify cultural diversity and how they describe their culturally responsive practice. Such discursive representations can identify how certain social situations and practices are co-constructed between members of a group as well as the power relations involved (Hall, 1997).

Ultimately, the qualitative research with pupils and staff contextualises the educational frameworks, legislation, and documents that inform the school's practice. The data from the focus groups and interviews provide concrete examples of if and how CRP addresses inclusion, inequalities, and wellbeing through the lived experiences of these stakeholders. In effect, this research seeks to analyse and describe the interaction between the policy and the practice.

The document analysis method in this case study seeks to understand how implementing a new practice, such as CRP, can be done within existing educational frameworks. It

provides useful background information to understand the context in which pupils and teachers experience such an implementation. The qualitative methods of Ketso®-based focus groups, online focus groups, and online interviews described below add context to the study by providing an opportunity for those pupils and teachers to share their perspectives.

5.4.2 Ketso®-based focus groups

As I was working with children, many of whom were in a minority group, I was aware of power dynamics between myself as a researcher, and the pupils in the school. Research has shown that group interviewing is less intimidating for children since they can interact with each other as opposed to just answering an adult's question (Hennessy & Heary, 2005). The setting for these interviews is important so that children feel comfortable in their familiar surroundings, which then allows them to engage with each other using language they are comfortable with (Maguire, 2005; Cohen et al., 2011). To help facilitate the focus groups with children and allow for everyone's contribution, I used Ketso® with the pupil groups in addition to the staff groups to elicit ideas.

Ketso® is a mind-mapping, hands-on tool which gives participants the opportunity to write down answers to focus group questions on felt leaves and place them on a felt tree according to a structure set forth by the researcher and participants. Everyone has a chance to contribute their ideas individually, as well as work together to group those ideas according to colour-coded themes (Tippett & How, 2011). All group members contribute to the co-construction of themes as opposed to the possible bias of just one scribe (Whitworth et al., 2014). Meanings are socially constructed through the shared process. The process of placing the leaves along themed branches can elicit further discussions between the participants which can be captured by the researcher through audio recording. This method is a version of interactive qualitative analysis (IQA), where focus group participants write statements down about the topic being discussed, then work as a team to cluster them into themes (Northcutt & McCoy, 2004). The analysis by the participants adds an extra level of data as shown through how they work together to create meaning.

The initial recruitment of students was done through the headteacher visiting the different classrooms to give a brief summary of the research, which was the preferred approach by the school. While there was a discussion of me coming into the school to explain the research, the Headteacher indicated that she would normally be responsible for introducing new initiatives into the school community. The headteacher was confident that more pupils would sign-up if someone familiar explained it to them. This may have resulted in some pupils feeling more pressure to participate, given the power dynamics associated with her role (Robson, 2011). During her visits to the classrooms, she gave a brief overview of the project and handed out the plain language statements and focus group consent forms for the students and for their parents. Within one week, 18 students and

about 10 parents signed up. On the day of the Ketso® focus group, one student was absent, and one decided not to participate, so 16 participants took part in the focus group. Even though I planned for the equal representation among the students, in the end, 9 girls and 7 boys participated.

In line with school procedures, I was asked to have a member of staff present in the room during the focus group. For the most part, they were just there as a familiar face and did not engage with the participants, although they did sometimes repeat my question to individuals that asked. The focus group session lasted for approximately 45 minutes. Each table had a recording device on it to capture the discussions after they wrote their ideas on Ketso® branches.

The participants are described in the table below.

Table 5.4.2   Ketso® Focus Group P5-P7

Table #	Grade Level	Gender
B1	P7	Male
B1	P6	Male
B1	P5	Male
B1	P5	Male
G1	P7	Female
G1	P7	Female
G1	P6	Female
G1	P5	Female
G1	P5	Female
BG1	P7	Male
BG1	P5	Male
BG1	P5	Male
BG1	P7	Female
BG1	P6	Female
BG1	P5	Female
BG1	P5	Female

The pupils were each put into one of three groups (tables): B1 for all boys; G1 for all girls; and BG1 for a mix of boys and girls. Each table worked with one Ketso® tree. Similar instructions and guiding questions were given to each group, but each had their own Ketso® tree to work with. I did not create pseudonyms for the student participants because there was no identifying information given or recorded, apart from the consent forms. While voices can be heard in the recordings, none of the participants refer to each other by name. In addition, the Ketso® leaves did not have any names, so there was no way to tell which participant wrote each comment. For the purposes of my data, each participant was given an identification number, but it was not possible to link those to the recorded voices. Therefore, the transcripts of the recordings feature a different line for each speaker but provide no identifying information for who said what. The exception to this was in the BG mixed group, where I noted gender, if possible, to each line. For the Ketso® trees, I provided different colour leaves, which were coordinated with grade levels (see Appendix D). I also provided colour-coded sticky notes, which were used for the initial icebreaker questions. I was able to review the photos taken of the leaves and discern the grade level of the participant who wrote on them.

The activity proceeded as I asked a question aloud and asked the pupils to think about them for a minute or two and write down their thoughts on a leaf (See Table 5.4.3 for a list of the questions). Then they were asked to discuss their answers (if they so desired) with the other participants at their table. Additionally, the pupils were asked to place their leaves onto a branch that best described the topic. I stressed that there was no 'right or wrong' answers to this exercise, as part of the Ketso® experience is the conversations and decisions on where to place the leaves. This method provided two opportunities for pupils to create knowledge: one in written form, and one verbally as part of a discussion with the group. By offering two modes in which to share their ideas, this increased the possibility that all pupils would participate in some form, which results in more meaning-making by the participants (Clark, 2011).

The questions were designed to elicit responses about what pupils most enjoyed about their school day (both acacdemically and socially), as well as suggestions they might have for improvement.

To capture the responses, I took photographs of the different trees and branches participants' answers to various questions (see below), but in order to capture the

conversations between participants, I audio recorded the session using one device at each table. This audio was transcribed onto a secure laptop and uploaded to a secure server through the University of Glasgow. The transcribed notes will be deleted upon completion of the PhD, while the raw audio files will be kept for 10 years in accordance with the PGR Code of Practice.

As noted above, the use of Ketso® allows the researcher to work with multiple groups of stakeholders during one focus group session. I was able to do this with the P5-P7 pupils by working with different age groups at different tables in one session. The hands-on nature

of the process helps participants focus on their responses rather than on the researcher, thus reducing researcher bias (Mosco, 2020).

For the analysis of the Ketso® groups, I used the photographs of the leaves and trees to create a Word document with all the responses written (See Appendix D). Where possible, I noted the corresponding class (ie., P1, P2, etc) that matched the leaf as indicated by colour. As opposed to other research done with Ketso® where the participants work together to determine where to place the leaves (Tippett, 2013), the process of positioning the leaves on the felt was not part of the data or analysis in this study. Previous research with Ketso® has been used with children with learning differences to look for patterns where the positioning the leaves is part of the data (Mosco, 2020). For this study, I was primarily concerned with what the leaves said, how that compared to the discussions, and whether it was possible to discern differences based on gender or age. I stressed throughout the session that they could put their leaves under whichever category seemed to be the best fit. Time constraints and the size of the group prevented me from analysing that process.

Based on that focus, a content analysis centred on themes was deemed to be the most appropriate method to analyse the data as it allowed me to identify common answers to questions. This method examines relevant texts using a set of categories or themes in which to code them (Cameron & Panović, 2014). Through analysing the Ketso® leaves, I focused on what words were used by the pupils to describe their experiences of CRP. In addition, I transcribed the recordings verbatim from each of the three table groups. As mentioned previously, it was not possible to identify each speaker, so the transcript shows one line of dialogue per speaker. The recordings of conversations were analysed thematically in the same manner as the focus groups described in section 5.6.

Using Ketso® as part of the focus group with pupils allowed the participants to share their ideas through visual and auditory methods. Some pupils wrote well-thoughtout ideas, and others wrote very little, but talked with other group members about their ideas. Regardless of the medium, all participants were given the opportunity to share their ideas and experiences, which in itself, is a hallmark of CRP. This data can help the staff of this school, as well as other schools doing similar work, to understand how their practice of cultural responsiveness is perceived by pupils in order to address any inconsistencies or to build on successful practice. Without knowing how the pupils experience CRP, the school cannot fully claim to be implementing the practice.

Another vital part of this study is looking at the successes and challenges of the teachers and staff doing the work. Their experiences within the context of Scottish policies and guidelines can also help inform future practice within the school and in other similar contexts.

Table 5.4.3 Questions for Ketso®-based focus group

Warm-up: What are your favourite subjects at school?
Warm-up: What do you like to do outside of school?
Warm-up: What do you want to be when you grow up?
• **What do *you* think is the purpose of school?**
• **How do you define success at school?**
• **What does culture mean to you?**
• **How does X, as a whole, so your school, as a whole, include and celebrate all the different cultures that are represented in the school?**
• **What does your teacher do in the classroom to welcome, celebrate, and instruct about the different cultures in your classroom?**
• **One of the main goals of Scottish education is to respect the rights of all learners. How does your school do that? Can you give be examples of how your school respects the rights of all learners.**
• **What special activities does your school provide, either in school, or outside of school that help you learn or gets you excited about learning?**
• **Do you think that teasing or bullying is a problem at X? If so, can you give an example of why someone was bullied or teased?**
• **What can X in general, and your teacher, in particular, do to make sure all learners feel safe and welcome every day?**
• **Do you have any questions that came up during this focus group or questions about this project?**

5.4.3 Focus Groups

Although conducted without Ketso® due to the pandemic and lockdown, focus groups were used with teachers to gauge their understanding of CRP and to hear their successes and challenges with its implementation. The focus group method allows researchers to examine the ways in which people collectively understand an issue of concern and then construct meanings around it through interactions with others (Bryman, 2008). Focus groups are traditionally used to obtain individual opinions, attitudes, and experiences of a small group of participants (Barbour & Kitzinger, 1999). Focus groups are typically composed of six to twelve homogeneous participants and a trained moderator, although larger and smaller groups are sometimes warranted (Morgan, 1998), thus they are a more efficient way to collect the views of individuals, compared to separate interviews (Barbour, 2014). While they can be used to essentially interview several people at once, the interactions between participants are often seen as the biggest benefit of the method (Stewart et al., 2007). Most focus groups use questions designed to elicit conversation among participants (Macnaghten & Myers, 2004). The process of discussion among participants can help researchers understand the 'why' behind attitudes and behaviours (Greenbaum, 2000). Focus groups may assist participants come to a mutual understanding of issues under discussion that may be unfamiliar to them (Wibeck et al., 2007). Participants are not necessarily homogeneously grouped, which allows for interactions between people who are from different backgrounds and cultures. Those interactions help to co-create knowledge through the meaning individuals assign to their experiences (Flick, 2006).

During focus groups, researchers can observe directly how participants take part in discussion, share ideas, views and experiences, and sometimes even argue with others in the group (Liamputtong, 2011). The ways in which participants communicate is as important as the words they speak. It is understood however, that participants can be unwilling to openly share their ideas in a group for fear of judgement or backlash. The participants were teachers from the same school who volunteered to take part, so they were all known to each other. I made it clear that participants did not have to speak, but I made sure to give everyone an equal opportunity to speak so that no one was involuntarily excluded. I took care to be aware of anyone who seemed to be bothered or intimidated when others spoke. There was also an opportunity to sign up for one-on-one interviews,

which would allow anyone who did not feel comfortable in the group, to still participate in the research. The teacher focus group questions are listed in Table 5.4.3a.

Table 5.4.3a - Teacher Focus Group Questions

Focus Group questions– Phase 1 – X School – Teachers

Warm-up: Name and what level do you teach?

- How do you define culture?

  What cultures are represented in your classroom?

- How do you get to know your students?
- How do you define culturally responsive pedagogy?
- How has the school leadership prepared you for this work? Do you feel you have been successful?
- Can you give examples of how you use CRT in your classroom?
- Can you give examples of elements of the curriculum that include examples from diverse cultures? i.e.., books, texts, maths problems, etc.
- Can you give examples of how learners are engaged in your room and the school as a whole?
- How do the learners in your class identify themselves? by culture? By gender? By strengths?
- Have you ever had discussions about sensitive topics related to cultural stereotypes with your learners? Would you feel free to have these conversations?
- Have you witnessed any bullying and/or prejudice at school?   If so, how often is it due to cultural differences and how has it been dealt with?
- How do you set goals and expectations for your learners? Are they involved with that process?
- What are your goals for future work with CRP?

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent shift to online learning, I conducted synchronous focus groups with teachers online. Asynchronous and synchronous online focus groups (OFG) have been used over the past 20 years (Lobe, 2017), and are seen as an efficient and effective way of obtaining participant experiences (Dendle et al., 2021). The biggest advantage of OFG is the convenience of being able to have participants in different geographic locations (Fox et al., 2007); however, certain locations with poor or no internet access may prevent some from participating (Morgan, 2017).

The OFG proved helpful for my participants as some were located at the school so reliable internet access was not an issue, and others were located at home. A potential limitation is the quality and scope of interaction between participants. In OFG, nonverbal interaction is difficult to observe; therefore, emotive responses are less likely to be a factor in the analysis of the data (Schneider et al., 2002). In addition, it is hard to determine who will speak next, so often people either speak over each other, or simply wait to be called on, which can disrupt any rhythm to the group. Nevertheless, with the risk of further restrictions due to the pandemic, online focus groups provide a safe and effective means of data collection without compromising the ability to elicit rich and diverse responses (Richard et al., 2021). As schools and society pivoted to online working and learning, participants had also started to become familiar with communicating through this medium, which mitigated some of the issues around group participation.

As mentioned above, it was not possible to use Ketso® with the staff, as this was not feasible in the online environment. Instead, I proposed conducting two online synchronous focus groups: one with P4-P7 teachers, and one with P1-P3 teachers. I received permission for these adaptations in late May 2020. The online focus groups were held via Zoom on two consecutive evenings in June 2020. They lasted approximately 1 hour and 10 minutes each. I asked the question and gave everyone a chance to respond. As happens with focus groups, often one person's answer sparked a discussion between participants (Macnaghten & Myers, 2004). The participants are described in the tables below.

Table 5.4.3b   Online P1-P3 Teacher Focus Group

Pseudonym	Last Grade Level Taught	Gender
Emily	P1	Female
Catherine	P3	Female
Elizabeth	P3	Female
Margaret	P1	Female

Table 5.4.3c Online P4-P7 Teacher Focus Group

Pseudonym	Last Grade Level Taught	Gender
Sarah	P4	Female
Clara	P5	Female
Emma	P4	Female
Laura	P6/P7	Female
Kate	P7	Female

As noted above, the numbers of focus groups and interviews were changed due to participant availability and the shift to online video conferencing. The recruitment for these online focus groups was done by the Headteacher sending out a recruitment email, which I created, to staff. Due to school and class management issues arising from the pandemic, focus groups had to be conducted after school hours from either their home or classroom using Zoom. Consent was initially given verbally on the Zoom call, with a subsequent consent form sent to all participants.

While focus groups provide a chance to interact with others and co-create knowledge, they limit the amount of detail shared due to time constraints. As such, follow-up interviews are often carried out to gather more information about themes identified in the focus groups (Pollack, 2003). Together, they provide multiple ways for the staff to share their experiences of CRP, which in turn provides finer grained data and understanding. Follow-up interviews were conducted with two teachers and the headteacher.

5.4.4 Interviews

Interviews are an effective method of collecting more in-depth qualitative information. As a follow-up to focus groups, it allows researchers to understand the perceptions and meanings that participants attach to phenomena or events (Berg & Lune, 2014). In the case of this primary school, these interviews with the teachers elicited specific examples and descriptions of how each participant experienced culturally responsive pedagogy in the school community. Since the questions were derived from the themes in the focus groups, some of the interviewees were familiar with that process and extended their answers through this format. One of the main advantages is that the semi-structured interview method has been found to be successful in enabling a dialogue between the interviewer and participant (Galletta, 2012), allowing the interviewer to ask follow-up questions based on participant′s responses. This additional interaction between researcher and participant is an important element to the case-study methodology. During the focus groups, the researcher is simply asking guiding questions, but otherwise does not intervene. The interview allows the researcher to go as in-depth as necessary to elicit responses and avoid missing an opportunity to follow the participant's thought process to its conclusion.

The first was a one-hour online interview with the Headteacher and was held during the evening via Zoom, a week after the teacher focus groups. The online interview with the

Headteacher was important since their voice and insight was needed to understand the role of leadership in the implementation of CRP. Leadership is widely discussed and recognised as key to the implelemtation of CRP within the literature (See Khalifa et al., 2016; Shields, 2010) . The questions shown in Table 5.4.4a focused on how they understood CRP and went about guiding the practice with teachers. As the person responsible for responsible for the quality of learning and teaching in their schools and for empowering their staff to develop approaches which meet the needs of individual learners and groups of learners, the headteacher has to ensure that national guidelines and frameworks are being taken into account. Understanding their experience of the implementation process will be invaluable to other schools seeking to adopt a similar practice.

Table 5.4.4a Interview questions for Headteacher

Semi-structured interview questions– XXX Primary School – Headteacher

1. What is your role in the school?
2. How do you define culture?
3. What cultures are represented in the school?
4. How do you understand culturally responsive teaching?
5. How do you apply that in your role?
6. What is the school's mission?
7. How does the school engage learners and families with that mission?
8. Do you think the learners in the school feel welcome? How can you tell?
9. Describe how parents are involved with the school, specifically in regards to culturally responsive provision.
10. Have you witnessed any bullying or prejudice towards learners? If so, how was it handled?

The follow-up interviews with teachers did not occur until the start of the 2020-2021 school year, due to the pandemic and subsequent lockdown. Two emails were sent out to all the teachers who participated in the focus groups inviting them to a 30-minute interview regarding how the first month of in-school provision was going. The teachers who agreed also asked their respective level teams to participate. There was considerable strain on teachers as they returned to school, as an EIS survey finding that 43% felt unsafe or very unsafe upon returning to the classroom (EIS, 2020), and in the end, only two teachers responded. Both upper primary teachers were working with different levels than the previous year. See Table 5.4.4b.

Table 5.4.4b Post-lockdown interviews

Pseudonym	20-21 Grade Level Taught	Gender
Sarah	P5	Female
Kate	Unit/ASN	Female

The 30-minute interviews were conducted using an unstructured interview technique which offers a conversational dialogue about a topic without specific questions to guide the researcher (Corbin & Morse, 2016). While there are concerns about how this type of open dialogue can lead to potential harm of the participants (Lee & Renzitti, 1990; May, 1989; Ramos, 1989), in this case, it was used due to the uncertainty of the teachers' experiences and how they would address the research questions. The teachers had only returned to school for a month; therefore, I did not know how much information regarding cultural responsiveness would even be applicable. I began the interviews with the question, "Tell me about your first month back with your learners with a focus on culture". They proceeded to tell me about the transition back to in-school teaching. Based on their individual answers, I then asked follow-up questions from the list in Table 5.4.4d. I began and ended both sessions reminding them of their ability to withdraw from the study at any time.

Table 5.4.4c Interview questions for teachers-GUIDE

Possible follow-up interview questions–XXX Primary School – Teachers

1. How do you define culture?
2. What cultures are represented in your classroom?
3. How do you understand culturally responsive teaching and cultural competency?
4. How has the school leadership prepared you for this? Do you feel you have been successful?
5. Can you give examples of how you use CRT in your classroom?
6. Does the curriculum include examples from diverse cultures? ie., books, texts, maths problems, etc.
7. Can you give examples of how learners are engaged in your room and the school as a whole?
8. How do the learners in your class identify themselves? by culture? By gender? By strengths?
9. Have you ever had discussions about sensitive topics related to cultural stereotypes with your learners? Would you feel free to have these conversations?
10. Have you witnessed any bullying and/or prejudice at school?   If so, how has it been dealt with?
11. How do you set expectations for your learners? Are they involved with that process?

As mentioned above, the focus groups and interviews with teachers had to be moved online due to the pandemic and subsequent lockdown. While the core benefits of each can still be achieved online, there are challenges and considerations with such an approach. These are discussed in the next section.

5.5. Online Research Considerations

As noted above, in-person focus groups are recommended in order to best capture the discussions between participants. Some research has suggested that social interactions are similar in online synchronous (where participants contribute to the conversation at the same time) focus groups on a web conferencing system to those in-person (Hoffman, et al., 2012). Web conferencing, such as Zoom or Microsoft Teams, is considered preferable to a chat-style text-based format because participants can respond to other's visual and aural cues, which makes it comparable to in-person experiences (Kite & Phongsuvan, 2017). They recommended using a platform that participants would be familiar with. I used Zoom because the teachers had been using it for months to communicate with colleagues, parents, and students. There are drawbacks; however, which can affect the data acquired during the session.

The first consideration is the technology itself. Participants may experience difficulties in logging into a system, as well as having issues during the session. These can interrupt the flow of a conversation, which may affect the richness of the data. This was the case during both of my teacher focus groups. Someone coming on late interrupted the question being discussed as did problems with internet connections. I quickly refocused the conversation, reminding the participants of what had been said prior to the interruption.

The second consideration is possible interruptions from family, pets, etc. The participants with children tried to sequester themselves for the hour-long group, but this was not always possible. A child popping in or needing their mother's attention was usually met with laughs and 'hellos'. The interruptions were brief, but it did mean that some participants missed answering certain questions. Seitz (2015) argues that interruptions (either personal or technological) can disrupt the flow and rapport of the group; however, I found that after a few seconds, there was no evidence of the disruption as months of meetings on Zoom meant that participants were used to such interruptions.

Privacy issues can also be a concern if non-participants overhear any of the conversations. However, as the interviews took place after school, the participants were not in a public space or where staff or pupils might overhear conversations. I did convey the fact that there is no 100% guarantee of anonymity due to the small size of the participant group and the fact that they all work at the same school. However, to protect confidentiality as much as possible, I used pseudonyms for the staff participants (Rosalind, 2019).

The online nature of the focus groups did make transcription easier, as I had video to ensure I knew who was speaking at any given time. It also allowed me the benefit of watching multiple times to note any facial gestures or upper body language that was significant, which is helpful to understand how the emotions of the participants affect the verbal content during analysis (Bayles, 2012). Overall, the online qualitative research provided participants with a comfortable environment of their own choosing, which can be conducive to helping those who may not normally feel comfortable opening up in a room with a researcher or other participants (Seitz, 2015).

5.6 Thematic Analysis

Ultimately, the data in this study was interpreted through my lens as a social constructivist, using both a general critical education paradigm and CritRT to focus on how inequalities are addressed through CRP. I conducted a thematic analysis of the policy documents, the Ketso® focus groups, the online focus groups, and the online interviews. The analysis of the documents involved skimming, reading, and interpreting to become familiar with the desired content and then organising that information according to themes related to the research questions (Bowen, 2009). For my study, I specifically looked for mentions of social justice, equity, equality, race, racism, discrimination, culture, and inclusion. I evaluated those phrases to help establish their purpose within the policy (ibid, 2009) as well as their potential influence on CRP. Since all the documents were online, I used a Word document to write out the phrases. From there, I determined which were relevant to my study and how they were phrased. The choice of terminology used is important as the documents are or can be used by teachers and schools to guide their teaching and learning practices.

Thematic analysis of the focus groups and interviews involves the search for common themes identified from group dynamics and the open interactions among participants.

These themes may reflect a range of individual attitudes, opinions, and beliefs, as well as illustrating interpersonal dynamics and social values (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2008). Clarke and Braun (2017) outlined six steps for analysing focus group and interview data: familiarization with the data, coding, generating themes, reviewing themes, defining, and naming themes, and writing up. In analysing the qualitative data, I specifically looked for examples of how the pupils perceived cultural differences as well as how their teachers responded to those differences. In addition, I used CritRT to identify any experiences of racism on the part of the pupils and how the staff may have responded.

I transcribed each Ketso® focus group, online focus group and online interview verbatim without the use of assistive technology, which helped me become very familiar with the data. I read the transcripts several times, writing notes by hand in the margins and underlining key phrases and words I thought were important either because they addressed findings from the literature review, or they presented new questions about culturally responsive pedagogy. I used more of a latent approach as I was not just looking for key words, but the intent behind those words and the way in which words were used to answer the questions. I generated dozens of codes from the notes I took on the transcript (See Appendix F). I then started to group parts of the text based on which code they seemed to fit. Common, recurring codes became themes. The themes were reviewed to ensure they addressed the research questions and were relevant to previous research outlined in the literature review. In addition, some themes were renamed to better describe and understand the data. Finally, the results section was written identifying the themes in the data.

The lived experiences of the pupils and staff, in addition to the analysis of policies and documents, presents a comprehensive study of how this unique school attempted to manage the goal of inclusion through cultural responsiveness with a diverse community of learners. The four chosen methods provide an opportunity for others to transfer examples that are relative to their context and demonstrate the importance of relating policies to practice.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

One of the most important duties as a researcher is to ensure the wellbeing of all participants (Barbour, 2014). As I was working with young participants, it was vital to

ensure that a strict ethical protocol was followed. While all research participants could, to some extent, be described as vulnerable given the inherent power imbalance of this research, in my study, I understood that I may be working with children and adults who are more vulnerable than others due to age, ability/disability, gender, race, immigration status and personal and social circumstances. Carrying out research targeting such groups presents ethical challenges, demanding particular attention to participant well-being as an essential aspect of the research process. After an extensive process, I first obtained permission from the University of Glasgow Research Ethics Committee in November 2019, as well as the X City Council Committee for Research in Schools in December 2019. These committees focus primarily on reducing risk by means of informed consent, confidentiality and child and vulnerable adult protection.

Participants were constantly made aware that they may choose to withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason. I reiterated this during the online focus groups and interview so that participants understood that their rights had not changed due to the new online format. I did record the Zoom sessions in order to transcribe them verbatim but ensured that those recordings would be saved on the University of Glasgow's secure server after transcription was complete.

Although I used codes and pseudonyms to identify the participants and school (Rosalind, 2019), the school is small and has been the subject of research in past articles and could therefore be identified. In addition, the focus group participants knew who else was in their group. There could be a backlash if someone recognised comments and felt they were criticising the school or programme. As mentioned previously, I reiterated that participants did not have to share their thoughts, but that I would ensure that for publication purposes, their responses would be pseudo-anonymised. Another potential risk is that I was not involved in all the simultaneous subgroups during the student focus group. If one of the participants mentioned some sort of danger or harm, I would not have known about it until after I listen to all the recordings (Cherrington & Watson, 2010). I did have a member of staff there who knew the children and they would have noticed if anyone seemed upset and we had agreed to follow the school protocol in such a situation. I was clear with the participants that I would not be listening to it right away and that if there were any concerns about safety or comfort, to please let a trusted adult know and they can contact me.

Originally, there was the possibility that data was lost during the process of recording or uploading the audio. While I could not prevent this from happening, I took steps to ensure that a quick test was done on each device prior to starting the focus group sessions. I also made sure the recordings were sound before transferring them to my laptop. With the pivot to online interviewing, I had the added challenge of making sure that participants were able to access the Zoom meetings with a link and a password code. I also had to ensure my settings were such that my Zoom recordings would be clear. If I had needed to interview students or parents, there would have been significant issues of access to technology, internet capability, and understanding of the platform and this, along with issues of access, reinforced the decision not to continue with these participants. The adaptations and flexibility required to adjust this study due to the pandemic provided a concrete example of the importance of researcher reflexivity.

Although this research is not considered participatory, the fact that the participants will be sharing ideas through Ketso® may signify that they will be able to change something. Wernick et al. (2014) suggest that participatory research can provide youth with communication tools to enable them to become 'powerholders' to enact transformational change. It does not remedy the marginalisation, per se, but it is a step that can lead to structural change (Vaughan, 2014). Guillemin et al. (2016) argue further that only when participants share the goals of the research, is this type of research significant to both the participant and researcher. Even though this may be an outcome of this type of methodology, I cannot promise to these participants that my research and their participation will lead to a change in the practice of CRP at the school. Haynes and Tanner (2015) stated the need to manage expectations so that students are not disappointed if their work is not met with change.

The analysis is subject to my interpretation, which is only one interpretation of the data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) advocate the process of member-checking, where the participant and researcher accounts are checked for proximity, as a means to develop credibility of the findings. More recent research; however, has argued that it is not the sole method to determine credibility of the findings and can be problematic with regards to the nature of multiple meanings and interpretations by participants as well (Bradshaw, 2001; Sandelowski, 1993). I decided not to share the focus group data with the participants, other than through the follow up interview questions with teachers, which is considered itself to be a form of member-checking (McConnell-Henry et al., 2011). The rationale for the decision is that if a participant suggests that I did not capture what they intended, I would

either delete the recording or go back to the site to have them record again. This could bias the data because they would have an opportunity to change what they said and/or felt, unless everyone was given the opportunity (Cooper, 2008). That was not possible with the pupils as the school went into lockdown a few days after the Ketso® focus groups were conducted. While the lack of member-checking can impact the credibility of the data, a reflexive account of the process and interpretation of the data can increase the trustworthiness of the study (Creswell, 2012), which is discussed below.

5.8 Trustworthiness

Guba and Lincoln (1989) propose several strategies to ensure rigor of qualitative research, which they referred to as trustworthiness. These include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability; however, it is argued that it may not be necessary or practical to practice all four of these for every project (Morse, 2015). Creswell (2012) argue that researchers should engage in at least two of them for a given study, which in this study are credibility, transferability, and dependability. This qualitative case study is a valued methodology which includes many forms of inquiry as described above. Together, those forms of inquiry serve to describe how pupils and teachers experienced the implementation of CRP in their school, as well as the national educational context through which it was done. While this case study cannot establish generalisable findings, it offers an example of a specific context that may be transferable to other unique contexts (Connell, 2007).

Ultimately, it is the analysis of the data that establishes the credibility and dependability of the study (Thorne, 2000), which is described above. The flexibility of a thematic analysis is often viewed as its strength; however, that flexibility may lead to an inconsistent and less cohesive approach unless it is rigorously described (Holloway & Todres, 2003). Denzin (2001) argues that description should include the interactions of participants as well as the significance of the context studied. In this study, the rich description is achieved through the responses of the pupils and teachers, as well as the analysis of relevant policies and guidelines that inform the school. The interpretation of the document analysis is a co-creation between the researcher and the textual content (Mishler, 1996); therefore, the text is assumed to have more than one meaning (Sandelowski, 2011). Explicitly stating my justification for the choice of documents to analyse has been one aspect of researcher

reflexivity, which is suggested as an overall strategy to ensure trustworthiness (Morse, 2015).

Because the conclusions of this study are based on how I construct the meaning of the data, establishing credibility is difficult; however, using literature to confirm and/or challenge existing research suggests those conclusions are determined in a credible manner (Polit & Beck, 2008; Nowell et al., 2017). Throughout the analysis and discussion chapters, I present literature in relation to my interpretations, which helps establish credibility.

In confirming the rationale for the decisions made throughout this research, as well as sharing my reflexive thinking and positioning, I have produced an audit trail that will allow other researchers to follow my process and decisions and arrive at a comparable conclusion (Graneheim et al., 2017; Koch, 1994). The triangulation of the Ketso®-based focus groups, online focus groups and interviews, as well as the analysis of the school communication platforms help to corroborate and confirm the data (Eisner, 1991).

5.9 Conclusion

In summary, a bounded case study methodology was used to explore the experiences of pupils and staff around the implementation of CRP as well as the Scottish educational frameworks that support the work. The four chosen methods of inquiry including the document analysis, Ketso®-based focus groups, online focus groups and interviews, present multiple sources of data in which to answer the research questions:

'What do lived experiences of pupils and staff suggest about the effectiveness of a culturally responsive pedagogy?'

'What methodologies can be used to discover how a school can implement a culturally responsive practice in the context of inclusive education in Scotland?

The document analysis of relevant Scottish educational policies and guidelines was conducted to explore how they both allow for and support the implementation of CRP. A focus on the terminology used around social justice was presented to understand how teachers might interpret those documents. In addition, key communication methods of the school as well as its 2017 HMIE report provided another piece of data showing how the school performs according to Education Scotland standards as well as how key internal and external stakeholders view the school. To provide context for the policies and guidelines, a

Ketso®-based focus group was conducted with pupils to allow for a multi-modal way for them to convey their experiences. In addition, online focus groups and interviews were conducted with teachers and the headteacher, to hear their experiences with implementing CRP within a given framework. Together, these four methods provide multiple ways of looking at how a new practice such as CRP might be implemented. While each method independently addresses one aspect of such an implementation, together they paint a complete picture of how the policies support the practice and how the practice gives context to the policies.

The majority of research on CRP thus far, has offered lists of *what* teachers and school leadership should do to implement the practice originally suggested by Ladson-Billings (1995) and Gay (2002). The problem with this approach is that it does not take into account different contexts, particulary in countries other than the US. Moreover, the research does not specify *how* the practice can be implemented considering the time and money needed for training and resources. This case study uses a unique combination of methods to examine CRP starting with the practices chosen by the school staff to address the specific needs of their pupils. The analysis of existing educational frameworks, policies, and guidelines, demonstrates how any given school can implement such a practice within their own unique context. The findings of this research can offer explicit examples as evidence which other schools can use to support their learners.

Chapter 6 - Findings: Document Analysis

Understanding what schools and teachers are allowed to do in terms of curriculum decisions and teaching practices is important when investigating the implementation of CRP. This allows the researcher to see whether choices made in implementation at school level are cognisant with wider authority/government level policy and legislation, which is important considering the potential implications of the research. If a culturally responsive practice is to be a part of daily learning, then knowing how it influences and shapes the curriculum is important as it gives an example to other schools with similar contexts. As other schools face similar increases in pupil diversity as expected due to migration, for example, then they need to know how the legislation and curriculum guidance can support them to address these changing demographics and student needs. The following Scottish curricular and legislative policies as well as guidance reforms were chosen for analysis because they include a reference to social justice and/or inclusion as a desired outcome and are thus, the most relevant to the implementation of CRP. Each document was read in its entirety before highlighting the sections that specifically referred to pupil identities, inclusion, social justice, and/or wellbeing. Those sections were analysed with respect to which terms were used to describe relevant practice and how specific they were in terms of addressing the diverse cultural identities of learners.

Scotland's CfE is a set of guidelines, values, and principles designed to help all learners be successful, with a particular focus on social justice. The General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) determines the professional standards that inform and support teaching practices. They highlight the professional values of social justice, trust, respect, and integrity as central to what it means to be a teacher in Scotland (GTCS, 2021). The National Framework for Inclusion (NfI) uses those standards as a framework to support teachers in fostering an inclusive environment with a focus on the rights and wellbeing of all learners. Additional key pieces of legislation are included such as Education (ASL) Scotland Act (2004, 2009, 2016), Standards in Schools Act (2000), GIRFEC (2014), and Education (Scotland) Act (2016) that incorporated the rights of children into domestic laws, thus aiming to give voice and agency to pupils with regards to their education.

The Scottish Schools (parental Involvement) Act (2006) placed a responsibility on local authorities to improve parental involvement in three ways – learning at home, home-school

partnerships and parental representation. Thus communicating with parents is an important aspect of school/home communication, Linse and van Vlack (2015) argue that schools must be careful in how they construct written English language for linguistically diverse families so that the information is not only clear, but that it welcomes and values families into the school community. A culturally responsive practice supports the Scottish commitment to inclusion through ensuring that all identities are welcomed and incorporated into teaching and learning; therefore, it could be expected that such a practice was explicitly communicated to families and the community. In addition to analysing national educational policies and documents, it was important to include school-based policies and public-facing communication in the document analysis as they illustrate the ways in which the school shares its culturally responsive practices with families and the community at large.

6.1 Content Analysis of School Communication

The school primarily communicates information to families through public-facing platforms such as the school website and Twitter in addition to bilingual (English and Urdu) emailed newsletters. The motto of the school is featured on the main page of the website: 'Creating conscience-led Communities', which suggests a focus on doing what is best for the community. The school handbook, Twitter feed, and information about classes and events are posted on the website, which is accessible by the public. I chose to analyse particular links on the website that provide an opportunity for the school to visibly share its culturally responsive practice, namely the school handbook, which includes the HMIE report, and the Twitter feed. Simliar to the process of the document analysis outlined above, I read through the different platforms and identified phrases and terms regarding the diverse cultural identities of pupils. I examined the specificity or lack thereof, of how the school refers to their diverse pupils in addition to what culturally responsive practices they chose to share with families and the public. These findings seeks to explore if and how the school's communication practices regarding the culturally diverse pupils are in line with how the staff self-describe their culturally responsive practice.

6.1.1 School Handbook

Since 2012 Scottish schools have been required to publish a School Handbook (Scottish Government, 2012) The school's handbook has therefore been specifically written for pupils and families. Its purpose is to share general information about the school including policies, procedures, and schedules. The last update was September 2020 and reflects changes in certain procedures due to the pandemic. The analysis was conducted in August 2021.

The school's vision is to "provide a welcoming, inclusive and creative school where positivity shines" (X Primary School Handbook, 2020, p.4). Their vision statement acknowledges the diversity of the school community and encourages individuality and respect, crucially it states that "the child is always at the centre." Their focus on inclusive practice is evident through the commitment to "seek to remove or overcome any barriers to learning" (p.2). Underpinning the values and aims of school is a sense of community. Of importance to the school are "rights, justice, respect, integrity, charity, equality and love. Sustainability is a key theme and "a strong sense of self-belief and high aspirations" are an aim for all.

A Word Cloud on page 4 of the handbook is used to show a variety of terms that the school community believes reflect the values of the school including, 'Safe', 'Included', 'Diverse', and 'Respectful'. Although none were standouts in the word cloud, these are significant because they are similar to the language used in CfE and NfI, and further stress the importance of these values to the school. As will be discussed below, schools are reviewed by Her Majesty's Inspectors according to how they embed inclusion, wellbeing, and equality into learning and teaching. The following excertps from the handbook show how the school communicates that goal.

> *All pupils, staff and parents were consulted in the creation of our school's Visions, Values and Aims. We believe these underpin who we are as a school and a community.*

Inclusive

We are fully committed to inclusive practise and therefore seek to remove or overcome any barriers to learning.

We foster open dialogue on diversity and all our pupils, staff and parents respect and understand the richness and benefits of a diverse school.

We regularly host visitors and students from abroad.

Faith:

As a Catholic school faith is important to us. Most of our pupils come from other faiths therefore we believe that the best way for us all to show our faith is to live it. We aim to act with kindness, understanding, love and respect at all times. We have excellent interfaith dialogue and prayer. Our pupils have opportunities to explore their faith and the faith of others through rich experiencees and conversations.

Our Catholic ethos is strong and our school community recognises and welcomes families of all faiths. We celebrate our rights and there is a high level of care and respect shown by all. We believe in justice, respect, integrity, charity, equality and love.

The schools prides itself in the way we respect and value all religions and cultures of all pupils and staff. We celebrate (and participate) in various religious festivals, throughout the school year. This enriches our own faiths and deepens our understanding of our multicultural educational environment.

The term, celebrate, is of interest as it indicates that the faiths of non-Catholic pupils are only celebrated through relevant holidays, but may not necessarily be included in daily learning activities. Moreover, the 'other faiths' mentioned are not specific, which may be due to the fact that it is a Catholic school; and therefore, does not or can not identify as a multifaith school.

Language:

We fully embrace all languages, and we believe having more than one language gives our pupils the potential to be excellent and

successful learners. We look for opportunities to bring languages into the school day.

This is an explicit example of responsiveness by seeking to incorporate the different languages into the learning practice.

Many of our parents are new to English and as such we are always looking for more effective ways to communicate. We will provide interpreters where necessary.

We have successfully placed Urdu versions of all of our newsletters and important announcements on our school website. We strive to embrace all languages and cultures and all thoughts, ideas and suggestions are always welcomed respectfully.

Knowing other languages and understanding other cultures is a 21st century skill set for students as they prepare to live and work in a global society.

The tone used in the handbook is seemingly respectful and inclusive to families. The school translates its important transactional information into Urdu, as it is the majority language spoken by families; however, it does acknowledge that at least 20 languages are spoken in the school (School Handbook, 2020). If the school seeks to include all languages in the learning and teaching practices as indicated above, then seemingly they would share examples of more than just one. It is important to note; however, that they are able to translate into Urdu because a member of the administrative staff speaks that language. This suggests that a school can only do what it has the resources to do. It is highly unlikely that they would have representatives from 20 languages that could assist with such a process.

Another example of responsiveness in the handbook is detailed in a section on the school uniform. This excerpt explains how pupils were involved in that discussion.

Our pupils redesigned their uniform to make it stand out and further develop our sense of identity. Pupils also considered how the cost of

> *the uniform and the design to ensure most of it can be bought at very low cost.*

This is strong evidence of how pupils in the school have been empowered to make change in their community to better reflect their unique identities, which is core concept of CRP. While the specific 'identity' is not mentioned, the focus on ensuring affordability demonstrates an understanding of the needs of the community.

Throughout the handbook, terms like 'inclusive' and 'diverse' are widely used; yet there is no mention of cultural responsiveness, which may be deliberate in trying to avoid pedagogical terminology (Howard & Lipnoga, 2015). It may also be the case that focusing on specific identities as barriers, reinforces the deficit stereotypes associated with those identities.

The school handbook provides necessary information to current families to help ensure their child is successful in school. In addition, future families may access it through the website, so there is also information regarding the past evaluations of the school. These can give families a sense of how the school addresses the academic, social, and emotional needs of the pupils.

While the main purpose of the handbook is to present information on the daily practices of the school, it does include a link to a report from a 2017 Education Scotland inspection. This report provides an external account of how the school adheres to government policies and guidelines, which informs their daily practice.

6.1.2 Her Majesty's Inspectorate 2017 XXX Primary School Report

Included on page 2 of the handbook is a link to the 2017 Education Scotland inspection. For the purposes of this study, the *Ensuring wellbeing, equality and inclusion* focus was analysed for its relevance to how the school responds to their diverse learners.

When the link mentioned above is clicked on, it takes the viewer to the Education Scotland website, where they must enter the school's name to see the different reports. The first is a letter addressed to parents and carers that shares with them the results of the inspection and the overall findings the four inspection strands. Table 6.1.2 summarises the evaluation of the four inspection strands.

Table 6.1.2 Education Scotland's evaluations for XXX Primary School

Leadership of Change	Excellent
Learning, teaching, and assessment	Very Good
Raising attainment and achievement	Very Good
Ensuring wellbeing, equality and inclusion	Very Good

General strengths of the school's work in the area of wellbeing, equality and inclusion are highlighted as follows:

> *The care and concern which all staff show for the wellbeing and success of the children. Outcomes for children and their families are improving as a result of the approaches to inclusion and rights which ensure the wellbeing of all. The school celebrates its rich community and demonstrates respect for all faiths and cultures. This leads to effective working with families and partners to support children's learning. Across the school teachers demonstrate creative approaches to teaching and learning. Children with identified additional support needs are making very good progress in their learning. Children across the school demonstrate a very positive concern for the wellbeing of others.*

Again, the use of more general terms such as 'wellbeing' and 'respect' does not fully describe how the school responds to its unique cultural diversity. However, it can be argued that diversity is not a focus for the inspectors, as all Scottish schools are evaluated on more general values.

The more detailed inspection report provides findings about specific indicators such as leadership of change; teaching, learning, and assessment; quality of provision of special unit; curriculum; partnerships; safeguarding; ensuring wellbeing, equality and inclusion; raising attainment and achievement; and family learning. The findings most relevant to the responsiveness of the school towards the cultural diversity of the learners and families are discussed below.

> *This shared vision is well-informed by a thorough understanding of and data about the local community…This supports staff in developing a full and accurate understanding of the needs and*

aspirations of children and their families. As a result, all staff have a well-developed and detailed understanding of the socio-economic and cultural context in which they work. This informs particular interventions the school put in place that result in positive outcomes for children. (pg 1)

The lack of specificity in describing the local community, socio-economic, and cultural contexts is of interest, although perhaps indicative of similar findings that suggest that broader terms are more inclusive to all (Valsiner, 2009). There is no further explanation of what inspectors understood by a *detailed understanding* of the context, which again prevents a contextual understanding of the role of CRP in how the school achieved its positive outcomes.

All parents who were spoken to due during the inspection process stressed the inclusive nature of the school and how much they felt all families were all treated with equity. (pg 2)

This finding is of great interest because it uses the term 'equity' instead of 'equality', which is the title of the strand that is evaluated. It can be strongly argued that the concept of equity is what should be used in discussions of inclusion and wellbeing because it takes into account different identities and needs. This evidence of the parents saying they were treated equitably is a strong indicator that the rich diversity of the school is responded to accordingly, not as an 'othering' approach to anyone who is not White, Scottish, or Catholic.

There is a welcoming ethos and very supportive culture for learning in St Albert's Primary School. Children benefit from extremely positive and respectful relationships with their peers and with the adults who work with them. Children's rights are respected and promoted widely. (pg 4)

As mentioned in Chapter 4, Scotland's educational system is in accordance with the UNCRC, so focusing on the rights of children is central to teacher and school evaluations. This finding goes further than just 'respected' to include 'promoted', which again suggests ongoing dialogue among the school community about childrens' rights.

> *School-based questionnaires and discussions with children show positive attitudes to their school experience and to their own wellbeing. There is clear evidence that staff are taking forward children's suggestions identified through the pupil council; for example, in making improvements to outdoor learning experiences and facilities. (pg 4)*

Being culturally responsive to learners means empowering them to be agents of change in their community. This finding suggests that the pupils' suggestions are taken seriously through a formalised pupil council.

> *Teachers of English as an Additional Language (EAL) provide very effective targeted support for children new to English and all staff share the responsibility for ensuring children and families who have EAL are supported. (pg 5)*

Considering the number of EAL pupils in the school, the lack of specificity as to what that support looks like is problematic if one is using this report to improve practice, as suggested by Education Scotland's blog on HMIE (Education Scotland, 2020).

> *Staff know and understand the children, families and their community very well. …Implementation of Curriculum for Excellence is tailored to the needs of all children through effective interventions which value all families in the community. Curriculum development is closely aligned to the articles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and celebrates difference and commonalities of faith and culture. (pg 9)*

While again complimentary, the general claim of celebrating differences and commonalities does not imply cultural responsiveness, but rather a multicultural approach to education. This is perhaps the key finding among this report. The focus is looking for acceptance of others, not necessarily specific responses to the intersecting identities in the school. This suggests that the school is going beyond what is expected and instead implenting culturally responsive practices that may not be familiar to the governing bodies.

> *There is a highly inclusive ethos based on respect for each other's faith, values, culture and heritage. (pg 12)*

This is the first and only time that culture and heritage are mentioned in the report in terms of individual identities, which suggests a broad definition of inclusion that might not require specific barriers to be considered.

> *All staff demonstrate that health and wellbeing is central to their practice and are proactive in tackling disadvantage. Staff use their knowledge and understanding of individual needs, family circumstances and other information such as the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) to remove barriers to children's wellbeing and adopt a range of approaches which are effective in meeting their needs. (12)*

This finding is also significant because it demonstrates the idea that socio-economic disadvantage is the most important barrier to be removed, with no mention of cultural diversity. It is unclear whether religion, culture, and ethnicity were considered by the inspectors to be barriers.

> *Ensuring equity of success and achievement for all children is a school priority. The school is raising attainment for all children and is very successful in working with children with English as an additional language…The school makes good use of funding to support raising attainment, for example, Scottish Attainment Challenge and the impact of the literacy for mathematics project on raising attainment. Plans are in place to make use of the Pupil Equity Funding to sustain and continue to raise attainment for targeted individuals and groups. (19)*

The bulk of the report is about academic attainment, and as the quote above suggests, it is a priority of the school. While the term 'equity' is again used here, the final sentence referring to the need of targeted interventions for specific individuals and groups suggests that the unique demographics of the school may be a factor in the lack of attainment in certain areas. Equity of success and achievement cannot be discussed without the

exploration of why those pupils face barriers and cannot attain the same levels as others; however, it does not appear to be the remit of this report to do so.

The related HMIE evidence report seeks to provide perspectives of the stakeholders in the school; however, it does not include the cultural demographics of those surveyed, so it not evident as to how specific barriers are addressed.

6.1.3 HMIE Evidence Report

This final part of the overall 2017 report is based on the findings of questionnaires given to pupils, staff, families, and community partners. The reports are listed in Appendix G. While the number of respondents for each report may be significant in terms of the findings, it should also be noted that surveys as a research tool can be problematic due to non-response and selection bias (Matsuo et al., 2010). Although surveys with children, in particular may be affected due to parents not wanting them to participate, the response rate in these findings suggests the opposite.

The findings in the pupil report show 131 of 146 pupils completed the questionnaire, and a strong majority (+80%) feel safe and respected, and that their wellbeing is important to the staff. As the majority of the pupils are Muslim, these findings suggest that faith may not be a barrier to learning in this school.

The findings of the parent survey were quite different, possibly due to the fact that only 14 completed the survey. The majority felt that their child was safe and liked school, but other questions around understanding information and having one's view being included showed substantially lower percentages. It should be noted that the Education Scotland inspectors met with families and used that data as part of their overall findings, which suggests that this survey data might not be as reliable due to the small number of participants.

Perhaps the most significant findings were from the teacher survey, of which all but one teacher completed. While the majority of questions around pupil support, respesct, and school vision received positive answers, the percentages were not as high as those of the pupils, which suggests that some teachers do not feel as supported or informed as others. It is unclear if or how these results were used by the headteacher to inform future practice,

but it can be argued that those discussions would need to happen in order to ensure a unified approach to CRP.

As mentioned above, a snapshot of survey data alone does not tell a complete story, but in conjuction with qualitiatve data from the HMIE report, as well as through this research, a more comprehensive understanding of the successes and challenges involved in working in a diverse school can be explored.

The public-facing communication platforms also suggest what the school values and wants to convey to new and prospective families, as well as community members.

6.1.4   Twitter

Over a six-month period, from September 2020 to March 2021, the school's Twitter feed was examined using a content analysis (Cameron & Panovic, 2014) to explore what learning activities and celebrations were shared. I looked for written mentions or visual depictions of the cultural diversity of the learners in what was shared about teaching and learning at the school.

Most of the stories and pictures were of outdoor learning and holiday celebrations including St. Andrew's Day, Halloween, Christmas, Burns Night, and one post showing pupils with their Diwali decorations.

> *Even if you are learning at home the Halloween fun continues in xxx school!* (31 October 2020)
>
> *P3 made beautiful Diwali lanterns whilst learning about the Hindu festival. Well done!* (18 November 2020)
>
> *If you didn't get a chance to last night, you may want to find some time to watch our school's Digital Nativity. Love, Compassion, Humour, Joy - just some of the ways it'll make you feel.* (19 December 2020)
>
> *Happy Burns Night from all of us at xxx school. Have a look at some of our learning all about Robert Burns!* (25 January 2021)

There were three posts about storytelling with a focus on how the pupils incorporated their culture into writing short stories, which is an explicit example of CRP.

> *P6 are using Microsoft Teams to work with some fantastic authors on a writing project where they see themselves reflected in stories. They are full of creative ideas!* (16 September 2020)

> *…P6/P7 loved hearing the first drafts of their stories by writer x. The pupils have been working along side x to create imaginative short stories that include characters that reflect them and their cultures!* (15 January 2021)

The pictures show children with headscarves, which implies they are Muslim, but there are no references in any Tweet that describe the specific religion or culture of the pupils.

There were some general tweets regarding pupils who achieved an award, for example, the focus of the week, which is tied to the SHANNARI focus (safe, happy, achieving, nurtured, active, respected, responsible, included) from Getting it Right for Every Child described in the document analysis section.

> *It's Fun a Time Friday in xxx school and Mr X and Mrs X are delivering a certificate, prize and stickers to children who have achieved the focus of the week - SHANARRI!* (4 September 2020)

SHANARRI is specifically mentioned in the handbook as well, which suggests that those terms are the ones used most in communicating about the school environment.

Finally, there was one Tweet posted in January 2021 when pupils were at home again in a mandated lockdown.

> *Some days you may do lots of at-home work, some days you may do little. What matters is you feel safe and loved. Well done for whatever you achieved today.* (12 January 2021)

The terms 'safe' and 'loved' are important as they seem to best define how the staff of the school wants their pupils to feel. This is seen throughout the handbook, website and Twitter feed and is definitely a foundation for cultural responsiveness, although the focus on diverse cultures is not particularly highlighted on the feed.

It should be noted that there were various timeframes within the six-month period where remote learning was occurring due to lockdown, which may have affected the types of activities relevant to cultural responsiveness. However, considering that most of the pictures in the posts and replies were about Christian and Pagan holiday celebrations, it

might be seen through this public-facing platform, that the school's cultural diversity is most often reflected through celebrations.

The communication platforms of the school are an important aspect of this case study because they represent what the school wants to share with the community at large. Considering that it was not a conscious decision to implement a culturally responsive practice, it can be argued that through the use of general terms such as respect, faith, love, and compassion, that the school does present a welcoming, inclusive environment to all pupils and their families. It may be the case that using a pedagogic term is not as important as demonstrating the intent and practice behind that term. This is also a consideration for the following sections on the Scottish educational documents in that how terms are presented and defined is not as important as the practice itself.

6.2 Curriculum for Excellence (CfE)

As stated previously, Scotland's CfE is a set of guidelines set out as statements of values, purposes, and principles. The values reflect those inscribed on the mace of the Scottish Parliament: wisdom, justice, compassion, and integrity, and place a particular focus on pupils establishing their own views on matters of social justice and personal and collective responsibility. The purposes are stated as four broad capacities (4Cs): become successful learners; confident individuals; responsible citizens; and effective contributors to society (Curriculum Review Group, 2004). To achieve those capacities, CfE has four contexts addressed by the curriculum: curriculum areas/subjects, interdisciplinary learning, ethos and life of the school, and opportunities for personal achievement. The language of the 4C's has been criticised for its vague terminology and the lack of meaning around that terminology (Priestly & Hume, 2010), suggesting that CfE's aim to 'achieve a transformation in education in Scotland by providing a coherent, more flexible and enriched curriculum from 3 to 18', would be difficult, if not impossible, to reach (Hedge & MacKenzie, 2016). Therefore, the use of language in the guidelines is worth analysing to see how it can support cultural responsiveness as a transformative practice.

CfE outlines approaches to translating the curricular aims and putting them into practice. The first of those approaches is 'Understanding the Learners' (Scottish Government, 2019b):

> o *Knowing children and young people and where they are on their individual learner journeys*
>
> o *Listening to learners and being informed by their motivations and aspirations*
>
> o *Empowering learners to have **agency** in their learning with opportunities for personalisation*
>
> o *Using observations, assessments and feedback to design and develop the learning*

This section has clear implications for enacting a culturally responsive approach to teaching. While not specifically addressing social justice issues, the general ideas of knowing individual children, empowerment, agency, and the use of multiple methods of assessment are all foundations of CRP.

One area of particular relevance to my study is the Health and Wellbeing curriculum area/benchmark. This set of 'experiences and outcomes', which are designed to be used in planning and assessing progress, focuses on the mental, physical, emotional, and social wellbeing throughout one's lifetime (Scottish Government, 2019b). The final outcome in a list of 11 states:

> *I can expect my learning environment to support me to:*
>
> a. *acknowledge diversity and understand that it is everyone's responsibility to challenge discrimination (p.1).*

This appears to be the only place within CfE that addresses discrimination, although with its broad language, it is unclear if it is meant to address ethnic diversity, which is a key factor in cultural responsiveness. Further work by various stakeholders has attempted to specify how schools can respond to diverse needs.

In January 2020, a group of school leaders, Education Scotland, and a design think tank, No Tosh, came together to work on addressing CfE with an emphasis on learner pathways and interdisciplinary learning. Several of the reflections and recommendations relevant to this study are listed below (Pg. 8):

> *Personalised learner pathways should be the norm, not the exception.*

If personalised learner pathways are expected, then implementing teaching practices designed to address specific cultural differences would be welcome.

> *No one approach should work for every school and the curriculum will look different in different parts of the country, but also in classrooms within a school.*

Although this quote does not specify ethnic diversity, it can be argued that if this approach was embedded in teaching, then educators could adapt curriculum and materials for the diverse learners within their classroom.

> *Empowered teachers and leaders with the professional confidence to develop pathways that will work best for their learners are intrinsic components of a progressive curriculum.*

This part of the recommendation; however, is problematic as it assumes that teachers would be empowered and confident to adopt such practices. Without uniform teacher education as well as the reality that not all teachers will be interested, let alone competent, to engage in this work. As will be discussed further in Chapter 8, there is a need then for schools and leaders to work with teachers and other stakeholders to ensure that '*the systems within which schools operate and young people learn must align; at present, they do not*' *(p.9)*.

These observations and recommendations provide a clear opportunity for enacting a culturally responsive pedagogy; however, it is unclear if recommendations by non-governmental groups are read and welcomed by stakeholders.

Education Scotland is not only the national advisory body on curriculum, but also carries out school inspections, such as the HMIE; thereby placing it in the position of assessing 'the implementation of policies, which it has itself helped to promote' (Humes et al., 2018, p.970). This potential conflict is relevant to this study considering how the above suggestions are viewed by school leadership and staff. Based on the document analysis of the school's HMIE report, the results indicate a focus on general inclusive principles of respect, support, and agency that correspond to the health and wellbeing strand of CfE.

6.3 Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act (2004, 2009, 2016)

The legislation around ASL 'obliges education authorities to identify, provide and review the additional support needs of their pupils which can arise in the short or long term as a result of the learning environment, family circumstances, health and wellbeing needs or a disability' (EIS, 2019, p.5). The list of possible support needs provided within the Act is not exhaustive but has expanded to include some aspects of ethnic diversity since the original legislation. The most recent list includes refugees and those with English as an additional language (Scottish Government, 2017a). There is still considerable discretion given to the educational authority as to if and how they support specific needs. Considering that Muslim families may choose whether to send their child to a Catholic school instead of their local school, it is unclear if the school and council authority would consider religious diversity to be an additional support need. However, if that child also had English as an additional language, they would presumably get language support. This brings up the question of how culture is defined. If a traditional definition were used, it would include language, religion, family structure and traditions, and country of origin. EIS, in its most recent report on Promise vs. Practice (2019), which is focused on addressing the discrepancy between the ASL policy and how it has been implemented, states that:

> *Additional support needs can arise from any factor which causes a barrier to learning, whether that factor relates to social, emotional, cognitive, linguistic, disability, or family and care circumstances (p.5).*

They go on to list examples of needs such as:

1. *is being bullied*
2. *comes from a Traveller or gypsy/Romany community (p.5)*

While this report came out two years after the Scottish Government 2017a report, it is noteworthy because of the source. EIS is Scotland's biggest education union, which suggests that their reports are geared towards teachers and staff in schools. Their list of examples of support needs is far more specific than the guidance from that Scottish Government report, suggesting that those who work in schools have a broader interpretation of what additional support is needed. However, care is needed, as discussed in Chapter 4, specifying groups of learners as in need of additional support can result in perpetuating stereotypes.

The inclusion of Gypsy or Roma children as an example of children who may have additional support needs (Scottish Government, 2019a) is of interest. If children from

Roma backgrounds are considered to possibly have additional support needs, then it can be assumed that children from other minority cultural backgrounds may also have those needs. Again, the question of vagueness here presents a challenge as it leaves open the question of who decides whether a child has additional needs, and furthermore, how they will be supported. Moreover, the fact that EIS added specific groups to its recommendations does not guarantee that stakeholders will read or welcome those suggestions. The uncertainty around what this legislation means to culturally diverse learners is among the major findings of this study and will be discussed further in Chapter eight.

6.4 Scotland's National Framework for Inclusion (2007, 2014)

As mentioned throughout this thesis, Scotland's commitment to inclusive education for all is a key factor in how the implementation of CRP is experienced by pupils and teachers. The National Framework for Inclusion is a guidance document developed in 2007, and later revised in 2014, and based on the GTCS standards at the time. It was designed to be a flexible document that teachers could use in their own contexts, while ensuring that the core concept of inclusion was enacted by teachers at all stages of their career (Barrett et al., 2015). The GTCS was given responsibility to develop teaching standards by the Scottish government; therefore, it can be considered as governmental guidance. It was originally designed to address the issue of children with disabilities being educated in special classrooms or schools. As acknowledged in the report introducing the framework, it is not meant to be exhaustive or prescriptive, but aims to be comprehensive (p. 4), suggesting that the general language is designed to allow educators to use it as they see fit. It has since expanded to address issues of socioeconomic and ethnic diversity, for which there are four main principles and contexts of the framework: social justice, inclusion, legislation/policy/initiatives, and learning and teaching issues (STEC, 2014). The social justice principle lists five aspects: human rights, right to education, rights in education, participation in diversity, and a safe learning environment free of discrimination. The last two are of particular interest to this study.

The phrase, 'participation in diversity' is not defined or expanded upon in the framework documents; therefore, leaving it open to interpretation. It may evoke a sense of celebration, which is not the goal of cultural responsiveness. However, the 'safe learning

environment free of discrimination' is more concrete and is referred to in the Values and Beliefs and Professional Knowledge and Understanding sections of the framework.

The Values and Beliefs section of the NfI is based on the principle of respecting the rights of all learners, outlined in the UNCRC (STEC, 2014). Significantly, it expressly addresses student teachers and asks that they consider the following questions as they explore their assumptions regarding schools and social justice:

- *What is it to be human?*
- *What do we make of difference?*
- *To what extent are all learners valued?*
- *How do the structures of schooling reinforce inequality?*
- *In what ways can schools help overcome inequality and challenge discrimination?*
- *Who are the learners at risk of marginalisation?*

These questions are foundational to the idea of cultural competence. They go beyond being aware of different cultures in a classroom and ask that teachers interrogate their own biases early in their careers. The framework presents the questions again in greater complexity and specificity as teachers progress through their careers, with advanced professionals being asked to consider the following:

- *Who are the learners at risk of discrimination and/or being overlooked resulting in barriers to participation and learning?*
- *Which assumptions, expectations, values, and beliefs contribute to the situation described in the question above?*
- *To what extent are those mentioned above apparent in legislation, policies and practices at the international, national, local, and school level?*
- *To what extent do beliefs about teaching support or constrain inclusive practice?*
- *To what extent are the voices of children, their parents, carers, and families valued?*
- *How does the drive to raise standards support or constrain the capacity of all learners?*

While there is no specific mention of types of diversity, it can be argued that ethnic, religious, language, and gender identities could easily be the focus of discrimination,

suggesting that cultural responsiveness would be one way to address these issues. As is the case with other documents, this framework is not a policy, and therefore, may not be considered, let alone, adhered to. This begs the question of whether teachers at any stage are reading, and following this document, and to what degree.

The Professional Knowledge and Understanding section focuses on teacher understanding of inclusive pedagogies that realise a child's capacity to learn can improve (Barrett et al., 2015). This section asks teachers at all levels to have an '*understanding of relevant educational principles and pedagogical theories to inform professional practices*' (STEC, 2014). Specifically, it asks student teachers, '*What legislation supports the promotion of equity and the elimination of discrimination?*'. This is of interest because it is only directed at student teachers, and uses the word, 'supports', rather than something measurable like, 'stipulates'. It is difficult to understand the inclusion of this question since the answer does not ensure either equity or the elimination of discrimination, suggesting that it was added to mention, but not adequately address, the issue. It can be argued that with so many guidelines, policies, and recommendations, it might be difficult for teachers to keep track of which are expected practices, and which are suggestions, particularly when they are engaging in a context-specific practice such as CRP.

6.5 Standards in Schools Act (2000)

This piece of legislation outlines the rights of children in their education and introduces the 'presumption of mainstreaming', which ensures children attend a mainstream school unless there is a valid exemption such as:

> *Be unsuited to her/his abilities and aptitudes*
>
> *Be incompatible with provision of efficient education for those with whom the child would be educated*
>
> *Incur unreasonable costs*

Relevant to this case study is the fact that statutory guidance written as a report in 2017 added a focus on children who experience inequalities as a result of socio-economic disadvantage. The legislation references 16 national outcomes with the goal of *"of Scotland to flourish, through increasing sustainable economic growth"*. It specifies four that are applicable to children and youth:

1. *Our children have the best start in life and are ready to succeed;*

2. *Our young people are successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens;*

3. *We are better educated, more skilled and more successful, renowned for our research and innovation, and;*

4. *We have tackled the significant inequalities in Scottish society.*

It is noteworthy that the goal is to tackle "the significant inequalities" rather than all inequalities in Scottish society, leaving open to interpretation which inequalities will be addressed. Additionally, the goal of increasing sustainable economic growth is mentioned, which is significant because most of the education policy and legislation is focused on the learner, not the national economy, as is often the case in international organisation reports such as The World Bank and OECD.

6.6 Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) (2014)

This approach had been policy since 2010 and later defined in the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (2014). Its aim was to strengthen children's rights and to bring together agencies to work in collaboration to support children and their families, with a particular focus of promoting, supporting, and safeguarding their wellbeing. The document outlines eight ways of ensuring wellbeing, referred to as SHANARRI:

> *Safe*
>
> *Healthy*
>
> *Achieving*
>
> *Nurtured*
>
> *Active*
>
> *Respected*
>
> *Responsible*
>
> *Included*

Without additional clarification, the terms *respected* and *included* could be used to justify many interventions, including a focus on cultural responsiveness. However, the SHANARRI wellbeing wheel adds additional context to each indicator (Scottish Government, 2017b).

> *Respected: Having the opportunity, along with carers, to be heard and involved in decisions which affect them*

> *Included: Having help to overcome social, educational, physical, and economic inequalities and being accepted as part of the community in which they live and learn.*

This additional information, while again, not claiming to be exhaustive, appears to limit inclusiveness to those with particular types of inequalities. It is unclear if ethnic minority or refugee status would be considered according to these definitions. It is noteworthy that GIRFEC is the first section under Teaching and Learning in the school handbook (p.19), which suggests that it encompasses the vision for the pupils in the school.

6.7 Education (Scotland) Act (2016)

This legislation was meant to strengthen aspects of the Standards in Schools Act by acknowledging those inequalities due to something other than socio-economic disadvantage, which makes it a relevant policy for the implementation of CRP.

> *The way is a way designed to reduce inequalities of outcome for—*
> *(a) pupils who experience those inequalities as a result of socio-economic disadvantage, and*

> *(b)   pupils who—*

> *I.   experience those inequalities other than as a result of socio-economic disadvantage, and*

> *ii.   are of such description as may be specified in regulations made by the Scottish Ministers.*

Here again, there is no specificity about what those 'other' inequalities are, as well as a vague comment of 'may be specified' by government officials. That is concerning since government officials are not in schools and would seemingly not know what inequalities were present. Without mentioning that individual schools have a say in that description, this legislation appears to tick a box instead of strengthening previous policy.

6.8 Education Institute Scotland (EIS) Anti-racist Education brief (2018)

This brief came out in response to the 2017 EIS Annual General Meeting which called for a re-establishment of anti-racist education. Its purpose was:

- ***To promote anti-racist education*** *and support members in reinvigorating this.*

- ***To inform members of examples of current anti-racist education practice*** *in use across Scotland, drawn from consulting members, to enable the sharing of good practice (p. 1)*

It was chosen for analysis because of its direct relevance to the cultural and ethnic diversity of pupils. It is the only document that explicitly addresses anti-racism, which is a core tenant of CRP, and the one most often overlooked (Paris, 2012; Sleeter, 2012). As mentioned above, the EIS is the largest education union in Scotland, but that does not necessarily mean that every teacher or support staff working in a school is a member of the union and/or reads and adheres to the guidelines put forth by EIS. However, this brief is posted on Education Scotland's website, therefore increasing the possibility it would be seen as a tool to support all educators. The document is a comprehensive report including statistics around discrimination, hate crimes, Islamophobia, negative attitudes towards diversity, extremist views in political discourse, low and declining numbers of minority ethnic teachers, and the increasing diversity of Scotland.   It also provides the legal context for the work, citing the Equality Act (2010) as it supports race as a protected characteristic and includes:

> *A Public Sector Equality Duty, which obliges local authorities and public bodies to:*

- ***Eliminate*** *unlawful discrimination, harassment and victimisation and other conduct prohibited by the Act*

- ***Advance*** *equality of opportunity between people who share a protected characteristic and those who do not*

- ***Foster*** *good relations between people who share a protected characteristic and those who do not.*

The brief argues that other policies and documents such as the Curriculum for Excellence, the Standards in Schools Act (2000), and Getting it Right for Every Child support race equality through the inclusion of race as a protected quality which can be applied to the SHANNARI indicators. Due to the vagueness of the wording in those policies, it is possible that, based on their remits outlined above, they could support anti-racism education, but it could just as easily be refuted because they do not mention inequalities due to ethnic minority status.

It goes on to share members' accounts of what, if any, anti-racist education was in practice. Most respondents said they had been offered no professional development training in anti-racist practices. The majority of the practice described involved curricular approaches and special events, although most listed were in secondary school classrooms.

The report offers suggestions and strategies designed to develop a policy and change ineffective practices.

> ### *Developing policy*
>
> - ***Consider*** *how to embed anti-racist approaches in the work of the establishment, taking account of working time agreements and school improvement plans.*
> - ***Ensure*** *that the school has an updated anti-racism policy which reflects the rights of both learners and staff to work and learn in an environment free from discrimination. You could use EIS anti-racism policies as a reference point.*
> - ***Ensure*** *that policies and systems relating to the recording of racist incidents are robust and that staff are aware of them and understand how to use them, and have access to the relevant guidance; and monitor the data collected to identify issues which need to be addressed at a whole establishment level through curriculum and/or ethos.*

This section, which again, is part of a report for EIS members, assumes a level of influence on the part of those who would engage in this work. It does not single out leadership, yet the suggestions appear to be ones where school leaders would have to at the very least, approve, and at most, implement the recommendations.

> ### *Changing practice*

1. ***Use*** *existing resources, such as:*

   o EIS 'Myths of Immigration' booklets

   o Show Racism the Red Card packs, films and other resources

   o 'It Wisnae Us' by Stephen Mullen (Coalition for Racial Equality and Rights book about Glasgow's role in the slave trade)

   o Video footage of the 'Glasgow Girls' talking about their role in campaigning for refugee and asylum seeker rights.

2. ***Try*** *new approaches, using ideas from the 'current practice' section above.*

3. ***Find out more*** *about the diverse range of religious festivals which might be important to BME members of the establishment's community and explore ways of marking these.*

4. ***Plan*** *for some activity during (but not limited to) Black History Month, which is in October. This could be an opportunity to highlight the contributions of notable BME people, or unsung heroes such as suffragette Sophia Duleep Singh or civil rights campaigner Ida B Wells.*

5. ***Consider*** *linking anti-racist education to specific occasions e.g. Holocaust Memorial Day (27 January); International Day for the Elimination of Racism (21 March); World Refugee Day (20 June); Anti-Bullying Week (November); or UN Human Rights Day (10 December).*

6. ***Invite*** *diverse members of the school or wider community to become involved in sharing their experiences and exploring their culture with staff and pupils.*

These curricular and partnership recommendations appear to be more in line with what experienced teachers would do in terms of researching and selecting curriculum materials. While the explicit use of the term anti-racist is recommended by CRP researchers (Galloway et al., 2019), the suggestions about linking anti-racist education to specific occasions, are problematic if they are only 'brought out' for just one day. As mentioned throughout the literature review, CRP should be embedded throughout the daily curriculum, otherwise it is tokenistic.

Arguably, the biggest question around this document is the effect it actually has in classrooms. It is the most specific educational document, available in Scotland, relating to measurable social justice goals, all of which, if implemented, could go a long way to addressing racial and ethnic inequalities.

6.9 General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) Standards (2000, 2012, 2021)

As mentioned previously, the GTCS publishes the standards for pre-service and qualified teachers and headteachers, so analysis of these standards is important given that teachers are evaluated on these standards. Understanding how a culturally responsive practice can support and address these standards is vital when considering how other Scottish educators might implement the practice in the future. The updated 2012 standards for teachers included a Professional Values and Personal Commitment to Social Justice section:

- *Embracing locally and globally the educational and social values of sustainability, equality and justice and recognising the rights and responsibilities of future as well as current generations.*
- *Committing to the principles of democracy and social justice through fair, transparent, inclusive and sustainable policies and practices in relation to: age, disability, gender and gender identity, race, ethnicity, religion and belief and sexual orientation.*
- *Valuing as well as respecting social, cultural and ecological diversity and promoting the principles and practices of local and global citizenship for all learners.*
- *Demonstrating a commitment to engaging learners in real world issues to enhance learning experiences and outcomes, and to encourage learning our way to a better future.*
- *Respecting the rights of all learners as outlined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and their entitlement to be included in decisions regarding their learning experiences and have all aspects of their well-being developed and supported.*

While these principles reflected the protected characteristics noted in the Equality Act (2010), they stopped short of recommending practice in order to achieve those goals. The latest version of the GTCS standards, effective 2 August 2021, includes the following for new and experienced teachers:

- *How to take account of the gender, social, cultural, racial, ethnic, religious and economic context of learners and how to adapt practices accordingly.*

This is a significant addition to the standards; clearly outlining the commitment to social justice (GTCS.org.uk, 2021):

1. *Committing to social justice through fair, transparent, inclusive, and sustainable policies and practices in relation to protected characteristics, (age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion and belief, sex, sexual orientation) and intersectionality.*

2. *Demonstrating a commitment to motivating, and including all learners, understanding the influence of gender, social, cultural, racial, ethnic, religious and economic backgrounds on experiences of learning, taking account of specific learning needs and seeking to reduce barriers to learning.*

3. *Demonstrating a commitment to supporting learners who are experiencing or who have experienced trauma, children and young people from a care experienced background and understanding responsibilities as a corporate parent.*

While there is a separate section for school leadership, the professional values and personal commitment to social justice are the same as for teachers.

In addition, the GTCS website has an Equality and Diversity Hub to support teachers to:

- *develop their professional knowledge and understanding of equality and diversity;*
- *engage with their professional requirement to promote equality and diversity; and,*
- *challenge any inequalities or forms of discrimination they encounter.*

The hub includes a significant number of resources for teachers including professional learning modules, resources by protected characteristic, and case studies. The importance of this change is highlighted by the latest enrolment data for Scottish schools, which shows approximately 14% of pupils are from a mixed or non-White ethnic background, an increase from just 5.6% in 2012 (Scottish Government, 2021b).

The language in the standards does not illustrate how this commitment will be achieved through teacher professional development for existing teachers; therefore, leaving open the possibility that schools can use different methods to achieve this. Moreover, it is unclear

to what extent teachers are held accountable for meeting these standards, which suggests the possibility of different outcomes within a school.

6.9.1 Conclusion

This chapter explored presented the findings from a document analysis of Scottish educational policies and guidelines as well as a content analysis of the school's communication platforms. These findings serve to provide an overview of the national and local context in which the school operates.

As seen throughout this chapter, the findings of the school communication analysis indicate that broad terms such as welcoming, respectful, and inclusive are used to convey the school's mission and values to families. While they commit to removing or overcoming 'any barriers to learning', they do not explicitly define those barriers. Considering that their population is unique for a Catholic primary school, it would seemingly make sense to acknowledge the specific diversity and list examples of how they are responsive to that diversity. However, that analysis in conjunction with that of the educational policies and guidelines, shows the terms used are similar, which suggests that the school is keeping with a uniform approach to communication in line with Scottish guidelines and policies.

The document analysis described in this chapter illustrates a problem with correlating policies and practice. The policies and documents analysed were not contextualised, so it is not surprising that they do not always mirror what is going on in the school. This school started with the practice rather than the concept or understanding of CRP. The importance of the policies then is to provide a framework for social justice work, but inevitably relies on staff and teachers to implement what works for their specific group of learners. As stated previously, the practice itself may be more important than the terms used to describe it; therefore, the experiences of the teachers and pupils in regards to the implementation of CRP are necessary to present context to the study.

Chapter 7 - Findings: Thematic Analysis

The research questions in this study aimed to investigate the lived experiences of pupils and teachers regarding a cultural responsiveness and how that fits within the inclusive educational practice in their school. In order to achieve this, a Ketso®-based focus group was conducted with P4-P7 pupils in addition to online focus groups and interviews conducted with teachers and the headteacher. The data from all of these focus groups and interviews was then transcribed by me without the use of software.

For the Ketso® group, data was generated through written words via Ketso® leaves as well as through a transcribed audio recording of the discussions. During the analysis, I looked for commonalities in the answers given by the pupils according to age and gender using a content analysis (Cameron & Panović, 2014). I focused on the terms used to describe culture as well as how they defined success and happiness at school. I colour-coded the responses according to the code identified (See Appendix D). I did not come up with separate themes for the Ketso® data, but rather combined those codes with those of the online focus group and interview data to generate themes.

For the online focus group and interview data, I used a content analysis to identify key words and phrases related to CRP which became codes. Together with the Ketso® data, I generated themes from similar groups of codes (See Appendix F). In addition to analysing the content for how CRP and related ideas were defined, I also used CritRT as a framework to analyse if and how racism was discussed as a factor in how the teachers and headteachers approached a culturally responsive practice.

From this analysis three themes were identified across all the interviews, focus groups, and Ketso®-based focus group:

- Uncertainty
- Reactionary vs. Responsive
- Individuals in the collective

The codes for these themes are detailed below in Table 7. The pupil quotes throughout this chapter either cite Ketso® as a reference, or the line number from the transcribed audio, as well as the level taught at the primary school (P4-P7) and the gender, if known. The staff quotes cite the pseudonym of the teacher or HT and the line from the transcript.

Table 7 Codes and Themes

Themes	Codes
Uncertainty	What is culture? Celebration Tokenistic It doesn't matter what you call it, as long as you're doing the work.
Reactionary vs Responsive	Event dependent Media The bubble
Individuals in the Collective	Identity Gender Religion Language

7.1: Theme: Uncertainty

The participants' words within this theme show both a reluctance to define culture, as well as different interpretations of regarding culturally responsive practice. This is of particular significance to this study because of the similar findings to the document analysis regarding the use of vague language to describe this work.

7.1.1 What is Culture?

The older pupils in the focus group seemed to have a general understanding of culture, with many focusing on the idea of *differences.* Pupils generally defined culture as differences in beliefs, thoughts, holidays, languages, and opinions.

> *Different people's beliefs* (m, P6, Line 70)

> *Different thoughts* (m, P7, Ketso®)

> *Different people and different places* (f, P7, Ketso®)

Pupils also mentioned respect in terms of culture.

> *Something that you should be respected for* (f, P4-P7, Line 50).

The teachers generally found the term culture hard to define at first, with some commenting that it cannot be defined.

> *That's a really tricky one because I don't actually think you can define culture ...But I don't actually think it's actually something you can define with any clarity* (Sarah, P4, Lines 30; 33-34).

A few teachers noted that they talk about it a lot at school, but that it is still hard to define.

> *It's quite hard to define cause it's something that I think that we talk about a lot, but to actually hone in on what it means is quite difficult* (Emily, P1, Lines 26-27).

It is unclear whether 'we' includes learners or if it just refers to staff discussing culture. If culture is not defined so that everyone has a common understanding, then being responsive to cultures in the classroom could be difficult and vary from teacher to teacher. The

literature suggests that without a commonly used definition throughout the school community, it is difficult to measure outcomes (Galloway, 2019).

Many teachers expressed the idea of culture as being fluid, something that can change depending on your circumstance.

> *It can be very fluid, and a lot depends on especially what school you're working in, where you find yourself, different groups of people...* (Clara, P5, Lines 50-51).

Clara seems to be referring to identity, yet none of the participants used that term as part of their definition of culture. The fact that the Upper School teachers seemed to focus on the complexity of culture as identity suggests that their students' ages allow them to discuss the concept in more depth than the Lower School teachers.

The headteacher defined culture in a general way.

> *I think it's everything that surrounds you. So, it's everything that shapes your opinion, language, um, your tastes, because I think they are you know, they're developed by the things around you. So, so where your triggers are, where your feelings are, where your thoughts are. I think that is nurtured by everything you're surrounded by, when you're a child* (Kris, Lines 24-28).

If culture includes everything about a person, the question becomes how a teacher can be responsive to all of the individual characteristics in all their students. This chimes with Jahoda's (2012) research around the ambiguity of defining culture.

It should be noted here again, that the school did not set out to adapt a culturally responsive pedagogy. Their plan was to address the needs of their pupils as they saw fit, so it is not surprising that there was not a common understanding of the language, since the implementation of CRP did not start from a theory or pedagogy, but from actual practice.

7.1.2 Celebrations

Holiday parties and multicultural weeks were consistently mentioned as ways to share the cultures represented in the school.

There was a discussion in the boys only student group about how culture is celebrated at the school.

> *They put everyone's special events. Like Sikh? last year where there was a...*
>
> *Eid parties, Ramadan*
>
> *It wasn't Ramadan. It was Eid holiday.*
>
> *Parties and holidays*
>
> *You can't say parties though.*
>
> *Yeah, Christmas parties, Halloween parties*
>
> *Halloween? That's not culture. That's not a religion.* (B1; 86-92)

The comment about not being able to say 'parties' is of interest because it may signify the idea of a party as something that should not be equated with religious holidays. There is an indication that the celebration of a holiday is allowed, but not parties in general. The comment about Halloween not being a celebration of culture, because it is not a religion, is also of interest as it suggests that students have specific ideas about what encompasses culture, even if they cannot explicitly define it.

Two teachers who have been at the school for longer, talked about how there used to be a culture committee at the school. One teacher talked about a culture week they used to have.

> *Like I can remember when I ran the culture committee years ago, we had a Culture Week and we focused because most of the children in the school were of Pakistani background, that's what we focused on. So, we got them really involved. We had Sari wrapping competitions and different cultural food and we had that painting going on of that mural. Lots of different other things going on, but I just felt there was a bigger buzz that week than there had been previously that year. They were just really more motivated to learn because it was about stuff they understood in their culture.* (Emma, P4; 530-536)

Her comments about students being motivated to learn because the activities were related to their culture is one of the tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy. Research has argued that if students only experience this once a year, it may have little effect on their engagement and success in school (Nykiel-Herbert, 2010). Listening to the teachers' subsequent comments, it would seem staff did acknowledge the power of that week and began discussing how to implement it into everyday practice.

Another teacher; however, described a yearly 'Culture Day' as a continuing practice.

> *Every year we kinda celebrate Culture Day type thing where we have you know we bring parents in, we have different food, different um displays up and things like that. We celebrate different cultures...* (Elizabeth, P3; 325-327).

Elizabeth's language in describing Culture Day is somewhat dismissive as if it is something that is just done each year in the same way. It is not clear from the responses if this is part of their commitment to cultural responsiveness or something that has been done every year. As mentioned above, if students are only exposed to other cultures one day a year, there is a strong chance that they will view cultures as something to be learned 'about', rather than incorporated into their learning (Sleeter, 2012).

One example of a culturally responsive way to incorporate a celebration is having it be a part of a theme that the students are learning about. Kate explained how she involved parents as a way to learn about migration.

> *I know when we were chatting or when our theme was migration, and we were asking parents to come in and into the assembly hall and to bring artifacts of bring items from the house, or a piece of writing, or a poem that was really important to them. Um I just remember their faces absolutely lighting up to explain why this was so important to them and to hear them mums read stories aloud or to have that connection with, um being allowed to share it, you know. And um being the centre of attention um for that moment and I just think it's really important...* (Kate, P7; 523-529)

The acknowledgement that the students were highly engaged and proud of their culture illustrates the need to incorporate those experiences into everyday lessons and routines. In addition, these findings illustrate the importance of family engagement in cultural responsiveness, which is similar to findings in the literature.

7.1.3 Approaches to Culture as Tokenistic

The idea of bringing parents in and displaying food and clothing is not bad in itself but it is tokenistic if it is just done to tick a box and not as an intentional component of cultural responsiveness. In 1966 Martin Luther King argued 'If we are to have a truly integrated

society, it will never develop through tokenism' (Niemann, 2016, p.1). Several teachers articulated their desire not to be tokenistic through their actions and choices. Emily talked about her choice of reading materials.

> *So, it's just instead of it being tokenistic, like oh today we're going to read from a book that someone's not White, it to make it that much more natural and to just populate our resources with, to make it much more diverse, so that it's not a shock or a treat, when the book's about you type thing.*
> (Emily, P1; 122-125)

This illustrates her goal to not just randomly reading a culturally responsive book once, but rather to make it a regular practice in the classroom. The phrase, "populate our resources" came up a lot in the teachers' responses. Many understand that is needed, but it is unclear if it is occurring. Emily reiterated that when discussing books on religion.

> *So, we've kinda been trying to populate our resources just to make them more diverse, obviously that's making them religiously diverse, but I think it's really important that we make sure that we've got enough in school to make it an all the time thing. It shouldn't matter, it's not only on a Friday type thing that you have a diverse book, it should be all the time. Um so we're trying to delve into that just now...* (Emily, P1; 177-181)

Laura acknowledged that they were using older, less culturally diverse literacy materials.

> *Um I suppose probably what we need next is more practical things like Emma's hinting at in terms of better resources to be able to share with the children-depending on more appropriate literature, textbooks, things like that to replace what is a bit, you know, old stock in terms of our reading libraries and things like that. But that, I mean that's coming and then various members of staff are leading initiatives so...* (Laura, P6/P7; 180-184)

The idea is that if all teachers are consistently using multicultural books with diverse authors and subjects, then it becomes an accepted part of the curriculum instead of a 'special treat', or a tokenistic gesture with no context or meaning behind it.

The students' responses through Ketso® as to how the school celebrates culture can be viewed as tokenistic, although there was no indication either in their writing or their discussions that they felt the celebrations were an attempt to check a list.

> *Parties and holidays- Christmas, Chinese New Year, Eid* (m,   P5, Ketso®)

> *We have theme of the week* (f, P7, Ketso®)

> *By having assemblies* (f, P6, Ketso®)

> *They also have a week for it like Muslim week wear the national colour of the culture.* (f, P7, Ketso®)

Their responses to how their teachers celebrate culture in the classroom showed more responsiveness and routine.

> *They research about our culture and give lessons about it* (m, P7, Ketso®)

> *They will try to include us by teaching us more about our religion* (f, P7, Ketso®)

> *We learn different languages in class* (f, P7, Ketso®)

> *Learns historical events through students talking through a speech* (f, P5, Ketso®)

> *We all take pride into each and learn about them.* (f, P5, Ketso®)

The use of words like 'research', 'include', 'learn' and 'pride' suggest the pupils understand and value the intention that teachers put into their lesson planning in order to meet the needs of their learners. It is noteworthy; however, that the pupils said their teacher taught them about their own religion and culture. The research suggests that pupils act with agency and use what they know to construct meaning. It is unclear from their responses whether they were invited to be a part of that process or not.

The Headteacher was cognisant of how one of her first decisions as headteacher might have been viewed as tokenistic. The Catholic school had never celebrated Mass. She decided to implement that as one method to help students understand other's view of faith.

> *So, I think that was real key and I had a mass straight away and everybody was there, we were all greeting, it was dead emotional. And that could be observed as tokenistic, but it wasn't. The feeling in the room wasn't a tokenistic feeling. So sort of front now, the faith culture of Catholicism, not against or juxtaposed but embedded in the faith of Islam. I think we did that pretty well.* (Kris, 126-130)

Considering that the celebration of Mass is a key part of Catholicism, and the fact that the school now celebrates Mass weekly suggests that it was not a tokenistic gesture, but a fundamental addition to the school culture. In effect, she responded to a concern with action.

7.2 Reactionary vs. Responsive

Culturally responsive practice requires teachers to be proactive and intentional when addressing the needs of their students, which includes being attentive to the power dynamics related to culture, race, and socioeconomic status (Gay, 2010; Kirshner, et al., 2011). The findings in my study reflected these practices and are discussed below.

7.2.1 Safe Space

Undoubtedly, the responsibility for such an environment begins with the Headteacher. Kris explained her transition from her previous work to her role as Headteacher in a unique school.

> *I've been loving and welcoming, but I haven't been as understanding of the dominance of White culture for children who are BME. So coming to ... going in and the very first day, standing as a new headteacher, in a Catholic school, where all the children are Muslim and all the children aren't the same colour as me, and the parents aren't the same colour as me. I had to get with the programme, otherwise this was not going to work.*
> (Kris, HT; 79-84)

She was very intentional about how she was going to change the environment at the school and was of the view that it had, in previous years, been ignored to an extent, and led by those whose first duty was to the curriculum and religion of the school.

> *We're changing everything. So our children were silent, right? So when I arrived, there was no noise in the school. The children would sit, they were malleable, they would get on with their work. And there was very little play. The playground had nothing in it; it was a really stark place. Children weren't allowed to play in the grass ... So I suppose what I did was I*

> *couldn't understand why the children were silent and then I got the gist of the idea that maybe that's how the children learned in mosque, maybe that's how the children were treated at home, that's what was expected. So I took steps to change the silence.* (Kris, HT; 104-111)

Kris' comments raise questions about the intrinsic value placed on verbal communication. She suggests that silence is somehow wrong, and it is the job of the school to give children a safe space to speak. It would be beneficial to further research parents' notions of silence and if it is a cultural value, as it is in some Eastern cultures, and whether they would encourage their children to 'use their voice' at home.

Kris also recounted how, on her first day, a father asked whether his Muslim child would be allowed to pray, because previous school leaders had not allowed it.

> *I said 'whatcha mean they aren't allowed to pray?' and he explained to me, and I said, 'of course they can pray'. Just like, of course, this isn't...this is not a big deal here. So taking away the big dealness of it, whereas other people were saying, 'the kids need to be supervised, this is a Catholic school. I'm not doing that'.* (Kris, HT; 137-140)

After setting the tone for the school, it is then incumbent on the Headteacher to share their vision with the staff. There is no guarantee that all current staff will be in 100% agreement with the vision statement for the school; and ultimately, that is their decision whether to stay or move on. There is an opportunity; however, to share the vision with prospective staff members which increases the likelihood that new staff will share and implement that vision. Culturally responsive school leaders develop and support the school staff to ensure an inclusive environment (Khalifa et al., 2016). The Headteacher shared her expectations of the staff.

> *So, I'm looking for someone who cares and can express love and understands this is about feelings and families. Someone who's gonna really think about that and then understand how that applies to learning because I think, and I always say this as well, you know, 'what needs to be in place for learning to happen' and none of the stuff...that you get from the curriculum is it.* (Kris, HT; 211-216)

Her specific mentioning of the curriculum is of interest. She acknowledges that the real learning does not come from the prescribed curriculum, which is CfE, but the teachers

knowing what their students need in order to learn. Kris believes that being able to care and express love for the students is a precursor to understanding how those students learn. Geneva Gay (2002) expressly acknowledged that caring and empathy are the foundations from which culturally responsive pedagogy is achieved. Kris understands that not all her staff may feel and believe the same as she does, but she believes that if the majority of the staff is engaged with the work and committed to being culturally responsive, then the school, as a whole, will be successful.

> *You need to learn how to cope with the fact that five people might not be operating as best as they can, because look at what you get from the other 15.* (Kris, HT; 207-209)

The teachers are very aware of Kris' values and goals related to culturally responsive practice. Although they have not received formal training, many talked about the informal ways they have engaged with the topic in an intentional way, instead of waiting until a situation arises and then asking others for help.

> *We've had lots of kind of professional dialogue about it, um I think a lot of our teachers are quite experienced in dealing with like working with our community...So we've not had formal training as such, but we're kind of working together to muddle through.* (Emily, P1; 153-155; 157-158)

Emily's description of the staff working together denotes a community of support for the work. A few members of staff commented on how Kris' vision was clearly visible throughout the school.

> *She has very much shared her vision of what she wants for the school and you can see it in practice really, you can see it operation where even the children in front of you, they are beginning to engage and they are beginning to open up and tell you about their experiences outside school.* (Clara, P5; 221-224).

Clara is a newer member of staff, as is Sarah, who agreed about the impact of Kris' vision.

> *She's very passionate you know trying to encourage these children to take up their place in the world and stand up confidently and do that.* (Sarah, P4; 227-229)

The students were asked how the school and their teachers could ensure everyone feels safe and welcome each day. There were few responses either through Ketso® or in conversation, which could indicate that the students already felt welcome. Two of the responses to the question suggested that they felt that the teachers were doing a good job.

> *To ask certain people who don't understand, like help them, but they already do that* (M, 151)

> *Nothing right now, because the school is so good.* (M, 152)

This was the final question of the focus group; and since there were indications that the students did not fully understand the concept of culture in the same way the teachers did, further interviews would need to be conducted to better understand whether the students felt that their school was a safe space.

Despite all the work done in the school community to create a safe environment, the teachers and Headteacher described multiple incidents of bullying by persons outside the school, either directly outside, or during a field trip. A few teachers mentioned a person who rides a bicycle and shouts into the playground.

> *We've had somebody cycling by the school shouting like racial abuse into the playground.* (Emily, P1; 428-429)

> *We get people riding past the playground and shouting, saying obscenities into the playground.* (Laura, P6/P7; 568)

Laura added the comment about the students being used to the verbal abuse.

> *You know, it's just day to day experiences for them.* (Laura, P6/P7; 569)

When asked how the students responded to such incidents, the teachers agreed that they never outwardly appeared that upset, and that they were just used to it.

> *But actually, I find the worst response that the children have is that they're used to it. Especially with the older children, the older girls, are used to comments about their head scarves and things like that already at age 10 and 11. They... It's just part of their experience already.* (Laura, P6/P7; 488-491)

This is an area where teachers seemed to be more reactionary than responsive. There was a feeling of disgust and surprise about the different types and frequency of incidents; but

there was no verbalised plan to deal with it in the future. It is unclear as to whether this has been discussed as a staff in order to address the issue, or if it is simply viewed as a larger societal problem, which can be seen as an unwillingness to engage with a sensitive topic.

> *It's hard to believe in this day and age, especially in a country like Scotland, you know-kinda socialist background country, that you would still get that here. I mean you can imagine yeah, America, but here? It's just unbelievable.* (Emma, P4; 470-472)

Kate responded to Emma's comment calling out the issue of not believing it could happen in Scotland, but again, she does not provide any evidence as to how she or the school, would change that.

> *I think that's one of the problems that we think that, because we think, 'oh American gosh it's so extreme over there, like that would never happen in Scotland. But it's like, we've experienced it, not us, but the kids have experienced the talk. Every time we leave the school environment, there's a threat to or there's a chance of someone saying something to them, that just shows how backwards Scotland is.* (Kate, P7; 473-477)

The Headteacher addressed the relationship between students feeling emotionally safe, and their experiences of racial abuse.

> *They're used to the stares, they're used to that kind of language and that really annoys me because they shouldn't expect it, but then you can't walk about angry all the time. That's why we need them to feel gentle and to feel loved, and we also need them to be powerful enough to front that out, stop it later on.* (Kris, HT; 365-368)

While she acknowledges the need for the students to feel loved; she also mentions the idea of empowering students so that they can stand up for themselves in the future.

> *So if our kids were in danger, they need to know that they can talk about it, and it's not hidden, which is a real negative part of the sort of dominant culture in our school-you know, you keep it private.* (Kris, HT; 381-383)

When the students were asked about if they had witnessed or experienced teasing or bullying at school, none of them mentioned the incidents off campus. A few female students talked about witnessing bullying.

> *The persons being bullied, like punched, because of being annoying.* (F, P7, Ketso®

> *Yes, for no reason* (F, P5, Ketso®)

> *Yes, boys pushing to the wall for no reason* (F, P5, Ketso®)

> *Bullying is only a bit of a problem but the person bullyed someone because they were annoyed.* (F, P5, Ketso®)

Their accounts seem to indicate more of a reactionary response to being annoyed, rather than an ongoing pattern of bullying. Only one of the girls admitted to being bullied themselves, while a couple of the boys did. Some merely acknowledged they were bullied; but one was detailed in his description of a former pupil hitting him.

> *Actually, I've been bullied before* (F: 111)

> *I got bullied for 3 years. xxxxx nearly dislocated my mouth once. He punched me so hard.* (M; 139-140)

> *There's a lot of people right now that are bullied in this school* (M: 146)

A few students, primarily females, talked about other reasons that people might be bullied at school.

> *Yes, sometimes because of friendships and religion.* (F, P5, Ketso®)

> *Yes I think it is because people lie to bully people in some class?* (F, P5, Ketso®)

> *Like what their subject is, what they like to do.* (M: 147)

It is not surprising that there are various accounts on whether bullying occurs and why among students. The accounts given do not suggest widespread bullying in the school. The staff acknowledged that there is 'typical' teasing behaviour at the school, but none used the word bullying to describe it.

> *I mean there's name calling, that's as far as, there wouldn't be bullying.... I think that as well as you know when you're 11, 12, that would happen*

> *anyway and people are name calling and it's dealt with within the school.*
> *Um I mean it happens, but not every day, certainly you know, and I think*
> *it's just a normal Primary 7 thing, you know?* (Elizabeth, P3; 442; 446-449)

Elizabeth's suggestion that teasing is 'normal', could be problematic if it demonstrates an unawareness of more significant teasing and bullying going on. The Headteacher also used the term 'normal' when referring to bullying on the playground.

> *So I think the bullying, and there's bullying in the playground, like normal*
> *bullying,…*(Kris, HT; 378-379)

There appears to be a discrepancy between the student, teacher, and headteacher understandings of teasing and bullying. Bullying refers to an ongoing action of harm perpetrated by one person who holds power over the other. While it may start as teasing, the key difference is the intent to do harm through continuous verbal, physical, or online abuse. However, the Scottish Government refers to teasing as bullying behaviour (Scottish Government, 2021a), which suggests it should be taken as seriously. Kris' definition of bullying appears to be more like teasing or name-calling, as Elizabeth refers to it.

Prior to the comment above, Kris was more candid about examples of students using racist language towards each other regarding my question about bullying at school.

> *I have been so angry (gestures) at some of our boys when they've used*
> *words that are sort of trashing White people because that sort of hits*
> *towards me. So we do, we understand that our children will experience*
> *racism, but but they will hand it out too, you know? Um so we have to have*
> *an open conversation that racism isn't just White on Black, it's serious and*
> *systemic (gesture) as in the UK.* (Kris, HT; 359-363)

Her acknowledgement of the racist language by BAME students towards White students, falls into another unknown category. Kris is claiming a type of reverse racism towards White people, although she doesn't give examples of White students who felt that way, just how she felt. Laura mentioned a similar understanding in terms of White students feeling excluded.

> *Because we have this kind of reverse, reverse racism, don't we sometimes,*
> *where the White children get excluded. Not reverse...you know what I mean.*
> (Laura, P6/P7; 404-405)

The concept of reverse racism towards White people is strongly debated. The debate over the term stems from what constitutes racism. In the 1980's, power was determined to be the critical factor in determining the formula for racism, 'Racism = Prejudice + Power' (Gillborn, 1996). Black people were seen as powerless; therefore, they could never be racist. This theory has been challenged in two ways (Nelson et al., 2018). First, racism can occur without prejudicial intent. Unconscious bias is one of the drivers of systemic racism. Individuals may not have any racist intent, but their actions or lack of actions can result in racist policies. Secondly, the concept of power as only relating to skin colour is flawed. There are intersecting identities that may affect who is considered 'dominant' in a group. In addition, the concept ignores interactions and practices that can lead to racism.

The willingness to have an open dialogue about racism is a key feature of culturally responsive pedagogy; yet one that is often left out because many White teachers do not feel comfortable in addressing it (Arshad, 2016; Sleeter, 2012). Kris acknowledges racism in her past prior to coming to the school. She specifically talks about a lack of intent on her part, but she is also keen to call it out as racism. In addition, she talks about the willingness of her teachers to have those conversations.

> *"... obviously coming to xxxxxxx, I definitely have been racist in my, in my, and I think we should be calling it racism. Didn't mean it, didn't want to harm anybody..."* (Kris, HT, 77-79)

> *"I think in most classes, there's certainly an openness. I mean we wouldn't um in the older classes we would talk about, quite openly, about racism and about being a minority..."* (Kris, HT; 357-359)

Communication between the headteacher and staff, and staff and students is important when trying to address difficult topics. It is an area where allyship is important.

7.2.2 Allies

The teachers and staff in this school are predominantly White; yet work every day with students from a minority culture. For many, if not all, of those students, the teachers are their only allies from the dominant White culture. In order to build effective learning communities, a requirement of culturally responsive practice, teachers must see themselves

as allies with their students, working together to call out prejudice and empower students to take ownership of their learning.

Emily talked about the importance of listening and responding positively to ideas and questions from students.

> *Like I can remember having quite an intense chat with kids that were only in Primary 1 um about how everyone was different and one of the leaders in my class said, 'yeah, even if you look different, everyone's got the same heart'….just your manner with the children that they need to know that it's ok to say things like that to you and that you'll back them up and say, 'oh yeah, you're totally right' type thing. It's about your relationships, um with your class, they can make...statements and know that you're not gonna be like (gesture) when they do it type thing.* (Emily, P1; 262-265)

While this could just be a reaction to a student's comment, the fact that Emily understands the significance of it and generalises it to the relationships she has with her students, indicates a responsiveness, rather than a reaction to a comment.

Two of the lower-school teachers mentioned the aftermath of Donald Trump's election in 2016 and the effect it had on the students.

> *I remember that after when Donald Trump was made president, we were all having discussions about that because lots of our children felt personally attacked by that. Like I had the Primary 2 class at the time that were coming in saying "Donald Trump wants to kill all Muslim people" and that's my job then, as a teacher to deescalate that situation and make them feel safe again because they can't be coming to our school in *****, miles away from wherever Donald Trump is, and still feeling unsafe about that.* (Emily, P1; 344-350)

Emily's assertion that it is her job to make her students feel safe again defines what it means to be an ally. It is understanding the situation, and responding, not reacting, appropriately.

Catherine shared her experience on that day in response to her students' concerns.

> *It's like the Donald Trump thing. That was a massive thing in our school. Kids were almost having mini riots about it on the playground. And it's like*

> *well, that's fine, you're allowed to feel like that, but Donald Trump is not*
> *going to kill all Muslims. You know you've got a big massive support of this*
> *community in this school who will fight to be your voice and help you.*
> (Catherine, P3; 380-384)

She was very explicit about being an ally to those students, particularly in saying that the school community would fight to be their voice. There was a sense that the teachers were surprised about the reactions to the election, although as noted in the research, the rhetoric during the election was strong on excluding others. This may have been a clear instance of the influence of the media giving a platform to the hate being spouted. In a different time, the American election may not have been as prevalent in the Scottish media, but due to the divisiveness in the aftermath of Brexit, the coverage was everywhere.

The Headteacher also referred to 'giving a voice' when she talked about the changes she made when she arrived at the school.

> *I took steps to give the children a voice. And we're gonna play, and we're*
> *not using those worksheets and we're gonna change that.* (Kris, HT; 112-
> 113)

She makes an important distinction about the role of school in supporting culturally diverse learners.

> *So, it's not the only place where they're loved, of course it's not, but it's*
> *maybe the only place they have a voice.* (Kris, HT; 423-424)

Her passion for making sure her students are seen, as well as heard, comes through strongly in her defence of her school.

> *So, we've won Scottish education awards and that's not because I think*
> *we're the best or I'm ... Enough. It's because those kids bloody deserve to*
> *be standing on that stage when they've been othered in so many other ways.*
> (Kris, HT; 261-264)

Kris makes a point to include all students in her commitment to fostering an inclusive environment.

> *...if you understand the culture of your children, whether they're White,*
> *rural, whatever, you'll get it. And that's all we did. We didn't do any more*
> *than that.* (Kris, HT; 271-273).

There are very few White students in the school, but Kris seems steadfast in her desire for all students to understand one another's culture. Without positive, meaningful interactions between students and teachers, as well as within peer groups, students are more likely to express prejudice during their schooling (McGlothlin & Killen, 2010). Fostering cultural awareness among the students in addition to the staff, is an important aspect of cultural responsiveness.

7.2.3 Cultural Awareness

Many teachers used the term when describing how they understood culturally responsive pedagogy.

> *And I think CRP is just being aware of that –to connect with something you maybe need to see yourself in it a wee bit more, especially when our children don't always see themselves reflected in any education.* (Emily, P1; 90-92)

There is a hesitation; as if they do not know what to do, just that something needs to be done.

> *...but you know we need to take into consideration that everybody's cultures in our schools now are very multicultural and that really there should be more programmes, I think that include everybody, so that everybody you know, you have to talk to the parents before you discuss certain things, and having that awareness, that um we need to respect other people's wishes and cultures, the way they do things differently.* (Elizabeth, P3; 133-137)

Emily talks about some of what was discussed in professional development meeting around cultural awareness.

> *We have been talking a lot about kinda like cultural icebergs in school and the tip of the iceberg is what you are aware someone's culture is, but there's still kind of hidden and nuanced things underneath. Um so I think just even having an awareness of that, that you don't know what you don't know type thing.* (Emily, P1; 142-145)

In talking about how she has conveyed and fostered cultural awareness in her staff, the Headteacher references outside resources.

> *I'm very much about the stats on racism and the stats on our children, the poverty stats, the opportunity stats, the gender stats. So, it turns out...so it's not come from me, it has, but really generated an open forum discussion on fairness and equality.* (Kris, HT; 180-182)

There is a notion that simply being aware that there is more to someone's culture, is enough to get by. However, the literature argues that if a school is going to say they practice the most common understanding of cultural responsiveness, then they must engage in more than just a dialogue (see Cooper et al., 2011). There should be ongoing training in all aspects, including explicit instruction on the religious and ethnic cultures represented in the school. Teachers should be adapting the curriculum and teaching methods as their classrooms change (Kazanjian, 2019). It is not a one-time adjustment, but ongoing adaptation to meet the needs of the students in the classroom.

Ohito and Oyler (2017) suggest that teacher education should include a critical consciousness component that stresses the value of recognising differences as a resource, and not a problem to be dealt with. Florian and Pantić (2017) agree and suggest viewing differences in an inclusive way. Their definition of inclusion suggests one accepts differences as a normal part of development. However, early work on inclusive education was not focused on cultural and ethnic diversity, but on accessibility to the curriculum for all learners. Regardless of the focus, the conclusions reached are similar, in that they highlight the gap that can exist between policy and practice.

Another problem with simply being 'aware' of culture, is that it can lead to treating everyone who is thought to be of one culture, the same. Looking at a group of students you believe to be Muslim and essentialising them as all having the same needs, is highly problematic. Students of Indian descent may indeed follow the Sikh religion, which has a different history based on the caste system in India. As described previously, not only are there several different sects of Islam, but, as with many religions, each family may have a different way of practicing their faith. If schools and teachers do not understand the unique differences that may play a role in a student's identity, then they will be unable to be responsive to their needs.

Emily admitted that as Catholic teachers, they may not know the different sects of Islam that are represented.

...so the teacher is obviously coming from the Catholic um kind of culture...It's actually hard to pick out different ones because we are kind of like mainly um Muslim, so it's hard to pick out the variations within that because you're so used to it now, do you know what I mean? (Emily, P1; 62-66)

When asked what cultures were represented in their classrooms, there were a variety of answers, possibly indicating uncertainty around the definition. The teachers identified students from Pakistan and India as the majority in the school; but also mentioned students from Somalia, Latvia, and Syria, although both the lower primary and upper primary teachers had difficulty remembering exactly where those pupils were from.

That's Arabic. They're Arabic. And then there's ***. Now where were they from again?... North of Africa somewhere. Where was that? (Emma, P4; 93-94;96)

Can't remember where he was from. Somalia or?...I can't remember. (Catherine, P3; 105-106;107)

The fact that both teachers could not remember the pupil's country of origin suggests that they did not have even a basic knowledge or understanding of Somalia; an African country with a significantly different structure and history than that of Pakistan. It may be that the teachers paid less attention to where the pupil came from, which ignores the intersectionality of cultural identities.

The school teaches a programme called Shared Values, which aims to identify similarities in the different cultures represented in the school.

We also do quite a lot of at X like Shared Values, so it wouldn't be like, oh I'm Catholic and this is what I do, what do you do? We try and find similarities that kind of intertwines um just not even just for religious lessons, but all parts of life. (Catherine, P3; 67-69)

Other teachers talked about the idea of shared beliefs and values when defining culture. They appeared to be thinking of the school as a culture, and therefore trying to highlight the commonalities between students and teachers from diverse backgrounds. While the

practice of trying to portray a common humanity is well-intentioned; it can prevent teachers and students from recognising the differences between cultures, which can lead to a 'one size fits all' approach to cultural responsiveness (Coulby, 2006). Margaret, a former headteacher from London, and new teacher at the school described the dichotomy of cultural awareness.

> *I was more looking at getting the whole school family together, sort of that kind of thing, but yeah, the culture, in the school that I was in, was very, we would try to promote everybody's, it's like everybody's different but it's like that's equality, ...and that's incorporated with the culture side of it. And celebrating differences and uniqueness* (Margaret, P1; 44-48).

She highlights the challenge of creating a unified school culture, while recognising and promoting the individual cultures that make up the school. Margaret came from a much more racially diverse school, so she mostly listened as the other teachers described their experiences. She shared some of her experiences of being culturally responsive, recognising that the two settings were vastly different. The concept of individuals as part of a collective will be explored in a future section.

Kris's background in working with students who required additional support for learning, frames her understanding of cultural awareness. She looks at each group of students she works with to determine a strategy.

> *So, I think one of the things that I've always done is really looked at the community. How can I sell this learning to these kids?... And the only way you can is by being familiar, and by being understanding.* (Kris, HT; 72-75)

She had to become culturally aware herself, before she could ask her staff and then the students to do the same.

> *I cannot pronounce any of the names, right? So that was such a failing and a horror for me. And then I didn't know anything about Islam, very much or why women wore Hijabs or Abayas.* (Kris, HT; 86-88)

She discussed her process of talking directly to parents and asking them questions about their culture. The staff feel confidence in knowing their students because of the relationship they have with parents, which was cultivated by Kris.

Ladson-Billings (2005) included cultural competence as a requirement for being culturally responsive. She referred to the ability of students to not only appreciate and celebrate their own culture, but at least one other throughout their schooling. Kris includes White Scottish students in her understanding of being culturally responsive.

> *I think that culturally responsive pedagogy, um, includes all cultures, so White Scottish as much as Asian Pakistani culture, Chinese culture, whatever.* (Kris, HT; 51-52)

Laura explained how important it is for the White children in her class to understand why the non-White children may behave a different way or believe something different.

> *...it's good that the whole class understands why rather than children, perhaps the White Scottish children, wouldn't understand why they're doing that or might think that they didn't want to hold hands because they were White, you know.* (Laura, P6/P7; 401-403)

She is responsive to the fact that her White, Scottish Catholic learners may have no understanding of another ethnicity or faith. By explaining the differences instead of just acknowledging them, Laura fosters an inclusive environment.

One of the original goals of culturally responsive pedagogy was to integrate home and school experiences for learners (Lovelace & Wheeler, 2006). Elizabeth brought up how they work with families to better understand their cultures.

> *We've had loads of meetings, um, like focus groups and things with our families to find out more.* (Elizabeth, P3; 159-160).

There is little argument among researchers that family involvement is a tenet of culturally responsive pedagogy. For teachers to fully understand their learners' cultures, they must engage with families. Aronson and Laughter (2016) argue that when schools make ongoing efforts to not only welcome families, but also have meaningful a dialogue with them, a level of trust is built that further supports learners.

Some teachers felt strongly about how their relationships with families provided enough information to really know their learners, and that superseded any need for formal training in culturally responsive pedagogy.

> *We haven't had external organisations coming in to teach us about Culturally Responsive Pedagogy um but I think what we've done is looked*

at the school, we've looked at our kids and our parents and we've got a pretty strong knowledge on what their home culture is like... (Kate, P7; 192-195).

Elizabeth works with families in addition to her role as a teacher. She stresses the role of communication and how parents' responses have helped them build their practice.

That has been what's built our understanding on pedagogy built through what our parents are looking for and how you know we respect their culture and um they can be taught in a way that's just um respectful of all their different religions, their cultures, different ways that they have, but it's mostly built up through communication with parents and with older children as well. (Elizabeth, P3; 164-168)

The school offers unique classes and experiences for families, which help create a safe space for those who may not have felt comfortable engaging in community events or courses.

Over the last two years we brought in tutors and lecturers into the school and put on classes for our parents in like sewing classes, beauty classes, nail classes...this was surveys that I'd done to find out ...what it is that you are looking for and some of them now have attended college as well, to do um computer courses and things like that because I'd taken them on a tour around the college and gotten them signed up, so it's given them some confidence as well. (Elizabeth, P3; 542-547)

Family structure is especially important in understanding culture. Due to language barriers between parents and children, and the fact that the children may have grown up in a culture different from their parents', it is crucial for schools to have active engagement with Muslim and Sikh families. Teachers must be aware of the religious and cultural activities that are part of these families, as well as the role of identity and how it may differ from the perceptions of White, Catholic educators.

In addition to 'knowing' the parents of students in the school, culturally responsive practice encourages teachers to participate in community events. When they engage with the marginalised community, they are demonstrating how the school's commitment to social justice helps the community as well (Aronson & Laughter, 2016). There was no

mentioning of this type of engagement by the teachers during the focus groups; however, it was discussed in the follow-up interviews which are outlined later in this chapter.

7.2.4 "It doesn't matter what you call it, as long as you're doing the work"

One of the comments that came up the most during the teacher and staff interviews and focus groups was that they were doing what they thought they needed to do in order to meet the needs of their learners. They did not necessarily realise they were being culturally responsive until after the fact. While it can be argued that the outcomes are more important than the terms used, the findings in this study showed that those teachers and staff who could effectively describe cultural responsiveness, were the ones who were practicing it on a regular basis.

The Headteacher acknowledged several times that she did not know that the practice she was advocating and sharing with her staff was cultural responsiveness.

> *So, I don't go, 'right, we're gonna be culturally responsive.' We did what the right thing to do was. As I've become aware of culturally responsive pedagogy, I've realised that's what we're doing. So it wasn't like, oh I've read an article and we're gonna do this training. It was very much what...the discussion was always, what is the right thing to do?* (Kris, HT; 176-180)

The teachers recognised the need for a different approach for their learners because they were historically marginalised and excluded from the education system.

> *I just want children to be able to feel like they are included in the system, and it's not a system that's built against them and I think just now that it's so prominent* (Emily, P1; 527-528)

Emily acknowledges the fact that the children do not always feel like they are included in the 'system', which could refer to the White-dominated system of education in the UK or other societal structures that foster systemic racism. She focuses on what she *wants* for her class, which is similar to other teachers' comments about what they *will* do.

> *...if we're getting ourselves really determined to make a difference and make these children feel part of a society, not make them feel, that's wrong,*

> *make them part of a society um because you shouldn't have to just feel it,*
> *you should be included and it should just be like that.* (Elizabeth, P3; 562-*
> 565)

Several teachers talked about what they *will* do, or *should* do, as if they know what needs to be done, but they are not doing yet, either because they do not have the resources, or they do not feel comfortable enough to change their practice. Being responsive means being proactive, not reactionary. Similar thoughts came from teachers as they described what culturally responsive practice means to them.

> *So it's about finding ways for children to see themselves in the system,*
> *which is very easy if you live in Scotland and you're White Scottish, it's*
> *very easy to see yourself in the system, um but for anyone else, especially of*
> *colour, it's very difficult to see themselves reflected in the system the way*
> *the system is. So for me, it's about, it's about adjusting your practice to uh*
> *to make it relevant for people so they can see themselves reflected in the*
> *system, and feel part of that, feel important within that.* (Sarah, P4; 109-*
> 115)

There is a clear understanding of the problem of representation with children of colour in a White-dominated system. Acknowledging that is key; however, without a plan to address the issues, the responses become reactionary and not conducive to empowering students.

Laura is one of only a couple of teachers who seem confident in their understanding of cultural responsiveness.

> *I would also say it's about responding to the children that you happen to*
> *have in your class that year, so um you know, I suppose the old-fashioned*
> *approach to schools is just to follow various schemes of work, follow*
> *certain topics and things like that, but the more, the more reactive you can*
> *be towards what the children are experiencing or interested in themselves,*
> *then I feel like the more culturally responsive you will be.* (Laura, P6/P7,*
> 116-121)

She later gives relevant examples of how she practices cultural responsiveness in her classroom.

> *...there was a good example in the Upper school this year where the classes*
> *were looking at a World War II topic and they actually were approached by*

> *the Glaswegasians curators who had come up with a lot of resources to do with the um Pakistani and Indian regiments of the army that were of the armed forces in that war, so the children were able to relate more to their own ancestors being part of that rather than it being sort of a Scottish thing...*(Laura, P6/P7; 127-132)

Kris explained how she defines success when it comes to fostering awareness and inclusion among the students.

> *I worry about our White children, I mean certainly, on the playground, if I feel that there's a wee gang running and it's all wee White boys, we're not meeting their needs, you know. If there's no crossplay, you know. At one point, we had a couple of kids in the provision and a couple of kids in the upper school and they were running together and I thought, see if they don't have pals, that are Asian pals, I failed, because it's not about me seeing to the needs of the most, it's about the needs of all of the children.* (Kris, HT; 369-375)

She did not talk about how she goes about rectifying that situation. It is an acknowledgement, a reaction, but not a response. It is unclear what, if anything, has been done to increase socialisation between groups.

Throughout this study, there seems to be a correlation between really understanding what culturally responsive pedagogy is, and effectively implementing it.

7.2.5 Developing Leadership Skills

One of the suggestions was for teachers to allow students to act as teachers through using their own resources and sharing that knowledge with others.

Kate relates cultural responsiveness to being political, which, as mentioned in previous sections, is the one aspect of culturally responsive pedagogy that most teachers do not incorporate.

> *I also think that being culturally responsive is um being a political person as well and staying up to date with what's happening in the news and having your own opinion about that. I mean I'm a strong advocate for developing confidence and resilience in the pupils to stand up and*

challenge eh inequality...we've been in a class where the children have been limited access to certain opportunities that perhaps White Scottish children would get easy access into. So I think it's having an awareness of what are barriers are to the children that are in my class ...and how can I make sure that I am supplying them with the confidence and the resilience to be able to say 'you know what, I'm not having that and I'll demand that when a barrier comes my way, I'm going to demand equity'. So it's about having a more whole rounded view of the world and how it works and how the system is flawed. (Kate, P7; 134-145)

Emily also talked about how she was encouraged to be political in her teaching.

We are really encouraged in school um almost to be quite political with your teaching. Teaching is political, um one way or another. The children need to be growing up able to stand up for themselves- whatever they want to stand for, you need to be, they need to know that they can stand for something. (Emily, P1; 341-344)

Simply acknowledging someone's culture ignores the structural racism, sexism, and discrimination that may be experienced along with it (Beauboeuf-LaFontant, 1999). Kate gave examples of how she uses texts to engage and empower her students around those issues.

...so we were looking at the class system. We were looking at race. We were looking at poverty and how that can affect opportunity and can affect what you have access to in your opportunity for engagement in society... I try not to shy away from using books that I have personally engaged with as well. So I've been using books like Poverty Safari and Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race, and I was choosing excerpts from that that were child friendly, but also would really challenge the kids to start to unpick it... found it really good, for me because I actually had all these ideas in my head, but actually it was nice to see how I could make it child-friendly and to make sure they were getting the same from the book that I did, but in a different context. (Kate, P7; 296-305)

Laura and Kate planned for this work. They sought out and used resources outside of the school to supplement the materials in the school that were not representative of the students. Interestingly, the two teachers who could easily define cultural responsiveness

were also the two teachers who were practicing it regularly with their classes. They were intentional and proactive instead of waiting until a situation or opportunity arose to insert some tokenistic material. It is of note; however, that both teachers work with the oldest students in the school, which means they have access to more curricular materials that engage students with social justice. The nature of their classes on history and literature enables them to use relevant, culturally responsive texts that their lower-school counterparts would not. However, the P1-P3 teachers described ways that they foster independence and agency in their young students.

The lower-school teachers talked about the importance of play and creativity in their practice. Their focus is on helping non-English speakers learn the language and develop friendships. Since many students come to Primary 1 unable to speak English, their interactions on the playground help them to communicate, which ultimately helps them learn English more quickly.

> *I think it's really important especially when they come into school at first, that children have the opportunity to play with each other because, it's a form of communication...they can always communicate with each other straight-away. We often find that with our Primary 1's that usually by April, they're like amazing and like really proficient in English, but quite often if you get someone new, it's through play that you would have to engage them...like with their peers.* (Emily, P1; 208-213)

It can be argued that the work that these teachers do around language development and interpersonal skills lays the foundation for the critical consciousness work done in the upper school.

> *For Primary 2, 3, and 4, I think what they enjoy most is the kind of creative side where they get to, you know, problem solve and to get to build things...You know it aids communication with each other, team building and creative as well. Problem solving too.* (Elizabeth, P3; 230-231; 233-234)

The lower-school teachers did mention occasions where critical conversations regarding social justice took place. The Manchester bombings in 2017 presented an opportunity to talk about how Muslims are portrayed in the media and how the students might respond.

> *...it was all about how it was just this Muslim person that had done this, and I had the same Primary 2 class, and it was it, it's hard for them to see that*

> *that's the reflection of themselves in the media and not what they see in*
> *their community-like everyone rallying around and helping each other out.*
> (Emily, P1; 353-356)

Emily highlights the fact that most often there are only negative portrayals of Muslims in the media. Her awareness of that led her to think about how teachers could respond.

> *Like you never see in the media positive stories about things that happen to*
> *people during Ramadan; you see these horror stories and it's awful for the*
> *children sometimes. So, I think we need to be brave enough to be able to*
> *have conversations like that because we might be the only people that are*
> *having kind of, the balanced conversation about it.* (Emily, P1; 356-360)

Again, there was a sense of what *should* be done, rather than what is being done to respond to such incidents. The negative press about Muslims after the bombings was not a random occurrence. It is indicative of how Islamophobia plays out in the media. Catherine talks about the role that teachers can play in changing the narrative; however, she does so through a deficit lens.

> *...it's up to us to try and make them see well, it's a small pocket of people*
> *that are bad in the world, it's not just Muslims that are bad in the world,*
> *there's you know Catholics that are bad in the world.* (Catherine, P3; 370-372)

When asked about how they tackle sensitive topics, most teachers said they feel free to do so because of the Headteacher's support, as well as the trust of the parents. There were several mentions of learners saying they weren't allowed to do a particular activity, such as singing, or talk about something in the news. The teachers realised that, more often than not, it was a misunderstanding of parents' wishes, than an actual refusal to participate.

7.2.6 Student Outcomes

As mentioned previously, one of the biggest critiques of culturally responsive pedagogy is the difficulty in determining its success. Most studies, including this one, have been done with schools that are claiming to be culturally responsive; therefore, it is impossible to know if the practice influences traditional academic student outcomes, such as test scores without having control schools as a part of the study. Ladson-Billings (1995), in her

original description of CRP, defined academic success broadly as intellectual growth that would include the student choosing academic excellence because they understood it to be an important part of their life.

Kris talks about the frustration of being judged solely on academic outcomes.

> *I've definitely had kind of a well, 'that's all very well. That's dead nice ... You're really good at that, but your reading needs to go up by 2%'. So, I can't stand that. So, I'm very much on the back of everybody, sort of saying, every opportunity you need to think about equality, you need to think about culturally responsive practice.* (Kris, HT; 232-235)

She understands the importance of academic outcomes but talks about her priority in ensuring her students feel empowered.

> *And I don't know, sometimes I worry that if I push them academically, they would be doing better in the short term, but in the long term, I don't think that's a good idea. So, we do push it, we do, and we probably undersell to our most able pupils, I think, but you've got to balance that with the empowerment that they need, cause once they leave us, there's a whole bloody world out there. We've only got them for a short time. So, I'd rather they were stronger and getting 70% in a reading test, than weak and getting 80.* (Kris, HT; 341-347)

Success can be defined in several ways; through academic data such as test results, but also through the anecdotal responses of the student and parent population in the school. When asked if they feel successful in their approach to CRP, some teachers noted that it's hard to know right away.

> *Well, I think it's hard to measure your success because you don't, we don't know for ages if we've been successful. It's one of those things like a teacher doesn't know how far their influence goes, all that kind of thing.* (Emily, P1; 140-142)

Kate talked about her students' responses to the work she did around social justice issues.

> *I think at the beginning they say, or respond the way that they think you want them to respond... but actually getting them to unpick the picture further then you can start to see them question the situation and say ' oh is*

that because they're in this particular circumstance' and they actually understand the context of the learning a lot more and then taking the skills that they've learned in that lesson and applying it to another one- is probably when you know, oh right, these skills are transferable now (Kate, P7; 314-321)

Even though they are anecdotal in nature, teacher observations of student learning are a valid indicator of success, particularly in terms of intellectual growth.

Having high expectations for learners is a tenet of Ladson-Billings (1995) work as it is thought to be the difference in whether a student's willingness to achieve; however, expectations alone do not guarantee achievement. Morrison et al., (2020) found that several levels of support were needed in addition to setting high expectations including scaffolding challenging curriculum, using students' strengths and experiences as a starting point for instruction, investing in students' success, creating and supporting caring environments, and setting high behavioural expectations.

Emily discussed the importance of setting high expectations for her P1 learners.

I think it's really really important that we have high expectations of the children in our school, because I think it would be really really easy to write off their ability because of their language and so I think we really need to be careful that we're not, like why should our children, when they go to high school, there'll be mix from local feeder schools as well, why should they be any less able than other schools. It's our job to tap into what they know and to enable them to meet the expectations rather than lower the expectation because you can't be bothered looking into it too much. (Emily, P1; 495-501)

Elizabeth added how the students have a choice in their learning.

...so the children then are involved in that kind of planning and how we can work in maths, how we can work in literacy, health and wellbeing, um and they come up with lots of ideas for it. The children are actually really good at telling you what they want to learn, and we of course guide them along in the right way you know what we wish them to learn. But it's all about them making their plan. (Elizabeth, P3; 509-513)

This does not indicate that teachers are intentionally using the students' culture as a starting point, but the system they describe does allow for that.

The students were asked how they know they have been successful in school. Almost all of the answers described receiving praise or awards as evidence of success.

> *Getting awards* (P7, Ketso®)
>
> *When you get full marks* (P5, Ketso®)
>
> *They get an award or give them a raffle* (P5, Ketso®)
>
> *When someone says well done!* (M, P5, Ketso®)
>
> *Gold stars; raffles; certificate of the month* (F, P5, Ketso®)
>
> *Getting a higher mark at school, for getting an achievement* (F,   P5, Ketso®)

A few students described an intrinsic understanding of success that transcends an academic mark.

> *Success means to me that you done a good/helpful thing* (F, P7, Ketso®)
>
> *When I feel like I have accomplished something* (F, P5, Ketso®)
>
> *When I don't know something, but I try* (P6, Ketso®)

Parents' views of the school success in relation to student outcomes were interpreted and shared through the Headteacher and staff responses.

> *So, it's that creation of a sense of community and a sense of belonging that's been our biggest work with parents.* (Kris, HT; 315-316)
>
> *I think that from evidence that I've had, certainly over the past year, the parents are really grateful for the efforts that we've made to understand the community.* (Kris, HT; 328-329)

Kris recounted a time when she was invited to a radio programme called Radio Ramadan.

> *...actually what I was so struck by about how they were talking about how much ...Primary School does for the community. And I think that's really humbling because I think that that's indicative that our parents don't expect it.* (Kris, HT; 332-335)

Emily talked about the parents' trust with regards to a question about sensitive topics.

> *...it all comes down to I think our parents trust us because we built really, really strong relationships with our families, so I think that they would trust that we weren't escalating a situation...* (Emily, P1; 385-387)

Elizabeth also referred to the importance of trust.

> *...we do have a close relationship with parents. Any worries at all we would go straight away to our parents...* (Elizabeth, P3; 412-413)

The staff also views the work done with parents including the response to course offerings as evidence that they are reaching parents.

> *So certainly our parents are gaining more confidence so they're now able to take their children places that they would have never gone before.* (Elizabeth, P3; 549-550)

7.2.7 Event-dependent Cultural Responsiveness

One of the most common examples of a reactionary response to a situation is after a major event. As mentioned previously, events such as the election of Donald Trump, and the Manchester bombings created a need for teachers to respond to the concerns and worries of their students. There was no way to prepare for those specific conversations ahead of time; however, the issue of Islamophobia underlying those events, is certainly a topic that teachers should be well-prepared to discuss as a part of a larger conversation on racism and discrimination.

George Floyd's death at the hands of police officers in the US, sparked worldwide outrage and protests in support of a movement known as Black Lives Matter (BLM). His death among others, sparked a conversation about systemic racism and how it affects communities and schools (Lindo, 2020). In the US, laws have changed, statues of slave owners and racist historical figures have been removed, the Confederate flag has been denounced, and significant police reform has occurred (National Geographic, 2020). The

extraordinary coverage of the movement in highlighting unlawful killings of Black persons and institutional racism has extended to the UK, resulting in mostly symbolic gestures, such as the removal of statues deemed to be racist (The Economist, 2020). In addition to the outward signs of change stemming from the protests, conversations are happening in homes, schools, and communities about systemic racism and the role that individuals play in its perpetuation. From a teacher standpoint, this moment in time presents an opportunity to not only examine self-beliefs and attitudes about race and ethnicity, but to work with students to learn about the history of racism and how it affects them.

The staff at the school suggested that the Black Lives Matter movement was a watershed moment for schools trying to be culturally responsive to students of colour. When asked about their goals for this work, many teachers mentioned the movement, but more in terms of highlighting the need for the work they already do.

> *Well, I would say now more than ever culturally responsive practice is going to be a topic that a lot of schools will respond to as a result of the Black Lives Matter movement. (Kate; P7; 568-569)*

Kate did not say that the BLM movement would change her practice; in fact, she clearly stated that she was going to continue what she had been doing.

> *I'm not going to change my practice or my stance too much, um I think I'm all for using resources that are suggested and I hope actually that what's happening will spur on educators and leaders to really ensure there are a wide selection of resources where the children can see themselves reflected in, but I think with regards to progressing or developing as a practitioner, I'm just going to continue to be pretty well-read and well-versed on the subject of culturally responsive practice and naturally that will just feed into my work in the way that I work with the kids.* (Kate, P7; 570-576)

Emily mentioned the abundance of resources that would be available, although she did not specifically reference BLM, it was evident that she was referring to the current situation.

> *Um so we're trying to delve into that just now, and obviously it's a really good time to do that because there's so many links online of people that are trying to like, send you in the right direction for that and things like that.* (Emily, P1; 181-183)

Catherine also referred to recent events when talking about her goals for CRP.

I think, especially with what's going on in the world, I am looking forward to just personally you know, learning more myself that I can then pass on to the kids. Obviously, I'm never gonna know how they feel. I can listen to them. They can tell me, but I've got White skin. I've never been judged for not having White skin. (Catherine, P3; 577-580)

The Headteacher referenced BLM several times to underscore her commitment to culturally responsive pedagogy.

So definitely, in terms of being culturally responsive, the current understanding is very much about Black Lives Matter and children who are BME... (Kris, HT; 88-89)

She specifically calls out the hypocrisy of claiming to be culturally responsive just because it is being talked about in popular culture.

Yeah I just think we call it out, and I suppose the Black Lives Matter situation means that our work is more in focus, or more pertinent because of the zeitgeist that will go, you know, we're all Black Lives Matter (gesture). It's...you need to stop that. You need to do that all of the time. It needs to be everything... (Kris, HT; 384-387)

Kris is referring to that reactionary response, that only exists for a time, usually until the story goes away and the conversation changes. This school has been working on this practice for eight years, mostly going unnoticed until now. Cultural responsiveness does not start when a tragic event occurs; and it does not stop because things seem to be ok. It is an ongoing commitment to practice that strives to be an integral part of teaching and learning.

7.3 Individuals in the Collective

The challenge for educators is how to respond to the unique identities within a collective culture. As mentioned previously, culture can be understood as identifying with different types of groups including an ethnic group, a religion, a gender identity, a sexual identity, a lifestyle, or a geographic location. In this study, the primary school has a culture; and that school is located within a community, which also has a culture. If we were to generalise our perceptions about students, teachers, and parents simply because they are all a part of

the school in a particular community, we would be ignoring the individual identities within. The individuals in the school community come from different countries, celebrate different religions, are different genders, and are different ages. There may be other identities such as sexual preference, socioeconomic status, political views, family structure, etc., that are not disclosed in this study. As described above, intersectionality refers to how multiple forms of inequality such as race, class, and gender and one's identity interact in different contexts (Gillborn, 2015). If educators only focus on one identity, for example, the students' religions, they may miss addressing underlying gender and ethnic inequalities.

7.3.1 Religious and Faith Identity

When asked about the different cultures represented in their classrooms, most of the teachers focused on country of familial origin; however, throughout the interviews, they did acknowledge the different religions. Most teachers simply referred to Muslim students and Catholic students, but there were some who mentioned Sikh pupils.

> *Um at our school as well, we've also recently had a few children you know that are Sikh.* (Emily, P1; 62)

> *Um I also had a Sikh pupil. The majority of the class were Muslim or followed the Muslim faith. Um I had two Catholic children in the class as well um so that was kind of the mix um in my class, I think.* (Kate, P7; 64-66).

These two comments were the only references to Sikh pupils, and they were only acknowledgements of their existence in the school. Both comments express some hesitance, as if they were not sure about the faith identities of the students. If there is an assumption on the part of some teachers, that all non-White students are Muslim or that the intricacies of the religion do not matter, that could have a serious effect on all students. It essentialises the religion and/or the colour of skin as one culture, thereby, ignoring the various identities that define the student.

Emily also talked about how identifying differences within a culture was difficult.

> *Um sometimes when you get new children, even though they are from the same culture, they have a different set of kind of like traditions and like*

things that they would do. Um so that's quite interesting to see...It's actually hard to pick out different ones because we are kind of like mainly um Muslim, so it's hard to pick out the variations within that because you're so used to it now, do you know what I mean? (Emily, P1; 58-62, 64-66).

I wouldn't even know the correct language to use about this, but like the different like kind of compartments or areas within Islam. Obviously, you can be like a Sunni, a Shi'a and Ahmadiyya Muslim. We had a wee girl before that was an Ahmadiyya Muslim and she was going to some sort of awards ceremony for it and I remember her telling her teacher that she felt embarrassed to tell the rest of the children that she was that kind of Muslim because it was kind of the wrong kind or whatever. But that was like a stand- alone incident, but that was something that stuck with me as well cause I had to go away and look up what the difference was in the first place cause I wasn't really aware about the differences within. (Emily, P1; 454-462)

Emily admits she did not know about the Ahmadiyya sect of Islam prior to her interaction with this child. The fact that she was concerned about bullying due to her different views should be an indication of how important it is to understand those different sects. In order to respond, rather than react, educators would need to do the work prior to students arriving in their class. As soon as a student from a new religion attends the schools, such as with the Sikh pupils, the school should ensure that everyone has a basic knowledge of the religion and how it differs from Islam. Research with Punjabi-speaking Sikh pupils identified the role of language in affirming their ethnic identities (Rosowski, 2013; Jones, 2004).

...it would be wrong of us to plow on with the religious education curriculum just exactly the way it is without acknowledging that the majority of the children in front of us aren't following that religion, don't believe in those things, so we have to make sure we're prioritising at least, at the very least, making comparisons between Catholicism and Islam and any other religions that are represented, I suppose. (Laura, P6/P7; 122-127)

Laura addresses the notion that, at the very least, there is an understanding of the religions that are represented in the school; however, again there is a hesitance that seems to indicate that this practice is not yet happening.

Kris talked about a conference she went to with Catholic headteachers.

> *I spoke to the community of colleagues and had the confidence to talk about Catholic schools and how we need to embrace other faiths and what I'd learned.* (Kris, HT; 241-243).

She went on to talk about a couple of children she invited to speak at the conference who were Muslim and had been through trauma before coming to the school.

> *They talked about, 'I asked God to help me when I was in the middle of a war'. You can't argue with that. You can't say, 'actually, your religion, that's a wee bit different from mine. I'm not sure I believe in..' You can't argue with that.* (Kris, HT; 245-248)

Kris's use of the term, 'confidence', alludes to almost needing to justify the way she addresses the religious diversity in the school to the greater Scottish Catholic Education Service (SCES). This brings up the issue of individual schools responding to their learners' needs, while also implementing the curriculum according to church and City Council guidelines.

Elizabeth talked about how religion is taught at the school.

> *We teach what our Catholic values are and then we talk about everybody else's religion as well and how it relates to what we ....our ....values, rather than you know Catholic teaching we talk about love, people love each other, care for each other, kindness, things like that, rather than actual religions and things.* (Elizabeth, P3; 74-77)

Her reference to 'everybody else's religion' is vague and does not necessarily demonstrate an understanding of what those religions are and how they are addressed. She was also vague in reference to which religious institutions they visited on field trips.

> *...we had lots of trips to different um, like, um places of worship, basically. So, we did (..) different rather than stick to you know um, like a Catholic school normally just go to church. We went to um all different, you know, places of worship so that all the children could share in what everybody else did in their religion and their culture as well. Um so there's an understanding of that.* (Elizabeth, P3; 186-190)

Again, the term, 'understanding', similar to 'awareness' is used, as if that is all that is required to help learners engage with other cultures.

7.3.2 National Identity/Country of Origin

In addition to religious and national identities, Scottish Muslims also identify with their country of origin or family heritage (Qureshi, 2006). The Scottish-Pakistani children at the school seem to do so as well. A few teachers commented on an informal study of identity that an EAL teacher did at the school a year or so ago.

> *...lots of them were saying that they were Pakistani and not Scottish and he wanted them to know that they could be Pakistani and Scottish because there's so many things that are available to you cause you say to yourself, 'no hang on a minute, I am Scottish as well'.* (Emily, P1; 275-278).

Emily discussed how he asked them how they identified themselves, and then based on the results, how the EAL teacher proceeded to work with them to better understand their identities.

> *...so he took them on lots of trips around Scotland related to try to get them connected to Scotland and the culture here and they could look at themselves and realise that you can be a Scottish Pakistani um and you might do things that make you Scottish because you don't even realise that you're just always going through I'm Pakistani and that's it. You can be more than one thing at a time. So *(this teacher) had looked into that and tried to kinda work out how to encourage these children to embrace more than one culture and not only embrace cause loads of them were doing it anyway and just didn't realise.* (Emily, P1; 278-285)

Emma noticed a similarity with older learners identifying more as Pakistani as well.

> *I would get the feeling that they identify more with Pakistani, particularly the boys than the girls do. I mean they know they're born here and everything but it's more like Pakistan that they talk about you know. They probably have been to more places in Pakistan than they've been here when they've gone over there. I just get that feeling. Their eyes light up more*

*when you talk about, you know, their home, the country that their
grandparents came from.* (Emma, P4; 501-506)

Sarah described a different experience which may be because her learners had worked with
the EAL teacher during the prior year.

> *I think that's interesting cause I've had a chat and actually a lot of the
> children also identify as Scottish. So there's this and it's that Glaswegasian
> thing, that, it it,, their Scottish. They're Pakistani but they're Scottish as
> well. And so it's that real and that goes back to when I was saying that it's
> really difficult to define culture because then it, you get this real mash-up of
> kinda everything. And um there's something quite beautiful in that, and
> there's something quite freeing about having that the freedom to say, 'well
> sometimes I feel Scottish and sometimes I feel this and sometimes I feel
> that'.* (Sarah, P4; 510-516).

Elizabeth mentioned that after the EAL teacher's work, she saw a change in their
perspective.

> *...children were like 'Who's Scottish here? And they were going, yeah wait
> a minute, I'm Scottish and all my family is in Pakistan. So they were
> recognising that they had kinda two cultures going on here because a lot of
> our children are now living the Scottish culture and then, you know, living
> their family's culture as well. So it's difficult for them as well because
> basically they've got kinda two cultures going on, two
> different.....*(Elizabeth, P3; 329-333)

Emily interrupted...

> *And when they're so well blended together, it's hard to then separate
> what's your Scottish culture and what's your Pakistani culture because it's
> just they do. They don't necessarily know it's their culture. They're just
> going through the motions of their life.* (Emily, P1; 334-337)

Pakistan was the only country of origin mentioned by the teachers in terms of being
coupled with Scottish. Pakistani children indeed make up the majority of Muslim learners
in the school, so it appears that because they are the majority, they are the most talked
about.

These observations are in line with previous research outlined in the literature which showed that Scottish Muslims are proud of their Scottishness and self-identify as both (Hopkins, 2004). However, that does not mean that they are considered equally. Laura shared a story about a Lebanese child in her class who considered herself to be Lebanese-Scottish.

> *...oh but you know. when I, I'm Lebanese, and when I have children they'll be Lebanese as well 'and I said, 'But what if you marry a Scottish man, won't they be half and half?' And she looked completely horrified (laughter) So she wasn't offended or anything, it was a nice discussion, but it was just interesting to see their assumptions. She had these assumptions about the future of her possibilities and obviously part of that is finding a nice Lebanese boy somewhere in a family that she's gonna marry and then potentially going back to Lebanon so you know.* (Laura, P6/P7; 543-549)

Laura's assumptions that this child would or could marry someone outside of her nationality highlights the need for educators to understand the cultures they are working with. As mentioned in previous chapters, identities evolve and are influenced by situations and age. It is very possible that this child will feel differently when she is older; however, it is important to respect her understanding of her identity at this stage.

Emma made a point to underscore the importance of understanding differences among generations.

> *So predominantly second and third generation Pakistani living in XXXX, which makes a big difference when its second or third generation to first generation.* (Emma, P1; 57-58)

She did not elaborate on the differences; however, it can be understood that second and third generation immigrants have spent more time in the community and might feel more acclimated into Scottish culture than those who have recently arrived. In addition, the language barrier may not be as difficult for those who have been in the host country for longer. Emily described what she believed to be part of the identity dilemma.

> *I think the parents want to label children Scottish because that's what they think we want, but then the children want to label themselves Pakistani because they think that's what their parents want.* (Emily, P1; 321-323)

In actuality, it may be the reverse. Elizabeth works with parents in the school and described how will insist that their child is Scottish, when filling out paperwork.

> *And I think it's a thing they write they're Scottish as well because they don't want that thing of, oh but then they'll need to learn English. So even children that aren't actually Scottish, that weren't born in Scotland, um they'll still stay, oh they're Scottish*...(Elizabeth, P3; 311-314)

She goes on to speculate that the reason is because they do not want their child to have to learn English. Language identity will be covered in the next section.

How educators view and respond to their pupils from different national backgrounds can have a profound impact on how pupils view their own identities. Instead of focusing on strengths that immigrants and refugees bring with them, there is a tendency for educators to focus on perceived deficits. Emma alludes to this when she describes children from Syria.

> *And you know it's just as we go on and we get children in from different places like the Syrian children when they came in learning and taking account of what they've been through, witnessed, things like that you know. You have to be very sensitive to what they've been through out in Syria when they come here.* (Emma, P4; 259-263)

Assumptions are often made that any child who has come from a war-torn country will have experienced trauma and therefore, need to be treated as such (Yosso, 2005). This practice, although often well-intentioned, can prevent children from having their academic as well as social needs met. They are often put into lower academic groupings due to a presumed deficit due to their background. There is no suggestion that this practice is happening at the school.

7.3.3 Language Identity

As outlined in previous chapters, research suggests that language and identity are linked and that their co-construction is necessary for success in school (Sayer, 2013; Lee et al., 2011; Palmer, 2008; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Norton, 2000). Pupils use language as a tool

to interact with others, which allows the process of identity construction to occur (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In this primary school, several languages are represented. The school has two EAL teachers; one part-time and one full-time. Prior to the Covid-19 lockdown, the school used a pull-out model where pupils left their main classroom to work with the EAL teacher for a couple of hours a day. Emma recalled how EAL pupils were taught prior to this practice.

> *Especially because for years, you know, right up until, when was it sometime in the early 2000's or whatever that they shut the language school down. You know, *Mark used to work in the language school. And so when you've got a child in there and they had come from a background where there was absolutely no English whatsoever, they spent the first few months in the language school, learning all the basic language, which is now what we're trying to teach them, you know classroom objects things like that. So it's a slower process now, when they come straight into the school to try and get them to pick it up as quick. Whereas we used to have that advantage because the language school had done all those basics for you, you know.* (Emma, P4; 283-291).

Her comments suggest that having pupils attend a language school prior to coming to a mainstream school was an advantage since classroom teachers did not have to address language issues and could just focus on the curriculum. That practice tried to assimilate pupils to get them ready to join a regular classroom.

Teachers described various ways of working with EAL learners. Primary teachers seemed to focus on play and hands-on sensory activities that provide a chance to EAL pupils to interact with each other both in class and on the playground.

> *And I think it's really important especially when they come into school at first, that children have the opportunity to play with each other because, it's a form of communication that (voice dropped out) engaged with yet and if they can always communicate with each other straight-away. We often find that with our Primary 1's that usually by April, they're like amazing and*

like really proficient in English, but quite often if you get someone new, it's through play that you would have to engage them (Emily, P1; 208-213).

Emma and Sarah mentioned a Roma child who they had difficulty working with due to the language differences with the child and the family.

There are difficulties sometimes like if you get somebody in who's like a Roma child and like we don't, you can't speak their language and they're trying to learn English and the EAL department are working with them, but it's very difficult to produce resources that they can read, and even their parents maybe can't speak English very much and they might speak Latvian, they might speak Russian, they might speak Roma and you might want to use Google translator, but there's no Roma language on there to make resources with. So there's things like that that are wee kinda tricky things to try and deal with you know. But it's just like, over time you get to know these things and you find ways around them. (Emma, P4; 263-271).

While Emma did not elaborate on what those ways are, Sarah shared her thinking about how she tries to accommodate this child.

...because he doesn't have English and we still haven't really figured out what his background is because his parents don't speak English and he's moved around so much. It's that whole thing..how do you then meet his needs and connect with him, allow him to connect with the curriculum without any of the usual resources that you would normally ….(Sarah, P4; 274-278).

In a recent interview, Sarah talked more in depth about her work with this child in the new school year. Her comments will be analysed in a subsequent section.

When asked how other schools in the area respond to cultural differences, the Headteacher made a clear point about the role of language in culturally responsive pedagogy.

I think there's a real misunderstanding that culturally responsive practice, um is about English as an additional language, and it's not, because

language is language, so I think that it is a sort of tool to express all of these things and I think what happens in some places is they think they're culturally responsive if they've got an EAL teacher, teaching kids how to read, so it's not that for me. (Kris, HT; 57-62).

She elaborated on how other schools address perceived language differences.

Yeah they do, but the route that they go down, which is always a mistake, is English classes. They don't wanna learn English, do you know what I mean? And maybe they'll attend for a wee while, but our parents don't want to learn English, and you don't learn English in a class. I mean I have said that message quite clearly in equality training, that 'can you imagine..can you imagine the mortification of someone who has two degrees, but simply can't speak English, having to learn c-a-t, I mean that's a nightmare'.(Kris, HT; 305-310).

Kris makes the point above that equating the fact that someone does not speak English with their overall intelligence is a serious mistake. Her understanding of the parents not wanting to learn English is similar to what Elizabeth noted above, in that not speaking English is seen as an overall detriment, so parents will fill out forms claiming their child is Scottish so that they do not have to take those classes. This finding is consistent with research suggesting that it is common for families in Edinburgh and Glasgow to claim a false level of English language proficiency for fear that a low level may affect their child's enrolment or attainment (McKelvey, 2017).

Kris outlined some of her concerns prior to returning to school post-lockdown.

What are we gonna do cause our kids haven't heard any English for 3 months, right? Not all our kids, right. Hardly any of our kids...there's not a high percentage that's just Urdu at home, so we're gonna have to get them to catch up with English and that's such a negative story, so we're not...we'll say that, but I think we're allowed to say that because it's put in the context of lots of other things, but I think there might be schools...so those four kids will need to work with the EAL teacher, rather than just their teacher (Kris, HT; 407-413).

Her thought was that EAL pupils might need more intensive work to catch up after not being in an English-speaking environment for months.

7.3.4 Gender Identity

Many researchers agree that gender differences affect educational attainment and emerge at an early age (Mensah & Kiernan, 2010). While there is general agreement that race and socioeconomic status contribute to this effect, research suggests that gender influences attitudes towards school independent of class or income (McCoy et al., 2012). As a warm-up for our Ketso® work, I asked the children what their favourite subjects were and what they wanted to be when they grew up. They were asked to discuss in their groups and write on a Post-it. Unlike the Ketso leaves, these were not related to primary level, so they are more anonymous than the general questions.

The B1 group comprised of all boys said they had a lot in common.

> *I like science* (M, line 1)
>
> *I like maths* (M, line 2)
>
> *Yeah, we all like maths* (M, line 3)
>
> *I like science* (M, line 4)

They wrote the same on their leaves and added their professional goals.

> *Civil Engineer* (M)
>
> *Astronaut/pilot* (M)
>
> *Pilot* (M)

The G1 group of all girls shared their favourite subjects through conversation and on the Ketso leaves.

> *I put that my favourite subject is English and my favourite thing to do at home is art and football* (F, Line 1)
>
> *I put art for subject. I've got art for my favourite subject.* (F, Line 2)
>
> *Some things ...I like club art...but yeah* (F, Line 3)
>
> *Art and music* (F)
>
> *A zookeeper or a ...* (F, Line 5)

> *I wanna be an actress* (F, Line 6)
>
> *An architect* (F)

In the BG1 group, which consisted of boys and girls, they primarily used the post-Its to share their answers.

> *Maths*
>
> *Science*
>
> *Maths*
>
> *Maths*
>
> *Art*
>
> *I want to be a scientist* (F, Line 7)
>
> *We both want to be scientists and every subject is maths* (F, Line 8)

Two of the girls said they enjoyed maths the most and wanted to be scientists. The other pupils in the group wrote the following on the post-Its:

> *A teacher*
>
> *Author*
>
> *Scientist*
>
> *Footballer*
>
> *Doctor*
>
> *Pharmasist (ibid)*

As outlined in Chapter 2, female Muslims have to navigate their gender identity in relation to their ethnicity and religion. For many Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, this means following patriarchal norms set by Muslim males to police the morality and behaviour of women (Saigol, 1995). In this primary school, there is evidence of the importance of adhering to those norms in terms of boys and girls sharing space and physical touch.

Yeah, a lot of the kids (unclear....). I've kind of noticed that they won't hold hands with each other, girls and boys and you know that was quite difficult for things like when we were doing PE and had the (barrel and ?) if they were doing anything in pairs, like they just didn't want to be like a mixed pair. It's really really difficult to try and manage because it's just you know, it's just the culture or the way that their moms and dads say you know, 'you're not allowed to'. I don't know if they are. If their moms and dads tell them they aren't allowed to hold girls' or boys' hands, but it is a thing in our school and it does get quite difficult. I'm pretty sure it's probably more difficult for a Primary 7 than it is for a Primary 1 or 2. Um teacher I remember, I think it was Nadine had a class, who were putting on a display and you know some of the boys were just totally not interested in even standing next to a girl for the dance display, so yeah (Catherine, P3; 296-306).

Catherine describes the unwillingness of boys and girls to be near one another, let alone hold hands. Her uncertainty about whether or not the parents insist on that is of interest, because if it is a rule to be followed, then presumably, the school needs to respond to that. On the other hand, if it is perceived by the children as a rule, but is not really, then there is an opportunity to discuss those choices with the pupils. Emma mentions 'things like that where you have to have conversations with them about', which suggests that there is a desire to change their minds about interacting with the opposite gender. This is concerning if teachers, even unknowingly, feel that there is something 'wrong' with that behaviour and should be sorted out. It is possible that since both teachers work with younger pupils, that the behaviour is attributed to something more common to all children, rather than specific to Muslim children. The upper primary teachers seem to have more discussions with pupils. Laura described her experience with discussing these subjects.

Well I've certainly had the boy/girl discussion with several classes at St. Albert's, with a variety of responses. Some of the girls, some of the articulate older girls telling me why they really can't and you know because as they're talking about the onset of puberty makes it very different for them at home in how they're just really not allowed to you know things like, you

> *ask them to join hands to make a circle and they really can't. They really*
> *feel like they can't do that.* (Laura, P6/P7; 394-399).

Laura seems to acknowledge and respect their choices, perhaps because she has engaged them in conversations. Several teachers mentioned the fact that the girls often defer to the boys in conversations and seem to 'lose' their voice as they approach puberty.

> *And I've had a lot of chat about um gender, but I'm not really sure if that's*
> *down the school, it's more once they kinda once the girls hit puberty, there*
> *seems to be a big divide between boys and girls and that might be a cultural*
> *and religious thing we well, but we're really trying to,my friend **, the*
> *Primary 6 teacher, runs a girls group to try and encourage girls to speak up*
> *for themselves and say what you've got to say type thing, cause quite often*
> *we get these really like empowered, sassy wee girls up until like Primary*
> *4/5 and then all of a sudden something happens and they lose that a wee bit,*
> *so it's trying to encourage them to hang on to that and that that's really*
> *important, so we've got loads of different kinds of angles to look at all the*
> *time and try to identify* (Emily, P1; 285-294).

Emily identifies that change that seems to happen between lower and upper primary school. Girls that were typically "sassy", appear to lose confidence in speaking. The school identified this trend and started a girls' group to empower them to speak up and defer to boys. Sarah explains how she addresses the issue with girls.

> *Yeah I think that one of the things that I found most interesting so far, and*
> *one of the things that has really made me question my practice in terms of*
> *being culturally responsive, is adjusting the sort of male/female uh, what's*
> *the word, not relationships, but the way boys and girls interact with each*
> *other. And the way that a lot of the girls will automatically defer to the boys*
> *in the class and understanding that that is part of their sort of cultural*
> *upbringing and that a lot of the children have come through. And it's really*
> *interesting, you know, there's one wee girl in our class who um, I think the*
> *country that's she's from is a very matriarchal country, so she's very strong*
> *and very outspoken and so it's really interesting. So I've found the whole*
> *gender thing, I think that's where I've kind of adjusted my practice the*
> *most. And again that whole looking at taking that whole critical approach*
> *where you're looking at the system; you're looking at women's rights, um*

encouraging the girls saying, 'actually you don't have to defer to boys, wait, you were going to say more'. So really take my time to sort of pull out answers from girls where I know they would actually just sit because 'it's ok because he's already said something'. So I think for me that's been the major area (Sarah, P4; 328-342).

Sarah makes the distinction between a girl who is from a 'matriarchal' country and is outspoken and 'strong' as opposed to those that might stay silent.

It is unclear how, if at all, the older girls respond to the empowerment approach, both at school, and at home. Without hearing the voices of parents, it is difficult to know how best to respond to these issues. The teachers' experiences seem to indicate that there is no conflict with cultural or religious values; however, they do not really seem to know for sure.

Some teachers spoke about other gender issues where there is an assumption made about the views of parents.

It's like if some girls, some girls will wear leggings and some girls will wear socks, so they're showing their legs and we've had wee girls going, 'oh you're not supposed to show your legs'. Um but again that's all about that's only cause their mums told them that, so let's talk about it and then we talk about it and everything's fine. You know, it's not, the girls aren't being nasty, they're being 'oh well my mom's told me I'm not allowed to show my legs', but yet, you're showing your legs, so you know, they're just confused. So then when we talk about any instance at all, we would chat about it and they go, 'ah right, well that's ok then' (Elizabeth, P3; 471-478).

Elizabeth's description of this issue is interesting because it shows the reality of different perceptions of culture. She had to explain to these girls that just because they were not allowed to show their legs, did not mean that all girls were not allowed to. Her response to this situation most likely avoided a scenario where some girls would be chastised for their choices.

Some teachers, in their attempts to describe examples of gender inequality, seemed to make biased generalisations without evidence to support them.

...there's careers out there, especially I always think for the girls as well I always think of the girls, sometimes they can only see their vision as a housewife and you know, you can actually see some of the girls going (facial expression). You can see them, especially in some of the stories we were reading about through the slave trade and um things like that and it was about you know, the bravery of ... One story in particular I was reading to the children, it was about a young girl, a slave that escaped with her mother and you know you could see the children really engaging with that and seeing that women are strong. So that's my experience (Clara, P5; 229-236).

It's the gender thing and that goes right back years as well. You know. I can remember a parent's night where the father had a son at the school, he had a daughter at the school. And he spent 15 minutes talking about his son to this other teacher, I found out, and he looked like he couldn't wait to get out of the door, at my meeting. He just wasn't listening. He wasn't interested in her work. He had no ambitions for her. I think that's very true, you know of a lot of the girls, like you were saying. That they're not pushed to enter anything other than certain aspects of life like marriage or becoming a female doctor for females. In the past that was the ambition for a lot of them. Um and not to do football at all. Now we've got girls that are actually interested in football. Like one child who's in my class who's on the football team for the school. That would never have happened in years gone by. You know things are changing, and it's for the better (Emma, P4; 344-355).

Emma and Clara describe actual incidents but then seem to generalise their experience into assumptions. As mentioned in Chapter 2, teacher bias can exacerbate deficit mentalities such as only seeing themselves as housewives, or not having ambitions due to parent pressure. While that may not be the case for the two stories above, it is concerning if those examples become the norm rather than the exception.

The headteacher spoke several times about the issue of gender balance in different aspects of the school.

So I think that was really important and then sitting with women and really understanding...I remember...I mean load of women were bringing me up books and stuff, and I'm understanding that my communication is gonna have to be with women,...I have to be sensitive to that. I can't say 'I'm sorry we need a gender balance on the parent council. There is no gender balance on the parent council, and I just need to suck that up, whether I think that's right or wrong.

Kris's reference to the parent council describes how the majority of her conversations about the school are with the mothers of students, which is something that cannot easily be changed. The school can influence other aspects of gender imbalance or inequity, but the makeup of the parent council is not one of those aspects.

So that kind of free and open discussion, really and then we've disseminated articles, we have realised..so every step of the way, you know, realise there has to be a gender balance in the libraries. We have to, you know, realise that our girls were deferring to our boys so we need to have a girls group, so it's very much of what's going on in front of us too. So, it's been quite an organic process, really (Kris, HT; 186-191).

Kris refers to changes that can be made regarding gender equity such as library resources and the development of the girls' club. It would seem that the school can address gender identity with the students at school; however, they may be unable to address the issue with parents. If the school attempts to address gender identity issues without including parents, there is a risk of a backlash for the children at home, as well as a reinforced negative attitude on the part of the teachers towards the culture.

Deficit thinking, as described previously, can also affect how Muslim women are viewed. Evidence suggests that Muslim women who wear the Hajib or Abaya are forced to do so (Perry, 2014); however, the opposite is often the truth. They wear the clothing because it is part of their identity and they choose to show their pride. Kris describes her conversation with one of the mothers at the school.

So speaking to women about wearing Abayas, why do you do that? Why is that? And I'll never forget, it was **** saying, and this was like seven years

> *ago, ' It makes me feel free. It frees me up to be the person I want to be'.*
> *This is a strong, educated woman, and 'I am free if I take away things that I*
> *feel will be against what I believe in and it frees me up to be the woman I*
> *want.' So it's an empowering thing. Things like that. I did stuff like that a*
> *lot* (Kris, HT; 140-152).

Kris' comments suggest the mother's comments may have surprised her. It is unclear if she shared this with her staff and if they, in turn, spoke with the girls about empowerment of their religious identity. The literature is clear about the implications around the intersection of gender and religious identity for many Muslim girls (McKenna & Francis, 2019; Bowlby & Lloyd-Evans, 2012). While the school seems quick to *defend* the identities of their pupils to outsiders, there may be an opportunity to better support and empower them at school.

7.4 Returning to School

When the teachers were asked about their thoughts about continuing the work when pupils return to school, all of the participants spoke about their concerns. There was general agreement that the gender inequities may be the most significant.

> *Obviously, our gender issues, I mean, you know, we know that our school is*
> *the place, the only place, where some of our children have a voice. I don't*
> *have a percentage for that, so it's not the only place where they're loved, of*
> *course it's not, but it's maybe the only place they have a voice. So we're*
> *gonna really need to look at that. When we were looking at kids today, quite*
> *a lot of them were quite silent and remember I was saying that..that silence,*
> *so we're gonna have to wind them up and get them their voice back because*
> *they sort of hide behind their mums, or been living in really tight units.*
> *Maybe dads are out at work, we've got a lot of single mums as well, just*
> *people that are really locked down and have done it, some people are really*
> *anxious, some...Most people have had a great time, so it's understanding*
> *that as well. So not operating in a deficit way post-lockdown, but*
> *understanding the negative things, which we would like to change, in our*
> *children, in terms of like, gender, and stuff like that. We're not judging it,*
> *it's just what it is. We know that we'll need to work on that. And need to*

> *work on getting the kids playing again and getting the kids running about again* (Kris, HT; 421-434).

Kris was concerned that the work they had done with girls to empower them and help them use their voice would be set back after not being at school for months. Her foresight about potential issues seems to indicate her deep understanding of the children and families in the school.

Emma was thinking about gender issues as well, but she articulated her concerns using assumptions and generalisations.

> *Yeah I think as well, when we're going forward next year, because we need to space the children out a bit, you know, we'll be doing a lot more outdoor learning and so coming back to that gender issue as well, the girls will be, well everybody's gonna be not dressed as girls and boys for a start, they're gonna be in t-shirts and jogging bottoms. They're all gonna be dressed the same and they'll be doing the same things. Girls are going to get their hands dirty. They'll be building dens, gardening. They'll be doing a lot of things that they're not used to doing, so yeah, I think that will bring more change as well* (Emma, P4; 612-618).

Whereas Kris was expressing concern based on previous experiences, Emma predicts issues around dress without any indication of that being an issue in the past.

> *It's going to be more difficult, certainly this year with all of the social distancing, um but we'll hope to still start up our family classes again in August, as soon as we can. You know, outdoors, social distance, whatever. But that's what we need to do because certainly we're reaching lots and lots more parents that we wouldn't normally reach you know.* (Elizabeth; P3; 555-559)

At this point, teachers could only speculate about what school would be like when they returned. Elizabeth expressed her concerns about the parent classes, which have been popular and beneficial as outlined in previous sections. It would seem as though the staff understands what priorities will be when they return. Interestingly, most of the staff expected some blended schedule where pupils were in school for 2 days and home for 3 days.

I think as well when we get back, all schools will have the challenge, but the model of blended learning that's coming into practice where the children are only in school for part of the week, um will work in very different ways for different schools. In our school community, the vast majority of families have a usually, the mum, at home during the week, so when the children aren't in school, our kids' experiences is there is a parent at home, who isn't trying to work on the laptop at the same time.... So I think that'll be the...that's the current sort of conundrum to start working through what's gonna work, you know. How are we gonna make the most of three days when they're not here for us to talk to. (Laura, P6/P7; 577-582; 590-592)

Laura spoke about the fact that their pupils usually have a mum at home who may not work, suggesting that the children may be used to having a parent around every day, which could suggest that it would be harder for the children to be back at school after spending so much time at home with a parent.

...a lot of our families don't actually keep similar hours to us. And so the idea of people seeing my blog for 9:00 and then signing off at 3:00, it hasn't worked. So actually, especially during Ramadan, having to make myself available much much later at nighttime because that's when children are starting to engage with things. And just from the conversations that I've had, and actually parents have been quite honest about it, saying 'actually, we go to bed quite late and we wake up quite late and the children don't have to get up to go to school, so that's just our kind of rhythm'. And so I suppose for me it's like I think going forward especially as you say, that we're going to have to find ways of making those two or three days when the children are in work for them and for their families and so considering things like daily rhythms, and realistically, how is that going to work for teachers who have children who are also not at school. (Sarah, P4; 595-605)

Sarah commented on the different daily schedules of their families during lockdown. She acknowledged that her plan of sending work first thing in the morning and expecting it back in the afternoon did not work because the families tended to wake up much later and stay awake later. She was aware of the need to respond to this cultural difference.

Kris was also very aware that after months at home speaking Urdu, their pupils may struggle with English when they return and need to work with an EAL teacher.

> *What are we gonna do cause our kids haven't heard any English for 3 months, right? Not all our kids, right. Hardly any of our kids...there's not a high percentage that's just Urdu at home, so we're gonna have to get them to catch up with English and that's such a negative story, so we're not...we'll say that, but I think we're allowed to say that because it's put in the context of lots of other things, but I think there might be schools...so those four kids will need to work with the EAL teacher, rather than just their teacher. (Kris, HT; 407-413)*

> *So I think that we know that children will have been largely with their mums, and really babied by their mums, some, you know. I mean they've given up on work, so we certainly don't have this big massive fight for online classes or anything. They're really grateful for what's going on, but some of them just haven't done anything, and that's fine. Some of our parents...we need to understand there's not been this huge you know, fire in work, but actually we've led that, we just kinda said, 'you need to calm down. Just love them and make sure they're alright. (Kris, HT, 414-421)*

None of the participants mentioned any potential positive outcomes as a result of remote learning, which is significant since I did not ask about potential concerns or challenges. This may be an indication of a deficit-mentality, which is a concern if the staff views the children's time at home as a negative. Deficit thinking, which assumes that learning has not progressed during the lockdown, narrows the concept of what counts as knowledge and what it means to learn (Hogg and Volman, 2020). This kind of thinking may ignore the informal learning and meaning making, such as funds of knowledge, that are critical in supporting all learners, but particularly those from diverse backgrounds.

Follow-up interviews with two teachers were conducted a few weeks after returning to in-person schooling with a focus on how the pupils were faring upon their return to the classroom.

7.5 Post-Covid 19 Lockdown-Return to School

Scotland's pupils returned to in-person learning at school on 19 August 2020. School buildings remained open, although the West of Scotland remained in a Tier-4 lockdown, similar to the original lockdown, throughout most of the school year. In contrast to a plan set forth during the summer, children returned to school full-time. I conducted interviews with two of the teachers who had participated in the focus groups in March to discuss their return to school and how they felt pupils were coping. The interviews were unstructured, but the teachers were asked to think about their situations through a cultural lens.

Sarah, who taught P4 last year, moved up with her class and was teaching P5. Two weeks into the return to school, positive Covid-19 cases in her class forced her and her pupils to return home and self-isolate for two weeks. She continued her lessons online using Microsoft Teams. Kate, who had previously worked with P7 pupils, moved to an ASN classroom working with 9 children and an aide.

Both teachers noted that the sole priority for coming back to school, as stated by their headteacher, Kris, was on the health and wellbeing of the pupils.

> ....we're still kind of establishing what it's like to be back at school, cause we've only had a couple of weeks back so um yeah we've kinda made the focus very much health and wellbeing. Only this past week have I started to introduce a kind of formal type of learning. So we're formally doing literacy, we're formally doing maths um. Before any literacy and maths we were doing were embedded in a health and wellbeing context. So really the recovery learning has been very health and wellbeing focused. (Sarah, P5; 21-27)

There is an implication here that the pupils would need extended time to adjust to being back in school, and that somehow starting academic lessons right away would possibly do more harm than good.

> Obviously when we started planning, my headteacher put us under no pressure that we had to start delivering lesson content on numeracy, literacy, idea or topic work. The main priority is are the kids coming back to school safe? Are they coming back to school comfortably? Are there any kind of signs that anyone has had a troubling or a difficult lockdown period

and that might be have they been exposed to any troubling situations at home. Have they experienced grief through the lockdown period? Have they had any social work involvement during lockdown? Just lots of questions that were put at the forefront of teachers' minds to ensure that when kids were returning to school, they were happy and their wellbeing was put at the highest priority. (Kate, ASN; 30-38).

There was no indication from either teacher about what discussions took place regarding when this period of transition would end and whether or not it was successful.

Kate refers to the focus teachers put on understanding how their pupils fared during lockdown and if there were any signs of grief, trauma, or any other issues that would affect wellbeing. I asked Kate what they were looking for and how they would know if there were any significant issues that would affect wellbeing. She described in great detail all of the work that went into ensuring a safe return to school.

I think during lockdown the communication between parents, teachers and the pupils was so constant that any concerns was quite deliberately flagged up and because our communication was so regular and so in depth- so we'd phone parents every week, especially for the children that had additional support needs they were getting a video each day and their teacher would try to video call the one day per week. So any problems or any kind of niggling concerns were always found out from that. So I suppose when we came back in August we had a good platform of information to work with and also things were going on like a lot of children in the Unit class who have autism or Asperger's or PD, which is pathological defiant, they were actually taken on trips by members of staff into the local community, like to local parks, going for a walk, going for a cycle, just so that the transition between the home environment and going back to school was staggered and it was gentle and we hosted a POD during lockdown where certain pupils could come into the school and participate in learning activities with a supervising adult or a teacher. So doing that really did help the transition between the lockdown and returning to school. (Kate, ASN; 41-54)

The staff were clearly in constant direct communication with families and children, as well as easing the transition back to school by visiting families and interacting with the children

in their communities. While this was done for all families, it can be argued that those from diverse cultures certainly benefit from the school finding multiple ways to engage.

As mentioned above, Sarah found that during the lockdown, her pupils were not completing work because it was being sent out in the morning and expected back the same afternoon. She discovered that the families' schedules had shifted so that they woke up later in the morning and stayed up quite late at night. When Sarah and her class had to isolate again two weeks into the school year, she tried a different approach to assigning work.

> *Even just expecting quite often I find people weren't logging on to do homework til after mid-day so it felt like it was a later start in the day so the second time when we were locked down, I was posting work the day before and saying this isn't due until the end of the next day because I understand that so many of the families were keeping very different hours to what I was keeping... Just giving them that full 24 hours instead of posting it at 9 o'clock and expecting it back at 3 and just giving them and I seem to get more engagement back that way.* (Sarah, P5; 119-124; 129-130)

In addition to her adjusting her expectations for work completion, Sarah also responded to the fact that many parents did not read English, so simply sending an electronic journal of work would not necessarily be understood by parents who also typically helped their children access the learning.

> *Hopefully we're getting it right for our families cause I think they have different needs from your just white Scottish, English- speaking families. I think their needs are very different...well one of the things I realised is that a lot of our parents don't read English and so I was embedding into the daily blog, a recording of me saying what was on the blog, so that the parents that didn't read English but could understand English could access the learning for the children. And the feedback I got was that was incredibly helpful, and not just for the parents that didn't read English, but also for the children who are reluctant readers for various reasons, whether they're acquiring English or they're on the spectrum, or dyslexic or whatever their reasons are. So I found that doing things like that, keeping it as pictoral as possible for the EAL children and embedding lots of videos and things.* (Sarah, P5; 117-119; 102-110)

Sarah also wanted to be sure that parents were able to give her feedback about how the learning at home was going.

> *I was in contact with all of the parents everyday actually and at the end of it I ran a home learning survey, just to gauge how the parents had been finding the home learning... Those were the things that the feedback was saying actually this is what we found helpful. They didn't like just the pdfs up front, you know this is your work. Theye didn't like that. They wanted it to be more tailored and interactive. So that's the feedback I got from parents.* (Sarah, P5; 100-101; 110-113)

Sarah's understanding of her pupils' needs allowed her to make changes to her practice that were not only effective in the sense of teaching and learning, but also in how the parents appreciated her listening to their feedback and implementing their suggestions.

Kate had similar issues with one family that was struggling to access the electronic journals due to language differences. The school had previously sent home folders with notes and work, but due to Covid-19, they did not have any materials coming to and from school.

> *...we've set up an electronic diary system but all of the instructions on how to access the blog or access the diary are in English. And I was trying to explain to one of my kids, Oh I've noticed your mum hasn't been commenting, does she know how to access the platform. He was very confused cause he doesn't know himself-there's quite a lot of passwords and usernames. He didn't know how to do it, so I had to ask his sister, who's a teenager, if she could come and I would show her through the school gate how to access it and everything just takes a lot longer.* (Kate, ASN; 108-115)

Richmond et al. (2020) suggest that due to the pandemic, teachers are engaging more with their communities to address the challenges faced in primary and secondary schools, which aligns with the pluralist goal of culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris, 2012). It is clear from the above scenarios that the pandemic and subsequent transition to online learning, provided an opportunity for some teachers to communicate in different ways with parents

and learners resulting in the breaking down of boundaries that may have existed between home and school.

In both situations, the language diversity of the pupils became a general communication issue between staff and families upon the return to school. In response to these stories, I asked both teachers about the provision for EAL pupils upon returning to school. Prior to the lockdown, the school was considering changing from a pull-out model where pupils would leave their general classroom to go work with an EAL teacher. Unfortunately, due to Covid-19, each class has to stay together throughout the day and not mix with other staff and pupils. This has meant that the EAL teachers cannot work with the typical number of pupils that they normally would. Sarah described the situation.

> *At the moment we have two EAL specialists and the problem is, and because of Covid they can only work in I think tops, two classes a day. So one of them is part time, he's only in two days a week anyway, so he's already, he does two classes one day up the school and two classes the other day down the school and my class didn't make the cut so my class aren't having that. And then the other EAL specialist, because we're down an ALN teacher, she's been covering the learning support stuff that's happening in the unit so again we don't have that extra person at the moment.* (Sarah, P5; 137-143)

Without the extra support of EAL teachers, the regular classroom teachers have to do the best they can to support their EAL learners. Sarah and Kate had different views as to the expectation for that work.

> *I do I feel so bad because I can't always be breaking everything down so I'll we'll be doing something on the board and I see the two of them just like (facial gesture) cause they've got no idea what's going on.* (Sarah, P5; 146-148)

> *...in most classes, probably about 85% of the pupils have EAL so teachers have to plan with EAL in mind all the time. It shouldn't really be that you as a teacher rely on the EAL support to be able to take or extract kids because actually that should be at the forefront of all your planning. So how do I make sure that this lesson is accessible to all of my students. How*

> *will I make sure that I'm using visuals and translators so that everyone can*
> *access the learning.* (Kate, ASN; 76-81)

Sarah, who has not been teaching as long as Kate, indicated more of a need for EAL support, while Kate seemed to argue that it is part of their general job as teachers. Her comment is of interest since qualified general teachers do not have to have any experience with EAL pupils and may therefore not have ever had training on how to deliver all instruction with them in mind. The differences in understanding their role, especially during this time where support is not available, is a key finding in terms of being culturally responsive. Sarah does, however, have a firm understanding that being an EAL pupil does not mean they are at a lower learning level.

> *We have quite an established policy here that language acquisition is not*
> *what holds a child back from achieving and if you go to lots of other*
> *schools, you've got their EAL pupils doing primary 1 work because they*
> *think that's how it works. Well no it doesn't. Their thinking with their*
> *developmental age, most of them anyway, and are capable of doing that*
> *work as long as it's scaffolded for the language that they have achieved*
> *already or acquired so I think it ends up being about that scaffolding really.*
> (Sarah, P5; 171-177)

Based on this discussion, I asked both teachers if their pupils are ever given a chance to speak their home language at school. As mentioned in previous chapters, it is important for EAL pupils to be able and feel comfortable speaking their home language at school as it can aid in their learning.

> *One thing that I've been trying to do every morning since we came back is*
> *when we greet each other, they teach me the language, they'll greet me in*
> *their language, and I greet them back in their language. So I know a little*
> *bit of Dutch, a little bit of Somali, a. little bit of Urdu, some Arabic, so I'm*
> *trying to validate and show them how important their home languages are*
> *and their home languages are very welcome here.* (Sarah, P5; 184-188)

> *And tomorrow we are going to look at some graffiti designs and I'm going*
> *to get the children to write their names in a graffiti style but I'll give them*

the option if they want to write it in Urdu or Arabic, they actually can.
(Sarah, P5; 197-200)

Sarah described how she started a daily routine that welcomes the home languages of her pupils. The use of their language in an academic setting appears limited to certain projects involving writing or learning vocabulary.

We don't really, there's not so much opportunity for them to speak, but we usually draw comparisons and different links, so if we're talking about language or vocabulary, a lot of kids would say oh there's a word for that in Urdu or Arabic or Punjabi and it means this. And they would maybe compare meanings and draw comparisons between languages, which is interesting. I wouldn't really say there are so many opportunities for them to actually speak unless maybe we're doing something that's quite focused like a poetry task or maybe a descriptive emotional task and I would maybe give them the option-would you prefer to write it or would you prefer to record it in your mother tongue. (Kate, ASN; 193-200)

Kate refers to the 'opportunity' to speak their mother tongue, which indicates that someone has to give them that opportunity rather than it just being the norm. She goes on to say that she mostly hears their home language in social situations, rather than academic ones.

...they don't tend to do it, like unprompted. sometimes you might overhear them in the corridor talking to one another in Urdu or Punjabi, but they would never suggest using it. It's almost like their mind is focused, I'm at school so I talk in English, and at home, I speak my mother tongue. (Kate, ASN; 202-205)

She makes an assumption here about the pupils having an understanding that only English is spoken at school and their home language at home. It would be beneficial to know whether the pupils themselves feel there is an expectation to only speak English at school or whether they would feel free to use their home language during classes.

Kate describes many families as preferring to speak or at least attempt to speak English while at the school, possibly for reasons mentioned in previous sections such as wanting to 'fit in' with the dominant culture.

...you can tell that they're like second or third generations Scottish Pakistani so sometimes at home they would speak maybe a combination of

English and Urdu and so every kind of home environment that you go to probably would be very different in terms of maybe mum is speaking purely in Urdu, the children are responding in English or Urdu and the grandparents are speaking like only in Urdu and quite traditional form of it, so it's obvious quite varied as the family progresses and sometimes parents it becomes like a cultural pride thing, so sometimes parents aren't as willing to speak in their mother tongue and would like to kind of prove their English language level so even if like I'm talking at a gate with a parent, and I know she only speaks Urdu, I might be saying to a pupil 'can you tell your mom this?' they'll translate and then mostly the kids are used as translators because that's a really helpful way of getting a message across. (Kate, ASN; 206-217)

Kate's final statement of the interview was that the children are mostly used as translators, which implies a belief that, for these linguistically diverse pupils, speaking English is a tool, rather than an academic or social goal. This supports the importance of recognising language as an identity rather than an obstacle to overcome.

These final interviews provide a snapshot of considerations and choices made during the transition to digital learning and back to the classroom. In effect, the experiences of the pupils, staff, and families in this school offer a lived example of how the school responded to a global situation that could not have been predicted.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented a thematic analysis of the Ketso®-based focus groups with pupils, the online focus groups and interviews with teachers, and the online interview with the headteacher. The experiences shared by the pupils, teachers and headteacher in this study, offer a variety of stakeholder perspectives regarding the implementation of a culturally responsive practice in this school. Based on their collective responses, the themes identified in this chapter are *uncertainty*, *reactionary vs responsive*, and *individuals in the collective*.

The theme of uncertainty was clear throughout the research with both pupils and staff, as there were many different understandings of terminology around culture. As such, it was difficult to determine if the pupils felt that their cultural identities were addressed and

included; however, they used positive terms to describe how they felt at school and in their classrooms. They enjoyed the celebrations of culture at school and overall seemed to feel safe and happy. Similarly, the staff differed on what it means to be responsive, but all seemed committed to ensuring their pupils were safe and included in their classrooms. This suggests that while uncertainty around key terms related to CRP is a major finding of the research, it does not necessarily mean that a culturally responsive practice was lacking. Naming the practice or adhering to uniform definitions may not be as important as the practice itself.

The theme of reactionary vs responsiveness came as a result of several examples of unforeseen events that occurred during years prior to and including the 2019-2020 school year which had a significant impact on the pupils in the school in terms of racism and Islamophobia. Those events appeared to trigger a quick reaction on the part of the teachers, rather than a careful response; however, it was clear in each case that the overall concern was for the wellbeing of the pupils. This further suggests that the focus of the staff is on ensuring the pupils feel safe, welcome, and included. While this commitment is part of what it means to be culturally responsive, it does not address the causes and implications of racism and injustice, which is often cited in the literature as lacking in the practice of CRP (Ladson-Billings, 2021; Galloway et al., 2019).

The final theme of identities came about as individual pupil identities of religion, language, national origin, and gender were identified as aspects of culture that were unique to the school. The discussions around how teachers practiced cultural responsiveness were in relation to the interaction of these visible identities. The staff members mentioned the majority of Pakistani Muslim pupils the most in terms of religion, national pride, and language differences; however, there were pupils from other religions, nations, and languages in their classes as well. This suggests a tendency to refer to the majority non-White, non-Catholic pupils as one group, which is essentialising cultural differences (Dutro et al., 2008).

The lived experiences of the pupils and staff in this school provide a context for the policies and guidelines addressed in the previous chapter. As has been seen throughout this chapter on the thematic analysis, embedding a culturally responsive practice is complex and multifaceted; therefore, it is important to link the practice to the policies and literature presented in the first several chapters of this thesis. Using the themes of *uncertainty*, *reactionary vs responsive*, and *individuals in the collective*, a discussion of

how the qualitative and document analysis findings answer the research questions is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 – Discussion

This study began as an exploration of a school community that described itself as culturally responsive in order to meet the needs of their diverse pupils. Using a bounded case study methodology to explore and evaluate the implementation of CRP through the experiences of the pupils, teachers, and headteacher as well as to situate the study within the wider inclusive Scottish educational frameworks and guidelines in which the school operates, the aim of the study was to answer the following questions:

'What do the lived experiences of pupils and staff suggest about the effectiveness of a culturally responsive pedagogy?'

'What methodologies can be used to discover how a school can implement a culturally responsive practice in the context of inclusive education in Scotland?

This chapter will discuss the findings from across the different methodological elements of the case study, including the document analysis, Ketso®-based focus groups, online focus groups and interviews, to better understand how CRP may be implemented within an inclusive framework. The three themes identified in chapter 7 as *uncertainty*, *reactionary vs responsive*, and *individuals in the collective*, in fact reflect the same three main overarching issues that permeate the full thesis from the literature review, through the document analysis and into the thematic analysis of the interviews and focus groups. As such, this discussion chapter is structured around these three pivotal issues identified repeatedly through the course of the case study as being key to implementation. It is important to note that these issues are not mutually exclusive but rather have complex cross pollination and within each of the key areas there are a number of equally complex sub-themes.

The first issue to be discussed is the overall finding of uncertainty, with a focus on how the vague use of terminology by the pupils and staff of the school, is similar to the vague terms used in the educational documents to describe cultural practices. The sub-theme of leadership and its impact on whether those practices are implemented will then be discussed as it relates to each of the key findings in this study. The next main finding of reactionary vs responsive will be discussed with a focus on the impact that racism has on how teachers and staff respond to their diverse pupils. The third finding of individuals in the collective will then be discussed with reference to the intersecting identities of the

pupils. A further discussion of how CRP fits within the Scottish Framework for Inclusion is presented as an overall finding of how existing frameworks can support such a practice. The final point to be discussed is the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdown and the impact this had on teachers and staff as they adjusted their practice to develop and support at-home learning. The conclusion of this chapter will discuss how the relationship between the findings highlights the difficulties in trying to implement a practice from the ground up, which is how this school approached CRP.

8.1 Uncertainty

Perhaps the biggest finding of this research, as evidenced from all of the research methods, is that terms and their definitions can determine whether the implementation of a practice such as CRP will be successful. As evidenced throughout the literature, the definition of 'culture' itself has many variations. Valsiner (2009) argues that the vagueness of the definition is responsible for its popularity, suggesting that it is widely used because it can be used in any way. The vagueness of the definition of culture as understood by both learners and staff in this study, as well as the many terms that the staff used to describe culturally responsive pedagogy, make it difficult to connect participant responses. However, the uncertainty itself is a finding that underscores the need for a shared understanding of terminology within a learning community when trying to implement and evaluate such a practice. This is a substantive theme that was identified through the document analysis as well. Many of the Scottish educational documents analysed are considered to be 'guidelines', and thus open to interpretation. The vagueness of the documents allows for contextual responses that consider the local situation; however, it may also be the case that without explicit clarifications or definitions to cultural and ethnic diversity, certain pupils' identities will be ignored.

The findings from the focus groups suggest that there was a lack of universal understanding about key aspects of culturally responsive pedagogy as proposed by the theorists, both on the part of the pupils, and of the staff. For example, the definition of culture was not understood by the staff and pupils in the same way, suggesting that the staff may not be explicitly referring to culture in the classroom. The pupils in the school seemed to associate culture with celebration, as demonstrated by their enthusiasm for holidays, where their culture was celebrated. For some teachers too, the cultural fairs and

celebrations were also their examples of how the school was being culturally responsive, while other teachers talked about how they embed those ideals into the daily curriculum. Within the theory one of the most important understandings of culturally responsive pedagogy is that it is not merely about celebrations and holidays. Culture is not defined by holidays alone, but by the daily customs, traditions, languages, and experience of the people (Au, 2006). The analysis of the school's Twitter feed found it mostly shared images and descriptions of cultural celebrations at the school, which could suggest a superficial celebratory view of culture. This is similar to the majority of extant research with teachers that found that differences in defining terms such as culture and diversity, were linked to a superficial understanding of cultural responsiveness as tokenistic and celebratory (Gay, 2015; Sleeter, 2012; Nykiel-Herbert, 2010; Pewewardy, 1993). Gay (2015) found that some teachers chose 'safe' ways to address cultural diversity such as food and celebrations, rather than addressing inequities and oppressions in society. These aspects of CRP are the ones least likely to be implemented (Galloway, 2019; Sleeter, 2012). A few upper primary teachers in this school discussed how they incorporated discussions about inequities and racism into their lessons, while others commented on how they reacted when a situation involving racism arose. While this will be discussed further in this chapter, the difference between responding to the learners in your classroom or simply addressing an issue as it arises may influence whether pupils view their culture as respected and included. If students are only introduced to other cultures through a party once-a-year, there is very little likelihood of them understanding how others' experiences are shaped through their culture.

Another 'safe' way to address differences in the classroom is based on cultural tokenism, where the dominant group performs an action to be viewed as multicultural or responsive; often by making the marginalised group highly visible (Wingfield & Wingfield, 2014). That visibility leads to the dominant group exaggerating differences between themselves and the token, which in turn, are distorted to fit stereotypic generalisations about them (Niemann, 2016). Without an exploration of what culture means to the learners, a tokenistic view of celebration may be the depth of understanding, which can in fact lead to more 'othering'. It should be noted that all of the teachers in the current case study reported how engaged and happy their learners were when their culture was recognised or celebrated, which shows that they all agree on the importance of its impact on learners; however, as stated throughout the literature, awareness is not enough (Gay, 2002; Ladson-

Billings, 1995). Cultural responsiveness means going beyond celebrations and awareness to incorporate cultures into teaching and learning.

The discussion regarding a culturally responsive curriculum suggested that teachers were trying not to be tokenistic regarding the use of diverse learning materials. They did not want to just use something once as a special treat and then not refer to it again. The recurring phrase, 'populate our resources', suggests that, while the teachers' desire to have the material is there, they are still waiting for those resources, although it is not clear what 'resources' they have in mind. Some teachers found their own resources and incorporated these into their own materials, primarily reading books, to provide regular exposure to diverse authors and subjects. Much of the literature around culturally responsive materials is focused on the need for books with diverse characters by diverse authors (Garcia-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Bui & Fagan, 2013; Grant & Asimeng-Boahene, 2006). It is unclear if there was a school leadership decision to obtain culturally diverse materials, and if there was, what those would be, and how those would be used throughout the school. Throughout the focus groups and interviews with teachers and the headteacher, there was no mention of CfE or specific curricular guidelines in which a culturally responsive practice could occur, which suggests that either it was not considered to be explicitly supportive of the practice, or that the staff did not see it as a barrier, and thus did not feel the need to mention it. However, the Race Equality Framework for Scotland (REFS) 2016-2030 (2016) explicitly mentions CfE in one of its goals for education:

> *Engage minority ethnic stakeholders in a review of relevant*
> *resources available to practitioners within Curriculum for*
> *Excellence* (p.50)

This statement is of particular interest to this case study because it not only mentions CfE as a framework for this type of practice, but it includes minority ethnic stakeholders, which could include the pupils themselves. The qualitative methods in this study were not designed to link CRP to specific existing policies and guidelines. Rather it sought to focus on the practice to elicit how it might align with the guidance and approaches advocated within the general frameworks. While there was no explicit mention of curricular or policy barriers to implementing this practice, the headteacher seemed to acknowledge that culturally relevant resources were not available to practitioners.

It is unclear where the government and education leaders are in the process of identifying the curricular resources needed to support this work. In the meantime, the headteacher

acknowledges that the teachers know what their pupils need to learn, and that 'none of the stuff...that you get from the curriculum is it', which is an indirect reference to CfE, and implies that teachers have to come up with their own resources and ideas. However, there was no mention of whether every teacher is doing this. While one of the goals of CRP is for teachers to determine if existing learning materials can be modified to accommodate cultural diversity, or whether they need to be replaced, researchers agree that such a task is challenging and potentially overwhelming for any teacher, let alone a new teacher (Shoffner & Brown, 2010; Gay, 2000). It is suggested then that the pedagogy or practice should be focused on more than the materials, which is what the teachers in this school did through in-school and community-based experiences.

Byrd's (2016) study on culturally responsive teaching found that when teachers incorporated real-world examples that were relevant to their specific students and addressed social justice issues, the students were more likely to report feeling included and achieving higher academic outcomes. The upper primary teachers in my study described how they did incorporate culturally relevant examples to the curriculum such as the Pakistani and Indian army regiments in WWII. It would seem that it is up to educators to determine which lessons can benefit from those examples and how best to integrate them. As described in the example above, a partner organisation, Glaswegasians, were able to curate culturally relevant resources and information to support the lessons, thus affirming the importance of school-community partnerships in CRP (Aronson & Laughter, 2016). External organisations are a crucial resource to help teachers respond to specific cultures in their classrooms.

The phrase 'cultural awareness' was used repeatedly by several staff members to demonstrate their ability to effectively teach the learners in their classrooms. Some of the comments such as 'just having an awareness' seemed to be arguing that just knowing about differences, or potential areas of difficulty, was enough to be culturally responsive. To be aware of something is to acknowledge its existence, but if that were the extent to which educators understood culture, it would not lead to cultural responsiveness (Sherff & Spector, 2010). Awareness does not necessarily indicate understanding; and without understanding the backgrounds, values, traditions, attitudes, and practices of the pupils and their families, a teacher will not be able to ensure that each pupil's right to an inclusive education is achieved. Those teachers that specifically used the term 'culturally responsive' were more likely to be practicing the main concepts, while those that were uncertain or used vague language tended to have a more essentialised view of culture. Some teachers

were 'aware' of the different cultures in the class, but had difficulty naming them specifically, which may be an indication of treating all the non-White Scottish children as one entity. Similarly, the vague terminology used in the school's communication platforms around culture and inclusion presents a multicultural view of the school, that essentialises diversity rather than addressing the unique identities in the school (Dutro et al., 2008). While this may be an intentional decision in order to use similar terms to those in the relevant legislation, it does counter the narrative of cultural responsiveness that seeks to address and include the cultural and ethnic identities in a school. The concern is that if the non-White, non- Catholic pupils are treated as one, the individual inequalities that each may face will not be adequately addressed.

To address these inconsistencies, the recommendations from the literature focus on cultural competency training through ITE and ongoing professional development (Galloway, 2019; Gay, 2015, Whipp, 2013). What is missing from the literature is how the work can be done in the present, without the need for a formal training component. It is simply not practical or arguably, ethical, to wait until the training programmes catch up. As mentioned in chapter three, ITE programmes vary on how they address cultural issues, so it is not guaranteed that a newly qualified teacher will have that background. Moreover, as CPD is usually offered through, for example, the governing education body, school leadership, or independent consultants, it is dependent on schools and staff within schools engaging and attending what is offered. Teacher education is a continuum as they move throughout their career (Parker et al., 2016), and as such, continuing professional development can help current teachers at different stages of their practice to engage with this work. The 2012 GTCS standards reflect this idea of continuum by setting expectations for new and continuing teachers as well as headteachers to commit to social justice principles including race, ethnicity and gender (GTCS, 2012). However, without explicit guidance and training on how to do this in practice, it is unlikely to be achieved consistently within a school context. The updated 2021 standards are more action-orientated than the previous iteration from 2012 in terms of adjusting practice to address unique identities (GTCS, 2021); although it still does not specifically indicate where support to achieve this can be accessed. This suggests that the schools, and even individuals, are responsible for locating and engaging with ongoing professional development.

Mayfield (2020) argues that educators need to not only understand the inequities that learners face, but to apply and act on that knowledge towards a goal of dismantling the systems that foster and reproduce the inequality. This journey of understanding begins

with ITE, and ultimately, the study of culturally responsive pedagogy in ITE needs to be further examined, but considering that a goal for education is mentioned in the REFS statement below (2016), it is necessary to provide examples of how this work can be done from the ground up and across the teacher developmental continuum.

> *Ensure that equality and intercultural competency training resources are developed and made available to practitioners at all stages of their careers – through initial teacher education, induction and career long professional learning* (p.58).

The staff in this school were able to commit to a culturally responsive practice without formal training, a specific curriculum, or resources by working within existing frameworks and curriculum to begin the practice on their own. However, it can be argued that the practice could be further improved with evidence-based cultural competency resources and training to ensure a more embedded practice throughout the school.

As described in chapter six, Scotland's Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) is a set of guidelines that are purposely not prescriptive to allow flexibility for use in different contexts; however, that lack of specificity also means that critical social justice topics such as challenging racist and sexist forms of oppression may not be adequately addressed (Hedge & MacKenzie, 2016). Critics of CfE argue that the four capacities are indicators of what students should be, rather than what they should know, and that as such, they can mean different things depending on the context (Hedge & MacKenzie, 2016; Watson, 2010). It is difficult then to measure outcomes if they are based on broad definitions of success. The pupils in this study regarded success as receiving praise or merit but did not mention social or emotional outcomes. The teachers and headteacher viewed success as the pupils feeling included and safe. The HMIE report viewed success in similar general terms such as 'positive', 'inclusive', and 'respectful'. This difference in understanding of outcomes is important, considering that the primary aims of CRP are to raise student achievement, promote cultural competence, and develop critical consciousness (Ladson-Billings, 1995). There is little, if any, research on any school achieving all three outcomes, which suggests that they might not happen simultaneously, but incrementally, if at all. Research suggests that schools seek to incrementally adapt evidence-based interventions in ways that best address their context rather than trying to adopt an entire pedagogy (Brown, 2017; Bryk, 2016). Small changes may be more practical in terms of time, money, and resources, including the professional development needed to support those doing the work.

This further points to the need to discuss the intended goals with the stakeholders prior to reforming any practice. As mentioned previously, the context of the school is important; therefore, each school has to determine what its own goals are and not simply try to implement a new one size fits all policy or pedagogy that may not be applicable to its pupils and community. The work cannot be achieved from a to-do list, but rather from incremental changes in practice according to the needs of the school and with input from teachers, pupils, and families. This is the journey that the school has embarked on.

One of the sub-themes that arose from the participants is the belief that the term used to describe the work is not important, as long as the work is being done. The literature (Galloway et al, 2019; Paris, 2012) strongly suggests that the terms used and how they are understood by the entire school community will determine how effectively CRP can be implemented. However, from this study, without input from teachers who are effectively implementing the practice, common language might not be enough. The teachers had difficulty in stating what CRP success looks like. If that is the case, then the question becomes, 'so how do you know you are doing it?'. The school did not set out to implement CRP, but they now claim to be a culturally responsive school. In order to prove that, they need to be able to show what evidence they have to support its success. This is not a clear process; however, due to the fact that the work that they have done cannot necessarily be measured in test scores, for example. The literature on CRP and student outcomes suggests that because schools tend to implement it differently, outcomes will have to be contextual for each school (Bottiani et al., 2018; Byrd, 2016). This is where the importance of school communication comes in. If the school had a plan for implementation, perhaps as part of a school improvement plan, then they could articulate their goals for the year regarding cultural responsiveness and share progress with families and the community via the website and Twitter. Although such a plan would have input from the staff, the responsibility for tracking and monitoring its implementation lies with the leadership of the school.

8.2 Leadership

School leadership is responsible for ensuring an inclusive environment for all learners (Khalifa et al., 2016). The experience, skills, and authority of school leaders can be transformative in engaging with issues of social justice (Shields, 2010). As outlined in the

GTCS standards (2021), the themes of Professional Values, Leadership for Sustainability, and leadership is embedded across the continuum and so applies to all staff including headteachers. The headteacher in this school was very candid in admitting that when she first arrived at the school, she had so much to learn about the cultures present, from how to pronounce pupils' names to having even a basic understanding of Islam. She sought out the knowledge from families and in turn, shared that with her staff. In lieu of formal training, this was an effective way to begin to change the practices of the past that were clearly not responsive to the predominantly Muslim culture of the school. There is a need to recognise that at the time, that was the only way for the school to shift its understanding and recognition of the different cultures; however, eight years later, the knowledge is still shared in the same way: the headteacher reads an article or engages with culturally responsive literature and then disseminates it to the staff. This is in line with the GTCS standards for headship that encourage leaders to engage with and share academic literature with staff (2021). Researchers take this further suggesting that leaders empower their staff to be more involved with policy and curriculum (Winterbottom et al., 2017). This focus is also supported through the NfI, which asks teachers to understand pedagogies, practices, and legislation needed to support equity (STEC, 2014). Perhaps most relevant to this study is X City Council's (XCC) policy report (2016) on ensuring inclusion in its schools, which outlines the role of teachers in fostering an inclusive environment (p. 7):

- *Plan learning and access to the curriculum so that all children and young people are included and making any necessary adaptations to their classroom environment and practice.*
- *Ensure they have a full understanding of XCC policies and processes relating to inclusion.*
- *Evaluate their own professional development and keep up to date with thinking and research on inclusion.*

Again, what seems to be missing from this and other similar documents is *how* teachers should do this. This policy document seems to suggest that the onus is on teachers to keep up with research and policy around inclusion, yet there does not seem to be any measure of how this is done. The research suggests that those headteachers who empower their teachers to be more involved with policy and curriculum, can create a sense of shared responsibility (Khalifa et al., 2016; Mullen & Hutinger, 2008). This notion of 'empowerment' could be seen as leaving the decision whether to engage with this work up to teachers; thereby creating another gap between what is recommended through policy,

and what is actually being done in the classroom. For those teachers who are eager to be empowered and willing to do the work, then recommendations for teachers to change ineffective school policies such as those in the Anti-Racist Education report (EIS, 2018), may be more likely; however, again, it will depend on the headteacher. When one person is responsible for the dissemination of knowledge, there is a greater likelihood of reactionary rather than responsive behaviour among the staff.

The staff of the school in this study all reported the passion and dedication on the part of the headteacher. Some senior staff leaders independently created resources and implemented CRP practice, but it was evident that some teachers were more engaged than others. It is unclear from this research whether those teachers had different beliefs than the headteacher or whether it was simply a case of some teachers had more of a capacity to engage in the work. The headteacher suggested that some teachers were not engaging in the same way as the majority, but she did not indicate any action on her part to change those situations.

> *You need to learn how to cope with the fact that five people might not be operating as best as they can, because look at what you get from the other 15.* (Kris, HT; 207-209)

Chapman (2019) argues that even if you have the strongest curriculum, and put into place every research-based intervention, ultimately, learning comes down to the existence of meaningful relationships in the classroom. This suggests that the pupil-teacher relationship, which is at the heart of CRP, may be more important than whether specific practices are in place. Considering that it is unlikely for every staff member to have the background and willingness to engage with this work, those relationships may at least contribute to a positive and inclusive learning environment. The headteacher made it clear that she wants teachers who care for their pupils and 'can express love', suggesting that a culturally responsive practice begins with the teachers.

The issue of educational reform is also a factor in how school leaders may engage with social justice work. Recent educational reforms in Scotland, for example, *Improving Schools in Scotland* (2015) and *Joint Agreement* (2018) have been implemented to ensure that policies reach and empower those who are working directly in schools by strengthening the roles of headteachers and local authorities (Scottish Government, 2018). Chapman (2019) argues that this new inclusion of the views of multiple stakeholders, while socially cohesive, risks alienating some local authorities who may feel threatened by

such an approach if it does not fit their context. The 'leadership at all levels' focus appears on paper to divide responsibility between government, local authorities and schools; however, headteachers seem to be most held to account, which affects whether they encourage teachers to engage in policy and curricular work (Forde & Torrance, 2021). It would seem then that the goal of flexibility for schools may result in a contextualised approach to reform, which is argued as a way forward throughout this study based on the literature, document analysis, focus groups, and interviews. Such an approach could offer support for teachers and staff as they respond to situations in which their pupils experience injustice and racism due to their cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

Gruenert and Whitaker (2019) suggest that it takes five years for a leader to change a school's culture. The challenge with a strategy that relies on one individual to drive it forward is how to maintain and improve it should leadership in the school change, which it inevitably will. When school staff work together using evidence-informed practices to address issues, there is a greater likelihood of achieving sustainable outcomes (Brown, 2017; Godfrey, 2016). Sustainability is a necessity for school reform; however, that does not mean doing the same thing year after year, but rather adapting and responding to learners while maintaining a pedagogical approach (Coburn, et al., 2012). Understanding that the headteacher began this work as a response to the cultures present in the school, it can be argued that a formal implementation of CRP including extensive training, may not be necessary to achieve its goals. However, similar to the need to for a common understanding of terms, without a common understanding of desired outcomes for the practice, it is difficult to know whether those goals have been achieved and whether they can be sustained when changes occur.

Throughout this study, the comments from participants suggested that the headteacher was responsible for prioritising this work; yet the headteacher did not provide any formal professional training on this issue for the staff. It is unclear whether this was due to a lack of resources, or if they considered the staff discussions and readings to be enough. Nearly every study on CRP references the need for comprehensive training and ongoing professional support in order to achieve the goals of CRP, (see for example, Aronson & Laughter, 2015; Gay, 2010; Sherff & Spector, 2010); however, the majority of those studies do not explain how to start the process, particularly without financial and resource support from the educational agencies. Moreover, they do not indicate if, and how, training affects the students. Bottiani et al., (2018) conducted a review of in-service CRP training which found that roughly only 10% of studies used empirical data to measure

student outcomes. In that sense, the findings from this research confirm a process of culturally responsive pedagogy that has been built from within the school, through the leadership of the headteacher.

8.3 Reactionary vs Responsive

Contemporary scholars understand CRP to be a response to an everchanging and adapting world, not a response to an isolated event or incident (Kazanjian, 2019; Gordon, et al., 2017). The data from the learners in this study was limited and so it is difficult to be able to comment on how responsive they think their school is to their cultural differences. As is the case for most of the findings, they primarily give insight into how teachers perceive the challenges of having multiple cultures represented in their classroom that they may have little or no knowledge about. This theme emerged in relation to how the staff dealt with expected circumstances such as daily curriculum, lack of pupil voice, gender differences, and to an extent, bullying; as well as those unexpected societal circumstances such as the election of Donald Trump, Black Lives Matter, Brexit, or attacks committed by Muslims. While no one could necessarily predict these occurrences, it is worth exploring if and how the school could be better prepared to discuss emergent issues that directly concern or affect the pupils. This theme is discussed through the lens of Critical Race Theory.

The concept of safe space was discussed by staff members who viewed the school as such a place that is free from Islamophobia, discrimination, stereotyping, and deficit views. They argue that in addition to the safe space they have created, their discussions around cultural responsiveness have prepared them to effectively teach their diverse learners. However, there seemed to be a discrepancy in the experience of bullying within the school. As discussed in the literature review, culturally responsive school leaders are responsible for creating and fostering a school climate inclusive of marginalised students (Khalifa et al., 2016). The headteacher and staff downplayed the incidents as 'regular teasing' and something that just happens in schools, while the pupils suggested it was more serious bullying, although their reasons for it were unclear. The staff acknowledged that the reasons sometimes include ethnic differences. This is another example of how a lack of consistent terminology and understanding of cultural concepts can hamper inclusive efforts. The use of the terms 'bullying', 'teasing', and 'abuse' are important because of the emotion and intent behind them. If the students feel like they are being bullied, but

teachers only see it as typical teasing behaviour, there is a likelihood that the student will not feel comfortable reporting the incident because it will not be taken as seriously. There is no indication that it has happened, but without a schoolwide definition of, and response to, bullying, it is likely that more serious occurrences will go unreported, possibly leading to a lack of feeling included by those students.

During the interviews the staff focused more on the mostly Islamophobic verbal abuse by outsiders towards the pupils outside of the school, both in the local neighbourhood, and often during field trips. This resonates with findings from the literature (Elani & Kahn, 2017; Hopkins, 2008). As these events threaten the emotional, as well as physical safety of the pupils, a responsive outlook would see the school address those encounters with common language to ease the concerns of the pupils and their families. CRP requires courageous conversations about racism and xenophobia that affect the pupils and their families (Galloway et al., 2019). It is unclear from the findings if and how the school has addressed the verbal abuse other than to react to specific incidents.

The UK government classifies Islamophobia as racism with the APPG (2018 pg.11) stating that *Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness.* As mentioned throughout this thesis, having a willingness to engage in a dialogue about racism is a core tenet of culturally responsive pedagogy. Moreover, having that discussion *before* an incident takes place ensures common language will be used among the staff and increases the likelihood that pupils will see the teachers and staff as their allies. Shah (2019) argues that defining racism as 'a bit of teasing' reflects a lack of preparedness to address the issues. The EIS has strongly articulated its position advocating Anti-Racist education (EIS, 2018) including responding to Islamophobia. It is noteworthy that none of the staff participants mentioned this guidance and resource to support them with this work. In addition to being on the EIS website, it was also posted on the Education Scotland website, so the information was widely available should teachers be guided to look at it or be searching for it.

One of the most difficult aspects of enacting a culturally responsive environment is confronting uncomfortable truths (Sleeter, 2012). This is usually in terms of racism and oppression; however, it can be argued that if the pupils are feeling like bullying is a problem, then perhaps the staff are not truly seeing it, or are not willing to broach the topic until an incident arises. Having to react to a situation instead of being prepared for the

eventuality significantly raises the possibility that the incident will be dealt with in harmful or less supportive ways.

The school highlights its approach to GIRFEC through the SHANNARI acronym on its website. Considering that the 'S' in SHANARRI refers to feeling safe as an indicator of wellbeing (GIRFEC, 2014), any situation at school that threatens a pupil's safety should be viewed as an urgent matter. Therefore, if staff are dismissing bullying as 'a bit of teasing', they are not upholding the importance of a safe environment for their pupils. Moreover, the Additional Support for Learning Act (2019) specifically identifies bullying as a need which can result in requiring further support; therefore, if the children feel like there is bullying, then there should be an impetus to understand and clarify the situation to address their concerns. Consistent communication among staff regarding a safe environment should be a priority.

8.3.1 Event-dependent CRP

As mentioned in the literature, the media can perpetuate negative stereotypes about Muslims (Shah, 2019); therefore, it is important that teachers help their learners identify and confront those biases (Hoque, 2018). The staff mentioned several examples of how events in the media affected their pupils. The election of Donald Trump as President of the United States may have been a surprise, but the negative rhetoric around Muslims being expressed through the media in the wake of his nomination four years prior, was not; and therefore, presented an opportunity to discuss how the pupils would respond to such a negative portrayal of their faith. CfE (2014), as a flexible set of guidelines, would seemingly allow for a unit on media bias, racism in the media, or any number of lessons on emotional wellbeing to address the racist rhetoric the pupils were being exposed to. The school staff view themselves as allies to their learners (Reason, 2005), but need the common language to be able to effectively respond to the unforeseen. The idea of '*kids having mini-riots on the playground'* (Catherine P3; 380-384) the day after the election because they thought they would be killed, clearly indicated a threat to the emotional safety of the pupils. It may be true that having seen the worry caused by Trump's election, that the staff would have been prepared if he was re-elected, or even if someone with similar views is elected to an office. This type of responsiveness addresses the need to engage and foster agency within the learners, particularly around issues of racism and

prejudice, which is an integral part of the Health and Wellbeing strand of CfE, as well as NfI (Scottish Government, 2019b; STEC, 2014).

The school's focus on health and wellbeing, as well as getting back on track academically after the return to in-person learning, seemed to also have lowered the priority for discourse around Black Lives Matter. However, for children from diverse backgrounds, health and wellness are also defined by their cultural experiences at school. Scotland's CfE has an entire strand about pupil health and wellbeing, with an outcome that states '*that it is everyone's responsibility to challenge discrimination*' (Scottish Government, 2019b, p.1). With such a focus on inclusion, safety, social justice, and wellbeing, it is worth exploring why Scotland's educational policies and guidelines are not being used to support this work. The Headteacher alluded to this when she spoke about a possible bandwagon effect where schools would now pay attention to culture and racism because it was being discussed in popular media. She emphatically argued, 'You need to do that all of the time', suggesting that discourse in the media may influence school policy.

For many young people the media is the only source of exposure to diversity (Gay, 2002). Another event-dependent example of CRP is the Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests that began in May 2020 after the death of George Floyd, a Black male, who was unjustly killed by police officers in Minneapolis. In the initial focus groups, some teachers' responses to the Black Lives Matter movement suggested that it would be an important opportunity to address cultural differences with pupils; however, it is noteworthy that some referred explicitly to BLM, while others used a more cautious tone such as, '*with what's going on in the world*' (Catherine, P3; 577-580). This again could indicate discomfort in using the explicit language needed to address racism (Paris & Alim, 2017). This was evident in the study on Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland (2005) that included views from teachers, pupils, and parents. Among the findings was that teachers were uncomfortable using terms such as racism and race-equality in favour of diversity and inclusion (Arshad, 2016). It is suggested that CRP should include explicit discussions with learners about racism and injustice, yet it is often the aspect that is not implemented. The avoidance of such terms increases the likelihood of a reactionary response to an event as described above.

The teachers claimed that BLM would undoubtedly be a part of their teaching because of worldwide coverage and relation to similar events in the UK and Scotland. This is an example of a reactionary response, and although well-meaning and relevant, it is unlikely

to have the desired effect if it is not sustained. Based on the interview with teachers upon returning to school with post-lockdown restrictions, it appears that those conversations were no longer as urgent as they had once seemed. This could be due to a number of factors including the fact that once the news coverage dissipated in the autumn of 2021, so did the discussions among staff. Additionally, in the post-lockdown school environment, the pupils stayed with their teachers and could not mix with other classes or adults at school. This made it less likely of addressing the school as a whole and relied on each teacher to have the common language and understanding of a situation in order to effectively respond to it. While certain events such as the pandemic were out of anyone's control, it has highlighted the need for a sustainable practice around cultural responsiveness, particularly when marginalised and vulnerable populations are most affected. While the pandemic exposed the inequalities and oppression (Fabionar, 2020), the video showing George Floyd's murder exposed the systemic racism that is often ignored or misunderstood by White people.

While the majority of teachers said they feel empowered to be political in their teaching, only a couple of teachers were willing and able to have conversations about race and oppression with their pupils. To be clear, this does not mean that teachers should assume that all diverse pupils are oppressed; on the contrary, the literature supports findings that show that a strength-based approach to working with culturally diverse learners is far more effective than a deficit approach (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Foley et al., 2013; Shah, 2009). Working with pupils to help them understand that their identities are strengths, not weaknesses, is a large part of CRP, but it relies on an honest exchange of ideas regarding the origin of deficit mentalities and a commitment to empower pupils to use their religion, language, national origin, and gender, and other identities, to overcome any barriers they may face. Paris et al (2020) argues that even culturally *sustaining* pedagogy cannot be fully realised in schools as structural and social inequalities prevent a comprehensive implementation. However, their research acknowledged that teachers and staff within schools have taken up the work themselves through book clubs and other social networks. In effect, the Scottish Catholic primary school at the centre of this research has done just that, albeit as a schoolwide initiative to respond to the needs of their diverse learners with intersecting identities.

8.4 Individuals in the Collective

The theme of identity and the role it plays in cultural responsiveness is another important aspect of this research. Whether teachers view culture as being the same as identity is important to understand because while culture is certainly a part of one's identity, one's culture and identity are constantly changing depending on the context (Irizarry, 2007; Nieto, 1999). Moreover, the intersectionality of identities requires an understanding of how neglecting one identity in favour of another can expose inequalities. Religious, national origin, language, and gender were the forms of identity that were discussed throughout the interviews and focus groups.

As described above, the majority of teachers found it hard to even agree on what culture meant. Words like 'fluid', 'context', and 'identity' were used, but with a lack of confidence about how they understood it. Shah (2018) specifically uses the term *fluid* to describe one's identity. If teachers are equating culture with identity, that can be problematic. One's identity is not only formed by culture, but also experiences and relationships (Irizarry, 2007). Studies have shown that one's orientation to an individualistic or collectivist culture, will inform behaviours in the classroom, such as speaking up or staying quiet (Lee & Sheared, 2002). There is caution here; however, to not simply group all 'others' into a collective. Brah (1993) argues that this *ethnicism* assumes that a culturally different group is homogenised and leads to stereotyping. As mentioned previously, the essentialised view of culture that treats everyone within a cultural group the same, ignores the intersecting identities that make us who we are (Dutro, 2008). Within a religion or ethnic community, there are unique aspects that must be understood and recognised. To assume that one can simply teach to a cultural group as a whole, ie., Muslims, ignores the different sects within Islam as well as the countries of origin. To that effect, individual identities should be considered but through a lens of acknowledging the fluidity of identities that contribute to the larger culture (May & Sleeter, 2010).

The questions asked of the teacher participants in this study were geared towards understanding how they viewed the different identity groups within the school and whether they made connections between them. The findings suggest that they observed the intersections of ethnicity, language, and national origin, but seemed most concerned with Muslim girls in the school who appeared to defer to boys and participate less often as they matured. While this intersection of gender identity is important, it is not the only identity to be aware of in conjunction with religion. Nayel (2017) argues that only identifying a

person as a 'Muslim woman' ignores the national origin and/or ethnicity identity; however, this is common practice in certain countries in the Middle East and North Africa, where religion is one's main identity. As a result, it can be argued that educators working with children from these regions, should understand how certain identities are viewed in those cultures. Children who are not taught about the nuances of culture may just look at someone and automatically assume they understand them, which perpetuates the notion of 'other'. In order to be inclusive to all cultures, that notion should be dispelled. Foucault (1977) argued an individual defines themselves by the contexts that are available to them through discourse and language. Children only know what is explicitly taught to, and discussed, with them. If they are only taught about others in terms of respecting those who are different, then that focus on differences will remain. The staff of this school, with the leadership of the headteacher, have undertaken several initiatives to support and encourage learners, and often their families, to engage with their religious, language, gender, and national identities; however, based on the analysis of the communication platforms, they do not seem to communicate the intent behind those initiatives to the families and community. As suggested in previous chapters, this may be due to not wanting to stigmatise any particular cultural group, or it may be because the terms used in Scottish policies, guidelines, and school reports is general with regards to cultural diversity.

As with so many other factors of CRP, 'knowing' the learners in your classroom means on an individual basis, even if they share certain identities with others. This is supported through X City Council's policy report which states that (2016, p. 6):

> *In X, establishments we expect all staff to: know the children they work with very well*

This is the general basis for cultural responsiveness and one that the school has addressed through a variety of initiatives, but again the terminology is so vague that it is unclear to what extent and in what ways teachers should 'know' their learners. Without explicit mention of culture and/or background, it is again up to the practitioner and/or the school to decide what this means. The HMIE report found that the teachers and staff knew and understood their community well, but as mentioned previously, this was presented in general terms. The implication here is that other schools without cultural diversity may have been found to know their pupils well too; therefore it can be argued that the basis for assessing this expectation needs to be explicit in *how* teachers and staff demonstrate this knowledge.

8.4.1 Religious Identity

In this Catholic school, religious identity holds a significant importance, not just for the few Catholic and Sikh pupils, but for the majority Muslim families as well. The school has spent seven years focused on the inclusion of those pupils from outside the Catholic faith. The staff, led by the Headteacher, has learned about general Islamic traditions, both celebratory and those within the household. When the headteacher started at the school, she quickly responded to the request for Muslim pupils to be able to pray at school in addition to introducing a weekly Catholic Mass for all pupils. From the positive feedback received from parents, the staff feel like they have adequately addressed any concerns about religious expression in the school. The school handbook states *'We have excellent interfaith dialogue and prayer. Our pupils have opportunities to explore their faith and the faith of others through rich experiences and conversations'* (X School Handbook, 2020). Although it is not explicitly mentioned anywhere on the website or handbook, the school offers the Muslim pupils the opportunity to attend Friday prayers, and according to the teachers, there are classroom conversations about the Muslim faith. There is a sense, however, that in line with the curriculum guidance, discussions are more superficial and 'about' the Muslim faith rather than incorporating the tenets of the faith into the religious curriculum (Scottish Government, 2011b). Moreover, in some cases, teachers were unaware of different identities within the Muslim faith. The findings suggest that a pupil from a different Islamic sect may have been the victim of bullying by other Muslim pupils. A few members of staff had pupils from different sects of Islam in their classes, which is significant because of the potential clash of beliefs with other pupils. One teacher admitted she had not heard of the sect until the pupil mentioned how others might view her. Modood and Ahmad (2007) stress that Muslims should not be treated as one collective minority.

As many teachers working in Catholic schools are members of the Catholic faith community, it is unlikely that a deeper understanding of Islamic sects is going to occur, both because of the complex history involved and the unlikelihood of the Scottish Catholic Education Service (SCES, 2018) prioritising such an undertaking. The Equity and Inclusion Learning and Teaching page on their website states, *'The Church expects that Catholic schools, working with parents and families, will seek to prepare pupils to find happiness and to lead lives of goodness, built upon Christian values, personal integrity*

and moral courage'. While it is understandable that a Catholic school would teach Christian values, it is noteworthy that there is no mention of other faiths on this page about equity and inclusion. There is, however, an outline of topics covered as part of religious education, including discussion around hate crimes of all protected characteristics. This suggests that Islamophobia may be addressed; however, if that is the only topic discussed, reinforces a deficit narrative instead of one that is inclusive of other religions. The CfE guidance on religious and moral education; however, does include Islam and Sikh as examples of world religions to be discussed (Scottish Government, 2011b). While a few teachers mentioned they had Sikh pupils, none of them described any understanding about how Sikh is different from Islam. It seems that those pupils are included in an 'other' category, instead of being recognised as another faith identity. As one of the teachers hesitantly admitted, *'...we have to make sure we're prioritising...at the very least, making comparisons between Catholicism and Islam and any other religions that are represented, I suppose'*. It would be of interest to hear the perspectives of Sikh families as to how they perceive the school's response to their religion.

While the importance of recognising and addressing the increasingly diverse religions in the school cannot be overstated; it must be acknowledged that this is a very unique school, in that although the vast majority of pupils are Muslim, it is governed by the Catholic Diocese (SCES, 2020) as well as the local city council. It can be argued, however, that if the school is going to empower all pupils and give them agency, they must at least understand the inequities and challenges they face as members of a minority religion in Scotland.

8.4.2 National Origin

While studying religion in school, pupils may focus on their religious identity, but in other contexts, they may identify with pride in their national origin. When teachers were asked how their pupils identified themselves, they all spoke about their national origin e.g., Pakistani, Bangladeshi, etc. According to the staff, the majority of Muslim pupils in the school are from a Pakistani origin, but there has been a recent increase of refugee children coming from countries such as Syria. It would be problematic if teachers assumed that a Muslim pupil from Syria had a similar experience to a second-generation Pakistani Muslim or to a Lebanese Muslim pupil; however, coming from an area of conflict does not necessarily mean they have experienced trauma. It is important to acknowledge cultural

wealth and resilience in newcomers (Yosso, 2005). Each country's history is unique and may view aspects of Islam differently. A basic knowledge can avoid misunderstandings and potentially divisive situations between pupils from different regions and/or religious backgrounds.

Both groups of teachers interviewed mentioned a recent pupil from Africa, but none were sure specifically where they came from; they later remembered that it was Somalia. This is concerning if it means that they did not take time to understand the cultural, language, and historical differences that the child had experienced prior to arriving in the city. If any pupil who is not White, Scottish, and Catholic is viewed as part of a collective Muslim culture, that may ignore the very important national identities that contribute to that culture. That practice reiterates the multicultural focus of teaching that generalises the 'other' (Kumashiro, 2000), which has been noted previously. Ignoring an aspect such as national origin because there is only one pupil from that country, can signal a reluctance on the part of the teacher to understand the differences that make a child unique. Consequently, that pupil may not feel a part of the school and may either stay quiet to avoid being singled out, or will code-switch to try to identify with the majority of pupils in the school (Banks, 2012). Either way, that child may not feel included and may begin to internalise that something is wrong with them or their culture because it is not being acknowledged and discussed. This is why it is noteworthy that such a seemingly inclusive school does not highlight the different religions or national backgrounds in their communication platforms.

The teachers stated that their pupils' national pride is evident through their reactions to the use of curriculum that refers to their home country, as well as through cultural celebrations where families come and share food and customs. As noted above, occasionally reading a book about diversity or having 'culture week' is tokenistic, rather than responsive and reduces cultural diversity to something to talk about once a year. The teachers are not necessarily doing this, but considering the pupils seem to equate culture with celebration, and the Twitter feed highlights cultural celebrations, that may be the message being, even inadvertently, communicated. Importantly, the teachers were all in agreement that their pupils are the most engaged when they are working with familiar curricula, such as materials that mentioned or reflected their national origin. As discussed in the literature, the use of culturally relevant materials including curricula are a key aspect of the practice (Underwood & Mensah, 2018), and educational materials should reflect the lives of the pupils (Aronson & Laughter, 2016); however, as discussed previously, that is not always

possible. In their study, Khalifa et al., (2016) suggest that if families are willing to come and share food and customs, as is routinely done at this school, then perhaps they would be interested in helping create culturally relevant resources. This may be a way to get families more involved and further bridge the home and school cultures, which is particular struggle for EAL learners (Evans & Liu, 2018).

8.4.3 Language Identity

The school has identified 86% of its pupils as bilingual or EAL (2019). There are over 20 languages spoken in addition to English including Urdu, Arabic, and Roma (X School Handbook, 2020). The majority of pupils can speak and understand English enough to participate in class, but there are several that require additional EAL services provided by the school. The EAL teachers work to support the learners and the teachers through in-class as well as outside of class provisions. With a few identified exceptions, the majority of teachers focus on ensuring that their pupils can demonstrate understanding of the material by communicating in English. The language research referenced in the literature review suggests that it is important for the school to respect and even encourage speaking of one's mother tongue at school (Liu & Evans, 2016). While the staff had not gone as far as encouraging the use of home language in all aspects of the school, some teachers did report finding ways to incorporate home language into academic activities. The research suggests that when students use their home language to learn new concepts, they are more likely to feel included in the school because their language is being encouraged and incorporated as a strength (Palmer et al., 2014; Paris, 2012; Grant & Mistry, 2010).

The headteacher expressed her strong opinion about how some schools may see having EAL pupils in their school as demonstrating the practice of CRP. She argued that '*language is language*', referring to the fact that just because the family may not speak English, does not mean they are not intelligent, on the contrary, she notes how some parents have multiple degrees in their home country, but are asked to take 'English' lessons in order to integrate into the new culture. The result is that the adults may choose not to learn English and will rely on their children to interpret any necessary information, which may make it difficult to engage with families. It can be argued that it is not the schools' job to teach English to parents and families anyway; however, if the school acknowledges and respects their pupils' native language, it may foster a more inclusive

environment where parents are actively welcomed and encouraged to speak their language and introduce it to others in the school community (Hoque, 2018).

8.4.4 Gender Identity

Of all the identities researched in this study, the staff at the school seem most concerned with addressing the issue of gender inequalities within the Muslim pupil population, which supports the research around how the intersection of gender and ethnicity is more complex for girls and women from diverse cultures (Atewologun & Singh, 2010). All of the adult participants discussed concerns about the girls in the school, who appear to withdraw more as they approach puberty. There were also examples of how girls 'deferred' to boys when working in groups, suggesting that once a boy answered a question or gave their opinion, there was no reason for the girl to add to or contradict that. One of the teachers started a girls' group that was meant to provide a safe space in which to discuss a range of issues to empower girls and give them a voice. It is unclear from the interviews what activities or discussions took place, and what the girls themselves thought about the group. There was no mention of any discussions with boys about gender identity and equality, which is a significant concern within the Muslim faith (Emejulu, 2013).

The patriarchal nature of the religion and the rigid expectations of women can result in emotional and physical abuse (Dunne et al. 2020), even in Scotland where, for example, Scottish-Pakistani women tend to feel partially included (Emejulu, 2013). The staff seem to understand that most of their pupils are from a patriarchal society, which can insist that girls and boys should not be interacting socially (Saigol, 1995). In terms of how this affects pupils at school, dance lessons and other activities that may require boys and girls to hold hands may put them in a situation where they have to choose between the values of their family and school activities (Emejulu, 2013). Some teachers admitted that they really did not know if the parents actually forbade them to be close to one another, let alone hold hands; or if it was the child's perception. Without explicitly knowing what is allowed and what is not, the staff risks putting the children in a difficult situation of questioning their parents or missing certain activities because it is assumed it is forbidden.

There is a line between empowering girls and reinforcing a deficit narrative of these girls as victims. For example, there is a tendency to view women wearing a Hijab or Abaya as being forced to do so (Perry, 2014); however, recent literature suggests that Muslim girls are choosing to assert their identity by wearing traditional clothing as a sign of

independence (Janmohamed, 2016). The headteacher acknowledged her surprise at the positive reasons given when she asked one of the mothers why she wears the Abaya. The fact that she sought out that information is responsive; however, it may suggest that there are other assumptions among the staff that need to be discussed. For example, one teacher recalled how during a parents' night a father spent significantly more time talking about his son's academic progress than his daughter's. The teacher claimed that '*he wasn't interested in her work. He had no ambitions for her*'. While this was one teacher's opinion, it seemed to be supported by other members of staff. Whether or not this was an accurate reflection of the situation, staff must be cautious about making assumptions based on culture. As stated throughout this thesis, confronting one's own beliefs and attitudes is an important step in becoming culturally competent (Hoque, 2018; Osler & Starkey, 2018). It is unclear if the headteacher had any discussions about the importance of self-reflection prior to or during the implementation of CRP.

The staff all mentioned how strong the relationship between the school and families is, but the role of gender in Islam seems to be one area that has not been openly discussed with those families. While this is another sensitive area that teachers may feel uncomfortable addressing, one of the biggest concerns about CRP is that often the core social justice concepts of racism, xenophobia, prejudice, and oppression are either not discussed with learners, or are simply touched on in a 'nice' way to not upset anyone (Irby & Clark, 2018). While the literature argues that religious identity cannot be discussed without looking at the influence of gender and national origin (Dunne et al., 2020), and language identity cannot be discussed without understanding how it is intertwined with national origin (Hoque, 2018), the reality of doing so is not that straightforward. Raising culturally sensitive questions and issues with pupils and/or their families is difficult, to say the least, because it may challenge personal and cultural beliefs, which could lead to an erosion of the trust that the school has worked hard to cultivate. This is another example of why context matters. The staff in this school made a decision to address perceived gender inequalities through the girls' club mentioned previously, as a safe, but meaningful opportunity to encourage girls to use their voice. While it may not address issues with the boys, it is a practice started from within the school based on their knowledge of their pupils and families.

No one on the staff mentioned any government policy or guidelines that would help address gender inequalities, which is of interest considering the emphasis that Scotland places on the UNCRC and SDGs, both of which have clear gender equality goals (UN,

2015). Gender is explicitly mentioned in the GTCS (2021, 2012) standards, and again seems to put the onus on teachers to guarantee gender equality. This suggests that educators must keep up with relevant academic literature as part of their cultural work in order to better understand the intersection of inequalities, which is outlined in various standards (GTCS, 2021; Bassel & Emejulu, 2010). The question remains as to how teachers source their updated research and policy information as part of an inclusive practice. The teachers and staff clearly understand the different diverse identities of their pupils, but perhaps not how their interactions affect feelings of inclusivity.

8.5 CRP and Inclusion

The research questions in this study seek to understand how this school approached a culturally responsive provision through an inclusive educational setting. This focus was chosen to reflect the importance of CRP in Scotland's inclusive approach, and to explore how the practice and existing policies and guidelines work together to support schools to include all learners.

The Scottish government's educational documents were created to help Scotland achieve the UN's SDGs through a focus on social justice. While the wording in the SDGs tends to focus on economic outcomes, the wording in the Scottish policies and guidelines focuses on the benefits to the learner; however, it can be argued that if a learner's needs are met through culturally responsive provisions, then the likelihood that they will be economically contributing members of society increases. This in turn, achieves the SDGs through Scotland's inclusive framework. If, as suggested, enacting the practice of CRP would not only adhere to Scottish educational policies and guidelines, but would also embody the core idea of inclusion, the question remains as to why it is not being implemented in more schools as suggested by the learner pathways report (2020). The answer to that involves a discussion around if and how educators and schools put into practice those policies and guidelines. Cook-Sather and Des-Ogugua (2019, p. 605) argue that '*one cannot create an inclusive and responsive classroom simply by following a set of prescriptions*', suggesting that having the pedagogy in place does not mean that the staff can and will adhere to it, regardless of whether it is shrined in policy.

The findings of the document analysis suggest that CRP complements an inclusive pedagogy and could be implemented in accordance with a range of Scottish policies and

guidelines, as its purview is to ensure that the cultures of diverse pupils are recognised and incorporated into learning practices designed to foster an inclusive classroom. For example, the Learner Pathways report on CfE (Scottish Government, 2020a), argues that personalised learning should be the norm, which suggests that responsiveness to cultures present in the classroom should be routine practice. This school has, in effect, has enacted this. The practice has been a response to the diverse identities in the classrooms, rather than a response to a directive. Equally, The EIS report (2017) on ASL provision lists bullying and Gypsy/Roma background as examples of additional needs, suggesting that pupils with diverse ethnic backgrounds can have additional support needs. Along the same lines, the NfI (2014) clearly asks educators - from pre-service through to advanced professionals - to consider questions around social justice and cultural competence in determining the needs of their pupils. There are also parallels within the Standards in Scotland's Schools Act (2017) that outlines the successful 'tackling' of significant inequalities in Scotland, and with which CRP could certainly help to accomplish. In looking at GIRFEC (2014), it emphasises the need to ensure safety, respect, and inclusion as part of its goal of pupil wellbeing. The 2016 Education Act highlights how inequalities are more than just socio-economic. The EIS Anti-Racist Education brief (2018) explicitly documents the racial inequalities in Scotland and puts forth resources and suggestions for educators to engage in this work. Finally, the GTCS standards (2021), specifically focus on how to adapt practice to support diverse learners. Despite all these guidelines and policies, there is little evidence of success in achieving reform-based outcomes in Scotland (Forde & Torrance, 2021), suggesting that without practice, the policies do not matter. Moreover, as stated previously, some of these guidelines such as the EIS brief and the Learner Pathways report, are stakeholder responses to policies. Although they tend to be more explicit in their call for inclusive and culturally responsive practice, it remains unclear if and how those reports are perceived or accessed by schools.

Hammond (2015) contends that teachers can co-create an inclusive and responsive classroom by being explicit and deliberate in their practice. The problem with this simplistic concept; however, is the fact that not all teachers will have the knowledge, resources, support and/or desire to do this work. Moreover, teachers do not work in a silo. They are expected to adhere to standards and guidelines set forth by local and national policies, as well as school leadership. Inclusion is not an action that a teacher does, but rather a comprehensive framework they use to support teaching practice. The success of CRP will depend on both the systems and structures that are in place, what happens in the

classroom, and the relationship between these (Stoll, 2015). Through the leadership of the headteacher, the staff in this school used existing systems and policies including NfI to implement a culturally responsive practice to support their diverse learners. They did not simply attempt to apply CRP as outlined in the literature. That would have been akin to policy borrowing which does not allow for specific contexts.

Policy borrowing refers to nations implementing educational reforms based on the policy's success in other countries. They are presented as being evidence-based and this in turn is used to help persuade the stakeholders to implement the policies (Morris, 2012). Burdett and O'Donnell, (2016, pg. 114) argue that while learning from other countries' experiences can be beneficial, consideration has to be given to how ideas were implemented, otherwise there is a danger that "cultural variations are misunderstood, ignored or underestimated". Dimmock and Tan, (2015) postulate that when governments try to implement borrowed policies, it is often at the expense of the cultural context of the system. CRP and CRT originated in the USA and arose from specific historical, political, cultural, and social contexts. These contexts are very different from the context of the current study. Harris et al., (2016) discuss ideas of learning from policy so that the policy itself is not embedded in practice and argue that embracing design principles is more likely to be successful than direct policy borrowing. In the current study, whether or not the school is addressing every researched recommendation of a culturally responsive pedagogy may not be as important as the work chosen to address the contextual needs of diverse learners. This is an important response to the CRP research literature that says 'you must do this' if you are going to be culturally responsive (Rychly & Graves, 2012; Grant & Asimeng–Boahene, 2006; Gay, 2002). There is an assumption in that literature that practitioners understand terminology such as 'culture', 'responsive', and 'inclusive' in the same way, perhaps due to the fact that CRP was initiated in the US and most of the studies have been conducted there. It is therefore important to research how this work has been done in other countries and cultures to understand how diverse identities and backgrounds of stakeholders affect the implementation of a culturally responsive practice. As was done by the headteacher in this school, starting with the practice and asking the question to all relevant stakeholders, 'How are we going to do this?' can help to demystify the process. This question gained particular significance when schools had to respond to Covid-19, the resulting lockdown and shift to online learning, as well as the return to the classroom.

8.6 CRP and the Return to the Classroom

As mentioned in the methodology, the initial focus groups were designed to investigate teacher and pupil experiences prior to Covid-19 and the resulting lockdown. After such an historic event that affected every person in this study, it was important to hear about the transition to online learning and the subsequent return to the classroom in terms of supporting diverse learners. In effect, all schools had to respond to an unprecedented situation, so the experiences of this staff are further examples of cultural responsiveness. I asked the participants about how they might continue their work with CRP upon returning to the classroom. Additionally, subsequent post-lockdown interviews with two teachers, one P5, and one P7, provided some insight as to how their goals for developing cultural responsiveness were impacted by the challenges of online learning and returning to school.

Although I did not specifically focus on the challenges upon returning to the classroom, participants raised concerns rather than offering positive comments. The most common concerns among staff members were that gender inequalities among pupils would have become magnified, and that English language acquisition would suffer after spending so much time at home. Shultz and Viczko (2021) cautioned about focusing on deficits rather than the positive contributions of family and communication in a child's learning, and participants in this study did seem to focus on this. However, there were good reasons for that focus. After being away from school and the consistent use of English language, staff reported that some pupils found it harder to get back into the routine of speaking the language. The lack of opportunities to address this were further compounded by the strict rules regarding Covid-19 also meant that the EAL teachers could not work with pupils at that time. This resulted in a reduced opportunity for learning, practicing, and hearing English.

During the lockdown, the school shifted to various methods of online learning. Teachers posted video lessons and homework online. Both teachers interviewed after the return to in-person learning discussed the fact that teachers and parents were in constant communication during lockdown. Sarah noticed that her pupils were not finishing the work she had posted in the morning by the deadline of that afternoon. She adjusted her posts to better coincide with the families whose days started much later than hers seemingly due to cultural norms. By posting work in the afternoon and requesting its completion by the following afternoon, she saw immediate engagement and higher rates of completion. Sarah and Kate both recounted the difficulties of communicating with

families who did not speak or understand English. Sarah used pictures to help parents understand how to help their children, while Kate relied on family members to convey messages. These examples reflect the literature that suggests educators relied on families and communities to address challenges during lockdown, effectively through a culturally sustaining pedagogy (Richmond et al., 2020).

While there was guidance for reopening provided by the Scottish government (Scottish Government, 2020), it was not mentioned by any of the participants, which suggests that teachers were responsive to the needs of their pupils throughout lockdown without stating reliance on any policy or guidance to dictate their work. As has been shown to be the case with other educational frameworks and guidelines, they exist, but it is unclear if and how teachers access and respond to them. Although this focus was not part of my research questions, the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic, subsequent lockdown, and return to school is relevant to this study because of the significant impact on culturally and ethnically diverse families (Clark et al., 2020). Moreover, it can be viewed as a major event to which schools had to respond, which allowed me to see if and how their culturally responsive practice continued during lockdown.

Relevant to this study is the Education Recovery Youth Panel formed in November 2020, which produced reports in conjunction with the Education Recovery Group mentioned above. It consists of children and young people ages 9-18 and includes a strong representation of those with additional support needs (Young Scot, 2021). The group continues to meet every 4-6 weeks and have presented their findings to First Minister Nicola Sturgeon on two occasions. Among its significant findings, the following suggestions are most relevant to this study:

- *Ensure all schools have teacher representation from different religions, countries, and ethnicities*
- *The need for more current/modern books*
- *More technology available in the classroom to support those who do not have access at home or those with learning difficulties*
- *A 'break away' from traditional curriculum in order to pursue individual interests*

This panel delivers on the promise made in recent legislation to include the voice of pupils in education decision-making (Scottish Government, 2017a). Moreover, the suggestions acknowledge the importance and inclusion of cultural and ethnic diversity in moving

forward. It is significant that it took the pandemic to form this group and get such specific feedback. Also of interest is that those recommendations refer to curriculum, suggesting that current implementation of CfE may not allow for a response to individual interests. While the group is said to be continuing its dialogue during the ongoing recovery, it is unclear if, and how, their recommendations will find their way into practice in schools. If these recovery groups are not going to influence practice, then their existence becomes for publicity purposes only, and could significantly weaken any future stakeholder input regarding educational reform.

The two teachers interviewed after returning to the classroom during the 2020-2021 school year both firmly stated that the sole focus for staff was the health and wellbeing of the pupils. The fact that formal literacy and maths was introduced weeks into the school year suggests an assumption that pupils would not be ready for academic work upon returning. This narrative is mentioned in the literature as a perceived 'learning loss' that suggested informal learning and meaning making did not count as knowledge (Hogg & Volman, 2020). However, it can be argued that without a focus on the health and wellbeing of the pupils returning to school, the academic work would be more challenging, if not impossible. This is clearly in line with CfE and the focus of the school in ensuring the wellbeing of their pupils. The school was praised for that in the HMIE report, which highlights the fact that it has been a strength even before the pandemic.

It is unclear what the long-term effects of the pandemic on pupils will be, from concerns about the shift in grading policies and testing, to the effect of student anxiety on academic performance (Richmond et al, 2020). Lund (2020) argues that counsellors who are not from marginalised communities, and who want to advocate for social justice on a more general level, need to make sure they are amplifying those voices and not speaking for or over them. This reinforces one of Scotland's main educational underpinnings, which is the right for children to have a voice in their education. Moreover, CRP and Scotland's inclusive framework can support educators as they acknowledge the effect of the pandemic on these pupils. The efforts of this school and staff as evidenced throughout this study illustrate an example of how this was put into practice.

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter brought together the overall findings from the literature review, document analysis, and thematic analysis of this study by focusing on the three key issues that were identified again and again at each stage of the process. One of the biggest issues across all of the findings is the sense of uncertainty about what terms around CRP actually mean. Although the school was not following any particular policy or framework in relation to CRP, the fact that those documents use such vague language suggests that it is up to the practitioner to decide how to interpret them. This highlights the sub-theme of leadership that was also evident throughout this study. The leadership of any given school can decide to engage with this work, or not, and since it is not clearly articulated in any national policy or guidance, the way in which it is implemented will inevitably vary from school to school. While the teachers in this school felt supported and empowered by the headteacher, the lack of understanding of terms such as culture, inclusion, identity, and responsiveness on the part of staff and pupils, suggest there was no research-supported plan to implement the practice. An argument can be made that the work itself is what most matters, not how it was undertaken; however, without some sort of school-based practice that is communicated to staff, pupils, and families, that work is unlikely to be sustainable. At some point, a new headteacher may come in to the school and decide for themselves whether or not to continue the work. The embedding of a well-defined plan for a culturally responsive practice with measurable outcomes and input from all stakeholders, would be difficult to ignore.

Another issue related to uncertainty is how the staff views 'responsiveness'. Many of the global events discussed by the staff affected the pupils because of Islamophobic and racist rhetoric. The staff frequently said they did not expect such events, and therefore, had to react to individual pupils. This finding is of importance because it addresses the one aspect of CRP that is most avoided according to the literature: the impact of racism, which is another sub-theme in this study. If teachers simply react to racist incidents without discussing the causes of racism and explicitly teaching pupils how to address injustices in their communities, then it is difficult to define that practice as culturally responsive. While good intentions are a start, if the school in this study is going to truly respond to their diverse learners, then anti-racism teaching must be embedded as part of an overall school plan, which every staff member has a responsibility to adhere to. As evidenced throughout the document analysis, the national policies and guidelines do not explicitly discuss anti-racist teaching, but there are links on the Education Scotland website to help teachers with

anti-racism work, such as the EIS report. The issue is that it is still up to schools and teachers whether and how they access and implement that information.

An overarching finding of this study was how CRP is supported by Scotland's inclusive education framework. All of the issues discussed in this chapter including uncertainty, responsiveness, and identities, overlap to determine whether pupils feel included at school. The pupils in this study seemed to feel respected and included, which suggests that the staff's culturally responsive work has been a success, in that regard. It is argued; however, that what an inclusive practice looks like is still up to the practitioner, due to its vague definition that can be interpreted in different ways. While this school clearly has a staff committed to this work, other schools may not, which may result in uneven outcomes across schools as evidenced in the literature (Galloway, 2019; McBride, 2018).

This school started the work without policies or guidelines telling them what to do, instead relying on general good teaching practice to include the cultures of the pupils in the learning and teaching. As we can see from the discussion in this chapter, the different attitudes, understandings, and experiences of the staff and pupils, in addition to the lack of culturally specific Scottish educational policies, guidelines, and communication, suggest that ultimately, it is the school leadership and teacher agency that will determine whether a culturally responsive practice may be implemented and to what extent. As Scotland continues to experience an increase in culturally diverse learners, its goal of 'education for all' will be dependent on how schools approach this work. While the findings of this research suggest that CRP can be accomplished within the given educational frameworks by a committed staff with a shared understanding and vision, without such a commitment, a situation could arise where some schools are considered more inclusive than others.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Research and Practice

This thesis is based on a bounded case study that sought to explore how a unique Scottish Catholic primary school responded to its diverse learners by implementing a culturally responsive pedagogy. The research questions addressed are:

'What do the lived experiences of pupils and staff suggest about the effectiveness of a culturally responsive pedagogy?'

'What methodologies can be used to discover how a school can implement a culturally responsive practice in the context of inclusive education in Scotland?

Through an analysis of policy documents, school-based communication practices, and the experiences of teachers and learners, the thesis provides examples of how it is possible for CRP to be developed within an inclusive framework to ensure that all cultures are valued and incorporated into teaching and learning. The four chosen methods provided multiple perspectives and lenses through which to view and evaluate how a specific school context can approach such a practice. The Scottish educational document and school communication analysis identified the vague terminology used around cultural diversity. As been shown throughout this study, this can easily facilitate and incorporate a specific practice such as CRP, albeit dependent on how it is understood and valued by school leadership, staff, and pupils. The views of the pupils and staff through focus groups and interviews show that the headteacher has used those given frameworks to cultivate a responsive practice in the school. This practice may not adhere to every research-based recommendation for this pedagogy, but that is arguably because those studies strive to approach CRP as a prescriptive practice. Together, the methods used in this study highlight the fact that regardless of policies, frameworks, curriculum, or resources, ultimately this work and whether it is a success or not, comes down, not to strict abidance to prescriptive practice, but to the contextualisation of practice and to the individual teachers in the classroom and how they are supported by school leadership. Underpinning this study from the beginning, was the idea that the beliefs, biases and attitudes of various stakeholders can influence policies and practice. Using a CritRT lens, the Scottish educational frameworks and policies as well as the perspectives of staff and pupils were examined to determine the effect of those biases and beliefs on whether cultural differences are *ignored*, taught *about,* or *included in* the classroom and teaching practice.

Based on those findings, it would appear that the way to implement a culturally responsive pedagogy is from the ground up.

This final chapter provides a discussion of the implications of this research for various educational practitioners and stakeholders. This includes a number of suggested recommendations to help improve existing culturally responsive practice and further research in this field. Section 9.1 looks at the findings of the case study through the lens of racism and the effects of racism on culturally diverse pupils. It includes a discussion of the significance of the findings from the current study in terms of ongoing work around anti-racist education and practice in Scotland. In addition, a brief discussion around how educators might effectively engage with policies and research is provided as a necessary condition for improved teaching and learning practice with diverse pupils. Section 9.2 addresses the limitations of this study. This includes some general methodological challenges, as well as some specific challenges and limitations of the study due to the Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdown. Section 9.3 provides recommendations for current and future culturally responsive practice as well as recommendations for future important directions in researching this area. The chapter ends with the argument that teachers and staff of any given school are the practitioners doing this work; therefore, they need to be recognised as key stakeholders and provided with as much support from the school and education authorities and government to ensure that the cultures of all pupils are included in teaching and learning.

9.1 Past, Present, and Future

When I arrived in Scotland in 2017, it was to undertake research on the underrepresentation of Black gifted students in America. Unfortunately, in spite of significant efforts, the challenges of getting past gatekeepers and conducting this research from a different continent, proved too great, and I was unable to recruit enough participants, so I had to end that study and design a new one. It was important to me to keep the same focus on sharing the experiences of racial minority pupils as I shifted my research to a Scottish context. When I heard about a Scottish Catholic school with a majority of Muslim pupils that was addressing their pupil diversity with a culturally responsive pedagogy, I was eager to look at that practice with a critical race theory lens. I quickly learned that the stories of pupils experiencing racism in Scotland are not so

different from those I have heard from Black gifted students in America. What is different; however, is the national response to the issues. While America's response is often dictated by everchanging local and national political issues, Scotland's commitment to inclusive education provides a framework in which to support diverse learners.

Four years, and a pandemic later, within this thesis, I find myself sharing the stories of culturally diverse pupils who have been underrepresented in the discourse about inclusion in Scottish schools. Their experiences along with those of the teachers, who bear the responsibility of responding to the diverse cultures present in their classrooms, illustrate the importance of including stakeholders when undertaking this work, in both practice and research. Without the people, the policies do not matter. Scotland's ambitions for an inclusive teaching and learning environment do not specifically address ethnic diversity, although its "needs led and rights based education system, is designed to be an inclusive one for all children" (Education Scotland, 2022, p.1). As Scotland has experienced an increase in the number of culturally diverse pupils due to forced migration across the globe, the country and its schools have had to respond to the changing school population through the application of existing education legislation and guidelines designed to address wider diversity.

Over the past few years, there has been increased interest in work around anti-racist and race equality education in Scotland designed to apply current inclusive practice to culturally diverse learners (CRER, 2020; Scottish Government, 2021, 2016; EIS, 2018). This has been an important development as Scotland has welcomed over 3000 refugees from majority Muslim countries over the past few years, with a pre-existing commitment to ensuring an inclusive education for all (Migration Scotland, 2020). Moreover, recent national and world events such as Brexit, the American presidency of Donald Trump, and Black Lives Matter protests, have highlighted the urgency and importance of acknowledging and addressing racism in schools. The Covid-19 pandemic will have inevitably slowed implementation of these goals due to the focus on the complexities and uncertainties of online learning; however, the urgency remains. Racism has always existed, but now the pandemic has explicitly exposed inequities in education, policing, and healthcare, among other areas (Lund, 2020). In response, governments, including Scotland's, are asking what they can do to address racial and ethnic disparities. The findings from this case study offer a glimpse of the successes and challenges of implementing this work from the perspective of teachers and pupils.

As evidenced throughout this study, the lack of precise definitions within Scottish policies and guidelines around CRP, as well as the lack of a shared understanding of relevant terminology on the part of pupils and staff, has impacted its implementation. It is evident from the research that the policies and guidelines needed to enable the practice of cultural responsiveness do exist and contain a consistent thread of inclusivity; however, the question of how and whether they are a) accessed by teachers; and b) supported and resourced within schools and wider educational systems, remains. This is an important issue as, according to the educational standards and policies, the onus of ensuring that all learners are included and valued, is on the teachers; however, it is clear from both the extant literature and this research that entire responsibility cannot be placed heavily upon just their shoulders. Their role is key, but the systems and structures must work to support, not stymie, their efforts. This case study illustrates that the key to the relationship between policy and practice is the fact that here, in this study school, practice becomes policy. It reflects the community of the school and how this community responds to the diverse cultures within its walls. Existing local and national policies can support the work, but it is the work itself that is the most important. Teacher agency is either hindered or supported by the school leadership. In the case of this school, the headteacher encouraged and empowered teachers to engage with a culturally responsive practice by giving them a safe space to test new approaches, build new ways of thinking, and innovate new ways of teaching.

This research has confirmed and challenged existing literature through the multiple perspectives in this bounded case study. For example, it has confirmed the importance of the consistent use and definition of specific terminology in a culturally responsive practice, while challenging the idea that the practice has to start with a policy or pedagogy. The goal of educational research is to build upon past studies using new theories and frameworks to continually improve practice. While there are limitations to this study outlined below, the unique combination of methods and perspectives used within the study, from the macro level of policy to the micro level of teacher/pupil daily interactions, provides a comprehensive and holistic example of how one school within a national inclusive educational system, approached CRP in one specific way.

9.2 Limitations

Case studies, like all methodologies, have both strengths and limitations. They provide rich information on the participants' experiences in the snapshot of time in which the data is collected. That information informs our understanding and allows us to examine in detail, the application of theory in practice, but it is relative to those participants and that timeframe and must be understood and utilised as such. As long as those boundaries are clearly understood though that does not demean the significant contribution this kind of rich data can have for progressing our understanding. The opportunity to take a 360-degree perspective on the application of CRP in this unique context is hugely valuable to understanding where its successes and barriers may lie. Data from case studies such as this is never meant to be, and should not be, generalised, as that is not its purpose. However, where teachers, schools, and countries are facing similar challenges and wish to make positive change, this research provides both a starting point for their reflections and examples of what works and what struggles to find traction. It presents opportunities to consider how practice here can be contextualised for other situations, as well as how mistakes made, and lessons learnt, can be incorporated in their contexts. The process of contextualising both policy and practice is crucial to implementation in every circumstance and contributes to our wider understanding of what needs to be in place if the gap between policy and practice is to be addressed. So when we talk about limitations to case studies, their value greatly outweighs their constraints, and their constraints are generally only evident if the approach is not appropriately applied and interpreted. In this thesis, every caution has been made to be clear about what can and cannot be rightfully concluded from the case study.

Carrying out qualitative research during a global pandemic inevitably brought some specific practical and ethical challenges and contributed to potential limitations of the study. The Covid-19 lockdown prevented the execution of the research plan as it had been originally developed. Schools stopped any outside visitors accessing their premises the week before a national lockdown was put in place, which also happened to be the week that had been designated for working with pupils. As a result, only one participatory research session was conducted with pupils. Although this session offered rich material for the thesis, it was only a fraction of what had been planned and the loss of the other elements to expand on pupil voice was limiting. Consideration was given to conducting virtual focus groups given the importance of pupil voice in research. However, due to

challenges with technology at pupils' homes (not all households were well equipped) as well as potential family language barriers, it was not feasible to pursue this option. Similarly, focus groups with parents were unable to proceed as planned due to similar challenges that could not be overcome in this context and timeline. The school works closely with parents and so the inclusion of data from the Headteacher and class teachers does offer a perspective on how parents are perceived to respond to the work of the school; however, it must be acknowledged that this perspective is second hand.

9.3 Recommendations

The aim of this study was to find out how a Scottish Catholic primary school developed an inclusive culturally responsive practice to address the needs of their diverse learners. While the implementation of CRP in the case study school was not perfect due to issues around resourcing and the lack of shared understanding of terms and practices among the staff, the findings suggest that the work done thus far can be further supported with recent Scottish educational guidance around anti-racist education. What had been missing from educational documents was specific guidance as to how to move from words to actions and how to support and resource these activities. As seen through recent anti-racist curriculum guidelines outlined below, this now appears to be a priority for policymakers in Scotland, but unless teachers have uniform access to those documents along with continuing professional development to help implement the practice, the words will remain on the page.

As schools throughout Scotland, the UK, and the world, find increasing numbers of young people in their classrooms from minority ethnic backgrounds, the response must include explicit guidance on how teachers can incorporate diverse cultures and identities into learning and teaching. In order to be sustainable, that work does not happen overnight, and it does not happen through one individual's actions. The suggested recommendations below are addressed to policymakers, school leaders, and teachers; however, as additional stakeholders, pupils, and parents should be a part of any future process.

- Policymakers: As further educational policies are created, it is vital that the views and experiences of relevant stakeholders such as teachers, parents, and pupils are included in any policy proposal and implementation. The example of the Education Youth Recovery Group as a response to Covid-19 demonstrates a

willingness on the part of government to include stakeholders, especially pupils, in important recommendations for practice. This should be replicated for working groups around anti-racist education and culturally responsive practice going forward.

- Policymakers and school leadership: Changes to any policy or practice takes time, so there is a need for policymakers and stakeholders to have ongoing reviews during the implementation cycle. These reviews and updates should be communicated in all relevant languages, to both schools and families so that all families can access the materials to stay engaged with relevant policies and practice.

- School leadership and teachers: In order for school staff to be aware of potential events and their impact on learners in the classroom, biweekly or monthly staff discussions around current local and world events, as well as relevant literature around CRP, should be implemented. For example, Education Scotland's brief on Promoting and Developing Race-equality and Anti-racist education provides links to professional development on decolonising the curriculum and other anti-racist practices as well as providing lists of reflective questions for school staff to consider when undertaking this work. This could be a starting point for school leaders to engage and include teachers in the relevant discussions. The leadership of the school should be responsible for disseminating and discussing these documents; however, it is the responsibility of the teachers to actively engage with those documents. In effect, schools need to have ownership of how they support teachers from offering and accessing professional development, to monitoring and tracking staff engagement and implementation.

- School leadership and teachers: As language and perceived cultural barriers prevent some families from engaging with the school, the regular use of anonymous surveys available in all relevant languages should be put in place in order for the staff to understand parents' expectations around cultural practices at school, as well as cultural norms of the pupil at home.

- School leadership: Instead of trying to implement changes all at once, incremental changes that are explicitly discussed with, and approved by staff prior to implementation, should be viewed to practically embed CRP into daily teaching and learning.

- School leadership: There should be a school-based, cultural competency committee that reviews all incoming pupils and puts together basic information packets regarding national origin, religion, etc for the classroom teacher. In addition, they can help disseminate current research to support diverse identities within the school. In order to take advantage of the experience and expertise of all teachers, this should be a rotating group throughout the year.

- School leadership and teachers: To help with transparency and accountability, a schoolwide plan created in conjunction with staff, pupils, and parents, and communicated to all stakeholders, should be put in place at the start of the school year. It would specify how such an implementation would take place, as well what resources were needed to enhance a culturally responsive practice.

- Teachers: While it is the responsibility of leadership at all levels to provide resources and training to teachers, it is the responsibility of teachers to access and engage with those materials and trainings. Considering that the GTCS standards state that teachers must commit to social justice practices, there should be required training, whether online or in person, that helps teachers understand the research, policies and practices that support this work. This could potentially occur over a number of years, as it is not practical to require such intensive work be undertaken in one year, in addition to all other duties.

- Researchers: Further research involving pupils, teachers, and staff of primary schools that are trying to implement such a practice is required. Using a similar type of bounded case study methodology in a variety of school contexts can provide more specific examples from which schools can apply to the their own practice.

- Researchers: As argued throughout the literature, a key aspect of CRP is explicitly examining the role of racism in the lives of diverse learners. Another area for future research should be around Scotland's approach to anti-racist teaching as a result of Education Scotland's (2021) *Introduction to Anti-racist Curriculum Development* document. This report is significant as it does not just focus on large conurbations in Scotland, but the entire country, which suggests that it may benefit all racialised groups, including White minorities such as Roma and Asian, as well as those in rural areas, who are also often the recipients of racist rhetoric and policies. The report contains links to continuing professional development and training for teachers; therefore, future research could include studies on how those

teachers that take up training offered to them around anti-racist education and apply that learning to their practice.

- Gathering data about the experiences of how the pupils respond to practice will also contribute to the field. The case study used in this thesis provided a variety of perspectives to look at the implementation of CRP in a given context. Similar methodologies can be used across a wide variety of school contexts to determine best practices in CRP.

Even with these recommendations, culturally responsive work is not meant to reach a fixed endpoint. It is an ongoing journey with revolving stakeholders that arguably, each school context needs to define for itself. This school's work was done in a particular context of a Scottish Catholic school, with a particular group of culturally diverse learners from a different faith, so it may be of particular interest to schools with similar contexts. However, CRP should be accessible and adaptable to all contexts; and based on the findings of this thesis consisting of a bounded case study, it can be implemented through inclusive frameworks when started from the ground up with the practice itself. At the end of the day, it is the passion, commitment, and dedication of educators to their pupils that will drive this work. As Sarah, one of the teachers in the school said, ultimately, the goal of this work is to *'...encourage children to take up their place in the world and stand confidently...'*.

APPENDIX A- Plain Language Statement-Parent Participant

Title of project and researcher details

Title: … **A marriage of equals? A case study exploration of one Scottish school's approach to achieving a rights-based inclusive educational setting though culturally adaptive provision.**

    Researcher: ………Laurie Walden………………………..

    Supervisor: …Dr. Margaret Sutherland………………………………..

    Course: ………PhD Education…………………………………………..

You are being invited to take part in a research project looking into how X Primary School uses a culturally responsive approach to teaching and learning. I am interested in the perspectives of the learners and parents. XX Council and X the Headteacher of X Primary School, have given permission for this research to take place.

Before you decide if you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the information on this page carefully. Please feel free to ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take the time you need to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What will happen if you take part

The purpose of this study is to do an in-depth case study of X Primary School, with a particular focus on culturally responsive teaching and learning. The first part of my research involves focus groups. A focus group is a gathering of participants who discuss and share answers and ideas based on the researcher's questions. I will be conducting these with learners, parents, and the X Primary School staff via Microsoft Teams online video conferencing.

If you decide to take part, I will be scheduling a one-hour focus group with parents. I will be video and audio recording the conversations so that I can transcribe the data to inform my research. You will not be identified by your name, but by a pseudonym that only I know. No one else will see or hear the recordings. They are just there to ensure I have everyone's thoughts and ideas written down accurately.

After I have conducted all of the focus groups, I will analyse the data to see what themes emerged in order to conduct in-depth interviews regarding experiences of learners, parents, and staff about culturally responsive teaching and learning at X Primary School. I will then be recruiting approximately 5-6 parent participants for the interviews, which will be 1 hour in length and will be conducted via Microsoft Teams online video conferencing. These interviews will be video and audio recorded solely for the purpose of transcription. If you wish to be approached for that stage, you can indicate that on the consent form. It does not guarantee that you will be chosen, but just indicates that you might be interested.

I will be finished gathering information by November 15, 2020.

You do not have to take part in this study. It is completely your choice. If you or change your mind, just let me know and I will not use any identifiable information you have given me.

You have the right to request your personal data throughout the research.

Keeping information confidential

I will keep the recordings, transcription of the recordings, and my notes from the recordings in a locked file on my password-protected computer. I will be using Microsoft Teams through the secure University of Glasgow network. The video and audio files will be immediately transferred to the secure network at the University of Glasgow. As per the University of Glasgow's Postgraduate Researcher Code of Practice, the raw video and audio files will be kept on the University of Glasgow's secure cloud network for 10 years.

Upon completion of my project and degree, no later than June 2021, I will delete and destroy all data with the exception of the raw video and audio files, as mentioned above. No one except me will have access to those files.

The completed PhD thesis will be submitted to the University of Glasgow. In addition, I may use it to write journal articles, book chapters, or for conference presentations. You nor your child will be identifiable in any way through any of those presentations or publications.

To the best of my ability, no one other than myself will know whether you are participating in the research. However, there may be circumstances in which confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, for example, if there is concern of potential harm to the participant of others; or due to the fact that the research is being carried out on school premises.

The results of this study

When I have gathered all of the information from everyone who is taking part, I will write about what I have learned in a PhD thesis which I will submit in writing, as well as defend orally. This will be read and marked by a team of academic researchers.

Review of the study

This study has been reviewed and agreed by the College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, University of Glasgow

Contact for further Information

If you have any questions about this study, you can ask me, …Laurie Walden… (l.walden.1@research.gla.ac.uk) or my supervisor, Dr. Margaret Sutherland… (Margaret.Sutherland@glasgow.ac.uk) or the Ethics officer for the College of Social Sciences. Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

Thank you for reading this!

APPENDIX B - Scottish educational legislation acts since 1980 (Children in Scotland).

Scottish Legislation	Date	Key Points
Education (Scotland) Act	1980	Outlines the basic legal framework for education provision including duties of local authorities and the rights of parents
Children's (Scotland) Act	1995	Focused on the need to include the voice of children in policy-making
Standards in Scotland's Schools Act	2000	Outlines the rights of all children to an education and includes their views when any decisions are made. Also introduced the 'presumption of mainstreaming' to ensure all children attend a mainstream school unless there is a valid exception made.
Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act	2004 2009 2016	Provides a framework to support all children with their learning; gives parents and pupils new rights; placed duties on local authorities and agencies.
Scottish Schools (Parental Involvement) Act	2006	Makes it easier for parents to become involved in their child's school
Equality Act	2010	Legal framework that states it is unlawful for any education provider, including a private or independent provider, to discriminate between pupils on grounds of disability, race, sex, gender reassignment, pregnancy and maternity, religion or belief, or sexual orientation.
Children and Young People (Scotland) Act	2014	Changes for early learning and child care; provides free school meals for P1-P3; provides extra support for looked after children and care leavers. Scottish ministers must report every three years.
Education (Scotland) Act	2016	Closing attainment gap for children in poverty; widening access to Gaelic education; giving children a voice; extends the rights of children with additional support needs.

Table 4.2 lists the Scottish curriculum frameworks

Scottish Curriculum/Framework	Date	Key Points
Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC)	2006	Asserts that all services working with young people must be involved in promoting, supporting, and safeguarding their wellbeing

Curriculum for Excellence (CfE)	2010	- Progression in learning and evaluating achievement 3-18 - Supporting Improvement - Literacy and Numeracy including Scottish Survey of Literacy and Numeracy (SSLN) - Career Long Professional Learning - Support for engaging parents and carers - Senior Phase Pathways - Employability and skills (DYW) - Using data to support improvement - Tackling bureaucracy - Supporting the new National Qualifications
Scotland's National Framework of Inclusion	2007 2014	Supports teaching inclusion in teacher education programmes throughout Scotland
Delivering Excellence and Equity in Scottish Education: A Delivery Plan for Scotland	2016	Improving educational outcomes for all pupils
National Improvement Framework	2019	Outlines what will drive improvement for children and young people

APPENDIX C- Codes and Themes – Phase 1

Codes	Theme
Purpose of school • Future • Short-term – to learn • Bubble • History	Perceptions of School
We Celebrate Culture • Celebrate differences • Tokenistic • Special months, weeks, days	We Celebrate Culture
What is culture? • Uncertainty of definition • Shared values • Location dependent • Personal • Generalise • Can't be wrong Religion Gender	What is culture?
Teaching • Political • Protection • Loving • Individual vs collective • Focus is not on academics • Uncertainty of some on ethnicities in class • Identity • Dual • Conflict • Gender It's just good teaching • Play • Creativity • Hands-on • Outdoors	Individual vs Collective

• Field-trips • Growth goals?	
Curriculum • Resources Only Books/written words Passive – what comes to us. We wait. • Lack of representation of non-White people/children	
Communication • The role of Language • Word choice (filter, pepper, aware, understand, know, included) • Reactionary vs intentional Active/passive • Vague general comments • Meetings • Feeling vs knowing • Ignorance-of specifics, UK/Scotland role • Families Focus on mums Blame for behaviour Will lie to avoid taking English classes Other classes offered Knowing in general, but not specific • Kids are silent-do we know why? • What we *will* do. • Event Dependent • Black Lives Matter • News media/negative stories • Outside abuse/bullying-they're just used to it	Reactionary vs Responsive

Leadership • Role of Headteacher	Leadership

• Permission sought • Send resources • Driver of this work • Intentional hiring	
	It doesn't matter what you call it, as long as you're doing the work.
Outcomes • Academic vs social • Failure vs success	Outcomes

Themes	Codes
Uncertainty	Celebration Tokenistic What is in a name?
Reactionary vs Responsive	Event dependent Media The bubble families
Subtheme: It doesn't matter what you call it, as long as you're doing the work.	What are we teaching and why? Communication Roles
Individuals in the Collective	Identity Gender Religion

APPENDIX D- Coding examples for Pupil Ketso® Groups

Example of pupil (Boys, table 1) B1 Thematic Codes

Colour Codes:

Yellow – purpose of school-academic

Green-purpose of school-social

Gray- STEM interests

Purple-culture as celebration

Pink- culture as differences

Light green- field trips as engaging

Red- aware of bullying

Dark purple-not aware of bullying

Brown- Reasons for bullying

Focus Group Question	Answers written on leaves or post-its	Codes
Warm-up: What are your favourite subjects at school?	I like science I like maths Yeah, we all like maths I like science	Interest in STEM
Warm-up: What do you like to do outside of school?		
Warm-up: What do you want to be when you grow up?	I want to be an astronaut	Interest in STEM
• **What do *you* think is the purpose of school?**	To get educated Yeah to get taught things that you'll need to know. To learn. To learn and make new friends Well school isn't really about making new friends. I mean you can make friends outside	School is for learning School is for socialising

	of school. Just meet a stranger, say hi,	
• **How do you define success at school?**		
• **What does culture mean to you?**	Different people's beliefs. That's what I think.	Culture is about religion
• **How does X, as a whole, so your school, as a whole, include and celebrate all the different cultures that are represented in the school?**	Maybe holidays and different events Remember when they did the Eid holidays? 3-4 days of holiday Ramadan Like easier work. Like praise your They make Christmas like Christmas carol. They put everyone's special events. Like Sikh? last year where there was a Eid parties, Ramadan Parties and holidays Yeah, Christmas parties, Halloween parties Halloween? That's not culture. That's not a religion. They include our special events Oh wait, do they have a party for Chinese New Year?	Cultures are celebrated through holidays and parties
• **What does your teacher do in the classroom to welcome, celebrate, and instruct about the**		

different cultures in your classroom?		
• **One of the main goals of Scottish education is to respect the rights of all learners. How does your school do that? Can you give be examples of how your school respects the rights of all learners.**	The right to choose what to eat We can have all opinions EL Just learned it when I was in school. Do you remember Ms. Coyle? She taught me English.	Respecting everyone's opinions Respecting learners by teaching them English
• **What special activities does your school provide, either in school, or outside of school that help you learn or gets you excited about learning?**	Trip to go –got us more excited to learn about slavery We did a trip to the zoo got us excited about learning about animals The museum I thought the zoo was the best one. I bought like a cup that had .. They do maths in PE DIfferent ways of teaching	Field trips STEM in PE Different styles of teaching
• **Do you think that teasing or bullying is a problem at X? If so, can you give an example of why someone was bullied or teased?**	Oh yeah! I got bullied for 3 years. Jason. Jason nearly dislocated my mouth once. He punched me so hard. I've never seen bullying I've never seen Jason bully you. He punched me so hard There's a lot of people right now that are bullied in this school Like what their subject is, what they like to do.	Bullying is a big problem Doesn't recognise bullying Bullying because they are different

• **What can X in general, and your teacher, in particular, do to make sure all learners feel safe and welcome every day?**	To ask certain people who don't understand, like help them, but they already do that Nothing right now, because the school is so good. Help them Ask people if they're ok, if they don't look ok That's every teachers' hobby right now. You don't need to suggest that.	Pay attention to how students are acting This is being talked about a lot.
• **Do you have any questions that came up during this focus group or questions about this project?**		
Answers to uncertain questions		

APPENDIX E: Focus Group Themes

Focus Group Themes– XXX Primary School – Teachers

- Defining culture
- Knowing your learners
- Understanding of culturally responsive teaching
- Expectations for learners
- Ways in which school values cultures
- Engaging learners
- Challenging learners academically, emotionally, socially
- Developing identity

Focus Group Themes– XXX Primary School – Headteacher

- Defining culture
- Official Mission statement for the school
- Personal mission for the school
- How do you engage learners and families with that mission?
- Expectations for students and staff
- Understanding of culturally responsive teaching
- Engaging all learners

Focus Group Themes– XXX Primary School – Learners

- Defining culture
- Feeling valued
- How is school engaging?
- Identity of self
- Strengths
- Interests
- Personal goals
- Outside of school activities

APPENDIX F: Example of coding themes for teacher focus groups

Colour codes:

Blue: 'It doesn't matter what you call it, as long as you're doing the work'.

Green: Reactionary vs Responsive

Yellow: Uncertainty

Pink: Individuals in the collective

S6: Um I agree with everything they're saying and especially with what X was saying there about opportunities for all of the children where an awful lot of the children, you know, we've got after school clubs and things like that, but not all of the children are open to coming to them, which is quite sad in a way, but I do think it's very important that we encourage and reach out to the parents as well, which I think X is very good at, you know. We're sending out letters and trying to encourage the parents to allow their children to take part in outside activities that normally they're not really open to.

S7: Yeah I think it starts with understanding all the different cultures you've got in front of you. We used to have a culture committee in the school and we had children from all the different ethnic backgrounds and they worked together to make a big friese? it's a big wall painting mural and it's got all the different flags from all the children we've ever had from all the different cultures in the school painted onto the leaves, so we've really had over the years, a really wide variety of children from lots of places around the world. They stay for awhile, they go, but um I think yeah, they're often underrepresented in the textbooks you use, the characters- you know in the past, there was never any reading books with children with Black faces or names that you know, were not White sort of middle class, so first of all you have to look at the resources and the projects that you do and try to include some of them in it, you know. Like we did this year, in the middle school, we were doing the North Atlantic Slave trade, so we looked at Harriet Tubman and the whole of the slavery story and that was really good for them to do that, but it's you know. I'd agree with what the other ladies said as well you know. And getting them to go out places because children tend to be stay at home or go to the shopping centre and that seems to be the extent of what they do in their spare time, so X wanted to get them involved in all sorts of other things that children in other schools do as a matter of course. You know, visiting the cinema, going to theatres, going to the zoo, you know to just get them to break out of that invisible barrier you know. Yeah I think it's things like that.

F: Great. Thank you. How has the school leadership prepared you for this work? Like have you had trainings or discussions. X you're muted.

S8: Sorry I was just saying that we haven't had formal training in terms of external trainers coming in for CPD sessions, but we had a lot of time kind of in staff meetings and

in-service day –training days dedicated to discussing issues around this and um lots of discussions as a staff. Lots of um being talked at by our Headteacher who is very passionate about about this and um has you know, and shares with us, anything she has read or come across in terms of it. So it's something that we're all very aware of as a priority (facial) for the school. Um I suppose probably what we need next is more practical things like X hinting at in terms of better resources to be able to share with the children-depending on more appropriate literature, textbooks, things like that to replace what is a bit, you know, old stock in terms of our reading libraries and things like that. But that, I mean that's coming and then various members of staff are leading initiatives so. X will tell you the work that she's looking at and I've been engaging some writers, some writers from the Scottish BAME Writers Network to come in and write stories with our children that we're hopefully going to get published as readers that reflect them rather than , not books about being Pakistani or books about the inequality, just books that are stories in the same way that Harry Potter is a story but it just happens to be Ibrahim, not Harry, you know-that sort of thing. So there's lots of appetite for work around it and I think with everybody's very enthusiastic about it, but it's what to do next, I guess.

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