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Culturally Responsive Classroom Management Strategies: What Australian Indigenous Students and Parents Have to Say

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***Abstract:** Australian Indigenous students are overrepresented in every indicator negatively that is associated with student behaviour and performance; such as student suspension, attendance, expulsion, retention and achievement. Despite this situation, alarmingly absent in the effective teaching discourse in Australia is any discussion of the role culturally located teaching practices are likely to have on improving behaviour support for Indigenous students. As asserted by Sarra (2011), enacted curriculum, including teaching practice and behaviour support, must demonstrate links between school and the everyday realities of Indigenous Peoples life practices and cultures. The focus of this mixed methods study is to address the existing research gap through empirical research into strategies that potentially support Indigenous student behaviour based upon what Indigenous students and their parents identify as appropriate behaviour support practices.*

Introduction

Not unlike other Indigenous peoples internationally, Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students are overrepresented in every negative indicator that is associated with student behaviour in Australian schools; such as student suspension (Mills & McGregor, 2014; Partington, Waugh, & Forrest, 2001; Stehbins, Anderson, & Herbert, 1999), attendance (Auditor General of Queensland, 2012; Keddie, Gowlett, Mills, Monk, & Renshaw, 2013), exclusion (Partington et al., 2001), retention (Bain, 2011) and achievement (Stehbins et al., 1999). For example, in New South Wales state schools, Indigenous students constitute six percent of the overall student population, yet they account for 23 percent of long term suspensions (Mills & McGregor, 2014).

For this reason, it is not surprising that there has recently been considerable effort in Australia to attend to this disparity. For example, the recently nationally endorsed Australian Professional Standards for Teachers require teachers to “Demonstrate knowledge of teaching strategies that are responsive to the learning strengths and needs of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds” (Australian Institute for

Teaching and School Leadership, 2011). Generally, the discourse around Indigenous performance in schools presents Indigenous students in a negative light and the problems associated with students' limited achievement and misbehaviour are attributed to students (Griffiths, 2011). This deficit perspective is known to drive national improvement agendas which are likely to fail because they do not give attention to the diverse requirements and expectations communicated or voiced by Indigenous students and their communities (Campbell, 2000). In brief, Campbell asserts that Indigenous voiced contributions are rarely used to inform educational reform strategies. As stated by Perso (2012), some of the reasons for the failure of education initiatives can be attributed to the mismatch between classroom and home and the inability of educators to listen to Indigenous voices. Listening to these expressed views can lead to increased teacher awareness of student cultural norms and, accordingly, adjusted classroom practice.

This study to be described is significant because it addresses the national imperative for targeted educational priorities and reform directions which seek to reduce Indigenous disadvantage and provide equitable educational outcomes (Ministerial Council on Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs, 2008). The study is particularly significant because there are few empirically-based studies within the Indigenous context, either nationally or internationally, that have identified culturally responsive behaviour support and management strategies. This study seeks to identify and determine the influence of behaviour support and management strategies as expressed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, parents and staff. These views need to be documented because, if they are identified and found to be significant empirically, they are likely to have influence in helping teachers to consider their existing practice and, at the policy level, inform teacher education both at the pre-service and in-service level. It is well known that teachers are not adequately prepared to manage behaviours that may be culturally different from their own (Perso, 2003; Townsend, 2000; Trent, Kea, & Oh, 2008). Essential to any change in classroom practice is the need to move towards culturally responsive behaviour support and management practices that can inform equity of interaction between students and teachers, and ultimately, large scale changes in practice at the classroom level (Perso, 2012).

This paper introduces phases one and two of a six phase study which focuses on seeking an understanding of, from an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspective, the behaviour support practices that best work for Indigenous students. The study is associated with a larger national study focusing on understanding and identifying the pedagogical

practices influencing students' learning (Lewthwaite et al., 2015). Phase One of this study involves qualitative interviews with parents, staff and students. Phase Two will include observations of teachers identified by both students and colleagues as being 'effective' in working with Indigenous students towards positive classroom and learning outcomes. In subsequent research phases, actions will lead teachers towards culturally responsive behaviour support and management practices. This future project will ask teachers to reflect upon their practice in light of identified strategies as voiced by students and communities and seek for them to respond by adjusting their practices, and then measure, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the outcome of this enactment.

Literature Review on Effective Behaviour Support Practices for Indigenous Students

International research provides useful understanding and suggested behaviour support and management practices for Indigenous students, most of which deal with students of non-dominant cultures in inner city contexts (Milner, 2011; Milner & Tenore, 2010; Monroe, 2006; Monroe & Obidah, 2004; Noguera, 2003; Ullicci, 2009), and Native North American students in remote communities (Kleinfeld, 1975; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010). Most significant is Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh and Teddy's (2007) study with and for Maori students, which used a similar approach and methodology to the current study. In Bishop et al's study, a list of effective teacher behaviours identified by parents, students and staff was used to promote change and measure teacher behaviour and determine its resultant impact on student engagement. Empirical data provided evidence that these teacher behaviours positively influenced student learning. Also significant from the international literature is the contribution made by Weinstein, Tomlinson and Clarke's in their 'Culturally Responsive Classroom Management' framework (CRCM) (2003; Weinstein, Tomlinson-Clarke, & Curran, 2004) suggesting five essential components of CRCM which include: recognition of one's own ethnocentrism; knowledge of students' cultural backgrounds; an understanding of the broader social, economic and political context; an ability and willingness to use culturally responsive management strategies and a commitment to building caring classrooms (Weinstein et al., 2004).

While suggestions from international literature are valuable, they tend not to be validated through research. The exception to this is Bishop et al (2007) which is supported by empirical data. Notwithstanding this study's merit, the assertions may not directly transfer to an Australian context because we must consider the impact of our own colonial history

(Bamblett, 1985; Osborne, 1996) and the fact that there are two distinct cultures in Australian Indigenous populations - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. These cannot be generalised to be the same, and little in education, especially behaviour support, is written from a Torres Strait Islander perspective (Nakata, 1995a, 1995b, 2007; Osborne, 1996). Also, within these two cultures exist many smaller individual cultures (Bamblett, 1985). In order to cater for such diversity, as Noddings (1996) asserts, Indigenous students cannot all be considered the same and each student must be considered as an individual.

Similar to the international literature, the majority of Australian literature is advice literature written by Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors with considerable experience in Indigenous education (Berry & Hudson, 1997; Christie, 1987; Guider, 1991; Harris, 1987; Harrison, 2008, 2011; Ionn, 1995; Ngarritjan-Kessarais, 1995; Osborne, 1996; Sims, O'Connor, & Forrest, 2003). Not dissimilar from the international literature, the national literature is characterised by several themes such as: (1) a knowledge of self and the other and power relations in the political context, without a deficit notion of difference; (2) understanding of the culture of the students; (3) teacher qualities; (4) relationships; (5) links with pedagogy; (6) proactive strategies; (7) reactive strategies and (8) links with families and communities. While the information contained in these themes from advice literature is recommended, it is not supported by any research evidence. Further, most of this is written for an Aboriginal context. Very little is based on a Torres Strait Islander context.

Some Australian research typically does not address behaviour support explicitly and, instead, includes implicit discussion of behaviour support practices as a product of focusing on other topics, for example: general pedagogy (Munns, O'Rourke, & Bodkin-Andrews, 2013; Yunkaporta & McGinty, 2009), disadvantage (Keddie et al., 2013), curriculum (Munns et al., 2013; Simpson & Clancy, 2012), Indigenous voice (Bond, 2010; Colman-Dimon, 2000), teacher characteristics (Fanshawe, 1989), classroom discourse (Thwaite, 2007), student mobility (Nelson & Hay, 2010) and humour (Hudspith, 1995).

Research in Australia that has focused specifically on behaviour support and management with attention to Indigenous students is scarce. Only six studies were identified in preparation for the research proposed in this study. Most of these sought to explain the issues around student misbehaviour. For example: cultural mismatch and teacher preconceptions (Malin, 1990); how policy impacts and excludes Aboriginal people (Gillan, 2008); the socio-cultural character of the dominant mainstream and how students are forced

to adapt (Stehbens et al., 1999) and the reasons for higher suspension rates (Partington et al., 2001). A comparison was made between mainstream schooling and a specialist residential care program that helped young Aboriginal students avoid the youth justice system (Edwards-Groves & Murray, 2008). Teachers were prompted to change perceptions of the “‘racialized marginalised other’, so that the ways of being an Aboriginal student in Australian classrooms can be perceived as relevant, just and balanced” (Edwards-Groves & Murray, 2008, p. 175). A few suggestions were made about how to improve behaviour support and management in the classroom. These included: recognition of teacher ethnocentrism and unconscious biases (Malin, 1990); responding to individual student needs (Malin, 1990); increase in Aboriginal staff numbers (Gillan, 2008; Malin, 1990); detailed data collection so that correlations can be identified (Stehbens et al., 1999); increased teacher understanding of culture and historical power relations (Gillan, 2008; Partington et al., 2001); considering each student in terms of his or her learning strengths, preferences and needs (Partington et al., 2001); using fewer worksheets (Partington et al., 2001); the examination of motivations, contexts and interactions when deciding what to do in an incident; dealing with an incident in isolation from previous student incidents; defusing strategies employed by teachers; looking for the reasons behind behaviour, not simply blaming students; and employing a restrained use of power and that procedures should be set, but not always followed (Partington et al., 2001).

Two Australian studies suggested successful teacher beliefs and strategies that positively supported the behaviour of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. Hudsmith (1992) observed two effective teachers and explained how they achieved successful relationships and teaching. They incorporated Aboriginal learning styles into their teaching, many of which would not be usual in a mainstream classroom. They helped students understand how to behave for other school settings, and connected with the students outside of school, especially through class visitations to their homes on an excursion (Hudsmith, 1992). The students engaged in equitable social relations with adults which were characterised by “ease, equity and often humour” (Hudsmith, 1992, p. 9). Although this study identified successful teacher behaviour, it did not take the list of strategies into other classrooms, or collect specific evidence about the impact of these teacher strategies on student behaviour. Gillan (2008) examined the impact of policy and resultant practice on Noongar children in a Western Australian primary school. He offered a range of suggestions and more detail on reactive strategies than previously presented in the literature (Gillan, 2008). His summary of the situation suggests a change in approach for teachers. “Noongar

students essentially code-switch in response to the demands of the White constructed discipline policy. If teachers are to respond in a culturally sensitive manner when disciplining Noongar students then it will be necessary for them to perform their own epitome of code-switching by culturally differentiating the sanction applied for the misdemeanour” (Gillan, 2008, p. 268). What was missing in Gillan’s (2008) work as well as other Australian research literature related to behaviour support and management, was empirical evidence of which strategies worked. None of these studies used a methodology similar to Bishop et al’s (2007) where strategies were empirically linked to student outcomes.

In all, the literature review identified little evidence of either international and Australian studies that focus on identifying behaviour support and management practices from students’ perspectives and then testing these to determine the efficacy of such practices.

Background to the study

The study to be described occurs within two faith-based education systems that provide educational opportunities to all students, and specifically seek to make an educational difference for Indigenous students. First, the larger Australian Research Council (ARC) study related to the current study in progress is situated in a large collection of schools under the banner of the Diocese of Catholic Education Townsville. The ARC study was motivated by Townsville Catholic Education’s desire to assist teachers to manifest the aspirations for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in teachers’ actions. Of central importance to Catholic Education is ensuring that its schools, especially students, teachers and administrators, challenge the prevailing view that disparity in educational outcomes of Indigenous students is ‘normal’ and that modest incremental gains are acceptable (Queensland Catholic Education Commission, 2012). Each Catholic Education Authority seeks to improve equitable outcomes for its Indigenous students, especially with regards to the classroom learning experiences provided for its students. It does this through developing sustainable procedures (Queensland Catholic Education Commission, 2012). Catholic schools can improve outcomes for Indigenous students by ensuring that teachers are equipped with an evidence-based repertoire of behaviour support and management skills that are effective in meeting their developmental and behaviour needs (Lewthwaite & Day, 2014).

The study will also occur in an Independent school (permission pending). The Indigenous Independent school is committed to a quality Christian education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. It is co-educational P-13 with boarding facilities from

years 7-12. At present the students come from 35 different language groups, mostly from remote communities in Queensland, The Northern Territory and Western Australia. This requires the school to provide English as a Second Language/ Dialect support to 60% of students. The school has developed a holistic approach which supports students in transition to school.

The research focus

The research in this study focuses on the need for culturally responsive behaviour support and management strategies for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in North Queensland schools. The study will seek to answer these questions: (1) according to Indigenous students, family members and staff working with Indigenous students, what behaviour support strategies are perceived to contribute to a supportive learning environment and improved positive learning outcomes? Following on from this a further question will seek (2) to determine the influence of the above mentioned enacted behaviour support and management practices on student behaviour (for example, on-task, off-task and inappropriate). An effective teacher profile will be created from the opinions of Indigenous students, parents and staff. The profile will be used to observe teacher behaviour and investigate whether these teacher behaviours influence student behaviour. The results of the study and training for staff will be offered to both Townsville Catholic Education and the Indigenous Independent school at the completion of the study, to increase teacher understanding of Culturally Responsive Behaviour Support and Management in a Queensland context.

Theoretical Framework

Using critical theory as a framework, this study will question assumptions about commonly endorsed and unquestioned approaches to Indigenous student behaviour support and management. “Critical pedagogy challenges the social, environmental, and economic structures and social relations that shape the conditions in which people live, and in which schools operate” (Smith & McLaren, 2010, p. 332) and is the practical application of critical theory to education. It is based on the work of Freire (1970; c.f.; Giroux, 2006; Smith & McLaren, 2010) and it engages with subjugated groups (Smith & McLaren, 2010). It asks people to question how their actions support the dominant culture or create social change (Smith & McLaren, 2010).

Methodological framework

Methodology is defined as “an analysis of how research does or should proceed while a research method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gaining evidence” (Harding, 1987, pp. 2-3). This study uses a pragmatic (Hammersley, 2012), or Problem Based Methodology (PBM) (Robinson, 1998) which is a mixed method approach to investigate the research questions proposed. What distinguishes this methodology from others is the way the nature of a problem informs the choice of data collection, analysis, and evaluation methods (Robinson, 1998). PBM defines a problem as a goal that can be achieved and it examines the constraints around the problem that impact on the success of implementation (Robinson, 1998). Pragmatic approaches commonly draw upon a mixed methods approach which is “a procedure for collecting, analysing, and ‘mixing’ both quantitative and qualitative research and methods in a single study to understand a research problem” (Creswell, 2008, p. 52).

Drawing upon Indigenous methodologies as described by Smith (2012), this study could be described as ‘reframing’ of practice, which is related to defining the issue and deciding how best for the teacher to proceed, in contrast to the usual blaming and paternalistic manner in which educators attribute the problem to students and the cultures they represent. Later phases of the study will also cover ‘creating’ and ‘sharing’, to use collective creativity to produce solutions to problems to be shared for collective benefit (Smith, 2012).

Phase 1

During Phase One, semi-structured interviews will be conducted in the Independent Indigenous P-12 School and one Primary Catholic School. Interviews will be conducted on the school campus for Indigenous staff and students, and at school or at a site that suits parents. The first author is known to staff and students in both jurisdictions, so is able to conduct this research with a minimum of imposition. The majority of parent interviews for the Independent school will be conducted by phone as parents live in various communities in three Australian states. Questions will be asked about (a) how children learn behaviour at home, (b) how inappropriate behaviours are discouraged at home, (c) if different behaviours are required at school, (d) which teacher attitudes and strategies encourage student behaviour that is appropriate for their classrooms, (e) what a new teacher would need to know or do to be able to support children’s behaviour effectively and (f) which teacher beliefs and strategies really don’t work to support the behaviour of Indigenous students.

All conversations will be audio recorded and then transcribed. The first step in the thematic analysis process will involve open coding, which is reading each of the transcripts to identify and code significant quotes. Coding will allow the researcher to identify the breadth of the comment and how it relates to themes evident in the literature. This analysis of the data, integrated with the literature, will be used to structure a list of beliefs and strategies that are perceived to support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander student behaviour.

Phase 2

Phase two will involve observations of a small number of effective teachers, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, identified as such by students, colleagues and administrators, to determine if they use any strategies that are not mentioned in interviews, or evident in the literature review. Brief field notes will be collected, particularly recording teacher strategies not mentioned in the literature review or interviews.

Phase 3

Based on the themes to come from the interviews, observations and literature an effective teacher profile, or list of beliefs and strategies, will be created. This will be done by the researcher and her supervisors using an analytical induction process. The transcripts will be read to identify and code significant quotes. Preliminary analysis of this data will be combined with themes and strategies from the literature to create a list of teacher beliefs and strategies seen as important for positively supporting student behaviour.

Phase 4

Phase four will involve small group interviews with selected participants from phase one, checking the list of teacher beliefs and behaviours to ensure that they are sensitive and reflect what has been said in the interviews.

Phase 5

The fifth phase of the study is quantitative by nature and seeks to determine the utility of the list of beliefs and behaviours which will be called an effective teacher profile. Based upon the qualitative data, teacher actions supportive of student behaviour will be identified. The items on this list will be sorted into categories, and broken down into survey items. The wording of the items will be checked to make sure they are unambiguous and the intended meaning clear. The effective teacher profile will be piloted with a group of State School

teachers for refinement. This profile will be statistically validated through an on-line survey by a large number of teachers within the Diocese, likely in excess of 200. Once validated, the final effective teacher profile instrument will be used to investigate amongst selected schools, both in the Catholic and Independent systems, the frequency of use of the strategies. The items will require teachers to respond in a Likert scale format with the response format being:

Almost never < 20% of the time

Once in a while: 20-39% of the time

Sometimes: 40-59% of the time

Frequently: 60-79% of the time

Almost always $\geq$ 80% of the time

Demographic data will also be collected in the survey instrument about teacher culture, years of experience teaching and perceived success supporting the behaviour of Indigenous students. In summary, data from this phase of the survey will be used to develop an itemised validated instrument that can be used to gauge teacher's behaviour support practices.

Later phases

In phase six, teachers and several randomly selected students will be observed using the validated tool, to investigate any links between the frequency of these teacher strategies and the amount of student on-task time and record of student behaviour. Phase seven will involve these teachers and students completing a numerical feedback sheet about frequency of teacher use of the strategies in order to triangulate the observation data. Both data sets will provide the statistical foundation for identifying and prioritising those teacher actions potentially associated with supporting student behaviour.

Summary

The purpose of this study has been to introduce the first and second phases of a research project focussing on culturally responsive classroom management in two North Queensland schools. The opinions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students, staff and parents will be sought in order to create an Effective Behaviour Support Profile for teachers which contains categories and an itemised list within each category of effective teacher beliefs and strategies which support the behaviour of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. Further, brief observations will be made of effective classroom teachers to ascertain if there

are strategies that are not evident from the interviews and literature review. The inclusion of the voice of Indigenous students, parents and staff will ensure that the contributions of the community are part of a needed solution.

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