Equity and Diversity for Primary School Indigenous Children in Bangladesh

Md. Rabiul Islam

Master of Education (Flinders University) 2008, Bachelor of Education (Bangladesh Open University) 2002, Master of Agronomy 1996, Bachelor of Agriculture (Hons) 1994 (Bangladesh Agricultural University)

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Education, Humanities and Law

School of Education

Flinders University

Adelaide, Australia

March 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VII

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

There is increasing concern among national as well as international development policy makers that indigenous children in Bangladesh continue to receive a less than optimal primary education. Issues such as low enrolment at school, poor attendance, lower achievement levels and higher dropout rates distinguish indigenous children's education from mainstream children in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), located in the south-eastern corner of Bangladesh where the majority of indigenous people in Bangladesh live. In order to gain deeper insight into why indigenous students experience ongoing educational disadvantage there is a need to move beyond the accumulated facts and figures generated by quantitative research and more closely examine reasons for these issues at the school level. To achieve this, the research undertaken for this thesis is a qualitative study that focuses on teacher-student interactions and relationships, peer interactions, school leadership and management, and policy-practice connections related to the implementation of equity and diversity principles at the schools. This study specifically focuses on supports and limits in achieving equity and diversity through the way teachers and students engage in the teaching-learning process, the relevance of centrally developed curriculum and teaching materials, the effectiveness of professional development, and the role of local level school governance and management in CHT schools.

The case study methodology drew upon a range of ethnographic techniques including participant and non-participant observation, interview, focus group discussion, children's stories and photos, field notes, and document collection. Four CHT schools were purposively selected and participants involved in the research included class teachers, students, head teachers, and School Management Committee members at each school as well as academic supervisors, teacher educators and subject specialists with connections to those schools. Fieldwork was undertaken during October-December 2013.

The study found that the principles of equity and diversity are not well embedded in CHT schools. Participant and non-participant observations together with participants' perceptions provided evidence that indigenous students in the CHT schools are disadvantaged in several ways in their school, through ethnocentrism, discrimination, harassment, blaming and being stereotyped. All these practices are unsupportive of equity and diversity principles.

Firstly, in most classrooms teachers interacted less with indigenous than with mainstream students citing indigenous students' language difficulties as a barrier to communicating and learning. Secondly, the relationship between indigenous and mainstream students does not reflect or respect diversity. Thirdly, centrally organised teacher development programs, curriculum, and teaching materials privilege mainstream students' life styles and socio-cultural contexts. Besides this, school level management policies do not address indigenous children's equity and diversity issues at the local level. Rather, school management is hierarchical and centrally controlled. Finally, there was no evidence that teachers adapted methods and materials for teaching in ethnically diverse classrooms.

Some positive initiatives regarding indigenous education development were observed at schools in CHT. Among these, the provision of accommodation for rural indigenous students at school or in nearby schools has overcome geographical constraints. Further, District level management authorities in CHT now have some autonomy to recruit indigenous teachers according to their local needs.

Keywords: Case study research, Chittagong Hill Tracts, equity and diversity, Indigenous children

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signature

(Md Rabiul Islam)

ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS AND TRANSLATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIPP	Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact
AUEO	Assistant Upazila Education Officer
CARE	Centre for American Relief Everywhere
CET	Cultural Ecological Theory
CFAR	Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation
C-in-Ed	Certificate in Education
CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts
DPE	Directorate of Primary Education
DPEd	Diploma in Primary Education
DPEO	District Primary Education Officer
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FUSBREC	Flinders University's Social & Behavioural Research Ethics Committee
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
HGSE	Harvard Graduate School of Education
HDC	Hill District Council
HDR	Human Development Resource
IER	Institute of Educational Research
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IP	Indigenous People
IPP	Indigenous Peoples' Plan
MLE	Mother Language Education
MOPME	Ministry of Primary and Mass Education
MCEETYA	Ministerial Council for Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs
MHFW	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
NAPE	National Academy for Primary Education
NCTB	National Curriculum and Textbook Board
NEAP	National Educational Action Plan
NEP	National Education Policy
NGO	Non-Government Organization
OECD	Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
PEDPI	First Primary Education Development Programme
PEDP II	Second Primary Education Development Programme

PEDP III	Third Primary Education Development Programme
PTI	Primary (Teacher) Training Institute
SASHD	South Asian Human Development Sector
SAT	Segmented Assimilation Theory
SBCD	School Based Curriculum Development
SMC	School Management Committee
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UEO	Upazila Education Officer
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URC	Upazila Resource Centre
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank
WWII	Second World War

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the cooperation of a great many people. First and foremost, I would like to begin the acknowledgement with Professor Rosalind Murray-Harvey. She has been giving academic support for a decade since 2006 when I was engaged in the Master of Education course at Flinders University. I would like to express my sincere indebtedness to her.

I would like to express my gratitude to my co-supervisor Dr. Ben Wadham whose patience and guidance along the path supported my original ideas and ensured the completion of this thesis.

I am indebted to university professional developmental tutors, teachers and students who helped me in preparing the research proposal, data collecting, processing, analysing and reporting this study. I wish also to extend my thanks to the members of the academic staff at the School of Education for their valuable comments in the process of formulating the ideas of this project. I am also grateful to Judith Lydeamore for supporting me in the last few weeks with the hard work of editing my thesis.

My gratitude also goes to the primary education departmental personnel particularly in the Bandarban and Rangamati districts. I realise that the contributions of all Assistant Upazila Education Officers, head teachers, assistant teachers and students of the four case study schools have helped me to complete my academic journey. Besides this, my thanks go to the teacher educators and subject specialists who offered their valuable time.

I would also like to thank Dr. Ahmed M. Saleheen and Selim Reza for their continuous encouragement during my study in Australia. Also I would like to convey my gratitude to my wife Shaima Akhter, my son Sadat Rahin and daughter Rojalin Roya for their earnest cooperation in conducting the study as a whole.

THE PAPERS DRAWN FROM THE THESIS

Article 1

Islam, M. R. & Murray-Harvey, R. (2016). Equitable Education for Bangladeshi Indigenous Children: Perceptions of School Leaders and Managers. *International Journal of Diversity, Communities & Nations: Annual Review*, *16*, 37-46.

Article 2

Islam, M. R. & Wadham, B. (2016).Equity and Diversity in Bangladesh's Primary Education: Struggling Indigenous Children. *International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering, 10* (4), 1134-38.

Conference attendance and paper presentations:

Conference 1

Islam, M. R. & Murray-Harvey, R. (2016).*Equitable Education for Bangladeshi Indigenous Children: Perceptions of School Leaders and Managers,* Fifteenth International Conference on Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations: Affirming Diversity for Social and Educational Justice. The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR, China, 15-17 July 2015.

Conference 2

Islam, M. R. & Wadham, B. (2016).*Equity and Diversity in Bangladesh's Primary Education: Struggling Indigenous Children*, ICEDI 2016:18th International Conference on Equality, Diversity and Inclusion. Boston, USA, 25-26 April 2016.

CHAPTER1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Social justice through equity and diversity is key to the challenge of raising standards in the quality of primary education for all children and especially for various disadvantaged groups such as indigenous children. Current global discussions focusing on equity and diversity state that students from all sections of the society should have the chance to share effectively in education. Equity and diversity, when practised in schools, influence children's lives by shaping their perceptions and conceptions, values and ideas, and guiding them along the path of cultural development and assisting them to become world citizens. This also contributes towards strengthening democracy, increasing social participation and removing barriers to modernisation (Kaur, 2012). For this reason, equity and diversity have been considered essential to an inclusive education policy for universal primary education throughout the world. The focus of this study is to understand the challenges in addressing these issues in primary education for indigenous children in Bangladesh. The term 'equity' has been adopted in this thesis to mean fairness that creates a certain situation where personal and social circumstances such as gender, socio-economic status or ethnic origin would not be an obstacle to reaching educational potential(Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2008).

Primary education institutions across the globe have shown significant development in addressing the issues of implementing equity and diversity. Understandably, remarkable improvements in this regard have been achieved by developed countries like the USA (Bennett, 2001). Changes that they have adopted have taken place within complex educational contexts through introducing policy level adjustments that have brought changes in theory and practices.

Education as part of a social system is inextricably related to a number of social factors such as interpersonal interaction and mutual trust among students and teachers (Palinsar, 2005). Some scholars claim the process of global forces that interrelates with local politics—national, sub-national and local level—as a more complex process mediating global trends (Takayama, 2007). At the same time, these forces contribute to and continue to shape a country's education policies,

learning from education policies of developed countries which are better able to successfully cater for globalisation and development processes.

Many academic disciplines such as economics, sociology, cultural studies and political science have focused on the concept of globalisation (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p31) and numerous scholars have ventured to understand education systems and their relations with globalisation. Though international education policies have been historically formed by wealthy nations and agencies led by Western theoretical paradigms (Williams, 2015), many international organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and its agencies, including ILO, UNESCO and UNICEF, also have taken initiatives to integrate local education systems within the broader perspective of globalisation.

As a result, donor countries have been seen to engage themselves in collaborating with developing countries to formulate education policies with global perspectives in mind (Williams, 2015). However, in developing countries, this collaboration takes place more with government officials who often lack a deep understanding of the educational needs of their country (Williams, 2015).

Before widespread international cooperation on different socio-political aspects came to play a significant role in shaping social policies, the formidable force that shaped social policies in developing countries was colonisation. Particularly, the state of education systems in developing countries such as Bangladesh can be understood better by taking their historical past into consideration. Many authors, for example Bagchi (1982) and Frank (1978), have highlighted the link between colonialism and economic underdevelopment. The literature has emphasised factors such as excessive exploitation of colonies, draining of resources, and the growth of a "dependency" complex. Given that economic underdevelopment is not a stand-alone issue, these factors have undoubtedly influenced the education system which was used as a tool for political exploitation (Bagchi, 1982).

In the case of Bangladesh, the country as part of undivided India had been ruled by the British Raj for about 200 years leading up to a division into two countries based on their religious majorities in 1947. The education system that the colonial rulers devised for the ruled was not inclusive in the first place; rather, it was meant to create a group of subservient people to serve their own purpose and also to further stratify the society in order to facilitate their 'divide and rule' policy (Viswanathan, 2015). Naturally, disadvantaged sections of the population including the indigenous people did not attract much attention in the education system. In the Post-British

colonial rule, Bangladesh continued to be ruled by another power, the then West Pakistan, which tried to model the education system on their own preferences and took no or little consideration of the aspirations of the different groups of Bangladeshi people.

In the wake of globalisation and international cooperation for development, an important objective of educational development, spearheaded by donor countries as well as international development partners, has been to introduce a better education system which includes the disadvantaged groups, particularly children. Development processes are strongly related to implementing equity and diversity principles in any spreading education system. There is now a general understanding that both globalisation and development can play important roles in ensuring equity and diversity in the field of education for developing countries like Bangladesh.

If we compare the development situation through the Human Development Index between developed and developing countries, a wide gap is evident between the two sections. In terms of the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), developed countries such as Australia (2), Canada (9), United Kingdom (16) and United States (28) are ranked much higher than developing countries such as India (100), and Bangladesh (103). Here a question arises as to why developing countries like Bangladesh rank so low while developed countries enjoy such high achievement on this issue. One answer to this question is that developed countries have built up equitable and diverse education systems for effective human development in a stable democratic environment. On the other hand, most developing countries historically lack a hospitable and enabling environment for developing their human resources.

Developing countries, most of which had been under foreign domination for some time, face many obstacles in their efforts towards development. For example, when the Renaissance was spreading new ideas and techniques for modernisation all over the world, the whole Indian region, including Bangladesh, remained colonised under British rule. Most of the colonised countries neither had any democracy, nor did they have any opportunity to devise social policies to suit their own aspirations.

With regard to education policy, education for all as well as equitable education has been an expressed commitment in most countries, both developed and developing. Bangladesh is no exception. According to the National Constitution of Bangladesh (Government of Bangladesh, 1972, Article 17a), "The State shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of (a) establishing a uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to

such a stage as may be determined by law." However, due to the enduring colonial administrative system, the country has not been able to implement an education policy as equitable and diverse as it has promised in its constitution (Abdullah, 2011, p38).

In the case of education for the indigenous people, the issue seems to have received the same treatment as the ruled received from the ruler following the pattern of domination and subjugation. It should be noted that in Bangladesh there was a strained relationship between the indigenous people and the people of the mainland for about twenty years as Bangladesh gained independence in 1971. Bitterness ensued as the indigenous people, mostly living in the Hill tracts, refused to be identified as 'Bengalis'. This is an identity that the then ruling politicians imposed on the indigenous people in an attempt to deny their separate identity based on ethnicity and to avoid a state of autonomy for them. However, a peace accord signed between the government of Bangladesh and the insurgent leaders of the Hill tracts in 1997 paved the way for an inclusive development pathway for indigenous people in Bangladesh (International work group for indigenous affairs and Organising Committee CHT Campaign and Shimin Gaikou Centre, 2012). There is no denying the fact that one crucial step towards achieving the goal of inclusive development for indigenous people is to ensure equitable education for them.

Although equity and diversity in an education system are desirable goals for any society, they have been proved to be quite difficult to achieve. As many academics have argued, educational equity is almost rhetorical and difficult to achieve in practice (Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003). This is particularly true in the case of developing countries where implementation of equity and diversity at school levels is still a formidable challenge (Harvard Graduate School of Education, n.d.; Mullick, Deppeler, & Sharma, 2012). An even bigger challenge is to ensure equitable education for indigenous people in a society which underwent a time of strained relationships between its mainland and indigenous people. Subjects of study and debate on indigenous issues have been formulated all over the world in various ways. Moreover, the challenges in indigenous children's education are still an important issue for research (Dove, 2006). Therefore, this study focuses on equity and diversity issues in the primary school education of indigenous children in Bangladesh.

Background of the study

Bangladesh is a developing country in South Asia. The country enshrines the right to education for all in its constitution. This commitment is also reflected in the

National Education Policy (Directorate of Primary Education, 2011b)that reaffirms compulsory free education for all children, at least at the primary education level. Since its independence in 1971, Bangladesh has been struggling to establish an efficient, inclusive and equitable primary education system for all children. Over the years there have been several initiatives adopted by the government to achieve this, along with non-government actors and international development partners. Improvements in the educational level of indigenous children living especially in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) have attracted special attention. This, however, has seen only limited success. Although the Bangladesh government boasts, as claimed in official documents, a 96.7 per-cent enrolment of all children in primary education (Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, 2014, p9), indigenous children have made less progress compared to other children in the primary education sector in Bangladesh (United Nations Development Programme, 2009).Bangladesh faces many other challenges in ensuring equity and diversity in the primary education sector. In fact, understanding and global practices in the primary education sector have created stresses and gaps between the situation of operational principles and practicalities in primary schools in the country.

In Bangladesh, as in many other developing countries, children in high poverty areas are commonly considered to possess fewer numeric and literary skills than students from non-poverty-stricken sections. CHT hosts one of the high poverty sections of population in Bangladesh. Accordingly, a fact for students from the CHT region is that the state of numeracy and literacy is much worse than in any other part of the country. Moreover, while the ratio of indigenous and mainstream students studying at the same primary schools in CHT is almost equal, Sagar and Poulson (2003)reported that indigenous students have not achieved the same level of learning outcomes as mainstream students, due to inadequate implementation of indigenous languages and cultures based equity and diversity principles. In addition, there are continuing problems of poor interactions between indigenous and mainstream students and teachers in CHT schools.

This critical issue, however, has attracted only a small number of academic studies to date related to the problem of equity and diversity for indigenous children at primary schools in Bangladesh. Moreover, most studies concerning the educational situation of indigenous children have focussed on mapping only demographic or numerical expressions based on secondary data sources such as the Annual Report: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics data and quantitative analysis (Directorate of Primary Education, 2002).

A few international organisational reports have focussed on the fact that primary education in Bangladesh has shifted from partial segregation towards mainstreaming, to the current situation of poor equity and diversity for indigenous children especially in the CHT region (Oxford Policy Management & Social Development Direct, 2008; Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP), 2007). Against this background, an in-depth analysis through research at the primary school level is needed in order to understand how equity and diversity principles can be effective in primary schools in CHT.

Rationale of the Study

Education is a complex undertaking and there are numerous factors which affect education policy, management, and curriculum development. So far, in Bangladesh, academic studies and research have focused on inputs to education. For example, student enrolment, attendance, achievement, school management, teacher qualifications, and training have attracted much of the attention when it comes to academic work and research in primary education. Unfortunately, the education of disadvantaged groups in Bangladesh has received relatively little attention from academic researchers. Reviews of existing literature show that only some NGOs and donor agencies have conducted a few studies. As mentioned above, most of these studies, for example UNDP and World Bank reports, are developed based solely on secondary data. Given the nature and urgency of this kind of research, an in-depth research with empirical data on indigenous children's educational development is necessary.

As a faculty member of the Research and Curriculum Development team at the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) in Bangladesh, the researcher of this study took part in research activities every year during the last decade. This, while allowing the researcher an insider's view, also brought to notice that many of the objectives of the Second Primary Education Development Programme (PEDPII) and Third Primary Education Development Programme (PEDPIII) undertaken by the government for the development of indigenous children, remained unachieved. This phenomenon motivated the researcher to select the topic as an important research area for his higher study journey.

Objectives of the study

The overarching aim of this study is to better understand the supports and limits in implementing equity and diversity principles for indigenous children in primary schools in CHT in Bangladesh from the perspectives of the teachers, school

managers, teacher educators, and students. The specific objectives of my research are as follows:

- To identify school and teaching practices in the primary schools in CHT that support or limit equity and diversity for indigenous children.

- To determine the impact on equity and diversity of policies and practices in CHT schools.

- To ascertain how the equity and diversity implementation process can be strengthened.

- To devise recommendations for policy and practice.

Research Questions

The overarching research question is:

What supports and limits the achievement of equity, diversity and equality for indigenous children in primary schools in CHT?

The sub-questions from which the conceptual framework of the thesis has been developed (see Figure 3.1) are as follows:

1. What practices are evident in CHT schools from teacher-student and student-student interactions and relationships that support or limit equity and diversity?

2. In what ways do educational materials support or limit achievement of equity and diversity goals in CHT school classrooms?

3. How does professional development of teachers in CHT schools support equity and diversity practices in those schools?

4. How do governance and leadership describe the current school culture at CHT primary schools in the context of equity and diversity?

5. To what extent do CHT schools and teachers recognise and celebrate diversity, and equity?

Significance of the study

Bangladesh, a developing country with a high density of population, aspires to develop through the use of human resources. To build quality human resources, it is essential to have in place a quality education system. This system should allow

equal opportunity to all children irrespective of their social status or ethnic background.

Given that no significant empirical research has so far been conducted to explore and understand the nature of problems that indigenous children in Bangladesh face with regard to the issue of equality and diversity in education, the aim of this study is to fill the gap by undertaking a qualitative research study adopting an ethnographic approach. This research study has both explorative and evaluative purposes. Moreover, the researcher will recommend policies that will contribute towards improving equality and diversity in the context of primary education in Bangladesh.

A review of literature suggests that only a small number of research projects exploring the issue of equity and diversity have been conducted by researchers, mainly through analysis of textbooks for primary education in Bangladesh. This research project will therefore try to fill an important gap existing in the literature by undertaking empirical research thereby attracting more academic research in the field.

Limitations of the study

Considering primary education in a developing country like Bangladesh and its societal and economic impacts, it is a challenge to cover all aspects related to equity and diversity at schools in the CHT region for the purpose of this research project. Since the research was confined to a few selected schools it was not possible to compare the broader societal context that shapes the lives of children and their families. It is also difficult due to the available research timeframe to communicate with all types of management personnel at the regional level even though they are involved in implementing equity and diversity policies in their regions. Neither was it possible to talk with families to gain their perspectives.

Delimitations of the study

Due to time constraints, I could allocate only four months for fieldwork. So, this study only involved stakeholders in the form of class teachers, students, head teachers, academic supervisors and subject specialists though perspectives of other stakeholders would also be relevant.

The context: CHT and its indigenous people / some key considerations

Demographic information of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT)

The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) region is located at the South-Eastern corner of Bangladesh and includes an area of 13,295 sq. kilometres (Figure 1.1). The region formed a single district of Bangladesh until 1984, one of 20 districts at the time, and was named the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Presently, the region consists of three districts – Rangamati, Bandarban, and Khagrachhari – of the 64 districts that were created in 1984. These three districts have a unique legal and administrative system that differs from the rest of the country and are known as Hill District Council (HDC).

Figure 1.1: The geographical location of CHT

Source: http://www.mochta.gov.bd/

The largest concentration of indigenous people in Bangladesh is found in the CHT region. It is now agreed that there are 11 distinct indigenous groups of peoples living in the CHT. The CHT is now the only region in the country where people with indigenous origin form the majority. However, the mix between mainland Bengali

and indigenous people in the CHT is comparatively balanced compared to all the other districts in Bangladesh. The indigenous people are generally mentioned in the CHT as 'Pahari' (meaning hill people) or as 'Jumma' people (Karim, 1998, p302). The indigenous people live generally in remote areas (United Nations Development Programme, 2009).

The majority of indigenous people in Bangladesh live in the CHT areas and the socio-economic situation of the people in the region is still poor. In fact, three districts of the CHT out of 64 districts in the country have been categorised as the poorest districts in Bangladesh. A baseline survey by the United Nations Development Programme (2009) reports that CHT is one of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable regions in Bangladesh, which results from low employment, poverty, political instability, poor communication systems, and low level basic education in this area (United Nations Development Programme, 2009).

While the majority of the Bangladeshi population are Bengalese, about 1.2 per-cent of the population is indigenous in the country (Barkat, Hoque, Halim, & Osman, 2009). Many cultural features differentiate indigenous communities in Bangladesh such as belief systems, economic activities, customary laws, and languages. They speak a variety of languages, have their own distinct cultures, and are bound by their own customary laws.

Moreover, mainstream and indigenous people have distinguishable differences in their physical appearance; the origin of mainstream people (Bengalese) is of 'Indic' descent, while the indigenous people are of 'Mongoloid' descent (Schendel, 1992, p122). Barkat et al (2009) indicate that indigenous people are politically marginalised and socio-economically disadvantaged in Bangladesh.

Primary education in Bangladesh

The present education system of Bangladesh is broadly divided into three major stages: primary, secondary and higher education. The primary education sector is the biggest national enterprise with more than 18 million students attending 78,126 educational institutions served by more than 320,000 teachers (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2006). Currently, six years of free primary education has been made compulsory for all children including one year pre-primary education. Most children study in government primary schools especially in rural and remote areas. In urban areas, however, a large portion of children is enrolled in private schools and high schools attached to primary schools. Besides this, English medium, religious education (Madrasah), and non-formal education delivered by NGO's for children

exist in the country. Generally, 5+ to 10+ age groups of children are studying in the primary schools.

In recent years, the primary education sector has made commendable progress in increasing gross enrolment, excluding some disadvantaged groups of children. This success in quantitative expansion is a result of various government programs. As regards quality of primary education, however, various survey findings provide a discouraging scenario summarising that the quality of primary education is not up to standard. This, understandably, has made the government and the donor agencies concerned take steps to reverse the trend through development programs.

Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP)

As a developing country, Bangladesh has different sector-wise development programs. Since 1997, the Primary education sector has adopted some programs, for instance, the First Primary Education Development Programme (PEDPI) for six years (1997- 2003). The duration of the Second Primary Education Development Programme (PEDPII) was for seven years from 2004 until 2011. Ongoing, the Third Primary Education Development Programme (PEDPIII) has been operating since 2012 and targets to continue its operation until 2016.

The main funding authorities of the PEDPs are various development partners and the Bangladesh government. In order to implement the program, the government and development partners have agreed to introduce principles of a sector-wide approach to achieve excellent primary education in future (Directorate of Primary Education, 2011b).

Curriculum and teaching materials (Textbooks)

The Primary education sector introduced a competency-based curriculum in 1992 and the last revision was made in 2010. The curriculum has specified grade-wise and subject-wise learning outcomes and terminal competencies. Most primary schools in Bangladesh are under direct management of the government and follow the government curriculum. The medium of instruction in these schools is Bangla, except for second language English text books in English language. Besides this, a small number of urban elite schools (popularly known as English medium schools) follow the British-determined curriculum and assessment.

Based on curriculum, the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) has been producing and distributing textbooks for more than a decade. A single set of approved textbooks by subject and class is published centrally by the NCTB. These

textbooks are delivered by NCTB without cost to the students at the beginning of every New Year, which is the beginning of the academic year in Bangladesh. There is no provision to supply any other supplementary books for the students at primary school level.

Professional development for teachers

The Government of Bangladesh has made it compulsory for every primary school teacher to participate in the one-and-a-half-year long Diploma in Primary Education (DPEd). This is a professional development course which every teacher has to enrol in and successfully complete within two years after recruitment. Most districts have a Primary Teachers Training Institute (PTI) and every year many newly recruited teachers are enrolled in programs offered at those institutes. An issue of concern is that although the new DPEd has replaced the one-year Certificate in Education(C-in-Ed) in operation before 2013, some PTIs still follow the C-in-Ed program. Besides this, Upazila Education Office and Upazila Resource Centre (URC) arrange short-term professional development courses for school teachers. So far, there is no special professional development designed especially for school teachers in CHT.

School level management

The government primary schools are managed centrally through official staff including head teachers. In CHT the selection system for teachers' recruitment is different. Salary, class routine, professional development and leave are managed by higher offices following education department procedures. Only school level teaching and assessments are managed by head teachers. At the local level, to support and communicate with parents, every school has a School Management Committee (SMC) consisting mainly of socially influential personnel from the community. Every SMC committee consists of 11 members including the head teacher and one assistant teacher from that school. Generally, the committee meets once every two months. The responsibilities of this committee are monitoring of teaching, school attendance of students and teachers, collecting teaching materials, small scale repairs of physical facilities, and special days observed in the schools.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter one consists of research background, rationale for the research and brief descriptions of important contexts. The important parts of this study such as

research objectives, research questions, and limitations and delimitations have been described in this chapter. The major features of CHT and the structure of primary education in Bangladesh also have been described in this chapter.

Chapter two presents a review of existing literature for understanding equity and diversity in primary education from a global perspective. First the focus is on the different aspects and dimensions of equitable education for indigenous students in primary schools through interaction among the school actors, then teaching curriculum and materials and school governance are reviewed maintaining an international perspective.

Chapter three reviews efforts to contextualise the primary education system, emphasising provisions for education in CHT and various steps for educational developments in Bangladesh. Moreover, a number of reports have been included in the review section to generate an in-depth understanding of the situation of primary education in CHT. Finally, at the end I discuss the theoretical framework and conceptual framework that shapes my study.

Chapter four outlines the research methodology and methods employed in this study. This chapter presents demographic information and the methods of data collection in the first part. In the second part, it gives a detailed description of the study sites where field work was carried out.

Chapter five presents perceptions of management and academic personnel regarding the ongoing situation of indigenous primary education in CHT. Chapters six to nine present the analysis of data collected at the field level and present case studies in detail collected from four schools.

Chapter ten discusses the findings based on data on different aspects of both the review of existing literature and analysis of collected data. Finally, Chapter eleven presents a summary of the major findings of the study and their policy implications and offers future research directions. In the next chapter, I discuss indigenous education in a global context by reviewing relevant literature.

CHAPTER2: LITERATURE REVIEW OF GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to establish the theoretical framework of this thesis before exploring my field work experiences in the later chapters. It is of critical importance to review existing literature on this issue to increase knowledge and understanding of practices at the primary education level while comparing local practices to global practices. Review of existing literature reveals a range of theoretical perspectives and practices that are relevant to this study. This review of literature has also enabled the researcher to understand different approaches to equity and diversity in primary education with special focus on indigenous learners in the global context. In the following part of this chapter, this study will discuss the situation of indigenous people and their education worldwide, the impact of globalisation and development processes on indigenous education, provide explanations of equality, equity and diversity in education, educational development through equity and diversity principles, and areas of challenge for equitable education for indigenous children.

Before World War II (WWII), mostly elite people in Asian countries had the opportunity to attain education (Anuar & Krzys, 1987, p25). After WWII, however, waves of decolonisation started to reach the shores of many colonised states across the globe bringing with them the scent of liberty. This bit of history is relevant for this study because it was this time when most countries adopted an important political agenda of universal primary education (Anuar & Krzys, 1987, p25). This was also the time when the Intellectual Property (IP) framework started to get advertised internationally through the media, including issues of indigenous knowledge and the education of indigenous children (Drahos & Frankel, 2012, p6). The issue of development of indigenous children's education, however, still remains an issue requiring more attention by academics.

State of indigenous people and their education

We need to know who are considered indigenous people all over the world and how they differ from mainstream people. 'Indigenous people' has been defined in different ways by different organisations and researchers. According to the Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Populations, 1957 (C 107) and the

International Labour Organization (ILO)-1989 article 1 in Dove (2006), indigenous people are:

Article 1

> (a) Tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural, and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;

> (b) Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions(Dove, 2006, p192).

In contrast to the UN definitions, many social scientists have conceptualised indigenous people differently. For example, Corntassel (2003, p78) states that indigenous people, who have a tradition-based culture, were independent before colonisation and continue to struggle for preservation of their cultural integrity, economic self-reliance and political independence. The secretariat of the United Nation's Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues(State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, 2010) notes that around 370 million indigenous people live all over the world representing nearly five per cent of the world's population. They comprise approximately 5,000 ethnic groups living in nearly 200 countries. According to the Human Development Report(United Nations Development Programme, 2004), no country in the world is culturally homogenous.

However, indigenous people have been living as marginalised groups in their own countries and in many cases they are threatened by invasion, colonisation, and displacement (McCarty, Borgoiakova, Gilmore, Lomawaima, & Romero, 2005). Every day, indigenous communities all over the world face issues such as violence, inhuman treatment, and are threatened by incorporation policies, forced relocation, controls of large-scale development, and mishandling by military forces. As a result, they are still popularly represented globally as poor, illiterate and unemployed. A study shows that 300 million indigenous people represent one-third of the extremely poor rural people, among 900 million in the world (State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, 2010).

In light of this situation, a fundamental question then emerges about the roles globalisation plays in highlighting these situations. The various problems of indigenous people have been gradually articulated through international enterprises,

alliances, Indigenous rights forums, and conventions (Blaser, Feit, & McRae, 2004, p8). It is evident that internationally there is clear understanding about which group of people are considered to be indigenous people and that the issues they face in their day to day lives demand attention internationally, nationally and locally.

Effect of globalisation on development processes

Globalisation is a term used by specialists of numerous disciplines in their own ways. The term was pioneered by economic theorists in the 1970s (Power, 2015, p251). According to educationists, 'globalisation' indicates multilateral interactions among several national or local educational practices focusing on worldwide discussions around issues and processes (Ledger, Vidovich, & O'Donoghue, 2014, p39). Such globalisation interactions have inspired Euro-American modern education systems (Kapoor, 2011).

Further, based on globalisation forces, the United Nations (UN) and its agencies have been working for the indigenous populations to improve their socio-economic situation. Their educational status is one of the important socio-economic elements for any community. Improvement of indigenous education, however, remains as a challenge to the usual, routinized activities for any developing country. Moreover, in the education sector, development programs need extra funding. According to a UNESCO report (De Leo, 2012), development means "balanced economic and social progress with concern for the environment and stewardship of natural resources" (p18). There are two aspects of development programs: human development and physical facilities development. Both may make a significant contribution to developing education systems.

The issue of human development for indigenous people has been impacted by the globalisation process. Truly, global forces create a mix of opportunities and threats to pressurize national education systems. On the one hand, global education arrangements have been contributing towards building of the global community in order to address the challenges facing humanity in the modern social system. At the same time, more attention is being given to global issues in national curricula and educational practices with new technology. On the other hand, globalisation has had a negative impact on education systems by emphasising homogenisation which tends to reduce diversity (Power, 2015, p251).

However, the UN agencies have been functioning to build up various organisational structures to deal with global challenges while empowering disadvantaged people

(Power, 2015, p248). Therefore, educational policies and practices, and educational development of developing countries, have been modelling their efforts on globalisation forces as well as on UN agreements. Educational development, then, is influenced by two types of approaches: a rights-based and a human capital approach (Power, 2015, p250). As Power (2015, p250) argues, "The concept of education, as a basic human right promoted by UNESCO, does not fit comfortably with the agenda of the World Bank, the IMF, and OECD." He concludes that, "Education is both a human right and a good investment" (Power, 2015, p250).

UN agencies and the World Bank have policies for development of indigenous rights in order to transfer these to their projects (Blaser et al., 2004, p1),as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples cites: "Recognising that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contribute to sustainable and equitable development, and proper management of the environment" (Roy, Chakma, & Lira, 2010, p671). Globalisation forces work towards empowering education that is constructed on the values and principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the UN (Dove, 2006),for instance, considering that equity and diversity for indigenous education are important issues for the construction of human rights.

According to Tarabini (2010, p206), since the 1990s the modern global directive for education policy has been based on the pursuit of growth, productivity and competitiveness. Much collaboration has taken effect around finance-driven reforms, competitiveness-driven reforms and equity-driven reforms. Therefore, considering principles for equity in education policy is an important issue for disadvantaged children such as indigenous children.

Equity and diversity are commonly-used notions in indigenous children's education and learning, yet they are concepts difficult to define precisely. Recently, Williams (2015, p14) has argued that modern schooling systems do not effectively incorporate the social, cultural and religious traditions of indigenous systems. In some societies, indigenous forms of education have largely been adopted into formal schooling. In other cases, traditional and "modern" operate within their own ranges.

Uprising of indigenous peoples through global forces

Inequalities and prejudice in educational issues faced by disadvantaged people have resulted from the violations of human rights particularly during the Second

World War (Hitchcock, 1994, p2). As a consequence, concerns have been raised by several relevant bodies to seek solutions to the problems under international common agreements and conventions led by the United Nations.

The first serious discussions and analyses of these issues emerged in the General Assembly at the UN in 1948. Those agreements have been reached on a common understanding about human rights developments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is perhaps the first systematic declaration with 30 articles on human rights (Roy et al., 2010, p47). From the perspective of basic needs, primary education is always an important subject area for dealing with and processing human rights development. In this declaration, article 26 (Table 2.1) focused on universal primary education for all children. It proposed that basic education would be compulsory and free, and education would promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, irrespective of race or religion.

Table 2.1: UDHR -1948 article regarding basic education

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 respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or 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.

Source: Roy et al. (2010, p576).

Despite the first wave of positive acceptance of the declaration on human rights and its partial outcomes, indigenous people continue to suffer from exploitation, discrimination, and lack of equal opportunity (Hitchcock, 1994, p2). Addressing these issues, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) adopted a convention (C-107) for global Indigenous and tribal populations in 1957(Roy et al., 2010, p588). It should be noted that ILO is a specialised agency of the United Nations dealing with labour issues, social protection, and work opportunities for all.

The convention focused on comprehensive international statements of the rights of indigenous people. This includes rights of education for indigenous children as one of the important components in the convention (Roy et al., 2010). For example, according to article 21, "…members of the population (Indigenous communities) concerned have the opportunity to acquire education at all levels on an equal footing

with the rest of the national community" (Roy et al., 2010, p595). Bangladesh ratified the convention in 1972.

From the 1970s, globalisation and development have been increased with a view to creating more scope for social work, inter-state businesses, dissemination of information, and inclusion of decolonising and liberation movements (Altamirano-Jimenez, 2011, p194). Based on continuous observation of indigenous situations by ILO and the UN, conventions with a new international standard based on economic development, social and cultural rights have been adopted. The articles specifying education in the Convention on Indigenous and Tribal People, 1989 (C169) are reproduced in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Articles regarding basic education of ILO Convention -1989

Article 26 Measures shall be taken to ensure that members of the peoples concerned have the opportunity to acquire education at all levels on at least an equal footing with the rest of the national community. *Article 27* 1. Education programmes and services for the peoples concerned shall be developed and implemented in co-operation with them to address their special needs, and shall incorporate their histories, their knowledge and technologies, their value systems and their further social, economic and cultural aspirations. 2. The competent authority shall ensure the training of members of these peoples and their involvement in the formulation and implementation of education programmes, with a view to the progressive transfer of responsibility for the conduct of these programmes to these peoples as appropriate. *Article 28* 1. Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong. When this is not practicable, the competent authorities shall undertake consultations with these peoples with a view to the adoption of measures to achieve this objective. 2. Adequate measures shall be taken to ensure that these peoples have the opportunity to attain fluency in the national language or in one of the official languages of the country. 3. Measures shall be taken to preserve and promote the development and practice of the indigenous languages of the peoples concerned. *Article 30* 1. Governments shall adopt measures appropriate to the traditions and cultures of the peoples concerned, to make known to them their rights and duties, especially in regard to labour, economic opportunities, education and health matters, social welfare and their rights deriving from this Convention. 2. If necessary, this shall be done by means of written translations and through the use of mass communications in the languages of these peoples. *Article 31* Educational measures shall be taken among all sections of the national community, and particularly among those that are in most direct contact with the peoples concerned, with the object of eliminating prejudices that they may harbour in respect of these peoples. To this end, efforts shall be made to ensure that history textbooks and other educational materials provide a fair, accurate and informative portrayal of the societies and cultures of these peoples.

Source: Roy et al.(2010)

While worldwide agreements were made, in many parts of the world indigenous people were still denied modern life styles. To this end, work towards achieving equitable elementary education was proposed as a step which should be taken to ensure development of indigenous people through the flow-on of multicultural education principles.

From the global perspective, this movement towards multicultural education has been continuing since the 1970s (Ramsey, 2004). Hence, multiculturalism is a broad theoretical perspective that encompasses ethnicity, race, language, social class, religion, gender, or other differences(Nieto & Bode, 2008). Primarily, it has focused on race and culture. Later it has included gender and social class issues. According to Bennett (2011), multicultural education is a multifaceted teaching style which deliberately targets equity in schools and classrooms and revolutionises the curriculum. Consequently, multicultural education has two important elements: sustaining language and integrating the culture of minority groups into the mainstream. Both of these can commonly be observed through the lens of equity and social justice(Nieto & Bode, 2008). This approach was initiated in the USA in the 1950s and 1906s as a part of the civil rights movement (Bennett, 2011). Ramsey (2004) states that multiculturalism is not only a remedy to address basic inequities, rather it can be used as a tool for encouraging children's participation to bring mutual understanding. According to Nieto and Bode (2008), multicultural education is widely inclusive irrespective of ethnicity, race, language, social class, religion, gender, sexual orientation, physical ability or any other differences.

Despite the threats and challenges that indigenous children face, many countries have made significant advancements to ensure equity and diversity in indigenous children's learning since the 1960s. In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in educational development for disadvantaged minority children following which the United Nations (UN) declared the years 2005 to 2014 to be the 'Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)' (Zajda, 2010). One of the important objectives of ESD is to integrate indigenous language into mainstream education systems(United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2005).

Equity principles for educational development

The critical question that remains to be answered is how global organisations need to work on equitable principles particularly through educational development. Fukuda-Parr's human development analysis(2003, p312) illustrates that the Human Development Resource (HDR) has made a strong recommendation for public

resources management and expenditure for educational development funding, and ensuring subsequent equitable delivery services. In the same way, based on human rights, teachers and educationalists have tried to develop socially critical learning in their classrooms by incorporating social justice issues. During these times (1970s and 1980s) a profound economic interaction with education resulted in the expansion of inequality (Cole, 2012, p263).

In attempts to reduce this inequality, in recent years there has been increasing interest in practicing equity and diversity principles in education. Many educationalists think that we should prepare our young generations to interact among the diversity of backgrounds of people who are different from themselves and take action in altering arrangements of local and global oppression using equity and social and economic justice principles (Merryfield, 2000, p429). Similarly, Saffigna, Franklin, Church & Tayler (2011) mentioned that the principles of equity and diversity for young learners are interrelated and cover a broad range of their thinking. Importantly, the learning and democracy outcomes for young students that are developed through embracing ethnic diversity bring high level learning outcomes (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado & Gurin, 2002, p334). Similarly, Faubert (2012, p4) reports that school failure and equity in education have a strong relationship. In the history of the development of indigenous education, issues such as equality, equity and diversity have been thought of as key principles to be embedded in the education systems.

Equality, equity and diversity in education

Equality, equity and diversity are complex inter-related issues in the education sector. These are terms which indicate principles and they need to be defined with reference to our best moral understandings. Even so, Middleton (1992) argued that many terms have been developed in education by policy makers in relation to economic exploitation rather than social, political, or moral actions. However, sociological and educational theories explain the relevance of these issues for educational development of disadvantaged children in various ways.

Equality is usually understood as an equal access to, or equal distribution of, social assets based on the status of the individual as a person or citizen. The model of equal opportunity is that every student should be given equal opportunity to learn, succeed, and become whatever he or she would like to be, with full affirmation of his or her social class (Grant & Sleeter, 2003). However, reality is different as various ambiguities are presented at primary (elementary) education institutions in most developing countries including Bangladesh.

Equity is defined as a quality that presents as fair-minded, balanced and just. It is based on the principle of being fair and offering equal chances to all irrespective of ethnicity or gender (CARE Bangladesh, 2004). Equity is a moral virtue that gives meaning to Gandhi's desire to achieve as near as possible perfect justice (Gandhi, 2009). It does not work as law but it assists law where needed. Equity may be understood in terms of equality of chance and notions of under-representation, incorporating elements of positive action and sometimes requiring the setting of quotas for participation.

Principles of equity in education are important for achieving educational equality. In considering these principles, it is necessary to pay attention to implement these principles in all areas of disadvantage for students in education. These principles can work through removing or minimising disadvantages experienced by human beings in fulfilling their needs, and encouraging them to participate in normal activities (Cole, 2012, p4).

From Cole's point of view it can be understood that equity may involve treating some people more favourably than others. Lucas and Beresford (2010) mention a number of areas related to educational inequality in their review paper: socioeconomic status, gender, race, ethnicity and language status of students. They also identify other areas such as educational inequality realised through having different curriculum, differences in maintaining school discipline and student assessment.

The word 'equity' entails fairness that creates a certain situation where personal and social circumstances such as gender, socio-economic status or ethnic origin would not be an obstacle to reaching educational potential(Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2008). Bennett (2001) states that equity is not only a matter of bettering the education system; it should be considered essential if we value our nation's democratic ideals: basic human rights, social justice, respect of alternative life choices and equal opportunity for all.

Robinson and Diaz (2006) described the early childhood educational institute as a microcosm of the wider society and associated it with various equity issues such as race, ethnicity and gender. As Bennett (2011, p14) claimed: "Ethnicity and social class are at the heart of the equity problem in US society." It is associated with respect for the dignity and worth of every human being.

From an individual's perspective, equity in educational outcomes implies adequate education for the children. From a social perspective, equity in education means

children from different social groups should achieve similar average results. However, equity in educational outcomes does not mean that all children should be expected to achieve the same results.

Socio-cultural equity in education refers to the opportunity provided to socio-culturally disadvantaged groups (Lucas & Beresford, 2010). In most cases, there are ethnic minorities within the country. The disadvantages of a minority group can be closely related to their socio-cultural identities as minority groups. Bennett (2011) states that cultural pluralism imagines the essential values of equity and social justice, respect for human dignity and universal human rights, and autonomy to maintain one's language and culture.

There are controversies over understanding equity and equality in education. Educator Lee (in Nieto & Bode, 2008) has explained that equity is the process in social phenomena and equality is the outcome of it. Similarly, Espinoza (2007) concludes that equity involves "equity for equal needs, equity for equal potential, and equity for equal achievement" (p343).

Diversity refers to recognising the value of individual differences in a specific context. In the context of education, the term 'diversity' denotes that children from different ethnic backgrounds are recognised in the same classroom. Nieto (2009, p17) noted that promoting of social class segregation and inconsistent achievement of students of diverse background are discussed under diversity education. It is through the acting and welcoming of diversity that every child feels accepted (Petriwskysj, 2010). Arapoglou (2012) defines that diversity is an influential issue and yet still it is abstract. As Gough (2013) states, the goal of diversity is "understanding and respecting differences and relating these to our common humanity" (p19). Devarakonda (2013) states that societies around the world are becoming increasingly diverse and heterogeneous. In general, diversity is closely linked to standards of equity; equity is morally related in that every learner should be given access to fair, just and non-discriminatory education and attention (Saffigna et al., 2011).

From the beginning of civilisation, many philosophers such Aristotle, Stuart and Dewey have been strong supporters of democratic politics as well as diversity in education (Mickelson & Nkomo, 2012). Diversity in education is related to many factors such as an individual's identity, experiences with differences, awareness about differences, and cultural values. The issue of diversity in education for children is of universal importance, because continuing social, political, economic

and technological influences change and challenge children's lives (Robinson & Diaz, 2006). It is essential for students to learn about their peers and not to categorise people on the basis of their ethnicity (Grant & Sleeter, 2003).

Diversity education has a strong link into a broad range of subject areas such as multicultural education, intercultural education, culturally responsive pedagogy, ethnic studies, social justice education and mother tongue education (Nieto, 2009, p17). While a variety of definitions of the term 'diversity' have been suggested for linkage with the education system, this study gives emphasis to Nieto's linkage. She considers that multicultural education is a more balanced term for diversity education (Nieto, 2009, p18).

Challenging areas for realising equity and diversity in education

Cultural experiences and languages are issues that affect many students including indigenous students in terms of achieving a proper education. Moreover, many minority culture and language groups (including indigenous) have been threatened by the forces of globalisation. According to McCarty et al (2005), 90 per cent of the world's population speak less than about 100 languages; and 10 percent of the population speak more than 6000 languages including indigenous languages. Therefore, major languages have developed and have been successful in attracting large participation.

Ultimately, indigenous children have been negatively impacted by their minority culture and language compared to children in any mainstream education system. Ainscow and Miles (2011) argue that traditional forms of schooling are not enough to tackle the challenges of the twenty-first century. There are a number of reasons for this: centralised education curriculums, most teaching materials used are written in the mainstream language, and the focus on the demands of international language and culture. This phenomenon is not exclusive for developing countries either. For example, in Canada, there is no coherent policy for using indigenous languages for indigenous children in its education system (Sarkar & Lavoie, 2014).

Ramsey (2004) argues that our children are being raised in a world of paradoxes; they know that all people are created equal but at the same time they observe that some groups are more dominant than other groups in order to increase status and wealth. Where the inequitable structures of schools and policies persist (Nieto &Bode, 2008), Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist (2003) in another study argued that the

white supremacist ideology persists over indigenous culture, language and their life worlds.

Many analysts now argue that the strategy of teaching by mainstream language has not been successful. Jhingran (2009, p252) for example, argues, "When children are forced to study through a language they cannot fully understand in the early primary grades, they face a serious learning disadvantage that can stunt their cognitive development and adversely affect their self-esteem and self-confidence for life." Bangladesh hasidentified the major challenge for indigenous children as not understanding the medium of instruction in classroom (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2008). Similarly, Sagar and Poulson (2003) identified linguistic and cultural barriers for indigenous children in their schools. The issue is complex and provides indications of an inequitable education system.

The development of diversity and equity in schools

There are a number of ways in which diversity and equity can be developed for indigenous children in educational environments. What this requires is developing relationships among the school actors without any discrimination, introducing diversity curriculum and teaching materials, implementing inclusion theory based on professional development, and organising democratic and diversity based school management systems. Lucas and Beresford (2010, p26) support this idea stating that "we must begin by considering the ways in which analysts have theorized the socio-demographic dimensions within which students and other key actors in education are categorized." According to Sayed (2001, p254), the inequity elements of desegregated schools are dependent on personal attitudes of teachers and students, schools' arrangement, and policies for schools.

As Ramsey (2004) recommends, we should teach children ways to understand social contradictions which widen the gap in inequities. Three of her six recommendations are pertinent to this study. First, children need to develop strong identity: as individuals, as members of communities, and as living beings on this planet. Second, children need to develop a sense of solidarity with all people and with the natural world. Third, we must create spaces for children to imagine hopeful futures in which individual material wealth, privilege, and power are no longer the dominant forces of our society (Ramsey, 2004).

Development of teacher-students and peer relationships

Education is a social process; students learn from both teachers and peers through

sharing knowledge and experiences (Downey & Kely, 1986). Both students' and teachers' beliefs, behaviours, and attitudes are important issues for improving diversification in schools. Kaur (2012, p486) summarised the recent discussions on research areas for educational development: beliefs and attitudes of teachers, and their reflections that shape classroom activities are highly concerned with meaningful learning of students and challenging inequities in education. Further to this, Bennett (2011) concluded that multicultural education depends on the teacher's knowledge of equitable learning, and his or her attitudes and behaviour towards the students.

These attitudes and behaviour help to develop relationships between students and teachers. It is also important for diversity based school environments. As Hanbury (2012, p96) mentions, "At the heart of all good learning lies a positive and enduring relationship between the learner and the teacher."Details of the role of class teachers have been explained by Downer, Sabol, and Hamre (2010, p704). They explain that:

> Teacher efforts to support students' social and emotional functioning in the classroom through positive facilitation of teacher–student and student–student interactions are key elements of effective classroom practice. These are classrooms in which teachers create a welcoming atmosphere, foster connections between students, refer to children by name and know details about children's lives outside of the classroom, give children individualized attention, and provide regular opportunities for children to speak their minds and work independently.

Fraser and Walberg (2005) indicate a similar issue is of even more significance for diverse background students and state that interpersonal interactions between mainstream teachers and indigenous students are important for the learning environment. Kaur's (2012) cross-country analysis recommends that diversity education needs to be rearranged for recognising relations among learners. Altman and Fogarty (2010) conclude that school attendance and literacy are improved when positive relationships have been established among the indigenous parents, teachers and principal. Similarly, the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) reports that the engagement level of teachers with indigenous students in the classroom and teachers with parents in the school have a positive impact on indigenous education (Ministerial Council on Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs, 2006).

Biesta (2004, p18) discussed the challenges and strategies for promoting the relationship between students and teachers; for example, students learn through participation in social settings created by student–teacher interactions. At the same time, Elmore (2000, p30) suggested that class teachers could organise a strong

normative environment in which more face-to-face activities could occur. Moreover, Heath and Mongiola (1991) suggest that the class teacher of a culturally diverse classroom should create schooling that is equally accessible for all learners, incorporating students' cultural styles.

Kaur (2012) reports that the areas of inequalities in minority education are classroom talk and teacher-student interaction. Spinthourakis and Karatzia-Stavlioti (In Spinthourakis, Karatzia-Stavlioti, & Roussakis, 2009 p268) mentioned a number of factors for school teachers to practice with their diverse background students in schools: "interaction engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, interaction enjoyment and interaction attentiveness". Therefore, these aspects can be considered as guiding principles while observing teacher-student interactions in this study. Moreover, multicultural education is considered as inclusive for ethnicity, language, social class, ability and other differences (Nieto & Bode, 2008).

In the USA, Mickelson and Nkomo (2012) found that integrated education had positive relationships on K-12 students' achievements, cross-racial friendships, acceptance of cultural differences, and reduced prejudices and ethnic tensions. Negative relations incur frequently bullying among students in classrooms and schools. According to Doll, Spies, LeClair, Kurien, and Foley (2010), bullying in school is an important cause of poor performance, absenteeism, and drop outs.

Diversity based school curriculum and teaching materials

In this global environment, many international organisations consider equity and inclusion as key to development of indigenous children's education. Recent developments in inclusive education in the field of teaching and learning are widely concerned with equity for all students (Waitoller & Artiles, 2013). In general, teachers play a vital role in maintaining equity in pedagogy by creating positive classroom environments, and using culturally responsive teaching styles (Bennett, 2011). For developing these types of styles, it is necessary to develop diversity school curriculum and teaching materials. However, it is true that most developing countries follow a national curriculum without considering minorities' cultures and languages. As Michael Apple (1996, p22)states:

> Education is deeply implicated in the politics of culture. The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection,

and some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organise and disorganise people. As I argue in Ideology and Curriculum and Official knowledge, the decision to define some groups' knowledge as the most legitimate, as official knowledge, while other groups' knowledge hardly sees the light of day, says something extremely important about who has power in society.

Chen, Wang, and Neo (2015) conducted a study on School Based Curriculum Development (SBCD) regarding cultural links into school curriculum and they reported that teachers self-directed for planning in their SBCD process and they had good feelings through being able to design, plan, implement and evaluate SBCD for incorporating local culture. Similarly, Jindra (2014, p325) highlighted incorporating culture for the development of diversity. As Ramsey (2004) stated, multicultural education is a wide-ranging approach to greater equity but it cannot amend all inequities of our society. Rather, it is a tool to use to better prepare our children for best outcomes.

In New Zealand, Smith (2004) described six principles, known as Kaupapa Maori theory, that have guided change related to Kaupapa Maori praxis. Those principles are summarised as: self-determination, legitimating identity, culturally preferred pedagogy, mediating socio-economic difficulties, incorporating cultural structures, and shared vision / philosophy. Similarly, Glynn, Cowie, Otrel-Cass, and Macfarlane (2010, p118) question the mind set of Maori children in their schools:

> The out of school social and cultural contexts in which children grow up, and the values, beliefs, behaviours they acquire impact on how they "make sense" of learning contexts they find themselves in at school.

A possible explanation for this might be that language plays a vital role in creating cultural diversification in an education system (Wadham, Pudsey, & Boyd, 2007). An Education Forum, organised in 2000 (in Kaya, 2009, p14), stated that school dropout is directly related to non-understanding of classroom language. John, Singh, and Verma (2011, p229) had similar findings in India, that tribal students had language problems in their early grade schooling.

Abreu and Cline (2006, p12) stated that:

> Developmental psychological research into mathematics learning in specific socio-cultural contexts has shown that mathematical activities are both culturally and socially organized. ...The cultural organization is seen in the way communities' select specific mathematical resources drawing upon specific cultural traditions. …Vygotsky's main claim that mental tools shape psychological functioning in the same way as physical tools shape physical interaction with the environment was applied to the area of schooled mathematics.

Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist's 2003 cross country analysis (2003) found that there were no children's books or curriculum reflecting the ethnic diversity of indigenous

students in the majority of schools in the USA and Australia. They also observed that the pictures on classroom walls and in textbooks reflected the clear dominance linked with the Anglo-centric curriculum (Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003). They saw very few books, photos or pictures that portrayed the rich ethnic diversity representation of students in classroom.

Sadker and Sadker (1982) reported that the representation of majority and minority illustrations in the school text book is an important issue and they got 33 per cent minority representation in mathematics textbooks in grade six in the USA. Similarly, Bennett (2011) proposed that culturally related texts have a vital role to play in motivating disadvantaged learners to engage more deeply with school content. As Vygotsky (1978) explained, social interaction ,in which generally children interact and share experiences with others, has a positive link with learners' cultural contexts.

Willis (1995) indicated that students in non-dominant social groups are forced to learn content that is less consistent with their experiences, interests, cultural practices and developmental sequences. Valued curriculum which respects diversity and difference between social groups gives value and validity to their own knowledge and experience. Reid and O'Donoghue (2004) suggested that school curriculums can assimilate diverse cultures into a dominant culture through cultural reproduction, forming citizens based on their expectation of modern knowledge, skills and values. Therefore, it is necessary to cross check how indigenous culture has been assimilated into ongoing school curriculum and teaching materials.

Professional development for teaching in diverse classrooms

In general, most developed education systems have been working towards positive adaptation for diverse groups of students. Many studies argue that there is still less attention being given to having a separate special needs pedagogy, particularly for teacher education (Ainscow & Miles, 2011). According to Tormey (2005), intercultural education has two focal points: first, celebration and recognition of diversity; and second, the system promotes equality and human rights, challenges unfair discrimination, and promotes the values upon which equality is built. He also describes the benefits of intercultural education for learners; to encourage the child's curiosity about cultural and social differences; to help develop the child's imagination, and critical thinking (Tormey, 2005).Therefore, it is key to incorporate these issues as a part of professional development content.

In New Zealand, Macfarlane (2012, p218) concluded that professional development

is necessary to increase awareness of the importance of recognising indigenous culture and its contribution to achieving diversity in education. The United States of America (USA) is a multicultural nation comprising indigenous people and many immigrants from other countries. The main groups of indigenous people in the country are American Indians, Aleuts, Eskimos and Hawaiians. In the USA, Ogbu and Simons (1998) addressed structural barriers of minority education in their comparative research with minority groups and mainstream groups. They showed that minority groups differ from mainstream groups in the ways of educating their children due to cultural, linguistic or genetic differences. Mainstream culture nations refer to countries which show preference for a single culture (Savva, 2013). One observer has already drawn attention to the paradox in the USA about inequality in education; Linda Darling-Hammond (2013)showed through her international assessment data that there is still an assessment gap between white and minority students.

The reports of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (2008) state that fairness and inclusion are issues directly related to school failure and social deprivation where students, who struggle with reading, are at risk of leaving school without basic skills for work. In her book, Kumaravadivelu (2008) describes a foreign teacher's perception that when Indian teachers met in their staff room, they generally discussed ways of handling the unruly students rather than successful teaching techniques.

Managing school diversity

Internationally, researchers' interest has also been increasing in the last 10 years about the role of school governance and leadership (Rhea, 2015). What is required is to create openings for both indigenous and non-indigenous people in managing the school administration, especially school principals and councillors (Rhea, 2015). In 2004, Zhang, Fan, Shang, and Huang (2004, p2857) published a paper in which they described the development of remote areas in developing countries through community level management and it is an important issue because disadvantaged people are often unable to access facilities that are provided by the top levels of government.

British scholars posited a theory of 'resistance through rituals' in which the authors use a number of terms such as youth culture, parent culture, dominant culture and sub-cultures (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, & Roberts, 2006). The cultural representation of school teachers' appointment is an important issue related to equitable education. In the USA, a schools and staffing survey in 2003-04 showed that 1.2 percent of

students were American Indian or Alaska Native in public elementary schools whereas only 0.4 percent of teachers were recruited from American Indian or Alaska Native cultures (Strizek, Riordan, Lyter, & Orlofsky, 2006).

Bhabha (1994) articulated the ongoing effects of colonial power, exercised through knowledge production that perpetuates domination through the institutionalisation of the 'superior' values of the coloniser. Fullan and Watson (2000, p461) found in several developing countries where there is an inheritance of hierarchical models of school management from colonial days, that it is very difficult to bring progressive changes. Similarly, Snyder (2013) argues that the top-down educational management system is not favourable for the progressive development of the modern education system. Nambissan (1996, p1021) cited that implementation of equitable education in India created some school based opportunities such as hostels, free textbooks, and uniforms for social disadvantaged groups.

Teaching practices incorporating equity and diversity

A good quality lesson with effective learning is most likely to occur when the full range of interactions are engaged. Class teachers, who deliver lessons in classrooms, need good preparation with lesson plans and teaching materials. Activity based classrooms involve innovative problem solving which needs different types of learning interactions. One research question of my study is focused on how classroom activities help indigenous students to learn through recognising diversity, equal opportunity and equity.

Indigenous children, globally, are considered not to be making adequate progress in their schooling. In a modern pedagogical environment, they need 'waves of support'. Squires (2012, p21) described how to manage waves of support in classrooms in his book as below:

> The concept of quality first teaching meant that teachers had to think about all of the children in their class and consider best practice for teaching the class. Wave 1 intervention meant teachers noticing those children who did not cope with the original plan and adjusting their teaching through differentiation...Wave 2 was envisaged as small group work...Early Literacy Support (ELS) programme, Additional Literacy Support (ALS) programme, Further Literacy Support (FLS) programme, (and) Springboard (numeracy) programme.

The above quotation indicates that students who are not progressing well can get extra support in various ways. The reports of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (2008) stated that fairness and inclusion are issues directly related to school failure and social deprivation where students, who struggle with reading, are at risk of leaving school without basic skills

for work.

Glynn et al. (2010, p123) got positive feedback during their classroom teaching by creating a respectful relationship between Maori indigenous culture and mainstream culture in New Zealand. Therefore, class teachers should make preparations before going to classrooms where a large number of indigenous students are studying with mainstream students.

Summary

In this chapter, the impact of globalisation and development processes on indigenous education from an international perspective have been discussed, the explanations of equity and diversity principles to meet various challenge areas for development of indigenous children education have been provided. The reality is that various indigenous people in the world have been living as marginalised groups in their own countries and in many cases they are threatened by invasion, colonisation, and displacement. Primarily, after World War II indigenous rights were raised by a limited number of bodies for the solution of problems under international common agreements and conventions led by the United Nations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is the foundation of the development of indigenous education. The United Nations (UN) and its agencies have been taking action to improve indigenous educational status. While many developed countries have already achieved development of their indigenous education, it remains a challenge to achieve satisfactory levels of indigenous education for any developing country.

Policy makers use the terms equity and diversity in education in various ways with reference to the educational development of disadvantaged children, and equity and diversity principles are used to guide indigenous educational development. When indigenous culture and language have been compromised by the forces of globalisation, equity and diversity principles create opportunities to recast, for socio-culturally disadvantaged groups, the discriminatory environment so every learner is given access to a fair, just and non-discriminatory education.

Equity and diversity principles guide teachers' practice in countries all over the world and this practice is demonstrated in many ways, such as through interaction engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, and interaction enjoyment and attentiveness (Spinthourakis & Karatzia-Stavlioti, in Spinthourakis et al., 2009, p268).Likewise, school curriculum and teaching materials need to be

adapted to recognise and include diverse cultures so that both indigenous and mainstream students together can access relevant and appropriate knowledge, skills and values.

This review of existing literature on equity and diversity in education shows that indigenous children's education in different countries of the world deserves serious research attention. Most developed countries have initiated many formal activities through government and non-government policy systems. In this review, some particular countries such as New Zealand, USA and Australia have been found implementing such activities with positive consequences. Importantly, much of the global research has been undertaken in western contexts and while the issues themselves may have commonalities, solutions to problems are not necessarily relevant or applicable to the indigenous students and their schooling in Bangladesh (Islam & Murray-Harvey, 2016).

However, achieving quality education for indigenous children has been found to be challenging, especially situations where people lack understanding of, and are not convinced about, equity and diversity education theories. This is particularly so in developing countries like Bangladesh, India and South American countries. In the next chapter, I discuss indigenous education in the Bangladesh context by reviewing relevant literature. Later in the chapter I present the theoretical framework and conceptual framework for this study.

CHAPTER 3: INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN BANGLADESH

Introduction

Many developing countries including Bangladesh have been working to establish quality primary education for their children, including indigenous children. Using the influence of global force and UN declarations, international donor agencies have promoted indigenous education as a priority sector for funding. Consequently, a number of international organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have introduced projects since the 1970s to improve the educational situation of the indigenous children in Bangladesh. Generally, their published annual reports refer to the importance of indigenous educational issues, and implementing equitable education is highlighted as one important issue for the development of indigenous education in the country.

In order to understand the educational situation in Bangladesh, it is important to explain the ongoing educational system and to review the relevant literature concerning current knowledge and practice from the local perspective. This literature describes Bangladeshi contexts regarding equity and diversity for disadvantaged students, especially for indigenous children.

Bangladesh context: the situation of equitable education

Bangladesh is a developing country, with a low income per capita and the highest density population in the world among countries with a population greater than 10 million people(World Bank Group, 2016). It is ranked 142th on the UNDP's Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2014).Bangladesh is a relatively homogenous society. About 98.8percentof people are Bengalese, considered as mainstream, and the dominant spoken language is Bangla; about 1.2 percent of people are indigenous, with their own mother tongues (Barkat et al., 2009).

Against this background, overall quality of human life has been increasing, influenced by education and industry sectors. However, the educational achievement levels are not uniform in the general population due to an unequal education system in the country.

Roots of unequal education in Bangladesh

Historically, the Bangladeshi education system has not provided equal opportunity to all its children in the country. It has a long historical background of educational development which started in the Indian sub-continent. Before 1759, education was completely based on religious affiliations, either through *Tol* (for Hindu students) or *Madrasah* (for Muslim students) education. Again, access to Madrasahs and Tols were exclusive for the upper grade education, while *Maktabs* and *Pathshalas* were for imparting elementary education to the children of this country. Post 1759, the British East India Company introduced Missionary education in the region, which again had religious affiliations (Riaz, 2010, p77). Neither Hindus nor Muslims were interested in this new education system. Moreover, only a small portion of those people had involvement with regular schools. However, Bleie (2005, p305) reported that, since the colonial period, a small number of indigenous children have been participating in church-founded non-governmental education at urban centres in CHT.

From the 1850s, the British government started primary education based on new waves of civilisation for specific upper class people (rich people). Primarily, it was highly exclusive for higher social class children and this arrangement existed until the end of the British rule in 1947 (Riaz, 2010, p78).

Between 1947 – 1971, under Pakistan's rule, the education system in Bangladesh had a similar arrangement to that which existed in the British era (Gustavsson, 1991, p18). During that time, education was optional and accessible to those who could bear the expense since most of the students had to pay a fee to attend schools. This issue of non-inclusiveness persisted long after. Efforts from the government, such as allotting more financial resources for educational institutes, saw limited success since exclusion of the lower economic class persisted. Since then, the socio-economic situation of indigenous people has been very poor and educational development for indigenous people was not explored (Kamal, Samad, & Banu, 2003, p39). As Schendel (1992) argued, colonial inheritance in terms of treating the indigenous people did not change when the ruling agencies in CHT took charge.

In fact, a majority of Bangladeshi people were illiterate at the beginning of the 1970s. Moreover, the indigenous people of Bangladesh have, since independence, faced discrimination from the various sectors including the education system (Roy et al., 2010). At the beginning of independence in 1972, the representative parliament

members from indigenous groups demanded special constitutional status for the ethnic people in CHT region. The demand, however, was denied and they were recommended to be mainstreamed with Bengali nationalism. In reality, Bengali people are those whose mother tongue is Bangla. However, the majority of the people in the CHT region are indigenous, having their own mother tongue that is different from Bangla. Therefore, the motive of the first constitution did, in fact, disfavour the indigenous people in achieving an equitable identity (Roy et al., 2010).

Establishing a common identity for the indigenous people has, until recently, been a highly controversial issue in Bangladesh. Most government documents until 2010 have referred to this group as tribal peoples (Murmu, 2005, p1). Only recently, however, the government has recognised the indigenous groups living in the CHT region as 'ethnic minority groups' through the 'Small Ethnic Group Cultural Institute Law 2010' passed at the Parliament of Bangladesh in April (Khumi, 2010). This, however, has not solved all issues and there still exist dissatisfactions among the ethnic groups.

The main dissatisfaction of the ethnic groups is centred on the term 'Indigenous peoples', the Bengali translation of which has remained 'Adivasi' since the 1980s. As Bleie (2005) described, there have been ongoing debates on the issue of the identification term for Bangladeshi indigenous peoples. He explained that, with the help of international human rights laws and anthropological terms, we can call them indigenous or aboriginal or minorities people (Bleie, 2005).

History of progress towards inclusive education

In 1981 the Bangladesh government declared that primary education would follow the approach called "Education for All". After independence, during 1971-1980, awareness had been raised for the spread of education. Many primary schools had achieved the status of government schools and were providing free education. During this time, many international organisations played a key role in successfully growing awareness over the dynamic roles an educated nation can play towards development of the country. However, progress in education for indigenous peoples did not see similar success in the CHT region due to its remoteness, less diverse education system, and low level socio-economic situation. Primarily, donor agencies failed to adopt a diversity approach considering the hard to reach people; rather, their approach considered all people and educational development as part of human development in the country.

In order to achieve more integration of young children in basic education, the Bangladesh government introduced a legal act named 'Compulsory Primary Education Act 1990' (Azim & Hasan, 2014,p431). According to Ahsan and Mullick (2013, p158), it is the first legal foundation support for the inclusive education movement. However, in the 1990s, output of the "Education for All" approach clearly showed that the educational development program could not achieve vertical improvement across the country and had not done much in terms of including disadvantaged and indigenous children. This has led international donor agencies and government policy makers to consider new dimensions for emphasising incorporation of equity and diversity principles into educational policy guidelines to cater for disadvantaged children in the country.

Movement of equitable primary education in Bangladesh

Since 2004, the term 'equitable primary education' has been used to implement 'education for all' or 'compulsory primary education' into primary education, influenced by donor agencies. Especially, equity principles are being considered in the preparation of project planning and related documents.

Table 3.1: Historical development in primary education in Bangladesh

Approach	Target Group	Time since	Brief Characteristics
Free primary education	All Children (6+ - 10+)	1970s	Private schools to public primary schools
'Education for All' Approach	All Children (6+-10+)	1980s	Set up more schools; appoint more staff, free from school fees.
'Compulsory Primary Education' approach	All Children (6+-10+)	1990-2003	Campaign for rules, professional staff development, more schools established, improved teaching materials
'Inclusive and equitable primary education' approach	Gender, indigenous, children with disabilities	2004 onwards	Campaign, training, building infrastructure, revising curriculum and teaching materials, Stipend for students.

Consequently, policy makers and program designers have shown some awareness about equity principles as they set up development programs. Moreover, they have also considered various international laws and declarations for children's educational development. The result of this is the five-year Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP), which reflects the principle of equity. For instance, an important objective of the ongoing Third Primary Education Development Programme (PEDPIII) is "to establish an efficient, inclusive, and equitable primary education system delivering effective and relevant child-friendly

learning to all Bangladesh's children from pre-primary through grade five primary" (Directorate of Primary Education, 2011b, vii). This objective also shows that recent developments in primary education have a positive indication for achieving equity and diversity for indigenous children.

Besides this, PEDPIII has an implementation guide in which it describes many indicators which are assessment tools of the development program. Two such indicators are specifically related to equity and diversity for indigenous children's educational development: one, is the quality of curriculum that refers to coherence, relevance, breadth, inclusion and gender sensitivity for children in school; and the second, is the number of focal persons who need training in inclusive education (Directorate of Primary Education, 2011a). These two indicators are good examples of national level policy makers' awareness about equity and diversity principles regarding elementary education.

For educational development at the national level, the Bangladesh government has promised in recent years to implement the National Educational Action Plan-II during the period 2003-15 (Directorate of Primary Education, 2011b). This aspiration was also reflected in the goals of the meeting of the 'World Education Forum' in 2000 at Dakar, ensuring all children by 2015, particularly girls, children in challenging surroundings and those coming from ethnic minority backgrounds, would have access to comprehensive, free and compulsory primary education of high superiority (Nasreen & Tate, 2007). Similarly, the constitution of the country (Government of Bangladesh, 1972, Article 179a & b)clearly states in Article 179 that:

> The State shall adopt effective measures for the purpose of (a) establishing a uniform, mass-oriented and universal system of education and extending free and compulsory education to all children to such a stage as may be determined by law; (b) relating education to the needs of society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve those needs; removing illiteracy within such stage as may be determined by law.

The Constitution of Bangladesh favours equal rights for all its citizens and encourages affirmative actions like other developing countries. While some documents are available for supporting the constitution, the reality is far different from this ideal with regards to implementation. When an attempt is made to implement a particular policy, perhaps the most serious shortcoming is implementing quality of education for the various ethnic minority groups.

Many analysts argue that the strategy of implementing basic education has not been successful for indigenous children in Bangladesh (Bleie, 2005; Chowdhury, Nath, & Chowdhury, 2003). Based on boys and girls, urban and rural areas, mainstream and

indigenous, education in Bangladesh is often pointed out as an example of inequity. Chowdhury et al (2003) indicated that, with respect to equity in education, the issues are related to educational output and outcomes for different minor groups in the population in Bangladesh.

Various reports and statistical analyses show that almost every aspect of life of the indigenous people lags behind the mainstream people in the country. In fact, the socio-economic situation of the indigenous people is much poorer than mainstream people because indigenous people practise shifting cultivation of the hilly land resulting in low production (Murmu, 2005). Consequently, food security is a major issue for indigenous peoples in the CHT region (Bandarban Hill District Council, 2012). This poverty issue also affects other sectors, especially basic education for their children. As the Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact (2007, p17) argued:

> …the social discrimination faced by indigenous people is so severe that many Bengalis refuse to serve food and drinks to indigenous persons in rural hotels and restaurants. The Social Science text book for 4th and 5th grade students published by the National Curriculum and Text Book Board (NCTB) informs readers that indigenous peoples lead backward lifestyles, eat whatever they find here and there, live in forests…Indigenous peoples contested this discriminatory portrayal of themselves.

Only recently, in 2012, these textbooks have been revised. The General Secretary of Bangladesh, Adivasi Forum, said that this issue was taken to the NCTB for adaptation. There still remain areas which need more research on this issue.

CHT context: The situation of equitable primary education

For the purpose of understanding the educational situation of indigenous children in the CHT region, with especial focus on equity and diversity principles in CHT, it would be beneficial to review available publications on the issue. While only a few published papers are available on the topic, some global organisations and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) have studied the issue and reported on the situation of indigenous children's education. The issues of equity and diversity in primary education are controversial and much disputed within the field of quality education for indigenous children in Bangladesh. In any case, to achieve equitable education for indigenous children, the performances of the various groups such as mainstream and indigenous children in the population is the issue (Chowdhury et al., 2003). In this, the primary concern is government primary schools in the CHT region being characterised by what Sagar and Poulson (2003) described as low self-esteem, exerting poor relations with mainstream teachers and peers, language and cultural barriers for indigenous children, and these are indicative of the violation of

equity principles in primary schools.

Participation of indigenous children in primary education

There are multiple geographical, economic and cultural constraints that have resulted in limited education for indigenous groups and present a major challenge for increasing the educational level of the indigenous population in CHT. There exist different types of educational institutions for the education of both indigenous and mainstream children in the region. While indigenous and mainstream co-education is the norm in government and non-government schools in CHT, it is expected that children from both communities have been maintaining good interactions and relationships.

In fact, some scholars conducted research on the educational condition of indigenous children in Bangladesh and noted inequity in educational access (Azim & Hasan, 2014; Harvard Graduate School of Education, n.d.). Structurally, the study compared schools in the CHT region with the rest of the country, where two primary schools were available within three villages, but in the CHT only one primary school was found in five villages (Harvard Graduate School of Education, n.d.).

The education efficiency indicators showed that the CHT region is lagging behind the national average; enrolment rates of indigenous children in primary schools was 53 per cent in the CHT region whereas the national level average stood at 77 per cent (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2008). The issue of lower literacy rates in CHT is closely associated with limited access to education (Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP), 2007).

Researchers in the Bangladeshi education system have traditionally focused on inputs to education using quantitative methodologies. The demand for the reform of schooling in the CHT region has been a persistent challenge since Bangladesh's independence. Bleie (2005) also recommended that, getting positive results from the political influences, there is a need to consolidate through equity principles between Bengali-led and indigenous-led organisations. This recommendation influenced this current qualitative inquiry into understanding the situation.

Teacher-student and student-student relationships within school environment

Both the mainstream and indigenous communities' children, most of the time, maintain an avoidance tendency towards each other within the school environment. The result is an environment in which mainstream people and indigenous people

live and learn but which, however, is fraught with widespread frustration and tension, and needs closer investigation in order to understand how school environments are affected depending on social relations within the school environment. Even though various indigenous communities have been living in the same areas, they have no proper interaction for their socio-economic development. One example cited in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW) report (2011) states that indigenous children of one group did not co-operate with other indigenous children because every group has its own set of worldviews related to differing languages and cultures, and religions. These social systems have a negative impact on their school environment in CHT.

The latter point has been devastatingly critiqued by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (2008) that argues financial problems, long travel distances to and from schools, not being welcomed at school, and not understanding the medium of instruction, are major causes behind high dropout rates among indigenous students in government primary schools in CHT. Similarly, the Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact(2007, p19) reported that linguistic barriers, acute poverty, a non-flexible school calendar at working seasons, long distances of schools from the homes, and a lack of awareness among guardians are the key factors behind high drop-out rates among indigenous children in primary schools.

Since the wider social system is reflected in the school environment; teacher-student interrelationships are important. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) reported in 2012 about low level teacher-student interactions in the primary education system in Bangladesh (Asian Development Bank, 2012, p93). Mullah, Parveen, and Ahshanullah (2007) conducted in-depth interviews with indigenous people as part of a research project and reported that a large number of participants shared the opinion that using Bengali language in primary education as the medium of instruction is a barrier to effective learning for indigenous children. Neither is this situation favourable for classroom interactions for indigenous students. From the standpoint that the school environment reflects the broader social system in which it is rooted, consideration needs to be given to teacher-student and peer interactions and relationships. Understanding relationships and interactions among human beings requires examining a single phenomenon for a long time. This is only possible using a qualitative research inquiry. Therefore, as this is a qualitative study, teacher-student and student-student relationship dimensions are important components for its conceptual framework.

Indigenous students' socio-culture functioning in teaching materials

As a standard, all government primary schools in the CHT region follow the national curriculum and textbooks like any other part of the country. In this, a common observation is that the national school curriculum does not employ enough emphasis and understanding of the socio-cultural situations of minority peoples against the dominant mainstream education system. However, the constitution of Bangladesh in Article 23 states that, "The state shall adopt measures to conserve the cultural traditions and heritage of the people" (Roy et al., 2010, p 64). In order to prepare for national level planning documents, most policy makers agree that it is of critical importance to integrate indigenous culture and heritage into the formal education system. For example, the document of program planning (PEDPIII) has focused the issue into its sub-component 2.1.3:Mainstreaming Inclusive Education(Directorate of Primary Education, 2011a, p16):

> Develop system to allow tribal children to be taught in mother tongue at least in pre-primary and early grade classes with Bangla being introduced in phased manner. Materials for MLE [mother language education] developed by NGOs and CHTDF to be reviewed for use with tribal children from appropriate language groups.

However, national curriculum and textbooks failed to focus on indigenous cultures and heritages. Therefore, it is of great importance to study how existing curriculum and teaching materials can play a role in ensuring proper education of indigenous children.

Association of teacher education for indigenous development

Even though the teachers' recruitment system has some variation in primary education in the CHT region, this phenomenon is not different from the rest of the country. The issue is in its sub-component 2.1.3:Mainstreaming Inclusive Education (Directorate of Primary Education, 2011a, p16): "Where teachers do not speak local languages provide schools resources to recruit classroom assistants to support children in their mother tongue."

Both indigenous and mainstream school teachers have been enrolling at the same PTIs and they have been studying the same contents under the national level teacher education curriculum which is published by the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE), Mymensingh. Throughout the field work of this study, it was observed that most of the school teachers have received professional development training based on the revised teacher education curriculum which was published in 2001 by NAPE. About this curriculum, Munir and Islam (In Ahsan, Sharma, & Deppeler, 2011, p13) argued that the curriculum of primary education

teacher training did not focus on diversity issues. Similarly, UNESCO (In Das & Ochiai, 2012, p1) reported that the professional development program for primary school teachers is not favourable for inclusive classrooms. Das and Ochiai (2012) also found that ongoing teacher education program constraints include a lack of content, insufficient knowledge and inadequate resources for inclusive education. However, NAPE revised teacher education curriculum and training materials in 2012. The revision committee states that the revised curriculum is friendlier for indigenous education in Bangladesh(National Academy for Primary Education, 2013).

Participation of indigenous community in school management

Positive motivation of community people is important for proper schooling of their children. This, however, highlights the need to incorporate members of the local community among school management authorities in CHT. Chowdhury et al (2003) argued that, among Bengalis, colonial attitudes towards ethnic communities persist, though the situation has shown signs of improvement, however slowly. This situation prevails in spite of national level policies that have been introduced to address issues such as lack of equity and diversity which remain as barriers to achieving high quality and inclusive education for indigenous children in the CHT region.

Bleie (2005) provided an in-depth analysis of government policies on CHT. For instance, several sectoral policies have been criticised by the international communities and treaty bodies due to violation of human rights such as constitutional rights, land rights, and participation of sectoral development in the region including education. Many researchers have argued that primary education has never been equally accessible for all groups across the population, especially for the ethnic minorities groups in the country (Bleie, 2005; United Nations Development Programme, 2009).

Principles of social justice in education that speak to inclusion and equity, and reciprocal community relationships, can be used to highlight how affordances and constraints operate in the education sector, as stakeholders keep working towards achieving more equitable outcomes for their schools (Carlisle, Jackson, & George, 2006). According to their explanation, inequities such as those apparent in schools in the CHT region are generated through oppressive attitudes and negative behaviours among groups within a school community, including ways in which the school forges connections with families, the wider communities and local agencies. Recently, Ahmmed and Mullick (2014, p177) argued that parents do not have

enough involvement in school management.

Only proper understanding of equity and diversity issues in school management can improve the situation. According to popular assumption, local people have no knowledge about comparatively new terms and roles in the school management system. Owing to this, examining issues such as awareness by school management authorities is important as a research dimension.

Teaching practices for disadvantaged students

Lesson preparation is an important issue to ensure diversity classroom teaching. While classroom teaching across Bangladesh, including schools in CHT, mainly follows rote learning methods and limited range of application and knowledge acquisition, teacher educators have always been emphasising preparing for quality teaching including student centred activities.

The report of the Primary School Performance Monitoring Project (PSPMP) explored how active involvement of students in classrooms makes learning easier. The modern pedagogy supports active learning, participatory learning and learning by doing (Primary School Performance Monitoring Project, 2001). A common argument among primary school teachers in Bangladesh is that their classrooms are overcrowded due to a high number of students. It is claimed that, due to this non-supportive environment, teachers are unable to organise student-centred learning processes in their classrooms.

The conceptual framework of the study

Educational theories that adopt a multicultural education philosophy are helpful for working with children who are living in a challenging environment. A useful approach has been described by Sleeter and Grant (2009) and offers a five-sub-categorical approach:

a. Educating the culturally different – adapting curriculum based on various learners' cultural backgrounds.
b. Single group studies – curriculum is based on a specific representing group.
c. Human relations – focusing on interpersonal and intergroup relationships.
d. Multicultural education – recognising a wide range of cultural subjects.
e. Social-re-constructivist – education converging on discrimination and supremacy differentials in various issues such as thoughtful discussion and social change.

Special education teachers need a teaching philosophy that is based on positive

relationships with their students. They respect families and their roles in children's development. Here, two theories are described: Ecological-transactional theory and the behavioural theory of development, and theories of child development give us explanations of how children learn and grow (Bayat, 2012). Throughout the social activity in the learning process, an individual student gets the opportunity to explore his/her internal cognitive resources and previous experiences.

In diverse primary school classrooms, especially where there is a mix of children from mainstream and ethnic minorities, teachers need to consider a number of issues that are in accord with equitable pedagogical theory. First of all, teachers need to create a positive classroom environment for all students (Bennett, 2011). Secondly, they have to consider fair and equal educational opportunities for all students including ethnic minority children (Bennett, 2011). Thirdly, within a multicultural education approach, grouping practices would be flexible, and heterogeneous groups should be practised (Grant & Sleeter, 2003). From these approaches, it can be said that learners' cultures and human relationships play a vital role in any education system. Therefore, an education context that respects diversity will consider these elements.

According to Kumaravadivelu (2008), the behaviours, values, beliefs, and life styles of a dominant culture influence other cultures, for instance by creating pressures to assimilate. This contradicts the reality that human communities are not monocultures but rather a multicultural mix. Similarly Doll et al. (2010) stated that in classrooms, when teachers show value and respect for diversity among their students, they raise the level of students' learning engagement. Kaur (2012)also identified the link between classroom activities and teachers' beliefs and attitudes.

Unsurprisingly, positive influences will be evident if students and teachers come from the same cultural background (Nieto & Bode, 2008). Additionally, Reid (2011)reported that the literacy and numeracy achievement of indigenous students is strongly related to links between their schools and communities. The role of language is an important diversity consideration in classrooms and plays a key role in teaching. As Lee (2001) noted, language is a prominent resource for psychological and cognitive development and for children who do not use the dominant language as a medium of learning at home, their communities face language problems at school (Bayat, 2012).

Grant and Sleeter (2003) suggest that resource persons can teach familiar phrases or songs in another language in classrooms when the regular classroom teacher is

not qualified as a language teacher. With the United States becoming more diverse, language teachers are becoming essential for the improvement and care of children in second language learning. It is essential for students to learn about their peers and to not categorise people on the basis of diversity (Grant & Sleeter, 2003).

Complex issues such as language have a significant bearing in basic education for geographic locations where nearly equal ratios of indigenous and mainstream people have been living, such as the CHT region. Hence, this study aims to understand the role of language for implementing equitable school level activities in primary education for indigenous children in Bangladesh. Therefore, special focus should be laid on this research area in order to address wellbeing issues for the indigenous children in Bangladesh. In relation to language, currently, literature has emerged which offers contradictory findings in Bangladesh about the use of indigenous language as a medium of teaching.

However, some of the authors disagreed with this issue. They stated that indigenous languages, excluding three dominant groups, do not have their own alphabets. Again, these dominant groups who have alphabets do not have enough people who know how to read and write using their alphabet (Mullah et al., 2007). All primary schools in the CHT region use Bangla for instruction and teaching materials. English is taught in all grades as a second language.

In order to identify the main problems in ongoing teaching and learning activities, classroom language has become a central concern related to the issue of diversity in the primary school in CHT (Durnnian, 2007). Sanchez, Haro, and Navarro (2001) found that the diversity of learners in Spanish primary schools has been positively accepted through multicultural curriculum and collaboration among teachers. Participants in the study felt that their duty was to practice the value of a different culture to incorporate it into the same educational space (Sanchez, Haro, & Navarro, 2001).Therefore, mutual respect among diversity background groups, and integrating values and cultures in teaching materials, increases awareness of social justice through professional development, and diversity management agencies are important for quality learning by indigenous children in CHT.

In this study, I aim to use a conceptual framework in which two concepts have influenced me: one, considering links with theories of equity and diversity, and their policies of practice; and the other, considering some issues for further study that a number of researchers have already reported as recommendations. For developing the conceptual framework, I have been inspired by the study of various theories and

theoretical lenses such as aboriginal education, multicultural education, anti-racism, anti-colonial and post-colonial theories.

First of all, of interest is how these theories explain the issues being considered from the point of a qualitative study in a primary school environment regarding development of indigenous students while both indigenous and mainstream students study in the same school. Theoretically, a modern education system is highly correlated with social processes that influence children to acquire knowledge, attitudes and competencies, while conveying it to the next generations (Hutmacher, 2002, p5). Generally, people feel comfortable with free, legal and political rights, and equal dignity in these modern societies (Hutmacher, 2002, p5). These principles have been being practised for nearly 50 years by developed countries in their education sectors. Therefore, understanding the social process and interdependency of indigenous students with those social processes, the researcher considered teacher-student and student-student interaction in schools as two key components of the research framework. In general, social forms are explored through creating symbolic and linguistic interaction. Besides these, a number of researchers have already reported that a variety of problems have been identified in the study area. Some of the more striking results to emerge from these studies for indigenous students are poor relationships with mainstream teachers and peers, the presence of language and cultural barriers, not being welcomed at school, and not understanding the medium of instruction in classrooms. Therefore, to understand equitable education for indigenous children, I studied attitudes and behaviours of students and teachers through observing interactions among different school actors and sharing their views about how they have been getting opportunities based on equity and diversity principles in education.

Secondly, the UN and its agencies have been trying to monitor the effect of practicing equity and diversity education in developing countries on the development of disadvantaged children. However, several disparities have been located in the human service sectors including the education sector. These ambiguities mostly affected disadvantaged inhabitants including indigenous children in these countries. Important disparities for indigenous children mean they do not get linkages between mainstream education subject matter and their native heritage and culture. Therefore, I attempted to examine existing school curriculum and teaching materials and explored potential limitations regarding indigenous cultural reflections. Because whole school curriculum and teaching materials are very large as research areas, I considered only those parts of the curriculum and teaching materials which had links

with classroom observation and subject matter as one component of the theoretical framework.

Thirdly, in rural and remote areas of Bangladesh, rates of adult illiteracy are very high. This reduces the chances of having well-educated and academically sounds people on school management committees. The reality is that equity and diversity issues are mostly theoretical and difficult to understand. Still questions remain about the awareness of these people about equity and diversity principles for applying into local level school management. This influenced me to consider adding this as a framing component on school governance and leadership.

Finally, I was also inspired by Bennett's (Bennett, 2011) genres of research in multicultural education in which equity pedagogy and social justice are important dimensions. She considers a lot of components in her conceptual framework including actor relationships, curriculum, teaching materials and school management. John et al.(2011, p229) stated that many researchers conducted their studies to consider some important variables such as textbooks, teacher education, and the process of education on tribal students.

The model presented in Figure 3.1 has been developed to assist in visualising as well as guiding research into the issues of equity and diversity in the educational system for indigenous children in primary schools. A good model offers a general framework for expressing the reality and focus of attention on fundamental points. Just as there is not one best way to do any research, so there is no one best model to work with a particular research project.

The six dimensions of this proposed model are: (1) teacher-student interaction, (2) student-student interaction, (3) curriculum and teaching materials, (4) professional development, (5) governance and leadership, and (6) preparation for teaching and learning. All components are interrelated. These theories are useful to explore the research issues.

Teacher-student interactions and relationships

This dimension focuses on teacher encouragement, using body-language, co-cooperativeness, personal space, setting class rules, and attitudes, norms, values and mutual respect towards each other. This dimension also includes expression of people's beliefs, behaviours, and cultural tolerances demonstrated through activities at the schools. Under the cluster of equity practices related to equity pedagogy, Bennett (2001) points out that equitable intergroup relations have a positive link with

attitudes, values, beliefs of teachers, and administrators at schools. Similarly, there are links with positive teacher-student and student-student interactions built on kindness, respect, trust and assistance among the learning systems.

.
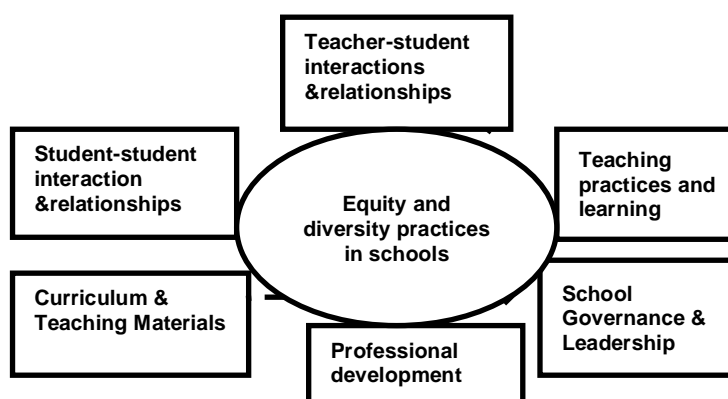
Figure 3.1: Conceptual Framework for conducting the study

In the same way, other authors also emphasise teacher-student relationships (Rhea, 2015; Thapa, Cohen, Guffey, & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2013). Thapa et al. (2013) explored how relationships are developed according to the pattern of norms, goals, values, and interactions among the school actors. Wubbels and Brekelmans (2005, p 7) described how teacher-student behaviour can be observed through a satisfied aspect and a kith and kin aspect. For example, when a teacher says, "I want to help you to learn", that is a satisfied aspect and it might be accompanied by a smile or a frown which is the relationship aspect (Wubbels & Brekelmans, 2005, p7). Sborne (1996)declared the teacher behavior in his sixth assertion that"Culturally relevant teachers are personally warm toward and respectful of, as well as academically demanding of, all students" (p296). Therefore, observing teachers' behavior is an important dimension.

Student-student interactions and relationships

This dimension represents the balance of friendship, mutual respect, norms and values towards each other's culture, balanced leadership in group work, enjoyment of learning, collaboration, and positive attitudes. The concept of productive pedagogy offers an important framework for understanding equity and diversity issues at the level of classroom practices in school (Gore, Griffiths, & Ladwig, 2004). Peer relationships are also important considerations for the school environment. Valued outcomes at the school level are influenced by positive relationships among learners (Martin & Dowson, 2009).

In Bangladesh, concerns have been raised by several relevant authorities about poor relationships between indigenous children and non-indigenous children within the school. One study reported that minority communities are excluded in several ways in the school environment in Bangladesh. For example, indigenous children sit separately from children of the mainstream groups in classrooms in primary schools of CHT (Sarker & Davey, 2009). Respectful interaction is also an important component of the school climate, and plays a key role in achieving quality education. It suggests that extending diversity education improves the group's awareness (Patrick & Kumar, 2012).

However, Mullick et al. (2012) found that in primary schools indigenous children often faced bigotry from non-indigenous children due to their incorrect pronunciation of the Bengali language. Chowdhury et al. (2003) argued that Bengali people have a tendency to dominate over ethnic groups in CHT. Sitting separately and facing bigotry are serious barriers to equitable education in the CHT region. Therefore, this study will consider relationships between indigenous and mainstream students' mutual understanding.

Curriculum and teaching materials

In Bangladesh, as has been described before, single sets of textbooks are published based on subject-wise curriculum instructions. Some content includes community links such as describing dress, festivals, and life styles. Generally, children have expectations that subject matter should link with their own life styles. Moreover, detecting bias in texts and educational materials provides important information about inequities in the curriculum guidelines.

School curriculum plays a vital role in teachers' preparation for classroom activities and teaching materials. Bennett (2011)suggested that for equitable classrooms in multicultural classroom situations, teachers need to change mono-cultural based teaching materials. She explored some examples for diversity classrooms preparation and called for teachers to consider representative cultural festivals and food to be included in teaching materials. Lee (2001) argued through analysis of classroom observations in China that classroom culture may not reflect enough of students' home culture and their community lives. The content of school knowledge does not include students' history, art and culture of any group from a diversity environment. As a result, some groups feel little significance in the school curriculum (Nieto & Bode, 2008).

Research has been conducted in the USA about the representation of majority and minority illustrations in school textbooks. The researchers analysed 134 elementary readers and found that minorities were depicted in 33 per cent of the illustrations in the first grade textbooks, while in grade six only 15 per cent in math books and eight per cent in science books reflected minority representation (Sadker & Sadker, 1982). Sborne (1996) stated in his third assertion that "It is desirable to teach content that is culturally relevant to students' previous experiences, that fosters their natal cultural identity, and that empowers them with knowledge and practices to operate successfully in mainstream society" (p292). Therefore, incorporating students' culture and life style into school curriculum and textbooks is an important issue.

Grant and Sleeter (2003) also suggested various alternative activities in diversity classrooms. They stated that resource persons can teach familiar phrases or songs in another language in classrooms when the regular classroom teacher is not qualified to be a language teacher. With the United States becoming more diverse, language teachers are essential for the improvement and care in second language learning. A large and growing body of literature has investigated this issue for Aboriginal education in Australia. School teachers have been receiving important in-service professional development on schools' curricula and extra-curricular activities regarding the improvement of education for indigenous children (Council For Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1994).

Therefore, how curriculum and teaching materials acknowledge diversity in education is an important equity and diversity issue addressed in this thesis. In conclusion, the third dimension of the diagram depicts school curriculum and examines teaching materials at selected schools in relation to how they support or limit equity and diversity.

Professional development

The fourth dimension of the conceptual framework identifies professional development in relation to how this supports or limits the implementation of equity and diversity principles, through analysis of the teacher education curriculum content and participants' opinions. Professional development is an important part of the development of teachers' skills. Both long and short courses are arranged by the primary education department in Bangladesh.

As described in chapter one, my fieldwork was conducted in a time of transition from the Certificate in Education(C-in-Ed) course to the Diploma in Primary Education

(DPEd) for primary school teachers in Bangladesh. The new long-term professional development can be examined to see if it has any special focus in its contents on disadvantaged students' teaching and learning.

Many educationists indicated that teachers' roles are the centre point for any education system and they can bring a significant change in a positive direction for education. Therefore, quality teacher education programs can generate teachers' skill through the sustainable development of indigenous education. As McKinley (2005, p237) suggests, various considerations such as students' expectations and indigenous community aspirations are required for teacher education based on indigenous education.

School governance and leadership

Historically, Bangladesh was under British colonial rule for nearly 200 years up to 1947 and post-colonial rules and regulations still continue to have the effect of colonialist practices of domination in Bangladesh. Moreover, Bhabha (1994) argues that the repetition of attitudes, behaviour, manners, and values of the past colonial culture can be observed in both the coloniser and the colonised. In 1943, the 'Thomas Report' mentioned the dominant educational ideology in New Zealand (Middleton, 1992). Similarly, Abdullah (2011) agrees that there is a partial adaptation of colonial values in the education system. It allows for colonial arrangements of power and domination to occur within post-colonial Bangladesh, mostly within government sectors including in primary education. As CARE Bangladesh (2004)reports, Bangladesh is diverse in terms of various religions and ethnicity in the country but, due to various stereotypes, discrimination persists such as with staff recruitment especially for minority groups.

Continuing problems with Bangladesh's educational policy have been more recently highlighted by the Harvard Graduate School of Education (n.d.), stating that the government needs to include the cordial involvement of indigenous people in all development activities as well as in management roles. Middleton (1992) suggested the need for research on the associations between policies and actual practices in schools by seeking out perceptions of daily practitioners at the school level.

One of the most significant current discussions in legal and moral philosophy is that there have been enough improvements at the international and national levels of policy and management documentation in regard to equity and diversity in basic education. However, there have been major challenges in execution at the school

level, especially in the primary schools of CHT. When an attempt is made to implement policy, perhaps the most serious shortcoming is that of implementing quality education for the various ethnic minority groups because of limitations at the governance and leadership level. Therefore, school level governance and management is a significant dimension for my study.

Teaching practices and learning

In CHT schools, there are diversity background students' classrooms comprising various ethnic and mainstream students. Therefore, high quality diversity lessons with effective learning and engagement of all students in classrooms are important for equitable education. To do this, class teacher need careful preparation with lesson plans and teaching materials. The conceptual framework has considered this point an important dimension for this study.

Bhattacharya (2013, p174) found that using teacher-centred pedagogy such as lecture style in school classrooms gave fewer opportunities of learning for second language learners in rural India. Sborne (1996, p299) stated some important practices in his eighth assertion, such as using group work, controlling indirectly, and using an easygoing pace for diversity background students. Based on these elements, examining the CHT situation is an important issue for this study.

Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed literature about the indigenous educational situation in Bangladesh. In the later part of this chapter, I discussed the theoretical framework of this thesis for addressing the research questions presented in chapter one. I have also developed a conceptual framework for directing the study into particular research areas.

In the first section, I explored, in brief, the historical background of primary education in Bangladesh because educational development in the country started through an inequitable and non-diversity system. A thorough discussion of the issue shows that formal primary education was introduced by the British government for selective groups such as economically solvent people.

Since then, education has been optional and non-inclusive for a long time. Even today, educational management systems operate in an environment which is marked with inequity and non-diversity. Efforts from the government still remain insufficient due to want of awareness of human rights, universal education, and

equity and diversity education in an unstable political environment.

To progress from this situation, the Bangladesh government launched an "Education for All" program in 1981 and later introduced 'Compulsory Primary Education' in 1990. Thereafter, with the changing of political circumstances and increasing awareness on equity and diversity principles, the national level development programs have adopted the policy of 'equitable primary education' since 2004. However, school level awareness still remains poor particularly in CHT.

The second section of this chapter presents the findings based on fundamental educational situations in CHT. Only a handful of publications exist on the issue of equity and diversity principles that can help explore the educational situation of indigenous children in the CHT. Some publications show that the issues of equity and diversity in primary education are debatable and they are not helpful to achieve quality education for indigenous children in CHT.

The findings suggest that the CHT region has a lower number of schools than the rest of the country and that the achievement rate of indigenous students is lower than the national average. Moreover, the rate of dropout is still quite high especially among the indigenous children in the CHT region. Many reports state that indigenous children do not feel comfortable learning in the mainstream education system. Some common arguments explaining this situation include: relationships between mainstream and indigenous people in schools are not favourable; national school curriculum does not use socio-cultural situations of indigenous people; ongoing professional development lacks inclusive education content; SMC lacks awareness of equity and diversity based school management.

The third and final section of the chapter contains the theoretical framing of this study in which I present a figure by building on the conceptual framework in six dimensions. The six dimensions of this proposed model are: teacher-student interaction, student-student interaction, curriculum and teaching materials, professional development, governance and leadership, and teaching preparations. To implement equity and diversity principles in the school system in CHT, those dimensions need to be reflected in existing policies or practices for the educational development of indigenous children.

In the next chapter, I describe the methodology and methods in detail.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

A qualitative approach for this study seemed appropriate because of the complexity of issues that are related to understanding the perspectives of equity and diversity for primary school children with an ethnic minority background in schools where both indigenous and mainstream children are studying.

To assist with approaching the issues step by step, I have divided the chapter into two sections. The first section outlines the research methodology and justification of a case study approach drawing on ethnographic methods for data collection as well as sampling and selection procedures. In the second section, the research process is discussed to show how the researcher explored the study area.

Section one: Research methodology

It was necessary to understand the social grounds regarding the theoretical framings. One of the key areas of focus in this study is that it elaborates on the qualitative research approaches that it adopts. Crotty (1998)proposed that the adopted epistemology is the main issue behind selecting a quantitative or qualitative research approach, not the information or empirical data collection method. In general, this type of socially grounded research begins with a philosophical assumption which assists in selecting a research methodology. As Gray(2014, p19) describes:

> …the choice of methods will be influenced by the research methodology chosen.
> This methodology, in turn, will be influenced by the theoretical perspectives adopted
> by the researchers, and, in turn, by the researcher's epistemological stance.

Therefore, epistemological acceptance for a researcher plays an active role in constructing his reality within specific cultural contexts.

Epistemology of the study

"Epistemology is theory of knowledge" (Carter & Little, 2007, p1317). In this study, equity and diversity issues set the moral and ethical dimensions of human behaviour, cultural diversification, and social justice. Again, in this study, themes have emerged through interpretations of the indigenous students' situation within the

sites, based on in-depth analysis of data obtained from participants and the researcher's own structured observations.

Qualitative research methodologies provided the structures that were needed to conduct this qualitative research through to observation sites and share with the participants' viewpoint in the study. The purpose of the study is to better understand the extent to which the goals of educational integration and inclusion of indigenous children in Bangladesh is being achieved, i.e. how equity and diversity issues are being addressed at the primary school level.
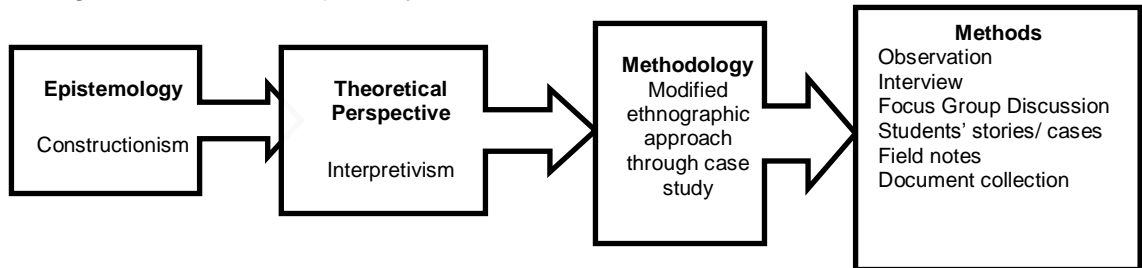
Figure 4.1: The structure of research methodology

A challenge of this type of research process is that it is hard to understand knowledge under a particular epistemology because of a variety of interpretations (observations and sharing participants' views). Persuasively, constructionism as an epistemology proposes that meanings are constructed collectively (Schwandt, 2000, p197). This epistemology deals with the fact that "different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon" (Crotty, 1998, p9). In addition, this epistemology suggests concepts or models for conducting research. It assists users to gain experiences and provides them the opportunity to modify their constructions based on innovative understanding (Schwandt, 2000, p197). Therefore, in several ways, constructionism as an epistemology supports this research project.

This epistemology suggests some social inquiries for conducting the research: observations of the academic environment, formal and informal interactions among people related to educational institutions, and sharing participants' beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. It also audits the linkage, contents and local policy integration in favour of indigenous children's education.

In this study, the researcher adopted a conceptual framework drawing on a socially critical pattern of research based on an understanding that the nature of reality is created from multiple viewpoints, functioning within the controls of equity and diversity for indigenous children. Within this pattern events are understood in relation to dominant social structural arrangements by a mainstream group over

indigenous groups. According to Bayat (2012), the concepts of child development assist us to realise how children grow, develop and learn, while educational philosophies are influenced by the political and social system around the children's daily lives.

Theoretical perspective of the study

In this study, knowledge is constructed through observing and sharing of interactions, attitudes, cultures and practices at the selected schools. The researcher also explored the process of unlocking his own thinking. It was interesting to observe how the researcher's own thinking aligns with that of Blaikie (2010)who indicated that qualitative researchers are concerned with using thick description, focusing on social processes, adopting a flexible approach and developing concepts and theory.

This study considered the interpretivist approach as a theoretical perspective (Figure 4.1). Ledger et al. (2014) propose a theory for understanding and explaining the human and social reality of educators under the interpretivist paradigm that supports a global education perspective. This theory helps to explain in-situ occurrences wherein teachers at the micro level can transfer their own values, beliefs, and ideologies about their students, and work as social reformers (Ledger et al., 2014).

This theoretical perspective supports analysis of human and social reality for ethnic minority students at the school level in the field of educational development. In the study, the context and holistic features of participants' experiences are captured by concentrating on interpretations and procedures.

Secondly, as has been cited before, understanding participants' views needs to be considered in light of ongoing dominant social structures such as the school management position of the mainstream group over indigenous groups. In this study, the researcher has analysed school leadership roles in favour of indigenous communities' involvement and their willingness to participate in school level management.

Thus, the study follows interpretivist theoretical perspectives. Interpretivists believe that individuals and society are inseparable and cannot be understood separately (O'Donoghue, 2007, p16). Consequently, according to O'Donoghue (2007, p17), "interpretivists examine the meanings that a certain phenomenon have for people in their everyday settings." In this connection, O'Donoghue describes three

assumptions which involve everyday activity: freedom, meaning, interaction and negotiation (O'Donoghue, 2007, p17). However, the demand for a critical stance within interpretive research is not innovative. Rather, this type of qualitative research is suited for better policy making for a more just, democratic society (Lincoln & Denzin, 2011, p716).

Role of the Researcher

A qualitative research project depends heavily on the researcher's role as the key instrument concerned with the social construction of understanding. The current role of the researcher is twofold: one is as a professional researcher in a government organisation and another is as a post graduate research student at Flinders University.

After starting my career as a teacher educator about two decades ago, I found the issue of inclusive education to be a topic of discussion among my colleagues – teacher educators, trainees, school teachers, academic supervisors and subject specialists. From that time, I developed a keen interest in the issue as a core research area. Later, in 1996, I was posted to the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) as a research and curriculum specialist. Afterwards, I started conducting research for development of primary education on various issues including student assessment, teaching methods, and inclusive education. Being posted at this national organisation, I made several field trips for data collection in the remote areas of Bangladesh including CHT. As a researcher in education, I felt the need to initiate a separate research project on indigenous children's low achievement and high dropout rate in primary schools. Consequently, in 2008, I started this research project on language barriers of indigenous children in primary schools as a part of my Master of Education course at Flinders University. Research experience gained in both roles has informed the methodology selected and the methods employed for this study.

In 2010, I went to Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) for data collection in a separate research project organised by NAPE research faculty members. I stayed in CHT for four days before I started this research project. During my visit I noticed many ambiguities prevalent in primary schools from the perspective of indigenous and mainstream students in this region. I felt compelled to conduct a research study on the issue by pursuing a higher degree. This is how I selected the topic for my PhD at Flinders University. As the "equity and diversity" issue concerns both indigenous and mainstream children in schools, I considered those schools in which students of

both categories are available.

Research design and general methods

This research employed a modified ethnography approach with a case study methodology. Case study is a qualitative research design aimed at exploring a complete understanding of an event, situation, organisation or individual person; similarly, ethnographic techniques aim for understanding the beliefs, motivations and behaviours of peoples' daily lives (Chilisa, 2012; Tedlock, 2000).

I have been inspired by the advantages of ethnographic methods from social science research to use the principles of ethnographic methods. As McGregor (2011, p3) states, "Ethnography has a powerful presence in the history of educational research." I applied a range of ethnographic techniques, e.g. Participant observation, Non-participant observation, interview, Focus Group Discussion, children's stories and photos, field notes, and document collection, in my research. The use of multiple methods and involvement of participants allows for triangulation to add rigor, breadth and depth to the qualitative research project (Patton, 2002). There are two important reasons indicated by Miles and Huberman (1984, p151) that support multi case analysis: to enhance the generalisability and expansion of understanding and explanation.

According to Ledger et al. (2014), there is no need to consider a whole research population group or statistical sampling for a qualitative research study in which the goal of the study is to discover meanings and understandings rather than generalizable outcomes. The multi-case design of this study allows for acceptable links to be made both within and across the four different sites (government primary schools) selected for the study. Using this strategy of inquiry, I explored equity and diversity for indigenous children at four primary schools in a natural setting over a three month period of time by collecting data in Bangladesh. The research process was flexible and typically progressed contextually in response to the lived realities encountered in the field setting.

Observation of school activities

The main aim of observation was to understand the social and academic life of students and teachers in each school. Actually, points for observation were identified from the literature including beliefs, attitudes, behaviour and cultural tolerances among school staff and students. I observed in the corridors, the yard, the dining hall and the staffroom as well as in classrooms at schools.

The main tool used to gather the data was a research diary. In the diary, everything I saw and heard was recorded with detailed notes. I also recorded the context of each situation including brief descriptions of the place, time of observation and participants' information. For example, I observed students in the playground and at morning assembly. I also observed interactions and academic preparations in the staffroom during the free time of teachers. When I took part as a participant observer, there was sometimes limited participation and sometimes my role was as a facilitator.

Non-participant classroom observations

The purpose of non-participation was to watch how staff and students behaved and related with each other in their natural setting. I observed a number of classrooms to watch teachers' and students' behaviour and interaction in a classroom setting. I followed an observation protocol in this research. In this case, the protocols were: I did not participate in or manipulate the situation or rearrange the setting; I observed the natural settings and the context, uninterrupted; I sat behind students in the class taking detailed notes on my observations.

I was inspired by some researchers' use of methods I should consider for note taking in the field. Smith and Gorard (2006, p46) identified three indicators about desired equity in teacher attention in classrooms: teachers show the same attention to all learners, more attention to the most able learners, or more attention to the least able learners.

Similarly, Vandeyar and Killen (2006, p385) focused on classroom interactions through observing seating arrangements, communication languages, classroom management and non-academic activity-related interactions during ethnographic case studies into diversity primary school classrooms in South Africa. They emphasised observing seating arrangements in classrooms because this structural construction of the class is very important for teacher-student and student-student interactions in the South African context (Vandeyar & Killen, 2006). Their techniques inspired my non-participant classroom observations.

Participant classroom observations

Sometimes, my role involved complete participation. Mainly I organised a number of classes in every school and my role was as a class teacher. In these times, my involvement was of two types: one was to organise structured lesson activities so that students could achieve specific lesson objectives, and the second type was to

observe the students noting how they responded to my instructions. For example, I gave instructions to select a group leader out of their group members. I observed whether the mainstream group members choose any indigenous mate as a group leader or not, and similarly, the attitude shown by indigenous students towards mainstream mates. I also looked at their level of activity while working in groups. With regard to my position, indigenous students thought I was a mainstream teacher. From this position, I observed how they felt about asking any question of a mainstream teacher.

Semi-structured Interviews

Loosely structured interviews are suited to collecting qualitative data, allowing free interaction and opportunities for clarification and discussion. The most important as far as determining attitudes are the interviews. Loosely structured interviews involve subjective responses. Therefore, for the semi-structured interviews, I had prepared some questions as a guideline (Appendix V). However, I had many link questions for improvisation with the qualitative data. Recently, educational researchers have shown an increased interest in semi-structured or unstructured interview, as the entire purpose is to develop more in-depth understanding of the societal condition (Myers & Newman, 2007).

I had expected the indigenous people to be reluctant to speak on sensitive issues. However, they were generally happy to share thoughts possibly because I was an academic person in the primary education department. Generally, academic people (trainers and researchers) personally do not play a direct role as management people do.

Voice recordings were made from the interviews and backed up by field notes written on the day of each interview. The rationale for this was that voice recordings often miss sights, the impressions and extra remarks said before or after the interview. There were semi-structured interviews with class teachers, head teachers, academic supervisors, teacher educators and subject specialists in the study.

Focus group discussion (FGD)

The focus group discussion was an organised group discussion with participants drawn from the members of School Management Committee (SMC) whose consents were sought earlier for participation. All government primary schools are managed by government personnel with the help of various committees. School Management Committee (SMC) is the most important committee at school

management level. In this area, I wanted to consider how indigenous people are related to management activities at the school level under the government rules and regulations.

I facilitated the focus group discussion and at the same time I operated the voice recorder for recording the discussion. In this discussion, I came up with a set of instructional issues and asked the informants to respond to the issues by using relevant key questions (Appendix V).

I took care to select a quiet place for focus group discussions. I set up ground rules for discussion. For example, all informants would talk in turn and no one should interrupt others. I also wrote some observation points after finishing the FGD.

Children's stories, illustrations and photos

In several ways, I arranged activities with the selected students of grade four and five within the four selected government primary schools during their classroom activities. In every school, I worked with them over three days with three specific tasks. Detailed descriptions of these tasks are as follows:

Task A: Student's friendship with classmates

During this task, my aim was to explore children's social interactions among their classmates. In this process, all participating students were given a task individually and were asked to write the names of 'close friends', 'other friends' and their own name using a pre-planned drawing task arrangement as shown in Figure 4.2.
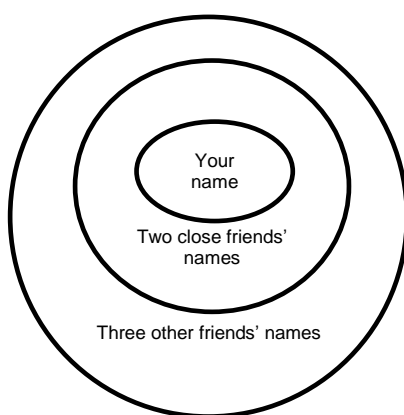
Figure 4.2: Activity tool of Student's friendship with classmates
Adapted from Eliadou's article(Eliadou, 2011, p22)

Using a similar diagram, Eliadou (2011, p22) conducted a study in Cyprus to examine the diverse students' social interaction in primary and secondary schools under a qualitative research approach. During my fieldwork, about 80 students in all (20 students from each school) filled in their own names, close friends' names and other friends' names.

Task B: Student's favourite teachers and activities

The following day, I gave students a blank piece of paper for another activity. My instructions for this activity were as follows:

- Write your name on the top of the given paper
- Write the names of your two favourite teachers in your school
- Write the names of two activities that you enjoy most at your school
- Write the names of two school activities that you like and draw or take a photo of them.

The reason for using this activity was to find out about the dynamics of teacher-student relationships and students' enjoyment of activities in schools. Hadfield (2013) cited that these types of informal and friendly activities create scope to get to know about teachers.

During my fieldwork, a total of 65 students chose the option 'to draw school activities' and 15 students in all chose the 'photo taking activities'. I supplied the first group with art paper for drawing and asked them to draw a picture of their favourite school activities.

Task C: Photos taken by students of their favourite activities

I was inspired by a scholarly report by Catalani and Minkler (2010, p441) in which they said "…the way in which untrained photographers take pictures is in itself a rich source of data on cultural and social constructions."Participation in this activity was completely optional for students. I made a list of students who wished to contribute to this activity, and then I followed a procedure to secure their consent for photos to be used in my thesis. I also declared to them that participants would not be identified in any publications. If any student took a photo of other people, I also arranged for his or her permission and consent. I had some instructions to the students for taking photos. These instructions were as follows:

- You take the camera and keep it for 15 minutes.

- During this time you may take photos of what you think is important about school.
- You may take not more than two photos.
- When your photographs have been taken, please return the camera to me.

The next day I supplied the pictures drawn or photos taken to the corresponding students and gave them a piece of paper with instructions to "describe in your own words why you enjoy this picture or photos in your school".

Document collection

I collected from schools or the primary education department some documents including school policies and circulars, development project pro-formas, teachers' lesson textbooks, other paper-based teaching materials, students' paper-based products and students' related records (admission and achievement records), and school and teacher education curriculums.

Field notes and research diary

In my notebooks I kept field notes (researcher's thoughts and feelings about what was going on) and a research diary (of what was seen and heard) related to interactions with participants as well as observations and participation in school activities. For my first observations, I oriented myself with descriptions of settings including a school map. For later observations, I described interactions, people's beliefs and attitudes towards each other, and friendships among the school people. After lunch, I went to the school ground to observe interactions among the students during their informal playing after lunch. At these times, I also observed relationships, and attitudes among staff and teachers towards each other.

My field notes specified the subject, detailed events, and were recorded chronologically by date. I also recorded the date, day of the week, time, and weather of the day. Sometimes, I used my own adapted abbreviations. For example, IS for Indigenous Student, MS for Mainstream Student and HT for Head Teacher were used frequently in my field notes. Mostly I never interacted with students or teachers during the noting times but when I participated, notes were written soon after ending my observations. After finishing a detailed account of what I observed, I always added at least one paragraph about my general thoughts and reactions. Sometimes, I put a mark to check out the next time.

Section two: Research site selection

Four government primary schools (GPS) from two districts in the CHT region were purposively selected based on their location and enrolment mix of indigenous and mainstream students. Two case study schools were selected from BD district and two from RM district (pseudonyms).

Selection of the schools from BD district

At the beginning of my fieldwork, I went to the District Primary Education Office and had a meeting with the District Primary Education Officer (DPEO). I provided him with my Information sheet, Letter of Introduction and my departmental permission. There are seven upazilas in the BD district. In order to comply with my research methods, I considered availability of target people, researcher accommodation, transport and communication. I selected SD Upazila for my fieldwork following a convenience sampling procedure.

I went to the Upazila Primary Education Office for a meeting with the Upazila Education Officer (UEO) and Assistant Upazila Education Officer (AUEO). The main role of an AUEO is academic supervisions of primary schools. In my study, I denoted these personnel as 'academic supervisor'. I also provided them with Information sheets, Letter of Introduction and my departmental permission.

With the help of an Academic Supervisor (AUEO), I made a list of schools where both indigenous and mainstream students were enrolled. According to the list of schools, I delivered an information sheet and a letter of introduction to the Head teachers of those schools in person. Using this process, a number of primary schools accepted the invitation to participate willingly in my research project. Over the next two days, I visited five schools whose Head teachers accepted my invitation.

There are 37 Government Primary Schools in SD Upazila in BD district. According to official records 18 head teachers from indigenous groups and 19 head teachers from mainstream groups were appointed to those schools. The enrolment numbers of indigenous children were an influence on the choice of school in which the research took place.

Table 4.1: Salient features of visited schools in SD Upazila

Features		JK School	AS School	School A	RC School	School B
Number of students in Grade 4	Indigenous students	6	48	66	19	41
	Mainstream students	9	68	137	33	21
Number of students inGrade 5	Indigenous students	10	36	48	11	45
	Mainstream students	12	68	88	29	19
Number of teachers	Indigenous Teachers	1	5	2	1	6
	Mainstream teachers	4	7	9	5	4
Head teacher permission		Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
SMC permission		Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	Positive

Table 4.1 shows that School A and School B were suitable for the conduct of my field study. These two schools were finally selected on the basis that both mainstream students and indigenous students were enrolled and class teachers from both backgrounds were available. Finally, the permissions of head teachers and SMCs were factors in selecting the schools. For example in JK School there were not enough indigenous students at grade four as well as indigenous teachers. RC school had not enough indigenous teachers. Moreover, the SMC of AS School did not give me permission to research at the school.

Selection of the schools from RM district

Similarly, I went to RM District Primary Education Office to select schools. After meeting with DPEO, I selected KT Upazila out of ten upazilas in the district considering purposive sampling. The reason behind selecting KT Upazila was that while the two schools in this district were rural it was possible to reach those schools from my accommodation before 9 am on school days. Even though KT Upazila is far away from the district headquarters, I found safe accommodation for the required long stay.

Next day, I visited Upazila Primary Education Office at KT Upazilaand I met with Upazila Education Officer (UEO) and Assistant Education Officers (AUEO). After the meeting, I invited the head teachers of a number of primary schools from this upazila over the telephone to participate in my research project. Four Head teachers of four schools in this upazila accepted my invitation. Salient features of those

schools are as follows:

Table 4.2: Salient features of visited schools in KT Upazila

Features		School D	EK School	RR School	School C
Number of students in Grade 4	Indigenous students	16	06	03	09
	Mainstream students	42	07	67	11
Number of students in Grade 5	Indigenous students	12	08	0	07
	Mainstream students	23	01	54	12
Number of teachers	Indigenous Teachers	2	3	1	4
	Mainstream teachers	6	0	8	2
Head teacher permission		Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
SMC permission		Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive

Table 4.2 shows that RR School had not enough indigenous students and teachers. Similarly, at EK School there were not enough mainstream students and teachers. On the other hand, School D and School C had sufficient numbers of both students and teachers from indigenous and mainstream groups. I also reviewed permission from those schools and finally selected those schools using a convenience sampling process. Convenience sampling is a non-random sampling technique used to select schools and participants who are available, volunteer and are easily recruited (Johnson & Christensen, 2014, p263). In the case of my research, they were accessible for the duration of the fieldwork.

Profile of the selected schools for this study

Four government primary schools were selected for my research project, referred to as School A, School B, School C and School D. The main features of these schools are described in Table 4.3. I selected four schools for my case studies with consideration given to particular geographical features. The schools were urban, rural and remote (from the perspective of socio-economic situation). Similarly, Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist (2003, p64) undertook case studies in the USA and Australia with four primary schools with some features such as a school in an indigenous settlement in outback Australia and an indigenous community-controlled school in urban Australia, and a school in small town with a large indigenous population in the USA, and an indigenous community-controlled school in rural USA. Here, Table 4.3 gives an overall profile of the selected case study schools.

Table 4.3: Profile of selected schools

Features	School A	School B	School C	School D
Communication facilities	Rural	Urban	Remote	Rural
Number of total students	954	425	183	282
Number of indigenous students	249	292	65	67
Number of mainstream students	705	133	118	216
Total number of teachers	12	10	6	8
Number of mainstream teachers	8	4	3	6
Number of indigenous teachers	2	6	3	2
Teacher-student ratio	1:80	1:43	1:31	1:35
Percentage of Indigenous students (%)	26	69	36	24
Percentage of Indigenous teachers (%)	17	60	50	25

School A

School A is categorised as a large school in a rural area with a high teacher-student ratio. Indigenous students from seven different ethnic groups attend. However, the percentage of indigenous is 26 out of the total enrolment of students. It has a special facility for student accommodation and all students using this accommodation facility are indigenous students whose permanent residence is located in remote areas of CHT.

School B

School B is a medium size school in the BD municipality area. Indigenous students of this school come from six groups. The percentage of indigenous students (69%) is higher than mainstream students here.

School C

School C is a small size school situated in a remote area. Most of the students at this school come from very poor family backgrounds. All indigenous students as well as three indigenous teachers are from Marma identity. The percentage of indigenous students is 36percent and 50 percent of teachers are indigenous.

School D

School D is a medium size rural school with 282 students with five groups of indigenous children attending the school. This school does not have its own accommodation. However, there are a number of indigenous students living at Buddhist religious centres adjacent to the school. Most of the indigenous children come from remote areas of CHT region.

Selection of school subject areas and grades

Based on teacher educators' experiences, I analysed the content of the primary school curriculum so that I could identify the equity and diversity subject matter issues, since a number of subject areas have links with people's culture, beliefs and attitudes. For example, language subjects (Bangla or English), mathematics, and Bangladesh and Global Studies have links with my research interest. At the same time, I selected classrooms of grade four and five in the four schools for non-participant and participant classroom observations.

Selection of research participants

Students, class teachers, head teachers, SMC members, academic supervisors, teacher educators and subject specialists were participants in this study. Selection and recruitment procedures are outlined as follows.

Selection of students and class teachers

During my participant classroom observations and non-participant classroom observations I did not apply any selection procedure for selecting the students in the classrooms, rather I considered all students in those classrooms and their class teachers as target groups for my research project. I used a convenience sampling technique for selecting class teachers. Semi-structured interviews were held with class teachers who were the subject teachers of the three nominated subjects and I undertook non-participant observations in those classes.

During my time at the schools, I prepared a participant list of class teachers and their students for my project in those schools. I sent a Letter of Introduction and Consent Form to class teachers and guardians of the students. Finally, I prepared a list for students and class teachers who signed consent forms. The selected teachers' codes and profiles are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: The selected teachers' codes and their profiles of case study schools

School Code	Label	Indigenous / Mainstream	Female / Male	Profile of participants
School A	HT1	M	m	Head teacher, more than 30 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	SKI	I	m	English language class teacher at grade five, 6 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	LRM	M	f	Bangladesh and Global Studies class teacher at grade five, 6 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	SUM	M	m	Mathematics class teacher at grade four, 5 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
School B	HT2	M	m	Head teacher, more than 20 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	KTI	I	f	Mathematics class teacher at grade five, 24 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	LTI	I	f	Bangla language class teacher at grade four, 5 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	ASM	M	f	Bangladesh and Global Studies class teacher at grade five, 22 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
School C	HT3	M	f	Head teacher, more than 18 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	MMI	I	f	English language class teacher at grade five, 23 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	SSM	M	m	Bangladesh and Global Studies class teacher at grade four, 7 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed (absent in interview)
School D	HT4	M	m	Head teacher, more than 12 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	BCI	I	m	Mathematics class teacher at grade four, 8 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	ACI	I	m	Bangla language class teacher at grade five, 6 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed
	NBM	M	f	Bangladesh and Global Studies class teacher at grade five, 6 years' experience, PD: C-in-Ed (absent in interview)

Note: I-Indigenous teacher, M-Mainstream teacher, PD-Professional Development, m- Male, f-female

Selection of head teachers

The head teachers of the four schools indicated willingness to be research participants for interviews in the study. Their labels are HT1, HT2, HT3 and HT4 respectively. The selected head teachers' profiles are shown in Table 4.4.

Selection of SMC members

Every selected school had a School Management Committee (SMC) that consisted of 11 members including both indigenous and mainstream community people. Therefore, I always tried to invite members of both to participate in a focus group

discussion. I also employed convenience sampling to make it as representative as possible, maintaining the variation of informants. Altogether four focus group discussions were held, one at each school. The SMC members' labels and profiles are shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: The selected SMC members' codes at case study schools

School Code	Indigenous participants	Mainstream participants
School A	FGD1P2i FGD1P3i	FGD1P1m FGD1p4m
School B	FGD2P1i FGD2P2i	FGD2P3m FGD2P4m
School C	FGD3P1i FGD3P2i FGD3P3i	FGD3P4m
School D	FGD4P2i FGD4p3i	FGD4P1m FGD4P4m

Selection of students for children's stories, illustrations and photos

In several ways, I arranged activities with the students of grade 4 and 5 within the four selected government primary schools during their normal classroom activities. Further, in the later days of my school stay, I selected about 20 students in each school, again according to convenience sampling from those whose consent had been already secured. I arranged a separate classroom for them with the help of the head teacher. For example, I selected 20 students from grade five including 13 indigenous students and 7 mainstream students at School A. The indigenous students represented Chakma, Bawm, Tripura and Marma groups. These students and their parents gave consent for conducting research activities.

Selection of academic supervisors, teacher educators, subject specialists

Two academic supervisors (AS1 and AS2) who supervised at the study schools consented to be interviewed. AS1 was responsible for academic supervision at School A and School B in SD Upazila and AS2 was appointed to supervise School C and School D in KT Upazila.

According to National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) documents, newly recruited primary school teachers from CHT were assigned for enrolment into two

district level Primary Teacher Training Institutes (PTI), Rangamati PTI and Patia PTI, in 2013-14. I selected two teacher educators (TE1 and TE2) from each of the PTIs. For selecting the participants, I considered how they had been involved with indigenous trainee teachers at PTI and their willingness to participate in my study.

Both the subject specialists (SS1 and SS2) had busy schedules with their daily life commitments. I had to call SS1 several times over the telephone to set an interview time with him. Finally, we agreed to sit at his residence on a weekend and I successfully conducted the interview with him. Another subject specialist participant (SS2) was also known to me as he was my university teacher during my Master of Education (MEd) course. I communicated with him over the telephone for setting an interview. He also gave me time during the weekend at his office at Dhaka University.

Two subject specialists (SS1 and SS2) were selected on the basis of their co-authorship of the primary school textbook and the teacher education textbook. Participant SS1 co-authored the social science textbook of teacher education that was published in 2001. He works as a subject specialist consultant (Indigenous education) at the UNDP office in Dhaka. The Participant SS2 is a professor at the Institute of Education and Research in Dhaka University. He is the co-author of a textbook on the Bangladesh and Global Studies subject for grade five students.

Instruments

Letters of Introduction (Appendix II), Information Sheet (Appendix III), Consent Forms (Appendix IV), Interview schedules, Focus Group Discussion guidelines (Appendix V), Observation guidelines, notebook, diary, camera and audio recorder were taken to each field worksite.

Ethics considerations

Ethical protocols for this research project were approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (SBREC) before undertaking the study. The fieldwork was carried out following the ethics approval that was given on 16 September 2013 with project number 6213 (Appendix I). To gain consent of the research participants in this study and to assure them of their rights, letters of Introduction and consent forms were prepared and administered according to University guidelines and protocols.

Besides this, a further ethical consideration was in regard to my role as the researcher in this study. As a mainstream researcher I conducted interviews and

focus group discussions with some indigenous participants in this study. Therefore, I paid careful attention to being aware of any potentially culturally sensitive, ethical issues. As required, I informed participants that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason.

Transcription of interviews and focus group discussions

While maintaining confidentiality of participants, I transcribed interviews and focus group discussions. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in Bangladesh through the Bangla language that is my mother tongue. Therefore, I had the advantage of understanding participants' expressions.

Participants' expressions have been described in transcription practices in two ways: naturalism and de-naturalism. In naturalism, every expression is transcribed in as much detail as possible. However, in de-naturalism, individual elements of communication such as pauses and non-verbals are detached from the transcription. I followed the de-naturalism mode for transcription, where the meanings and perceptions were created through the substance of interviews, conversations and focus group discussions (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005).

Translation of interviews and focus group discussions

In accordance with research ethics guidelines, I translated into English all my interviews and focus group discussion data while maintaining confidentiality. It is noted that direct quotes used in reporting the results were not always verbatim translations of the actual words and expressions taken from the interview transcripts (an example interview transcript is shown in Appendix VI). In a number of cases words and phrases needed to be re-constructed to make the participants' meaning clearer.

Data analysis

The data were initially labelled with corresponding sources of data such as a particular label for individual names (e.g. KTI) and a particular label for a member of the focus group discussion (e.g. FGD1P2i).The manual codes were then applied to the transcript data. Then all data were categorically divided into two major groups: participants' opinions and observations. After finishing the categorical codes, data were organised to be thematically consistent with research questions. For example, the research question, "How does professional development of teachers in CHT schools support equity and diversity practices in those schools?" data were organised through "About professional development" coding. Once the coding was

completed, the coded information was printed, the content of the data was reviewed, and important quotations from interviews and focus groups were used during report writing.

Summary

In this chapter, details of the methodological stand for this research have been mentioned. In the first section, theoretical framing of this particular qualitative research has been presented, such as constructionism epistemology and interpretivism as the theoretical perspective for this study. The role of researchers based on this theoretical framing was also discussed.

Research design and methods are primary concerns for any research project. This section has presented various methods under this case study methodology and the ensuing ethnographic techniques. This modified ethnography approach helped provide detailed understanding of various school events and situations in this qualitative research study. Moreover, various issues were discussed which could be used to understand people's beliefs, motivations, behaviours, common norms and rules through observation, interview, focus group discussion, children's stories and illustrations and photos.

In the second section, I outlined the mixed methods design as well as sampling procedures for the study. Firstly, before starting the case studies at schools, I followed the protocol to obtain permission from the primary education management authorities. Secondly, to select the four government primary schools from two districts in the CHT region, I had to consider numerous factors such as location, ratio of enrolled indigenous and mainstream students, and consent of school authorities. Detailed procedures have been discussed in this chapter.

Thirdly, various participants such as students, class teachers, head teachers, SMC members, academic supervisors, teacher educators and subject specialists were selected through purposive sampling based on research data and their consent. Additionally, I outlined the procedures and protocols used for non-participant and participant classroom observations, informal discussions with participants, and note taking and diary writing.

Finally, in this chapter I discussed ethical considerations, and the transcription and translation processes employed in this thesis. Maintaining confidentiality of participants, I transcribed interviews and focus group discussions in Bangla; they were then translated into English in accordance with research ethics guidelines. In

the next chapter, I present the perspectives of education management and academic personnel at the primary education department in Bangladesh.

CHAPTER 5: LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVES ON INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

Introduction

In this chapter, firstly, I present the primary education management context. Secondly, I briefly discuss the coordination system between management offices and academic organisations. Finally, I present detailed fieldwork data and analysis based on the opinions of academic supervisors, teacher educators and subject specialists. These participants have observed from close quarters school activities, professional development and teaching materials development. Therefore, their opinion is very important for analysing the practice of equity and diversity principles at primary school level.

Management structure of primary education

The administration of primary education in Bangladesh is a highly hierarchical and top-down system (Figure 5.1). As Snyder (2013)argued, top-down educational management systems are not favourable for creating educational development. Under this system, a number of management offices and academic organisations have been working with prescribed department rules and regulations in a recognised co-ordination system.

National Level	Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MOPME)	
National level	National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB)	Directorate of Primary Education (DPE)	National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE)
Divisional level	Divisional Office (DD)	
District level	District Primary Education Office (DPEO)	Primary (Teacher) Training Institute (PTI)
Upazila level	Upazila Education Office (UEO)	Upazila Resource Centre (URC)
School level	Government Primary School	

Figure 5.1: Government management and academic structure for primary education

Most policies, development projects, rules and regulations are prepared by the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, and the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE). These policies and regulations are, then, being implemented from the divisional level to school level management offices. Academic institutions mainly work for development of teaching materials and professional development for all types of personnel including school teachers.

The Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) is in charge of planning and implementing the government policies. The responsibility of policy formulation lies with the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MOPME). I had to obtain permission from the Director General (DG) of the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE) before applying for ethics approval for this project. This permission made the process easier for me in getting permission from the district and upazila level management offices. Two other important management offices are the District Primary Education Office and Upazila Education Office; they are directly involved with regular supervision of the school level management system (Figure 5.1).

Co-ordination between management and academic institutions

The management offices and academic institutions in the primary education department have been working with a prescribed co-ordination system. For example, recruitment and posting of department personnel, including school teachers and academic staff, are responsibilities of the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MOPME) and the Directorate of Primary Education (DPE). After recruitment of management personnel and teacher educators, they are sent to the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) for professional development by DPE. Similarly, District Primary Education Office (DPEO) sends newly recruited teachers to the respective Primary Teacher Training Institutes (PTI) for long-term professional development. For instance, RM district office sent about 200 school teachers (both class teachers and head teachers) to the Rangamati PTI in 2013 for the C-in-Ed course, the duration of which was one year.

Field work in management offices and academic institutions

I went to both management and academic offices for my field work. I went to two district primary education offices to obtain permission to research in schools (detail is available in chapter four). I also went to two upazila education offices for both districts. Details for selecting schools and obtaining permission undertaken with these upazila offices have been described in chapter four.

I also went to various academic institutes including the National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE), the Institute of Educational Research (IER), and the Primary Teachers' Training Institute (PTI) to conduct interviews. Details of these activities are also described in chapter four. I conducted interviews with two academic supervisors, two subject specialists and one teacher educator.

In the following section, I have presented the perceptions of those people who conduct regular monitoring of school activities, trainers of professional development, teachers from CHT schools, and authors of teaching materials (detailed descriptions are available in chapter four). The opinion of these officials on educational development of indigenous children is important for this study.

Views about mainstream and indigenous student relationships

I found that many government personnel do not prefer being posted in CHT because of its geographical distance and troublesome communication. Many of them do not live with their families at their posting places, rather their family members live in other towns and cities. Although CHT, with its hills, rivers and forest, is a famous tourist region in Bangladesh attracting many visitors every year from home and abroad, the communication system in CHT region still remains poor. I asked an academic supervisor, who came from a mainstream community, about his posting in CHT. He (AS1) described:

> During my service life, I have been posted to several places in the country and my posting in CHT has been an enjoyable experience. The interactions with different languages and cultures of indigenous people have been a joyful learning experience. I have had job experiences in my other postings outside of CHT as well. They, however, have not been as joyful. For example, [in CHT] the indigenous inhabitants have been polite towards me. Moreover, the nature of hill and forest with birds chirping has fascinated me.

There is no doubt that most government officials feel distressed about postings in the region but this academic supervisor expressed his experience at the CHT as being enjoyable. This is one of the positive yet rare incidents for remote educational development. Most importantly, he made one important evaluation, and that was the indigenous people in CHT are polite. I gathered more evidence from many mainstream people who support this opinion.

I also asked the academic supervisor about his teaching supervision at CHT schools and what his opinions were about the differences in educational achievement between indigenous and mainstream students. He (AS1) replied: "I observed a big difference in learning achievement between indigenous and mainstream students." I

also asked for his opinion on the classroom environment where, in most cases, indigenous and mainstream students at various schools in CHT sit separately in the classrooms. He (AS1) explained:

> It does not happen always but sometimes. When it happens I think it is because of the fact that indigenous students do not understand Bangla properly. So, they do not sit with mainstream students.

When I asked another academic supervisor the same question, he endorsed the view expressed by AS1, adding his own observation that in most schools indigenous and mainstream students sit separately. Similarly, I discussed the same issue with a teacher educator (TE1). She (TE1) described:

> Yes, I observed both indigenous students and indigenous trainee teachers sitting separately from mainstream community people at practice teaching schools as well as training sessions at PTI.

In this case, their opinions are in line with the statement of Sarker and Davey (2009) that was mentioned in chapter three. After hearing this, it was important to observe classroom situations.

When I asked the teacher educator about her interactions with indigenous trainee teachers and mainstream trainee teachers at her PTI training sessions, she (TE1) described:

> Even indigenous trainees face difficulties in communication with mainstream trainees using Bangla language; somehow, they can survive this situation as adult people. Shyness of indigenous trainee teachers is another factor in effective communication with mainstream trainees in training sessions. Sometimes, I observed mainstream trainees laugh at the mispronunciation of words from an indigenous trainee teacher.

Seeking clarification, I asked her if she ever observed any difference in attitude between indigenous and mainstream trainee teachers at PTI. She (TE1) answered, "My observation is that indigenous trainees stay silent in their training sessions; rarely do they ask any questions of the trainers."

Therefore, management personnel and academic people observed undesirable relations between indigenous students and mainstream students at schools in CHT, and a similar situation was also observed in PTI sessions between indigenous and mainstream trainee teachers. The commonly raised claim of participants is that this problem has a strong root in relationships between indigenous communities and mainstream people in CHT. The reasons behind this are addressed in the discussion chapter.

To sum up, one of the common issues hindering education development in CHT is that indigenous trainee teachers and the indigenous students do not feel encouraged to learn or respect the education system. It is one of the challenges in practicing diversity principles in education in CHT.

Views about recruiting and posting of indigenous staff

While the indigenous inhabitants in CHT are more than half of the total inhabitants, in neither of the two districts of my field work areas did I find any indigenous staff posted as high officials such as District Primary Education Officer (DPEO), Upazila Education Officer (UEO) or Assistant Upazila Education Officer (AUEO). In an informal discussion, a UEO at SD Upazila informed me that he knew three indigenous management officers who were posted outside of CHT at that time. A similar finding was made by Ladson-Billings(2000, p212) for African American inhabitants in the USA context.

In both upazila education offices, I obtained the official posting list of head teachers and class teachers. Out of 46 schools in SD Upazila in BD district only 15 had indigenous head teachers, and out of 53 schools in KT Upazila in RM district only 14 indigenous head teachers were posted. Moreover, indigenous head teachers were posted only to those schools which enrolled indigenous children only.

I asked my study participants why indigenous head teachers were not posted around BD town or in schools with a diverse student enrolment. One academic supervisor (AS1) explained:

> The responsibilities of head teachers entail a lot of mental tension. For example, communication with higher officials and out of working time is common practice for school management; in both cases, indigenous head teachers generally find it hard to tackle these situations. Firstly, it is due to the language barrier. Besides, many higher officials visit our BD district and primary schools. Those higher officials expect head teachers to manage accommodation, transport, food etc. for them. Generally, indigenous head teachers do not like this type of unofficial protocol work. So, they do not willingly like this type of posting.

This explanation was also supported by many others. One mainstream head teacher (HT1) also shared his view on this issue with me during his interview discussion. He said, "The duty of head teacher in this modern civilization is very critical. Mobile devices have extended duty hours about 15 hours, going much beyond official duty hours. Now and then, higher officials ring us for extra duties; it means a lot of extra work for the upazila office or managing some outdoor event." He added that indigenous head teachers do not prefer extra engagements and are not able to effectively communicate due to language and cultural barriers. Indigenous head

teachers do not willingly like the posting in those schools. In the same way, DPEO explained "we have to manage the budget for our higher officials unless they come here under a tour funded by the government".

As mentioned before, CHT region is popular with visitors due to its natural beauty. As a result, many visitors visit the area, including higher level government officials. This phenomenon affects the indigenous head teachers posted at schools. Therefore, one type of inequity situation is created in the education department.

At the same time, I was interested to know whether there are indigenous trainers posted at Rangamati and Patia PTIs. I enquired with a teacher educator at Patia PTI the reason behind there being many indigenous school teachers enrolled in the PTI but no indigenous teacher educators being found. She (TE1) explained:

> Yes, many indigenous schools' teachers train in this PTI but there is no indigenous trainer posting in the institute. In fact, the recruitment system of trainers and posting are organised by departmental head office. As a whole, there is only one indigenous teacher educator in our whole department and her posting is at Rangamati PTI. I agree that it would be better if more indigenous educators would be recruited by the department. It would be helpful to share their culture among trainee teachers.

From her statement, it became clear that indigenous teacher educators did not get appointed at the PTIs, the main inequity being a faulty recruitment procedure by the primary education department limiting recruitment of teacher educators.

The teacher recruitment procedure is somehow different in CHT from other parts of the country. Generally, this process is organised by hill district council and district primary education offices in CHT. As an academic supervisor (AS2) stated, "We are involved in the recruitment process but the district council chairman is the prime person in this recruitment process." I asked why indigenous people are not recruited as much as is needed at the local level school. He (AS2) explained:

> One factor is that there are no qualified indigenous people to take up appointments as teachers in rural areas in CHT. Another thing is that it is hard to reach there from town areas. Literate indigenous people in town get better jobs than school teachers. As a result, teachers are recruited from other communities to those schools. The availability of indigenous language teachers is also critical in CHT.

The above remark shows that there is a significant effort required to bring more diversity into teaching staffs at school level. As a consequence, I observed a good number of indigenous class teachers in CHT schools. To sum up, the majority of the CHT population are indigenous people. Therefore, their opinion suggests that any government organisation should maintain community representation based on equity and diversity principles.

Curriculum and teaching material for indigenous educational development

As a developing country, Bangladesh has been implementing a unique primary education national curriculum and a single set of textbooks. It was not possible to analyse the whole curriculum and all textbooks as a part of this study due to the large amount of content, so I selected the content that reflects the classroom observation subject matter at my study schools. Mainly, I examined how indigenous students' real world and cultural heritage is reflected in curriculum and in textbook content. The incorporation of learners' cultural heritage and custom has a positive link with diversity principles in primary education.

Indigenous language integration into primary education

The medium of language is an important issue for students. As a national curriculum in primary education in Bangladesh, the teaching medium is in Bangla and English. Because indigenous students have a low level proficiency in those languages, they face difficulties in classrooms in various ways. An academic supervisor (AS1) described:

> Indigenous students face difficulty in schools because their mother tongue language is not the medium of education. As mainstream students find it difficult to learn English so indigenous students find it difficult to learn the Bangla language. Therefore, they are not interested to attend school willingly.

His opinion indicates that indigenous students have been facing communication problems with class teachers due to the medium of teaching not being their mother tongue. Another subject specialist (SS1) added that:

> In the rural areas, there are many children of 6 or 6+ who have never heard the Bangla language. However, when they attend classes, they have to communicate using the Bangla language that for indigenous children is a strange language.

His opinion explicates the concern that rural indigenous children face difficulties in understanding the learning context when they first come to the school.

It is of key importance to know if there is a solution available to resolve this problem. One subject specialist (SS1), who is the author of a teacher education textbook, elaborated:

> We developed some reading materials for indigenous students in their own languages under UNDP project. Now, there is a need to appoint enough indigenous teachers who can read and write their language. Also needed are guidelines for implementing these materials. For example, if we use the reading materials and follow the approaches of instruction in early primary to primary

> matching their own culture and languages, it would be easy to make them feel in the mainstream and they will not feel disconnected from the main stream as well as their own environment. Now we found that the government has lagged behind a bit in ensuring they provide equity based facilities to the children in CHT.

The above response shows some progress has been made in implementing different indigenous languages in the school system; however, there is still the need for several activities to develop indigenous education.

Another subject specialist (SS2), who is the writer of the 'Bangladesh and Global Studies' textbook, commented on the same issue:

> Indigenous children have the right to speak and be educated in their own mother tongue. We need to support them to receive education in their own language. Activities or steps have been taken to solve this issue but it is just at the beginning level. I think up to grade three they should have scope to receive education through their own language.

Both subject specialists supported the introduction of teaching materials in indigenous languages. Similarly, an academic supervisor (AS2) shared his opinion about indigenous people's thinking. He said that a strong argument was raised by indigenous parents that their indigenous language needs to be a teaching medium for indigenous children.

However, other indigenous parents had different opinions. According to them, indigenous children would be overloaded by learning three languages. As they said, "Our children are facing trouble at the beginning of the current system to learn two languages, English and Bangla language; some of them have been successful and they are getting jobs in the government system. It is beneficial."

In fact, getting a government job is a significant issue in Bangladeshi socio-culture. Employment with the government is very lucrative because it is permanent and pensionable. The literate indigenous people, who possess proficiency in both Bangla and English, have been getting favour under the selection process of recruitment for government jobs. A subject specialist (SS1) concluded:

> One of the important elements of diversity is using mother tongue in education. Every ethnic minority peoples have their own languages and some of them have alphabets for the writing form. An interesting thing is that UNDP is working for upholding human rights for all. The constitution says that language and culture of every nation or race is to be supported with importance. We do so.

Part of the advocacy programs to change the medium of communication in classrooms may be to use various indigenous languages. For this, teacher assistantship can be sought from within indigenous communities as part of educational development in CHT.

Indigenous cultural integration into primary education

Indigenous cultural integration is another issue to take into consideration regarding primary education in CHT. In the meantime, representing indigenous cultures has become popular at local level cultural events. One academic (AS2) supervisor gave a positive example:

> I saw scout activities arranged by different primary schools at Thanchi Upazila sport ground. Every event showed cultural integration with participation of various indigenous communities. I observed that arts, craft and culture of various groups were used to help people communicate with each other and to create a friendly environment.

His opinion emphasises that indigenous cultures are rich and popular with both indigenous and mainstream people.

However, there is not enough reflection in the national school curriculum and textbooks that have been used as teaching materials in CHT schools. One subject specialist (SS2) explained the limitation on the issue:

> It is possible to reflect existing indigenous culture in primary school textbooks. However, I have to consider the present guidelines of education policy for textbook preparation. Especially we try to include the traditions of our society in our curriculum. Though the major portion of our population is Bengalese, we have also a small number of ethnic minority peoples. The main limitation is that we always develop the text books considering the children of the mainstream. Indigenous children do not find real pictures of their societies or family lives in their textbooks. As the text books are the single set for every student in the country, so it seems to be difficult to develop books with diverse facilities.

It is clear that to introduce a major part of indigenous culture into our national textbooks is not possible. Therefore, local level initiatives in developing teaching materials can create equitable environments for indigenous students.

There is a local UNDP office in BD district that has been collaborating with the Hill District Council primary education office. One education officer posted there, who is from an indigenous community, has an office at BD Hill District Council. I had an informal discussion with him about the UNDP development program regarding indigenous elementary education.

He pointed out the absence of indigenous cultural links throughout textbooks. He cited as an example: "I like to say something on mathematical problems. In the classroom, sometimes problems are illustrated with real life events. This is not followed at all in the mathematics textbook. I feel that teachers could use some stories including indigenous daily life events". This argument suggests that alternative textbooks that integrate indigenous cultures can be published for indigenous students.

Links with professional development for diversity education

Various types of professional development in primary education have been introduced by the national level management office. As I described in chapter one, long term and short term professional development courses in primary education have been conducted in Bangladesh. All the participants of this study (class teachers and head teachers) studied all the issues covered in the C-in-Ed course subject matter as part of their long term professional development. Major subjects of the C-in-Ed course are shown in Table 5.1.
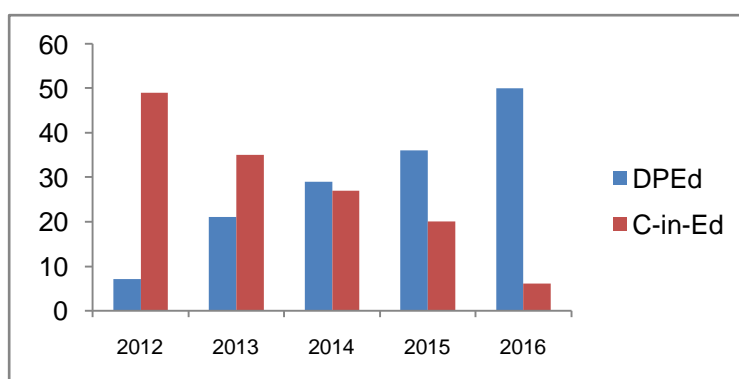
Figure 5.2: Step by step transition from C-in-Ed course to DPEd course

Source: National Academy for Primary Education (2016)

In addition, some PTIs have been completing a pilot for a Diploma in Primary Education (DPEd) introduced in 2012. At the time of writing the thesis in 2016, about 50 out of 56 PTIs have organised DPEd courses (Figure 5.2).Therefore, further research is needed to examine how the latest courses have integrated equity and diversity principles regarding indigenous children's education in the country. Even though it is not possible to analyse the whole teacher education curriculum as part of this study, it is possible to peruse the content for links with equity and diversity principles regarding indigenous children.

Overall, in the C-in-Ed course, there is no content title that is directly related to discussion of equity and diversity principles (Table 5.1). However, the newly introduced Diploma in Primary Education (DPEd) course has a link with equity and diversity principles in 'Inclusive Education' and 'Moral Education' subjects (Table 5.1). For example, teachers are required to demonstrate equity principles, inclusion and equal judgement during their moral teaching in classrooms.

In order to generate further understanding, I asked a teacher educator about the inclusion of equity and diversity in education content in various subject areas in

the C-in-Ed course. She (TE1) described:

> In fact, there is no chapter, heading or sub-heading with the title of equity and diversity in education in any subject in the C-in-Ed course. In a common way, we have to work with both indigenous and mainstream trainees. So, mutual understanding is required in this environment. In PTI, there are instructions that honour trainees' culture through practices. The trainee teachers have the opportunity to learn how to honour other cultures. For example, I observed with joy, the inclusion of indigenous dances and country songs in most cultural events at our PTI.

Her statement shows that the previous long term professional development course did not have any content regarding equity and diversity principles. During my field work, I had interactions with many class teachers and head teachers, most of whom had C-in-Ed curriculum based training. Therefore, these teachers did not have the opportunity to grow their awareness of equity and diversity principles during their long term professional development.

Table 5.1: Comparison of major subjects between C-in-Ed and DPEd courses

Features	C-in-Ed course introduced in 2001	DPEd course introduced in 2012
Duration	One year	One and half years
Major subject areas	A. Foundation subjects 1. Principles of education 2. Child psychology 3. Methods of education and Evaluation system B. School subjects 1. Bangla 2. English 3.Mathematics 4. Environmental Studies (Science) 5.Environmental Studies (Social Science) 6. Religion 7. Physical education 8. Art and craft C. Practice teaching D. Co-curriculum activities	A. Professional education subject 1. Introduction of pre-primary and primary education 2.Development and learning of child 3. Inclusive education and Moral education 4. Teaching-learning methods, techniques and evaluation 5. Action research 6. Values of religion and profession 7. Information and communication technology and library B. Subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge in 1. Bangla 2. English 3.Mathematics 4. Elementary Science 5.Bangladesh and Global Studies 6.Expressive Arts (Arts and crafts, physical education and song) C. School practicum
Discussion with equity and diversity content	There is no content that is directly concerned with equity and diversity principles in this course.	There are two components in the 'Professional Education' subject that are directly related to equity and diversity principles: 'Inclusive education' (in Part one: 1.5) and 'Moral education' (in Part three: 3.4).

Source :National Academy for Primary Education (2013).

As mentioned in chapter one, there is limited short term professional development for school teachers all over the country, referred to as sub-cluster and subject-based training. Academic supervisors conduct the sub-cluster training for school teachers at schools over a two months' interval. Upazila Resource Centre (URC) has been arranging subject based training for school teachers at their centre as a refresher

course. Even though most indigenous children study in CHT areas, there is no special professional development for primary school teachers that focuses on indigenous children's educational development in the three hills districts.

I asked a teacher educator at PTI whether she noted any difference in the achievement level between indigenous and mainstream trainees at PTI courses and she said:

> I feel indigenous trainees are a little weaker than mainstream trainees through the assessment system at PTI course. For example, I observed that mainstream trainees, about 20 percent, achieve high competency whereas only five percent of indigenous trainees achieve the same level in assessments.

The above statement indicates a common issue in the education department. I asked a similar question during my interview about short-term training programs for academic supervisors. Academic supervisor (AS2) clarified that: "I observed that some indigenous teachers are well qualified but many have difficulty understanding in-depth knowledge on teaching subjects." Therefore, there is strong justification that a special program is needed for indigenous educational development.

One subject specialist (SS1) focussed on teacher education during my interview discussion. As he described:

> The most important thing is that professional development of teachers plays a vital role in bringing diversity in school classrooms. It needs a special training program under an appropriate development project. For example, CHT district councils can arrange training programs for trainee teachers focussing on indigenous languages and cultural heritage. Three hill district PTIs need to be declared as specialized PTIs for indigenous educational development. These can run with training activities as per the needs of the local level teachers. Then it can play a role for more diversity education.

The quote illustrates that special professional development programs are needed for indigenous educational development. Still, there is no plan by the government to cater for this purpose.

I also asked a teacher educator (TE1) how she enjoyed her work at the PTI with both indigenous and mainstream trainee teachers. She described her experiences about ongoing training sessions in PTIs:

> The most enjoyable activity is the co-curriculum event at PTI and practice teaching at primary schools. These events happen in many diversity ways. This PTI is somehow special because many indigenous trainee teachers usually enrol in this institute. They have various cultural features. Sometimes, they (indigenous trainees) play their cultural events at these co-curriculum activities. Like me, other people at PTI enjoy those events.

Her opinion emphasises that cultural events of indigenous communities are targeted at enjoyment. Her posting at this PTI is different from other PTIs since most trainees

at the PTI come from indigenous communities. The opportunity to work with various people is also beneficial. I asked teacher educator (TE1）whether she observed any leadership development among indigenous trainees in PTIs. She said:

> In PTI, we get two types of indigenous trainees. For one group, I would say they have enough confidence in every sector such as patient learners, good gestures among people, participation and leadership for work. The other group is the opposite of this situation; these types of trainees mainly come from remote areas of CHT. They feel shy to speak with us in training sessions.

The above statement points out that a major proportion of indigenous trainee teachers feel shy to talk with other teacher educators, and that is particularly so for those who come from remote parts of CHT. However, professional development can play a role in improving equity and diversity education for indigenous children. Even though the recently introduced DPEd course has some content regarding diversity education, it is not enough; rather there is a need for more relevant professional development for indigenous educational development.

Teaching practices for celebrating equity and diversity learning

There is a strong argument in the primary education department that class teachers do not practise their teaching subject matter by employing techniques acquired through professional development. I asked a teacher educator if she observed any reflection of techniques acquired through professional development in subject matter. She (TE1) described:

> My observation is that trainee teachers are well prepared in practice teaching classrooms because their teaching is observed by teacher educators. In fact, in the presence of observers in these classrooms, their classroom activities are well organised. They are well prepared with time frames and innovative teaching materials. Moreover, indigenous trainees sometimes incorporate their cultural events into classroom teaching. For example, indigenous trainee teachers always try to play community based dances in classrooms.

From this illustration it can be said that, under supervision, classroom activities have been organised properly employing innovative ways. Even trainee teachers try to incorporate indigenous cultural linkages in diversity classrooms.

Similarly, I asked one academic supervisor in my interview with him about how professional development skills are implemented into classrooms at schools. He (AS2) said:

> Sometimes, I organise professional development programs with teachers. However, those training skills are not reflected in school classrooms. I am frustrated about this situation. In the primary education department in CHT the situation is worse than that of the plain land; plain land is closely observed by various officials. However, CHT have no close observation due to their remoteness. Even in training sessions, I feel

that teachers have good participation. However, I do not get proper reflections of that in classrooms during my classroom observations.

The opinion of this participant indicates that short term professional development is not fruitful for classroom activities particularly in CHT because this region is not closely observed by the school supervisors. In the same way a subject specialist (SS2) explained teachers' preparations for their classrooms activities:

> According to my observation, teachers have been acknowledging new learning techniques with innovative teaching materials anyway but they do not implement them in classrooms. Teachers are not motivated in this issue. They are still following the traditional methods in teaching. Present classroom practices are done using paper-pencil and instructions. Instead, teaching learning could be done in group work or with a practical approach. In regard to forming groups with mainstream and ethnic children, class teachers could organise various activities in classrooms, but this is not happening now.

I also discussed how teachers feel about working with weak students in the classroom, especially indigenous students, during their inclusive training. Moreover, I discussed how indigenous children can improve to attain equality with mainstream students.

Evidence of equity and diversity in development programs

In this section, I present the opinions of management personnel and academic people, reflect on the researcher's field notes, and refer to documents such as the government orders, circulations and guidelines for school management in order to analyse the extent to which equity and diversity principles are evident in indigenous educational development.

In fact, the development programs have a strong link with the political environment at development sites. A subject specialist (SS1) focussed on this issue and described the political issue, particularly in CHT:

> CHT has been suffering due to political problems since the formation of the Shantibahini (Peace force) in 1976. The unrest was aggravated due to the activities of the government of Bangladesh as well as the Bangladesh Army. As a result, all sorts of developments including in the education sector were interrupted.

His statement shows that a peaceful political situation is required for continuous development. Since 1976, CHT has seen only an unfavourable political situation. However, there was good news in 1997 when a peace agreement was made between Shantibahini and the Bangladesh government. It was anticipated that many development projects could work peacefully but the environment is still not so favourable.

There is a common argument that strategies for indigenous educational development in CHT have not been successful. First of all, an academic supervisor

(AS1) explained that:

> CHT development is behind that of the plain lands due to many limitations in various sectors including the primary education sub-sector. For example, in the plain lands, the development works have never stopped and are sometimes given extra attention. However, in CHT, developments have been stopped sometimes due to bad political circumstances. The relationship among the inhabitants is not good. The government agencies try to work but in most cases they have not been successful. Overall, development has not been achieved here, including primary education.

This quote illustrates that the development programs have been working together but only slowly.

In an interview with another subject specialist (SS2), I raised the issue of how local level management people are involved within development programs for primary education in CHT and whether there are barriers for development programs. He(SS2) described local level issues for indigenous educational development:

> We observe in developed countries that community involvement for educational development is a very important activity. However, we are unfortunate in this area for our basic educational development. Moreover, our community is not free from political influences. I think community participation and political autonomy can achieve a better result in this case.

The above comments talk about community involvement at the school level. The agent can look after the development program, yet close supervision can influence the effectiveness of ongoing development projects.

One participant (SS1) has been working as a consultant at UNDP Dhaka office regarding indigenous education development. From his experience through visiting CHT primary schools, this subject specialist (SS1) stated that:

> One barrier to the development of education is the shortage of educational institutes like schools in CHT. The number of schools is low in comparison to other parts of the country due to the low population in CHT. The government cannot give approval to set up a new school based on only 15 families in a village. However, children of those families are prevented from getting to school when they have to travel more than 6km from this village through hilly roads.

This opinion suggests that a separate school set-up policy is needed for the CHT region. The new policy could adopt a recommendation about setting up a mother school and sister schools, as raised by a participant in this study.

Participant (SS1) also referred to the previous 'The Second Primary Education Development Program(PEDP-II 2004-2010)' and the current PEDP-III:

> There is an evaluation report on the implementation of the PEDP-II activities at primary education department. The PEDP-II was terminated in 2011 without implementing many projects. Sometimes, a project has partially worked. For

example, there is a nice students' accommodation that was built under PEDP-II at Thanchhee Upazila. However, there is no budget for maintaining the accommodation by the PEDPII. Still students cannot live in the accommodation in 2013. I am a member of the steering committee for discussing PEDPIII progress. I tried several times to focus on CHT issues. Even in the joint review meeting of PEDP-III the issue is discussed but the meeting made little response to it. I think that most members have no in-depth knowledge about the CHT issues.

From this description, we can realise the current development situation for indigenous educational development. I also observed some evidence which indicates that enough development programs exist in departmental planning documents but the reality is different. For example, I observed a new building at School B; this was built to use as accommodation for remote students but it could not function properly without adequate fund allocation from the project.

However, some good examples could be found in Bangladesh. For instance, various development projects such as the stipend program and teachers' recruitment quota for women have brought satisfactory levels of gender equity in primary education. As one participant (AS2) cited:

I feel that gender equity has developed enough in this region. We can follow a similar development policy for indigenous children because equity for indigenous people is still an issue being discussed. In remote areas, most students are indigenous and their education situation is not satisfied.

This is a good suggestion for further development work targeted at developing indigenous education. It is true that primary education has made a remarkable achievement in terms of bringing gender equity to Bangladesh.

Recommendation for further development of indigenous education

Throughout my interview discussions, some participants recommended actions for the educational development of indigenous children in CHT. Firstly, one subject specialist (SS1) talked about school holidays. He pointed out that not all indigenous students are Muslim and do not even know about the Ramadan or Eid, but they enjoy the long vacation whereas they get only a one-day vacation for their own festivals. For this we need to introduce local schools calendars instead of following the National Calendar. The local calendar could introduce a long vacation during their festivals or for the harvesting season of Jhum Cultivation.

Secondly, one important recommendation raised by a subject specialist (SS1) was that the government should review the rules for setting up new primary schools and their management systems. As he (SS1) described:

Primary education should be shifted to the Hill District Councils authority. The law already exists. Here in the acts it is mentioned that primary education must be

administered considering the emotion, culture, faiths, and demands of the local people here. They also can set up primary schools. The problem is that this is not implemented yet. For this, we think no progress will occur unless all activities of hilly areas are shifted to the District councils of CHT completely. Special types of schools, curriculum incorporating their culture and languages, building hostels for students, and language based teachers should be recruited in CHT.

These responses clearly suggest that empowerment of local level government is key to developing primary education management in CHT. The idea would be to set up sister schools in small villages and mother schools in big villages; further to this, I suggest, setting up mother primary schools at the mid-point so the small villages can seek support from them. There is also a need to set up a hostel at the mother school, otherwise it cannot ensure the presence of students at mother school. Similarly, an academic supervisor (AS1) suggested that every village needs a primary school because still many indigenous students do not come to school from a long distance.

Finally, the participants had a strong recommendation that the types of staff duties in the primary education department should be streamlined. The main duty of an Assistant Upazila Education Officer (AUEO) is as an academic supervisor, but they have to perform other duties regardless of education management. An academic supervisor (AS2) explored this as follows: we have to do office management, financial management, special project supervision and duty of election commission. These types of duties hampered the local level education management. In particular, they could not achieve the target of academic supervision of schools and professional development of teachers. Particularly, there are a small number of management posts and the communication system is poor in CHT.

As an academic supervisor explained:

> Schools are situated in remote areas which are far away from our office. Entering into these schools is very difficult by foot or boat due to the hilly topography. Everybody has to go to trouble to reach there. Another issue is that local people do not get appointments as teachers at these schools due to lack of educational qualifications. As a result, teachers have to come to schools from towns, experiencing similar suffering on their travels to schools.

The reality is that there are many activities at the upazila management office apart from school supervision yet there are not enough staff recruited to carry out the tasks. As a result, most academic supervisors have to work outside of school supervision duties.

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented data that were collected in the form of opinions from management personnel such as academic supervisors and academic people including teachers' educators and subject specialists in primary education. I was able to interview five participants in management and academic roles and from these interviews collected significant information regarding equity and diversity for indigenous students in primary education. These participants' opinions have deepened understanding of affordances and constraints at academic and management level situations. I have presented my observations and informal discussion notes in this section. At the beginning of my fieldwork, obtaining various types of permission was important for my study. From the national level to the school level, I got approval without much difficulty.

First of all, the presented data indicate that the hierarchical system in school management accounts for many of the problems being encountered in CHT. The recruitment, posting, and job areas are organised and controlled by this top-down management system. SMC does not have any involvement in organising these important activities, rather SMC works as a co-operating associate for non-academic activities such as special day observing, sports day organisation etc.

Secondly, I observed a significant issue in that in CHT they do not have a quota system for recruiting personnel based on community representation. Almost all recruited personnel were from a mainstream community at the district and upazila level. Even majority mainstream staff do not prefer postings to the CHT region; they have been working in this region without enjoying the work environment.

Thirdly, these participants agreed about the importance of integrating indigenous languages and cultures within teaching materials through local level initiatives in CHT. In addition, until recently the main source of professional development has been the C-in-Ed course in which there was no subject matter on equity and diversity in education. The newly introduced DPEd course does have some links with that subject matter. Besides this, indigenous communities' participation would be supportive for better results in this area.

Finally, according to the academic supervisors, most teachers could create a more diversity classroom environment by implementing activity-based teaching in their classrooms but regrettably they continue to teach in conventional ways, particularly in CHT schools. In the next four chapters data from the four case study schools are represented and analysed.

CHAPTER6: CASE STUDY SCHOOL A

Introduction

I spent almost 14 school days in School A during the months of October and November in 2013. Initially, I started there in informal discussions with the head teacher who is from a mainstream background. He was a welcoming and co-operative person who also assisted with organising my project work. I also had informal discussions with a few class teachers and students at the school.

I observed two types of reactions from the class teachers as I shared my objectives about how their activities co-ordinated with my research project. Most teachers reacted positively towards hosting my study in their school but there were some whose reactions were not accommodating. For example, one class teacher's reaction was "you can finish your data collection within 3 to 4 days so why do you need to stay here so many days. We would set up enough students as participants in your research." I politely explained that, for my work, I needed to stay nearly two weeks at each school.

Initially, I collected basic information about the school. I then sketched a profile of the school by observing the information board and enlisted required help from the school management staff. Within a few days, I became familiar with general routines of the school and participated in classroom activities with teachers and students. Primarily, I conducted non-formal observations including informal discussions with the school staff and students about their daily activities, feelings and reactions. After this I undertook more formal activities such as participant classroom observations and focus group discussions, and held interviews with participants.

Profile of the school

The school is situated in a rural area about six kilometres away from Bandarban town. The Rangamati to Bandarban road runs past it at the north side (see Figure 6.1). Buses and auto rickshaws are the common means of transport available for visitors for going to the school. However, most students come on foot. There are small shopping stores near the school.

The name of school comes from the name of the village. The catchment area of the school is diverse, with a mix of indigenous and mainstream people. For example, many Marma, Chakma, Tanchangya and Tripura families live nearby the school. Even so, the majority of the families living around the school are from mainstream

background.

CR   CR   CR

CR

CR

Office room

roo   Play ground   Road

SH   SH   SH
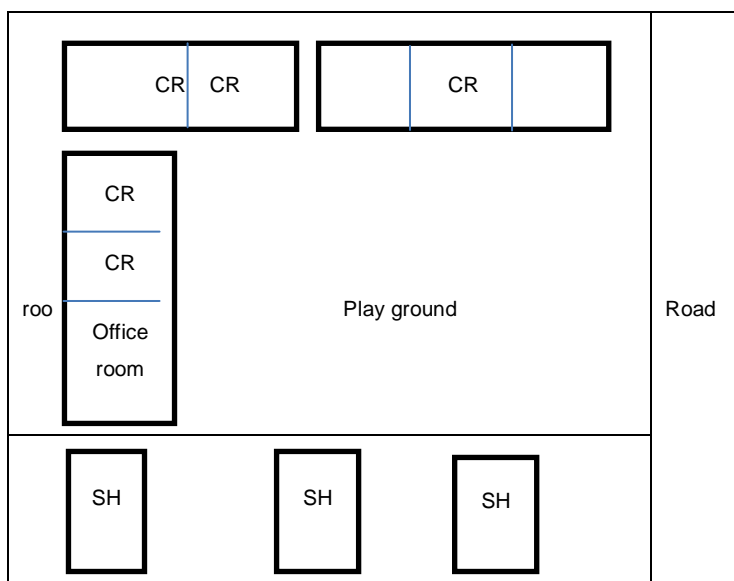
Notes: CR-classroom   SH- student hostel

Figure 6.1: The map of school A

The school is well known in the region for three main reasons: first, it is an old primary school; second, many educated people from the region are former students of the school; and third, since the 1990s the school has been providing a special accommodation facility to indigenous students so students living in the remote areas can stay and study.

Table 6.1: Statistical data of students and teachers of School A

Features	Status	Indigenous representation	Mainstream Representation
Number of students	954	249 (26%) Marma 158, Chakma 18, Tanchangya 29, Mro 8, Tripura 19, Bawm 10, Khyang 7	705 (74%)
Number of teachers	12	2 (17%) Chakma 1,Tanchangya1	10 (83%)
Teacher-student ratio	1:80	1:125	1: 71
Number of classrooms	10		
Number of office rooms	1		
Number of hostel buildings	4	All resident students are indigenous; about 75 students live there.	

Officially the school is categorised as a rural school with a large number of students. It has a high ratio of teachers and students (1:80). The percentage of indigenous children is 26 out of the total enrolment of students, with various indigenous groups represented (Table 6.1). Table 6.1 shows that Marma (158), Chakma (18),

Tanchangya (29), Tripura (19), Mro (8), Bawm (10) and Khyang (7) are the indigenous students in the school. The number of indigenous teachers is comparatively low in regard to the number of indigenous students (Table 6.1). This indicates that there is a mismatch with regard to managing diversity in the school.

Typical study days in the school

I rented a place at a hotel located in the centre of Bandarban town. Every weekday morning (Saturday to Thursday), I prepared for my activities at the school. Locally, it was the late autumn and days mostly had clear sky and sunshine. This type of weather is particularly favourable for movement in the hilly regions. In general, I took a taxi from Bandarban town and arrived at the main gate of the school by 9.30 am.

Often, the school office was not open at that time. This provided me with an opportunity to observe students playing in the school playground, as a non-participant observer. It is a common practice in the rural primary schools in Bangladesh that many students come to school early, even one hour early, to play with their friends and fellow classmates. The school assembly was held at the playground at about 9.30 am regularly. Generally, I took part as a class teacher in the assembly.

After the assembly, I checked my daily activity plan. To begin with, I would spend some time with the Head teacher and the class teachers if needed. I sought acknowledgement from teachers to allow me to participate in their classes. In particular for me, it was especially important to communicate with class teachers to set a time for non-participant or participant classroom observations and for work with students. Generally, I stayed till the end of the school time at 4.20 pm. I took notes in my diary about the activities that I observed in the school. At a glance, Tables 6.2 and 6.3 present daily-based activities categorising them into two dimensions: formal and informal activities.

Formal activities in the school

According to my modified ethnography research approach I conducted a number of formal activities (Table 6.2). Generally in the morning I spent some time in the school office room for preparation. There are 12 teachers in this school including one Head teacher and two indigenous teachers. They usually sit at their own desk in the office room. The Head teacher gave me permission to use a desk in the room. In general, teachers stay here during their off- time of classes, at lunchtime and during other break times.

I observed that during school lunchtime, they talked with each other about their daily life activities. Some of them were chattier and some of them were quieter. It was interesting to observe that both indigenous teachers were quieter. Also interesting was the fact that I did not observe the teachers discuss academic issues during the time I spent at the school. Most of the discussions that took place between teachers were focused on daily life activities such as shopping, politics, travelling. Sometimes, they were seen assessing exam papers of the students.

Table 6.2: Day to day formal activities in School A

Day	Activity	Brief description
1	Discussion with head teacher	Permission for my seating place, overall working plan at the school; consents, permission from parents and SMC members and hand over to head teacher of the Letter of Introduction and consent form for distribution.
	Discussion with class teachers	Plan of classroom activities, handover of Letter of Introduction and consent forms to class teachers.
2	Participation in school assembly	Introduction of myself with all students; my role was very simple, working just as class teachers.
	Discussion with three class teachers (SKT, LRD & SUB)	Consent agreement with class teachers, managing the parental consent.
3	Non-participant classroom observation.	Observing a classroom with a class teacher and I sat just behind students' seats in the classroom and took notes.
4	Participant classroom observation	I conducted grade 5 with mathematics, I tried to understand the responses of both indigenous and mainstream to the subject matter.
5	Non-participant classroom observation	A class teacher conducted the class and I sat just behind students' seats in the classroom.
6	Participant observation	I conducted mathematics class with grade five students. Attendance 44 students, I tried to understand the student interactions, behaviour and attitudes to each other.
7	Non-participant observation	Classroom observation with a class teacher to understand indigenous children's situations in classroom
8	Participant observation	I organised the grade five classrooms with 25 students. Here, I conducted pair work, group work according to lesson. I tried to understand how they participated in sharing ideas.
9	FGD	Four SMC members were present at my FGD. Two members came from indigenous group and two members from mainstream group. The focus group discussion was organised in a room in the school building. FGD was recorded on a voice recorder.
10	Two class teachers Interview	The interviews were held in a room at level one in a classroom after school. Interviews were conducted with two class-teachers: those codes were SKT and SUB.
11	One class teacher and head teacher interview	The interviews were conducted in the same room with one class teacher whose code was LRD and the head-teacher's code was HT1.
12	Children's stories, illustration and photo (Work with students)	Children's stories, illustrations and photos Primarily I did everything for ethical approval from students and parents.
13	Work with students	Favourite school activities Student's friendship with classmates Student's favourite teachers
	Documents collection	I got some relevant documents to examine.

According to the school routine, grades four and five had lessons everyday on four main subjects: Bangla, English, Mathematics, and Bangladesh and Global studies. Five class teachers taught these subjects. First, I prepared a list of teachers and students in those classes. Then I sent a Letter of Introduction along with a consent form to each of the teachers and students inviting them to participate in the project. Finally, I created a list of class teachers and students who gave consent to participate in the study (Table 6.3). I also considered the participants' willingness to take part in the project, indigenous representation, mainstream representation and equal gender representation from class teachers and students. I organised with these three classes to gather data through non-participant and participant classroom observations, and working with students. The teachers also were available for semi-structured interviews.

Table 6.3: List of class teachers for classroom observations and interviews

Classroom	Class teacher Code	Subject	Total Number of students
Grade 5 Section A	SK T (IT)	English	68
Grade 4	SUB (MT)	Mathematics	84
Grade 5 Section A	LRD (MT)	Bangladesh and Global Studies	68

Initially, I discussed with the head teacher that I would like to teach some classes just like a class teacher. I organised the classroom to observe how indigenous students engage in the classroom. At the same time, I had an agreement with class teachers that I would be able to organise the classroom by myself.

For the purpose of conducting interviews and focus group discussion, the head teacher arranged a silent room. He also played a vital role in obtaining consent from the members of School Management Committee (SMC) and parents of participating students. Consequently, as shown in Table 6.2 day12, I worked with selected students from grade five in the school. I received permission from the head teacher to organise special classroom activities with 20 selected students. Following a purposive sampling procedure, I selected 20 students from grade five including 13 indigenous students and 7 mainstream students. The indigenous students represented Chakma, Mro, Tripura and Marma communities. These students and their parents gave me consent for conducting research activities.

There were more than 20 desks in the classroom, so I instructed students to sit each at one desk following the rule of one person occupying one desk. I made a list of their names with codes and gave every student a pen, pencil, eraser and a pencil cutter. The students were instructed to draw three circles in the centre of the paper as shown in Figure 6.2. The students were also instructed to write down their own name, two close friends' names, and three friends' names in the centre of the first circle, second circle and outer circle respectively. They were happy to draw the diagram. I also enjoyed this activity.
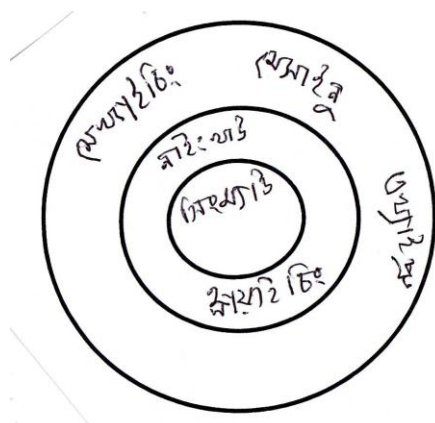
Figure6. 2: A student's product from the activity

Following this activity I asked the students to write the names of their two favourite teachers in the school. Moreover, the students were asked to write the names of two activities they enjoyed most at school, and to write the names of two subjects at school that they would like to draw or take a photograph of.

Table 6.4: School A students' favourite activities and favourite subject matters

Student Diversity		Favourite teachers	Favourite activities	Favourite things to -	
				draw	take photo of
Indigenous	Chakma 2, Mrown 1, Tripura 2, Marma 8 Total indigenous students 13	IS-IT = 8 IS-MT = 18	Game activity, singing, dancing, recitation, story, smiling behaviour, clean classroom, school gardening	Hilly scenery, Scenery of Village, Indigenous daily life	Class teacher, Close friend Children
Mainstream	7	MS-IT=0 MS-MT =14	Game activity, singing songs , using picture, smiling behaviour, no corporal punishment, drawing, English conversation in classroom	Scenery of Village Water cycle Scenery of town Picture of hills Picture of school	Classroom, Close friend Class teacher

Notes: IS-Indigenous student IT=Indigenous teacher, MS- Mainstream student, MT-Mainstream teacher

From the task, it can be seen as presented in Table 6.4 that favourite activities of students are mainly game-related activities, dancing, singing, watching pictures, listening to stories, smiling behaviours of teachers and teachers' discussion in the classrooms. These activities are representative of activities in the educational literature that support student-centred learning(Primary School Performance Monitoring Project, 2001). Many indigenous students responded that their favourite activity is dancing while none of the mainstream students mentioned this activity; this is indicative of the strong link dancing has to indigenous culture and is a reflection of the relevance for teachers of including cultural activities. In relation to the subject matter students liked to draw, most students depicted villages, schools and hills. Indigenous students' drawing of hills connects with their strong links to their geographical setting. The following day, students were asked to draw and write about their favourite school activities and I asked them to describe in a few sentences why they enjoyed those activities.

Informal activities in the school

During my time at the school, I conducted informal activities such as observations and discussions with class teachers, students or other people who volunteered to provide information regarding my research (Table 6.5). I enjoyed observations at lunch time breaks in the school, referred to as tiffin time. At lunch, students were busy chatting, playing and relaxing in the school grounds while I chatted with them, exchanging views about their school lives.

Day 1 afternoon, I had an informal discussion with one indigenous teacher. She described how she came from another district to Bandarban district. Her birth place was in the Khagrachari hill district and she had grown up there. At a young age, she came to Bandarban district to teach. She is happy with her work. However, her realisation is that many indigenous children are still not attending school due to their poor socio-economic situation and lack of parents' awareness about the value of education.

Day 2, I conducted an informal discussion with a mainstream class teacher. She described: "Student-student relationships depend on their social relations. I see that most of these people, either indigenous people or Bengalese people, live in rural or remote areas. Only some multicultural people (people from various descents) are living together in urban areas. I think that except for the urban families, most families have some negative information about making friendships between indigenous and mainstream children." She also pointed out that sometimes she tried to rearrange

their sitting positions; but when she leaves the class, they move to seats where they sat previously. Every class had some relaxation time. Then students gossip with each other, and for easy communication students like to make friends from within their own language peers.

Day 3, I had free time in the staff room. One female visitor came to the office to meet with the head teacher. She introduced herself as a field worker from a non-government organisation (NGO). Her name is RC (code). She described how the NGO was involved in an indigenous language training development project. The training program, however, was focused on only Marma language. I discussed this opportunity with her to see if children from other indigenous groups could be engaged and she explained that the NGO started the program targeting only the Marma group.

Table 6.5: Informal activities in School A

Day	Informal activities	Description
1	Discussion with school staff, class teachers and students. Observation of normal daily activities or practices	To create an easy and comfortable environment with school people through friendly behaviour and dealing with school staff and students, not expecting a special greeting from school staff and students, just 'ice breaking' in the school.
2	Discussion with some indigenous students, class teachers Assembly observation School routine observation	Friendly discussion with some students in the playground and school corridors. How is the assembly managed in the playground?
3	Discussion with NGO worker	Involvement of NGO workers regarding issues for the school.
4	Observation of informal playing of students at playground Discussion with an indigenous teacher	Try to find out how students relate to each other in the natural environment.
5	Assembly observation	How students maintain equity and diversity activities in a big gathering.
6	Discussion with mainstream class teacher	Her beliefs about indigenous children, and why many indigenous students like her.
7	Observation of informal playing of students at playground	How students make friends in an informal environment
8	Observation on the way to school from a village	How students deal with friendship or avoiding each other.
9	Observation of informal playing of students at playground	How students make friends in an informal environment
10	Discussion with class teacher (MDM)	How she feels about the relationship between indigenous and mainstream students
11	Assembly observation	To observe student-student interactions
12	Informal discussion with an indigenous teacher.	To find out the major problems of indigenous students: reflection of culture into education.
13	Informal discussion with a SMC member	Sharing ideas focusing on indigenous educational development

Day 4, I talked with an indigenous class teacher in the school about the manner in which indigenous children make friends in the school setting. He described, "Indigenous students like to make friends with students from within their own ethnic group because they feel comfortable to chatter among themselves". He also mentioned pedagogy and said, "Since the teaching style is not a block teaching system, rather period based teaching in every class, every 40 minutes teachers have to change their classrooms. Therefore, it is difficult to organise group work or pair work with 40 students within this time frame."

Day 5, I discovered that two teachers including one indigenous teacher regularly came to school early. They also were sincere about their duties. They were always busy with work according to the head teachers' instructions. I noticed that they did not spend time chatting with other teachers in the staffroom. It appeared to me that indigenous teachers are more actively involved than mainstream teachers with teaching duties at the school.

Day 6, I had an informal discussion with an indigenous student, where I noticed that there were a few students who wore Buddhist religious dress and one of them was MP (nick name). I had a discussion with MP regarding his choice of dress in the school. MP said, "A few days ago, my father died. According to Buddhist religious custom I have to wear this dress." He was living in a Buddhist mote (religion place) near the school where he received free food. He has not experienced any frustrations with this arrangement. He feels that all Bengali students are well behaved but some of them criticised him, particularly when he wore this type of unstitched dress of red colour and loose, and some of them (Mainstream) laughed at him when they saw him in religious dress. It is one important example to illustrate that indigenous students are not learning in an accepting environment.

Equity and diversity practices for indigenous students

The analysis offered in this section deals with ongoing school issues related to the equity and diversity needs of the indigenous students. Based on my research questions and conceptual framework, six major categories are used to synthesise the data: (1) teacher-student interactions (2) student-student interactions, (3) supporting teaching materials, (4) supporting professional development of teachers, (5) school governance and leadership, and (6) teaching practices for celebrating equity and diversity education.

Teacher-student relationships and interactions

Sagar and Poulson's (2003)argument was that most studies in the field of

indigenous education have focused on quantitative analysis. Therefore, this current research analysis covers a wider range of teacher-student relationships. Generally, teachers' beliefs, attitudes and actions are important factors for developing teacher-student relationships. Kaur (2012, p486) identified the features of inequality regarding teachers' talk in classrooms. At the same time, teachers' actions in classrooms are also important data for identifying issues.

Teachers' beliefs and attitudes

The most striking observation to emerge from the data is that mainstream class teachers considered indigenous children as comparatively lower achievement students. During my non-participant classroom observations, class teachers sometimes preferred to select mainstream students to answer their questions. A class teacher (LRM) explained, "In fact, indigenous children who come from remote areas primarily feel shy and are afraid of mainstream teachers in the school. Since they do not speak proper Bangla, they just sit in the classroom silently. They do not say anything even if they forget to bring their learning materials."

In the school, I observed this similar type of interaction among the teachers and students. As a mainstream class teacher (SUM) explained:

> The mainstream teachers and the indigenous students do not talk much with each other. When teachers say something in Bengali language; indigenous students cannot comprehend the full meaning of the subject matter. That is where the problem lies for developing relationships among them.

The above quote is strong evidence that relationships between mainstream class teachers and indigenous students do not support quality teaching and learning in the CHT schools.

I asked what class teachers believe are the differences in achievement between indigenous and mainstream students in the classroom. Class teacher (SKI) illustrated:

> I would say that it depends on awareness of parents; it means high achievement of those students whose parents have enough awareness. However, many indigenous families live in remote areas in CHT. Children from those families have low levels of achievement. Similarly, I have observed that when children first arrive at our school accommodation from remote areas, they cannot speak any Bangla or English language.

The above comment indicates that indigenous students in remote areas have low level achievement in CHT. Another class teacher (SUM) explained his view about the difference between indigenous students' and mainstream students'

achievement in the classroom. He claimed that the achievement levels of the two groups are not similar; only in urban areas is there similar achievement but students from rural and remote areas are different.

Figure 6.3 shows that one indigenous teacher (SKI) was considered to be popular among the indigenous students in the school. One of the students (3LMI) described the teacher as follows:

> SKT sir is my favourite teacher because his appearance is good. He loves us. We also love him. He teaches us giving all potential. We always see his smiling face. He never does something to cause our rudeness. We behave well with him. Many of our friends also like him.

This quote indicates that a smiling face and teacher's sincerity are important for becoming popular among the students.
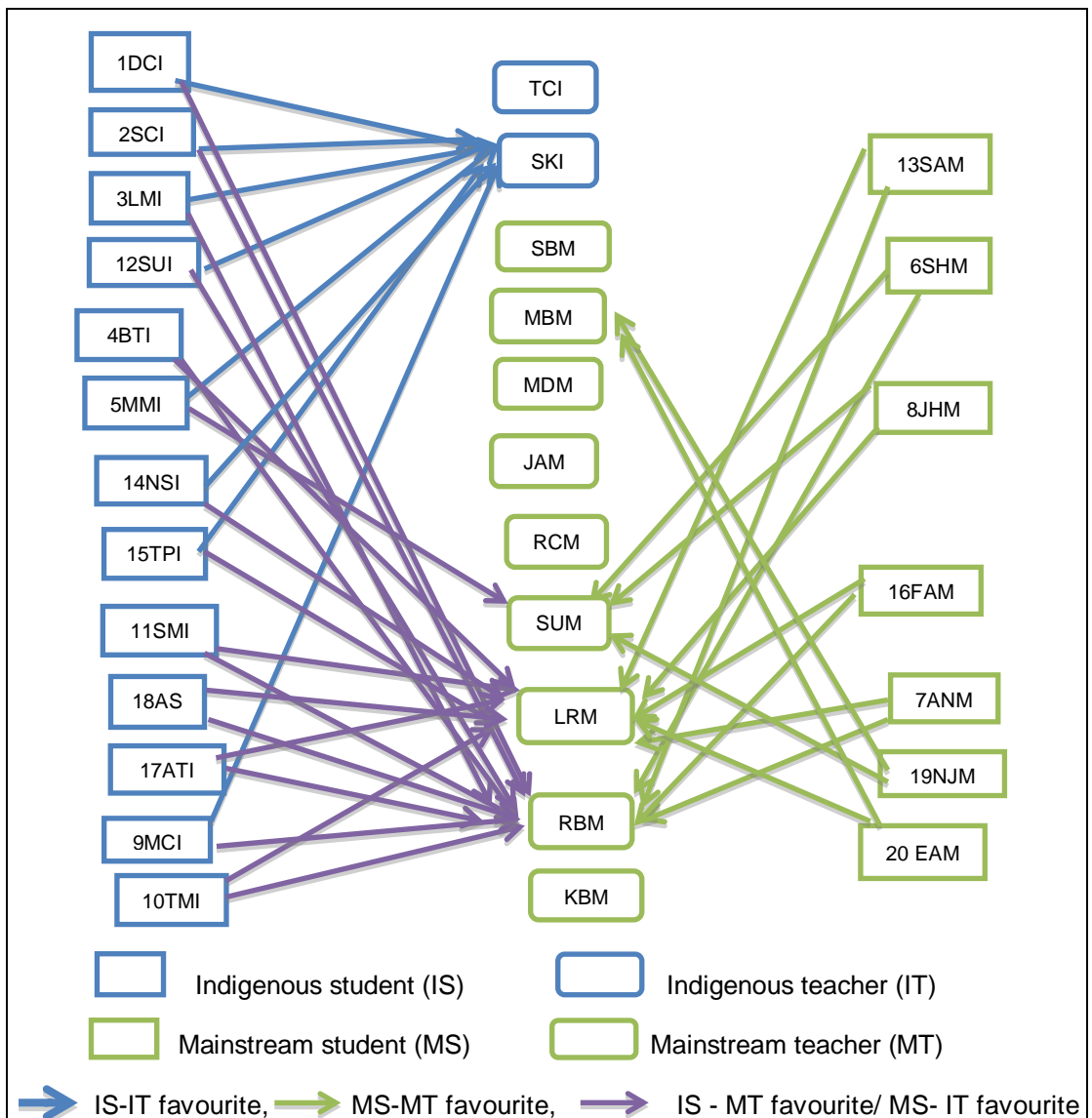
Figure: 6.3: Favourite class teachers' nominations by students at School A

Similarly, Figure 6.3 shows that one mainstream teacher (SUM) was regard as a favourite among the mainstream students (MS-MT relationship). One mainstream student (8JHM) explained her opinion (through photo taken of this teacher and description of this favourite teacher):

> SUM is my warm-hearted teacher. He makes a lot of enjoyable game activities in our classrooms. He has a good explaining ability. He is affectionate towards us. I think I will never forget him. I have got a high score because he has taught us well. Not only me, other students also liked him.

These descriptions provided by students reveal important information about the school teachers' behaviours in working with their students.

Support of parents is vital for a teacher to be able to create a positive relationship between teachers and students. A mainstream class teacher (SUM) shared with me his own experiences. As he (SUM) said:

> I believe that teaching is a very good profession. Students demonstrate honour not only in school but also outside the school. Moreover, parents of students also show us acknowledgement and express good will towards us. Sometimes, parents invite me to attend a tea party in a restaurant. However, we never get similar responses from the indigenous parents.

The above quote indicates that communication between parents and class teachers leaves an important impact on students' learning. From a head teacher's (HT1) statement: "Both indigenous and mainstream parents believe that there might be some problems between them that has an effect on our schools and social system." Therefore, this issue has been influencing family lives and the school environment.

During my field work time in this region, I observed many formal social events where both mainstream and indigenous peoples were present; mostly indigenous peoples were less talkative in those environments. In fact, indirectly, social class is imposed and it is recognised that mainstream people have higher class status than indigenous people. In the school environment, I observed a similar situation in classrooms. Generally indigenous teachers and students were quieter than mainstream teachers and students.

I asked a class teacher (SKI) about teachers' attitudes towards students in this school. He shared his own experience that:

> I have observed most teachers either from mainstream or indigenous are not cheerful in the classroom; rather, they sit on a chair just like statues. I think primary school teachers should be joyful and friendly with their students and this attitude makes them popular among their students. I see that when students ask something, some teachers are rude towards their students.

This response indicates that most class teachers do not appear with a smile on their faces in the classrooms. Further, some teachers still do not support the idea that friendly behaviours are important all the time for developing positive relations between students and teachers. For instance, one mainstream teacher (LRM) explained that, "I think that in school time if we (teachers) show friendly behaviour with students, they (students) do not obey us; rather they become naughtier day by day." An interesting issue is that this teacher (LRM) had higher popularity among both indigenous and mainstream students (Figure 6.3).

This teacher's story, typical of the mix of positive and negative attitudes of many primary school teachers in the department, was not surprising. There also were examples at school of both dedicated and non-dedicated teachers' attitudes to their profession. It seemed to me that non-dedicated teachers were less interested in developing relationships between students and teachers. Moreover, they did not feel comfortable working with diverse student groups.

All over the world, unemployment is an important issue and in Bangladesh there are too many educated people who are still suffering a job crisis. As a result, many well educated people choose to be primary school teachers even though they do not like the job due to the low salary system. During my fieldwork, many teachers showed their frustrations. As a result, they did not feel motivated to build-up themselves as quality teachers. Another class teacher (SUB)felt frustration due to other teachers' criticism. As he (SUB) explained:

> Some colleagues feel jealous of me due my sincerity for this school. I used to come to school before 9 am (earlier). Besides this, I like to prepare our school field for assembly by cleaning rubbish and dust. Some of my colleagues criticize me for my role; they even called me (criticize) a Personal Assistant of the head teacher in this school. Then I feel very bad.

This quote indicates that some class teachers discourage other teachers in various ways due to their jealousy. Therefore, negative attitude of teachers also affect teacher-student relationships.

However, some teachers have a positive motivation towards their profession even though the salaries are relatively lower than in other government services. For example, indigenous teacher (SKI) was often asked by his friends why he works as a primary school teacher with a low salary. This teachers' opinion is that, "I feel comfortable working with young children in primary school."

Another valuable source of data on teacher-student relationships was from the photo taking and describing the photo task undertaken by students. Two students

106

(16FAM and 17ATI) took photos of their favourite class teachers and described their favourite teachers' behaviour. The mainstream student (16FAM) described her mainstream class teacher (RBM):

> She has a good ability for teaching. I have a good feeling for her. I will never forget her. She never beats us. I respect her. However, sometimes she becomes impolite. She scolds us but does not hit us. She can be verbally rude but her mind is very polite. She loves us.

The student's opinion indicates that teachers' attitudes play a great inspiring role in their lives. The students expressed a positive impression that teachers may have been verbally rude but very are basically polite. Therefore, teachers' attitude influences students. When a student points out that her favourite teacher never beats them, this implies that corporal punishment is still a common practice in the school. In addition, from students' statements some words such as rudeness, impolite, beaten are indicative of the negative impact of teachers' behaviours for developing positive relationships between teachers and students. These types of practices do not support equity and diversity among the various ethnic peoples.

Similarly, an indigenous student (17ATI) wrote about this same mainstream class teacher (RBM):

> She has a smiling face during our learning times. She recalls hard subject matter in our class room when we do not understand that. Sometimes, she writes some questions on the blackboard and we write the answers. I do not feel good without the teacher in this school.

The above quote indicates that the teacher (RBM) has great motivating power and quality in teaching students. She tried her best putting in efforts to teach both indigenous and mainstream students. This made her popular among the students (See Figure 6.3).

The majority of the teachers showed positive attitudes about their students' success, particularly school test results. Both class teachers and the head explored their last year's successful results. For example, one class teacher (LRM) cited: "I feel happy when I see students doing well in their final assessment; I get inspiration to teach the students." When I looked over some students' assessment sheets of the previous test in the school, indigenous students did not achieve a similar assessment level as mainstream students' level.

Teachers' actions

Modern pedagogy provides a range of teaching strategies for teachers to use in

classrooms. One important strategy is that class teachers should try to call their students by their names in the classroom. Generally, this type of practice is helpful for the development of relationships between teachers and students. Downer et al. (2010, p704)clearly explained that teachers generate a welcoming atmosphere mentioning students by name and this action provides individualized attention to students.

However, in my non-participant observations, I sensed that many class teachers do not know the names of their students. It was evident that mainstream class teachers could not pronounce the indigenous students' names. Moreover, I observed that when a class teacher (LRM) called the students in her classroom, she did not call them by name. In most cases the teacher said "You". In fact, she knows the names of only a few students in that class. During the interview discussion, this class teacher (LRM) said: "The names of Indigenous people are hard to pronounce." She also defended herself by citing that a number of students come to school only one day a week due to poor communication between their homes and the school. It is hard for a class teacher to remember the names of those absenting students.

I examined teacher-student interactions more closely by mapping their relationships based on students' nominations of favourite teachers. Figure 6.3 represents a profile of teachers' and students' relationships in the school. Specifically, students gave me feedback by identifying two favourite teachers' names. Figure6.3 illustrates that teacher-student relationships, for the most part, co-exist among their own homogenous group. Notably, mainstream students nominated only mainstream teachers as their favourite teachers. Nominations by indigenous students indicated that both indigenous and mainstream teachers are 'favourite' teachers.

Albeit in a limited way, some teachers tried to be inclusive. Even though I did not observe any teachers' assistants, one class teacher (LRM) mentioned that sometimes a volunteer worked with her in the classroom as a translator from Marma language. Within a few days, students from Marma community could understand Bangla language and that suggests this is a very helpful way to solve the language problems in the school. At this school students enjoy cultural events. For example, one class teacher (SUB) believed she had good relationships with students due to his role as a cultural events teacher. He said, "The head teacher gave me a special duty for teaching and organizing cultural events in the school. I feel happy to do this duty." Another class teacher (LRM)

explained to me: "There is a class teacher from Marma group in this school; we ask her for some Marma words for better communication with Marma children." This activity helped her to develop interactions with indigenous children.

In summary, student-teacher interactions demonstrated through teachers' behaviour, beliefs and attitudes show that mutual understanding, respect and feeling for each other are still problematic in the school. The indigenous students are more affected due their ethnic status. Specifically, second language teaching pedagogy, along with the low representation of indigenous teaching staff and poor socio-economic conditions, contribute to this situation.

Relationships and interactions between the indigenous and mainstream students

Peer relations involve much more than what occurs in classrooms. I was interested to observe peer interactions among the students in the school environment both formally and informally to better understand the way in which indigenous and mainstream students interact and whether the nature of those relationships could shed light on social inclusion at the school.

School A had a large number of students (954) and many students arrived earlier than school start time. So, in order to interact with those students within this informal context, I arrived at the school early in the morning. Most students come to school on foot with a small group of peers. I talked with them and found that most of the group members are neighbours. Interestingly, I also observed many groups of school students on the way to the school. They were either all indigenous children or all mainstream students. Even if an indigenous student was the neighbour of a mainstream student, they did not come to school together.

Once in the morning (field note 10-11-2013), I observed that many students who came to school earlier were playing games in various groups. I observed about eight groups of students with only one group having a mix of indigenous and mainstream students. All other groups consisted of either all indigenous students or all mainstream students.

I observed similar patterns in other common activities such as the assembly session in this school. The school, like many other primary schools in Bangladesh, had no assembly hall. On most days school assemblies were held in the school playground. I did not get my seat or standing place at the front of the assembly, rather I stood at the side of a students' line so that I could observe easily without requiring any

special consideration from the school management. Students had the guideline to form lines according to their grade i.e. grade 3, grade 5. Initially, students were getting in line with their peers, and then I observed that indigenous students were getting into lines closer to other indigenous students. The mainstream students also did the same. In the girls' line, there were five mainstream girls and after them there were six girls from indigenous families.It surprised me that indigenous and mainstream students were found everywhere, such as in the play grounds and corridors; however, they maintained a distance regarding their interaction and relations.

When I started to work in classrooms with teachers and students, I observed a common scenario in that indigenous and mainstream students mostly sat separately (Figure 6.4). I found evidence supporting the argument raised by Sarker and Davey (2009)that indigenous and mainstream students sit separately in classrooms. To further my understanding this situation, I followed Vandeyar & Killen's(2006) procedure; I sketched the seating positions of all students in classrooms. At School A, every bench has the capacity to accommodate two students. I observed that some benches were occupied by three students due to student overload. The most interesting observation was that most of the benches were occupied by either indigenous students or mainstream students (Figure 6.4). In only a few cases, both types of students sat on the same bench.

Notes: I- Indigenous student, M-Mainstream student, T- teacher
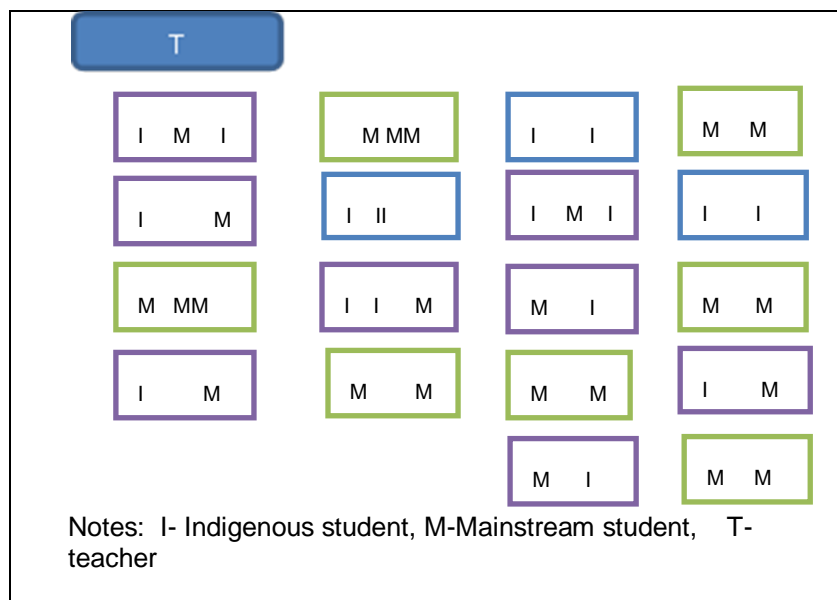
Figure 6.4: Seating position of students in an observed classroom

An indigenous student wrote about his close friend during an activity with me

(Task B): "We play together. We commute together to and from the school. We sit on the same bench. We go to school together." Similarly, another indigenous student wrote, "Most of the playing time or relaxing time, both of us stay together."

It is a common scenario in school that most of the children prefer to stay within their own community group. One participant of this study's focus group discussion (FGD1P4m) explained:

> Students from neither stream have similar relationships. Rather, they consciously avoid each other even though they are studying at the same school, in the same class. I often wondered why this situation was created. My understanding is that the main barrier is psychological and that is created by children's families. This, in retrospective, may have been spurred by an incident in RM district 20 years ago through a political tension between indigenous and mainstream people, which may also have influenced our BD district. The lack of faith between the two streams is reflected in the poor relationships. Consequently, they prefer to sit separately in classrooms.

This quote explains the root of a tendency of indigenous children and mainstream children to avoid each other's groups, particularly in CHT.

Another participant of the FGD from an indigenous group described this issue in a different way. As he (FGD1P2i) described:

> I think that the increasing rate of population growth in the country is the main culprit. This higher class population is causing the society to break apart day by day. I realise that inter-society relationships are becoming looser than in previous times. I think due to linguistic mismatch, they sometimes prefer to have separate groups between indigenous and mainstream within the school environment.

The above quote indicates that the causes of negative relationships are different from those put forward in the previous argument. Linguistic mismatch and increasing population are the causes behind undesirable relationships between indigenous and mainstream students.

Through my participant classroom observation, in one of the lessons I conducted with grade five students, I asked every student to form pairs with his or her nearest friend and make a list of 'causes of water pollution' in discussion in that pair. I observed how the students discussed this issue with each other during the pair work and noted that most of the pairs did not discuss effectively.

From my non-participant classroom observations, it was noted that most classes did not use pair work or group work activities, therefore students were not familiar with these activities. According to teaching pedagogy, learner-centred activities help increase interactions as well as relationships among students (Pica, 1987, p15). However, class teachers generally do not practise these types of activities in the A

School.

The data on student-student interaction gathered in this school suggest that these interactions are spread across the school: indigenous students and mainstream students maintain distance from each other in conversations, taking part in activities, in assembly, classrooms and other places. It was somewhat surprising to observe the lack of interaction which no doubt has had an undesirable impact within the school as well as more broadly on the social system.

My explanations were supported by one of the teachers as I spoke about reasons behind students sitting together according to their own ethnicity and why class teachers do not rearrange the grouping during classroom activities. Class teacher (LRM) commented:

> I have also observed that mostly indigenous and mainstream students sit on separate benches. In my opinion, students who come from remote areas show such tendency since they do not feel comfortable in mixing with mainstream students. On the other hand, urban indigenous and mainstream students are more cordial towards each other.

The above the quotation shows that the class teacher has acknowledged that indigenous students who come from remote regions feel shy. According to her, urban indigenous students are advanced in terms of interaction between indigenous and mainstream students.

The head teacher felt that it was a common issue in CHT schools. He concluded that both indigenous and mainstream people believe that there might be problems between them based on ongoing political tensions. The class teacher is well placed to promote relationships between indigenous and mainstream people around the school and according to an indigenous teacher's (SKI) recommendation, "development of interrelations among the mainstream and indigenous people in their neighbourhood is needed. Then students will bring the good relationships from their neighbourhood situation into our school." Altman and Fogarty (2010) got similar findings.

From the student and teacher stories, as well as my observations, it became apparent that school level friendships do not reflect practices that encourage interactions between diverse student groups.

According to suggestions in Lucas and Beresford (2010), I have presented students' opinions in socio-demographic dimensions (Figure 6.5). Indigenous students' friendships were restricted to their own ethnic group. Similarly, most mainstream

students' friendships were limited to other mainstream classmates (see Figure 6.5). A modern education system emphasises universal and diversity friendships among the students in a single classroom or school. Consequently, it impacts our social system negatively.

These types of scenarios made me curious about why indigenous and mainstream students are maintaining an avoidance tendency, and why students sit together according to their own ethnicity. There are several possible explanations for this ambiguity.
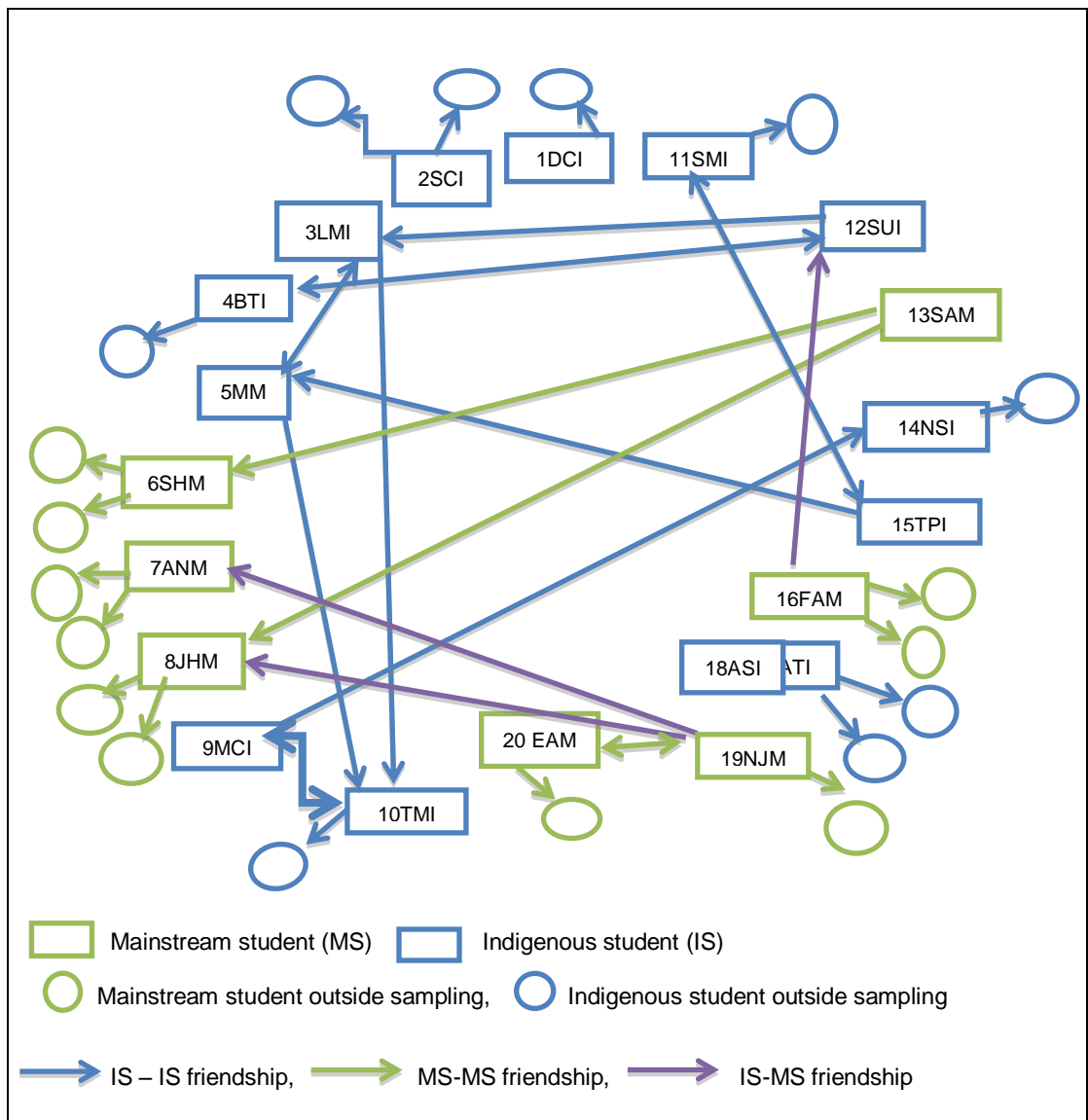
Figure 6.5: Nominations of close friends by students at School A

First of all, during my non-participant classroom observations, a class teacher asked a question of one indigenous student. The student answered the question but most of the mainstream students were laughing hearing the answer. I tried to find out why they were laughing. In fact, the indigenous student did not have the correct

pronunciation of a specific Bangla word, 'Bishsho'. Obviously, indigenous students felt embarrassed in the environment. Not only this indigenous student but also many indigenous students have to face this type of embarrassment in the school. It is one of the important reasons that indigenous students keep quite silent in the classroom. They also feel shyness about talking with other mainstream teachers or students.

Informally, I talked with a number of social workers about neighbourhood interactions between indigenous and mainstream families. According to them, there are no conflicting events in their daily lives but neither do they help each other in anything. Rather, the avoiding tendency has been observed everywhere, even in the school environment.

Support or limit of curriculum and teaching materials

A single set of approved textbooks by subject and class is published by the government education sector and generally these textbooks are widely used as teaching materials at the primary education level throughout the country. I observed that all students and teachers have been using these textbooks as classroom teaching materials.

Introducing alternative teaching materials for indigenous students in CHT is a relatively recent discussion at the national level, especially introducing textbooks in indigenous languages. I did not observe any teaching materials which are particularly for indigenous students and printed in their native languages.

Exercise 3

1. Fill in the blanks :

    (a)   51 × 9 = 459. Here, Multiplicand is ☐   Multiplier is ☐   Product is ☐

    (b)   13 × 62 = 806. Here, Multiplicand is ☐   Multiplier is ☐   Product is ☐

    (c)   2 6 × 9 7 = ☐   (d)   1 2 3 × 1 5 = ☐

    (e)   1 8 × ☐ = 1 0 8   (f)   ☐ × 9 = 1 7 1

2. Multiply :
    (a) 3 4 7 by 6 2   (b) 2 3 8 by 2 0 4
    (c) 9 0 5 by 3 2 5   (d) 4 2 0 by 1 6 0
    (e) 3 9 9 by 1 3 0   (f) 6 5 2 9 by 1 5

3. Multiply by easy process :
    (a) 3 8 7 × 2 0 0   (b) 8 3 7 × 9 0   (c) 8 5 7 × 9 0
    (d) 5 6 7 × 9 9   (e) 9 9 × 9 9 0   (f) 9 9 9 × 9 9

4. Rahima earns 125 taka daily by sewing. How much money will she earn in 25 days ?

5. Selim sold 185 hens from his poultry farm. He got 275 taka for each hen. How much money in total did he get ?

6. A bundle of five taka notes contains 500 taka. How much total money will be there in such 35 bundles of five taka notes ?

7. Mr. Rahim withdrew money from bank, he got 8 bundles of 10 taka notes and 3 bundles of 5 taka notes. How much total money did he withdraw ?

8. A labourer earns 300 taka daily. How much money will he earn in 4 months 5 days ? (1 month = 30 days).

33

Figure 6.6: An exercise page from mathematics textbook page 33

Source: Mollah, Ullah, Halder, & Dhali, (2013)

Having a look at a single classroom activity concerning the use of teaching materials and content in the classroom will enable us to come up with arguments regarding the teaching materials. First of all, contents reflect the mainstream lifestyle completely, so indigenous students cannot link with their community life style in their classroom activities. Typically, textbooks refer only to mainstream people's names and exclude references to indigenous cultures. Teachers and students have interactions mainly based on exercises similar to that shown in Figure 6.6.

Hickling-hudson & Ahlquist (2003) discussed a similar issue in USA and Australian school contexts. They observed few books, photos or pictures that represented ethnic students' lifestyles. Sadker and Sadker (1982) identified 33 per cent minority representation in mathematics textbook in grade six in the USA. Culturally related texts have a significant role to play in encouraging indigenous children to engage more with school content (Bennett, 2011).

During the interviews and focus group discussions, participants debated about having centralised published textbooks. For example, one FGD member (FGD1P2i) claimed that mainstream and indigenous children do not understand the textbooks in the same way. According to him, "It would be good if teaching systems were in the native languages for the indigenous children." Another SMC member (FGD1p4m), who comes from the mainstream group, had an opposite opinion about introducing textbooks in indigenous languages. He argued that some indigenous communities do not have their own alphabet. Some books have been printed in indigenous languages for class One, Two and Three but the students cannot understand them. The indigenous SMC member (FGD1P2i) agreed with mainstream SMC member and mentioned that all indigenous languages are not organised for proper writing systems. To address this problem, it is necessary to have some alternative teaching systems.

In this case, the head teacher (HT1) had an alternative suggestion. He felt that early childhood teaching is more difficult for indigenous children since the medium of instruction is Bangla language. So, an indigenous teacher who can interpret both Bangla and indigenous language is needed for early childhood classrooms.

Moreover, some innovative and modified teaching materials that are easily understandable for students from diverse backgrounds can be introduced. During my participant classroom observations, I displayed some pictures, charts and diagrams. Both indigenous and mainstream students showed good understanding. The school library can play a vital role in collecting and preserving those supplementary reading materials but an additional problem is that most government primary schools have no library. Nonetheless, this school has a small library and class teacher (SUB), who has also been working extra hours to maintain the library, shared with me:

> Generally, I observe mainstream students come to the library to borrow books. However, indigenous students do not come to the library to borrow any books. I felt that they are not interested to study these story books. In general, I see life history books are more popular than other types of books. So far, I know that there are no books about indigenous famous persons' life histories. I feel that, just like mainstream students like to read life history of mainstream famous persons, similarly, indigenous children would also have interest in famous persons from their own communities.

These quotes explain that indigenous students do not feel an interest to borrow books from the school library. For more explanation of this issue, it is necessary to consider Michael Apple's(1996, p22)analysis that the library books are mainstream students' vision of legitimate knowledge and indigenous students do not find their

real life situations portrayed.

As I cited before, I had some activities with students in this school. Through an activity, students were asked to draw particular subject matter. Most students depicted villages, schools and hills. There are some interesting issues to consider when students' drawings have strong links to their own geographical setting.

Figure 6.7: Drawings by indigenous student (left) and mainstream student (right)

In relation to students' thinking and representations of cultural life with 'Teaching materials', I examined some drawings made by grade five students. For example, the picture on the left hand side in Figure 6.7 was drawn by an indigenous student. She drew typical indigenous houses showing their village in the hills, and representing her culture. Similarly, the mainstream student drew a picture representative of mainstream people's houses on the right hand side.

Therefore, their cultural makeup reflects on their psychological and philosophical positions that I have explored in the subject matters. Teachers can consider these types of thinking for preparation of modified teaching materials at the local level. Chen, Wang, and Neo (2015) had similar thinking about implementing local culture based modified teaching materials and got positive results.

Support or limit of professional development of teachers

Every class teacher at this school has undergone a long term compulsory professional development course at the Primary Teachers' Training Institute (PTI).All teachers of this school completed the course before 2013, when it was only a one-year full time program named C-in-Ed course. During this professional development course, teachers engaged in theory and practice with pedagogical

117

subject matter.

Primarily, this long term course provides various types of pedagogical knowledge that have strong links with ongoing primary school curriculum and textbooks. As a class teacher (SKI) described to me about the C-in-Ed training course, "I learned something on pedagogy in my one-year professional development course at PTI. It was helpful for our skills development. I was inspired by some of the Instructors to work with diverse students". He also criticised that the duration of the professional development course was not enough for newly recruited class teachers.

His opinion suggests that it is necessary to increase the duration of professional development courses at PTIs. In recent years, an improvement already executed is that the DPEd course is of one and half years in duration. Therefore, the new professional development will be more helpful for teachers' education development. Interesting information explored by the head teacher of the school was that newly recruited teachers have no any pedagogical knowledge. The Head Teacher (HT1) stated that most of the teachers had no degree in education when they were recruited; they had general qualifications in science, humanities or commerce subjects. Long term professional development improved their pedagogical knowledge.

However, I enquired of a number of class teachers how they received knowledge about inclusive education or equitable education during their professional development courses. One teacher (LRM) indicated with some confusion that, "I did not remember that equity and diversity education subject matters were discussed during my long or short term professional development courses."

However, a class teacher (SUM) criticised: "As PTI trainees, we were completely dependent on our text books. That was a very conventional training system."The Head teacher (HT1) also pointed out that, "I did not get any school management training arranged by the government department. Rather, I got this training from an NGO and its duration was of 15 days."His opinion indicates that the PTI training sessions were held in conventional ways. As a result, trainee teachers did not get any inspiration to conduct teaching in innovative ways. Particularly, the trainee teachers did not get any inspiration about how they would deal with disadvantaged students in their classrooms. A similar argument was made by Ladson-Billings(Ladson-Billings, 2000)that pre-service training did not discuss modern diverse classrooms. Therefore, it is necessary to rethink how indigenous

students get priority for their disadvantaged learning situations.

Recently, some NGOs have introduced initiatives for professional development of the government school teachers on indigenous languages. The head teacher of this school explained therole of NGOs in teachers' professional development. As he (HT1) described:

> Most of our people think that learning in mother tongue is the most important technique. As a result, an NGO has introduced professional development for government primary school teachers on Marma language. Teachers who are from the Marma group only would be included in this training. Currently, most Marma teachers do not know how to read and write in Marma language.

The above response shows that some NGOs are already conducting professional development courses for teachers of government primary schools in CHT. This statement also indicates that many indigenous teachers cannot read or write texts in their own language. He (HT1) has, however, critiqued this activity, explaining that:

> I think it is a wrong approach to include only Marma teachers which will enable them to teach in Marma language. I feel that other teachers also need training on indigenous languages. Communication language is important for diverse classrooms. Teachers who are efficient in only one language are not fit for diverse classrooms. My recommendation is that short term indigenous language training should be arranged for all teachers including mainstream teachers for communication with indigenous students. At the same time, long term training is also necessary for potential skilled teachers in a particular language.

His opinion suggests that both indigenous and mainstream teachers require short term professional development on diverse languages. Long term professional development can be arranged only for selected teachers for a particular language.

From the Focus group discussion, one mainstream (FGD1P1m) participant pointed out that:

> I support the special training on indigenous language for better communication with indigenous students in classrooms in CHT, otherwise the students face problems. Though it is the national policy that the medium of instruction in the classroom would be Bangla, it is necessary to preserve our traditions and cultures.

This quote illustrates the SMC members showed a positive impression towards educational development and indigenous children.

To sum up, professional development is an important element of bringing equity and diversity education to CHT schools. A class teacher (SUB) believes that, "Teaching is a very good profession. However, I feel, it is not possible to become a good teacher without professional development at PTIs." The head teacher

(HT1) said, "I think, if any teacher does not like his profession, he or she will not be a good quality teacher." Therefore, professional development courses for teachers in CHT are of key importance in bringing more equity and diversity for indigenous children's education.

Support or limit of school governance and leadership

I was particularly interested to know about involvement of indigenous representatives in the School Management Committee (SMC). On the SMC members' list in the school document, it was found that there were two members from indigenous communities. One member was selected as a representative of the vice chairperson from upazila council and another was the parent representative from the indigenous community. The government management offices at the district and upazila levels are aware about donor agencies' suggestion that the government needs to increase spontaneous involvement of indigenous people in all development activities as well as in management roles of education institutions.

I came to the realisation that the SMC does not do enough to involve indigenous families from remote areas, and indigenous children have to face many challenges from their families to enrol at the school. Indigenous parents were not active about their role when they were participating as members at the committee .As an indigenous class teacher in this school (SKI) claimed, "It is difficult to find indigenous parent representatives who would attend the SMC meetings regularly." Consequently members of indigenous representatives do not play any role of educational development of indigenous children due to their carelessness. This class teacher also indicated that, parents of indigenous children do not have any awareness about the importance of their children's education. In this case, SMC members could play a vital role in increasing the awareness of indigenous parents.

In the CHT region, commuting roads are not good due to muddy conditions especially during the rainy season. Moreover, the average annual rainfall is higher than in other parts of the country. For example, in 2011, average rainfall in the CHT was 450 cm (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2012). As a result, a significant number of days experience poor conditions making it difficult for indigenous children to commute in the hilly regions. As the head teacher (HT1) of this school described:

> Most villages have a small number of houses and not every village has a school.

> Sometimes, students have to travel for about 7-8 km on really poor pathways. It is one of the main problems for the absence of students and also dropout from schools.

The quote suggests that it is vital to set up more schools in CHT. The government currently has specific rules for setting up a new primary school in a village. One of the important criteria is having a minimum number of residents in the village. This, in many cases, creates a problem since population density in the CHT region is less due to remoteness and poor socio-economic situations.

The local school authority has no ability to recruit staff or teachers in government primary schools in Bangladesh. Mainly, district level management office recruits the personnel for the school. As a result, there is always competition for recruiting a teacher, and with high levels of unemployment it becomes a critical problem. A lot of educated people take the test for a teaching position even though some of them do not like the profession due to its low salary and lower status. In this situation the head teacher explains, "The reality is that many teachers become frustrated about their job status, low salary and being posted to remote regions."Consequently, school level management cannot recruit school staff to enhance the development of equity and diversity education.

One SMC member (FGD1p4m) recommended, "There is need to recruit more teachers from various indigenous groups. Currently, the schools in CHT have a quota system for indigenous and mainstream teachers. However, there is no quota system for a specific indigenous community. As a result, a school does not get representative indigenous teachers according to their student numbers." According to the head teacher (HT1),

> I do not support the policy of representative teachers from indigenous communities. Following this policy we do not get teachers from some certain indigenous groups due to a lack of educated people from those groups. Besides this, a Marma teacher can teach Marma students in Marma language. However, a Bawm teacher cannot teach Bawm students in Bawm language as they do not have a written format of Bawm language. Therefore, communication training for teachers on indigenous languages is important for development of education for indigenous children.

His argument is based on indigenous language based teacher recruitment. I also observed this in the six indigenous groups attending this school. Therefore, it is difficult to manage teaching sessions with various languages-based class teachers.

The SMC member (FGD1P3i) claimed that, "Now-a-days, cost of education is high." On why their socio-economic situation is so poor, another indigenous SMC member (FGD1P2i) explained that, "I know that plain land areas also have some poor people

but they have various ways of gaining income such as obtaining work in agricultural farms. However, in the hilly regions there are only linked sources for earning a living."She also added that the indigenous parents who are educated have greater awareness about their children's education. Moreover, illiterate indigenous parents who are engaged in small agricultural farms do not realise the value of education and most of their children follow them into the same professions (small farmer) without getting even basic education.

Equity and diversity are abstract terms and I needed to know what knowledge the relevant people had regarding school governance. During FGD, my inquiry was related to SMC members' awareness about those terms. One FGD member (FGD1P2i) said, "I do not understand those difficult issues (equity and diversity)." Another SMC member (FGD1P1m) argued that, "I think that our education system does not have equal opportunity for everyone. It has huge differences on the basis of socio-economic situations of people. The government has some steps for diversification but it is not enough to fill up the gaps. One reason is that this issue was not discussed at school level management system." His strong argument explains that lack of awareness of equity and diversity principles is an important agent which creates inequity and non-diversity in education system. However, one indigenous SMC member (FGD1P1i) recommended that, "I feel that basic education should be equal and universal."

School and society are interconnected in daily activities. The head teacher was active in building bridges between school personnel and society members. Students' enrolment, students' attendance, supporting parents all are influenced by school management through their activities. The Head Teacher (HT1) described:

> I think that it (school) is not only an educational institute but also a social institute. Sometimes, I have to work as a social worker. The catchment area of this school is very large and everyday a number of students are absent from school. With the help of local social workers, I arrange meetings with the parents and encourage them to send their children to school.

His opinion clearly indicates that he has enough awareness and positive views about our social system in order to invoke constructive effects in school activities.

Although the current education system has seen some developments over the years, it is still in need of some developments for improving the educational situation of indigenous children in CHT. As the head teacher (HT1) argued, "A lot still needs to be done. The main priority is to increase the number of class teachers. Similarly, there is a need to increase classrooms." These are limits to

fundamental education for remote indigenous children: sufficient numbers of schools, qualified teachers, and roads communication are not available in the remote regions.

Teaching practices for celebrating equity and diversity education

During my non-participant classroom observations, I observed that all lessons were organised following teacher-directed techniques. Teachers organised lesson plans focussing on just rote learning using a limited range of applications; pair work or group work were never practised. A class teacher (SUM) defended this experience, "Students do not discuss enough during their group work." Besides this, I did not observe any other precautions for weak students or indigenous students. Therefore, class teachers had no special preparation for these diverse background students' learning.

I organised an activity with students where students could explore their opinions about their feelings for various types of events in schools. Both indigenous and mainstream students had similar opinions about the names of events and subject matters. At a glance, Table 6.6 shows those subject matters. Some of the favourite events were listening to stories from class teachers, game activities, dancing, watching pictures, and conversing with students and teachers in classrooms. However, during my non-participant observations, I did not find these types of activities being practised in the CHT school classes.

For instance, attendances of students in my non-participant classroom observations were 43, 35 and 43 respectively. My opinion is that, somehow it could be possible to arrange any activities above from the Table 6.6. However, 43 students were present in classrooms and it was difficult to manage various activities in the class. One class teacher (SKI) argued that the number of students in classrooms is high at this school. It is difficult to organise an activity based lesson in such classes.

Regarding his argument about the number of students in classrooms, I also observed in this school that every classroom had a high number of students. Similarly, the head teacher (HT1) of this school explained that:

> As you have seen, there are so many students in every classroom of this school. Whereas most classrooms have 50-60 seating places for students, in general about 80 students sit there. As a result, teachers cannot implement student-centred activities. Consequently, it is not possible to take extra care of weak students.

His opinion clearly indicates that for the development of indigenous education, there

is a need to reduce teacher-student ratios for this school by increasing classrooms and recruiting more teachers.

Table 6.6: Favourite activities and favourite subject matters of students

Student Labels	Favourite activities		Favourite things to like	
	Activity 1	Activity 2	Draw	Taken photo
1DCI	School gardening	Hearing story	Hilly region	School teacher (IT)
2 SCI	Hearing story	Discussion in classroom	Scenery of Village	School building
3 LMI	Teachers' discussion in classroom	English discussion by SKT	Scenery of Village	My close friend (IS)
4 BTI	Game activity in classroom	Singing songs in classroom	Indigenous daily life	School building
5MMI	Teachers' discussion	Clean classroom	Scenery of Village	Children
6 SHM	Smile of teacher	Game activity	Scenery of Village	Classroom
7 ANM	English conversation	Singing songs in classroom	Scenery of Village	Close friend
8JHM	Drawing	Smiling behaviour	Water cycle	Close friend
9 MCI	Global story	Singing songs in classroom	Scenery of Village	Close friend
10TMI	Dancing in classroom	Smiling behaviour	Scenery of Village	General people
11SMI	Dancing in classroom	Story hearing	Scenery of Village	Close friend
12SUI	Game activity in classroom	Smiling behaviour	Indigenous daily life	Close friend
13SAM	No corporal punishment	Smiling behaviour	Scenery of town	Class teacher
14NSI	Global story	Dancing in classroom	Scenery of Village	Class teacher
15 TPI	Game activity in classroom	Singing songs in classroom	Scenery of Village	Close friend
16 FAM	Showing picture	Singing songs in classroom	Picture of hills	Class teacher
17ATI	Poem	Game activity in classroom	Picture of hills	Class teacher
18 ASI	Dancing in classroom	Singing songs in classroom	Scenery of Village	Class teacher
19 NJM	Using picture in classroom	Smiling behaviour	Picture of school	School building
20EAM	Game activity in classroom	Using picture in classroom	Picture of school	Close friend

During my participant classroom observation, I asked all students, "How would you feel if I rearranged your seating positions?" They replied, "Very good Sir". I again asked them, "If I say, please change your seats what would be your impression then?" They replied, "No sir". They further added, "Sir! It will be noisy and horrible and a time consuming activity." Most of the students did not willingly agree to change their seating arrangements. Finally, I was able to convince them to rearrange the seating system a little bit. Therefore, teacher encouragement is an effective technique for diversity teaching.

I asked all class teachers about their impressions on the new government policy

to introduce modern teaching methods and techniques. An indigenous Class teacher (SKI) said, "I feel that my teaching style is somehow different from my colleagues. I can say that, I try my best to incorporate modern teaching techniques." In addition, I observed that one class teacher (SUM) explored being just a little creative in his mathematics lesson. He created two new problems from his own ideas and wrote them on the blackboard. However, he failed to engage the students in his creative ideas. Then, he followed teaching in conventional ways - individual work in students' notebooks and checking the notebooks by himself.

From my participant classroom observations, I felt that both indigenous students and mainstream students had similar responses to a mathematics problem, that is to calculate using four rules of calculations. However, I figured out that mainstream students are more competent in mathematics when problems are explored by describing. In this case, understanding the language of description is a key factor for solving the problem. Therefore, indigenous students perform poorly in mathematics due to the use of Bengali, which many of them do not understand.

Mainstream class teacher's (LRM) view also supported that of the other class teachers. She indicated that,

> Obviously they (indigenous students) have language problems. It is difficult for them to understand Bengali. In many ways, we try to overcome this challenge. For example, I asked the head teacher for a volunteer who knows both Bangla and Marma languages. Sometimes, this volunteer worked with me in classroom as a translator from Marma language. Within a few days, students from Marma started showing improvements in understanding Bangla. It has been very helpful in overcoming the problem.

However, the volunteering system is not a part of school activities or endorsed by government, so there is no provision to recruit volunteers.

Due to a number of limitations, most class teachers fail to prepare enough to organise activity based classrooms. Consequently, most class teachers deliver their classes based solely on rote learning using only textbook materials. All students including indigenous students are affected through low achievement levels in the subject matter.

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the first case study reporting and analysing, based on School A. Primarily, I spent a few days to settle down with the new physical as well as school environment. I got a lot of data which are essential for the analysis part of this study. I concentrated on the five broader aspects of school's actors'

relationships, teaching subject matters and teaching materials, teacher professional developments, school governance and leadership in local areas, and teacher preparation for class teaching. Overall the situation of this school was positive for data collection.

The school had a large number of students, and both students and teachers were from the mainstream majority. The relationships between indigenous students and mainstream teachers were not supportive of establishing a teaching-learning environment. In addition, indigenous students and mainstream students had no mutual interactions; rather they maintained an avoidance tendency in schools, classrooms, corridors and even on the way to the school.

Teachers of the school mainly use textbooks as teaching material in their classrooms. Obviously, these textbooks have focused on the mainstream language and cultures. As a result, from the very beginning of schooling, indigenous students faced communication problems particularly with class teachers from mainstream background. Teachers did not have enough scope to know about the equity and diversity principles during their professional development course, the Certificate in Education (C-in-Ed).

Only two members were from indigenous communities among the 11 members of SMC committee at this school. Most of the FGD participants stated that they did not know about the principles of equity and diversity education. However, they argued that it is necessary to have extra consideration for indigenous students and their education.

Finally, I observed that class teachers did not make any preparation for proper classroom communication focused on indigenous students or any activities which could help develop relationships between weaker students, such as pair work or group work. This school had a majority of mainstream students and teachers but the next case study school that is presented in the following chapter had a majority of indigenous teachers and students. I hoped to find data from the next school which might be somewhat different from what I found in School A.

CHAPTER 7: CASE STUDY SCHOOL B

Introduction

School B is different from the previous case study school in various ways. For example, the number of indigenous students is higher than that of the mainstream students. Students enrol from rural and urban areas, even though the school is situated in an urban area of BD district town. The number of indigenous teachers is also higher than that of mainstream teachers. Out of the four schools selected for the case study, only this school had a higher presence of indigenous students than mainstream students.

In this chapter, I focus on gaining in-depth understanding about the equity and diversity practices following methods that were described in chapter four with an interesting phenomenon or subject matter. For example, to locate reasons why this school is popular among the indigenous communities, I applied various fieldwork methods. In the same way, I have presented fieldwork data and their analysis under the following sub-headings.

Profile of the school

The school is situated in the north-west corner at the end of BD town. The playground of this school is very small. The school is located near the bank of a river. The river and trees have created a good natural environment. There are three buildings in the school with eight classrooms and one office. The salient features of the school are shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Statistical data of students and teachers at School B

Features	Status	Indigenous representation	Mainstream representation
Number of students	425	292 (69%) Marma 238, Chakma 1, Tanchangya 16, Mro 8, Bom 21, Khumi 8	133 (31%)
Number of teachers	10	6 (60%) Marma 3, Chakma 1, Tanchangya 2	4 (40%)
Teacher-student ratio	1: 43	1: 49	1: 33

Typical study days in the school

The head teacher of this school had long experience in his job. He had worked at a number of primary schools in CHT. When I worked with him collecting data for my research, he had only six months until retirement. In fact, he had been serving as

the head teacher at this school for 10 years. He felt proud because in the last few years some famous people had visited this school. For example, last year the US ambassador visited this school as part of site inspections by a donor agency.

I asked him why high officials selected his school for visiting. He said that this is normal practice in CHT. Most high officials and policy makers know the problem of basic education for indigenous children is a national concern. They feel that site inspection is important in schools where the number of indigenous students is higher than that of mainstream students. Official visitors, usually, do not go anywhere without a car and it is still hard for them to reach schools in remote regions by car due to lack of proper roads. School B is the only urban school in BD district where the majority of students come from indigenous families. When the officials visit BD district, the district level and upazila administrations generally select this for inspection.

Unfortunately, higher officials always prefer to privilege personal comfort even though they have awareness on equity and diversity principles in selecting the visiting schools. I argue that the levels of practice for equity and diversity are poor everywhere.

Formal activities in the school

The first study day I had to work with the head for permission to study in this school, select my seating place, and hand over to the head teacher the Letter of Introduction, Information Sheet and Consent form for distribution. I worked 12 working days in this school. I prepared a list of three class teachers and their classroom students for my non-participant and participant classroom observations (Table 7.2). Participants completed consent procedures according to the same methods used at the previous school. I worked with students through gaming and fun activities. I also collected consent from these students and their parents.

Table 7.2: List of class teachers who have given consent to me

Classrooms	Label Class teachers	Subject	Total Number of students
Grade 5 Section A	K TI (IT)	Mathematics	25
Grade 4	LTI (IT)	Bangla language	37
Grade 5 Section A	ASM (MT)	Bangladesh and Global Studies, Science	37

A brief discussion of the routine works is presented in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Day to day formal activities at School B

Day	Activity	Brief description
1	Discussion with head teacher	Permission for my seating place, how I would like to work in this school; consents, permission from parents and SMC members, and hand over to head teacher of Letter of Introduction and Consent form for distribution.
2	Discussion with three class teachers	Consent agreement with class teachers, detailed discussion with them about how I would observe a small number of classrooms.
3	Non-participant classroom observation	Observing a classroom grade five English lesson
4	Participant classroom observation	I conducted a grade five mathematics lesson
5	Non-participant classroom observation	Observing a grade four classroom during their Elementary Science lesson
6	Participant observation	I conducted a mathematics class with grade five students.
7	Non-participant observation	Classroom observation of grade five Bangla language lesson
8	Participant observation	I organised the grade five classroom with an English lesson
9	FGD	Four SMC members were present at my FGD.
10	Three class teacher interviews	The interviews were held in a room at level one in a classroom afterschool hour.
11	Head teacher interview	The interviews were conducted in a silent room in school
12	Children's stories, illustration and photo (Work with students)	Primarily I did everything for ethical approval from students and parents.

Informal activities in the school

Besides the formal activities, I conducted some informal activities in this school. At a glance, those activities are presented in Table 7.4.

Table7.4: Informal activities at School B

Day	Informal activities	Description
1	Assembly participation	I introduced myself to students and staff
2	Discussion with a small number of indigenous students	Friendly discussion with some students at the playground.
3	Cultural activities observations	A school team has been practising for participation in a festival at district level.
6	Discussion with a mainstream class teacher	What she believes about indigenous children, why many of the indigenous like her.
7	Observation of informal play by students at playground	Peers and groups formed by the school students
8	Discussion with an indigenous parent	Why did he choose the school for his daughter?
9	Discussion with another indigenous parent	How did she feel about the relationship between indigenous and mainstream students?
10	Informal discussion with a class teacher	One indigenous teacher.
11	Informal discussion with a special student	Informal discussion with a student whose father is mainstream and mother is indigenous

Practicing equity and diversity in the school

According to the research questions, fieldwork data are presented in six particular sub-headings as mentioned below.

Teacher-student relationships and interactions

In this school, throughout my non-participant and participant observations, I observed a number of interesting areas such as interaction and engagement between students and between teachers and students, respect for cultural differences, attentiveness and enjoyment of diversity interaction. In this case, I got inspiration from Spinthourakis et al. (In Spinthourakis et al., 2009 p268)about suggestions for diversity classroom observation.

I perceived similar teacher-student interactions in school as mentioned in my previous case study; however I also got some different phenomena in this school. The basic difference as I mentioned before is that in almost every classroom, the number of indigenous students is higher than that of mainstream students. Comparatively, indigenous students are brighter and more enthusiastic in this school than in the first case study school. For instance, indigenous students asked some questions of the class teachers as did the mainstream students. Now, I will present detailed data and their analysis on teacher-student interaction based on the field work with this school.

Teacher beliefs and attitudes

During my non-participant classroom observations, I observed a classroom in which an indigenous teacher organised mathematics teaching. Forming the lesson, the teacher asked some oral questions of students, maintaining a balanced ratio between indigenous and mainstream students. It commonly seemed that the teacher asked comparatively lower level cognitive questions of indigenous students**.**

A possible explanation is that these frequent practices result from the traditional classroom observations by academic supervisors in the primary education department. This class teacher might have assumed that my role was as an academic supervisor at that time. It is likely that academic supervisors would be satisfied to observe most students could answer the class teacher's questions. As a departmental person, the class teacher might have considered me as being in an

academic supervisors' role. Moreover, she had already known that this observer had special interest in the indigenous students. This issue is discussed more in my discussion chapter.

I was curious to know the real explanation of this event from that class teacher. One afternoon, I discussed with the teacher about the issue. Then she (KTI) explained her belief that indigenous student were not capable of giving answers to higher level cognitive questions. She also pointed out that it is an encouragement to ask lower level cognitive questions, following the theory of 'starting easy then moving to hard contents for learning'. She (KTI) also said, "Today, the student is able to answer an easy question and tomorrow, she/he can answer comparatively higher cognitive level questions."
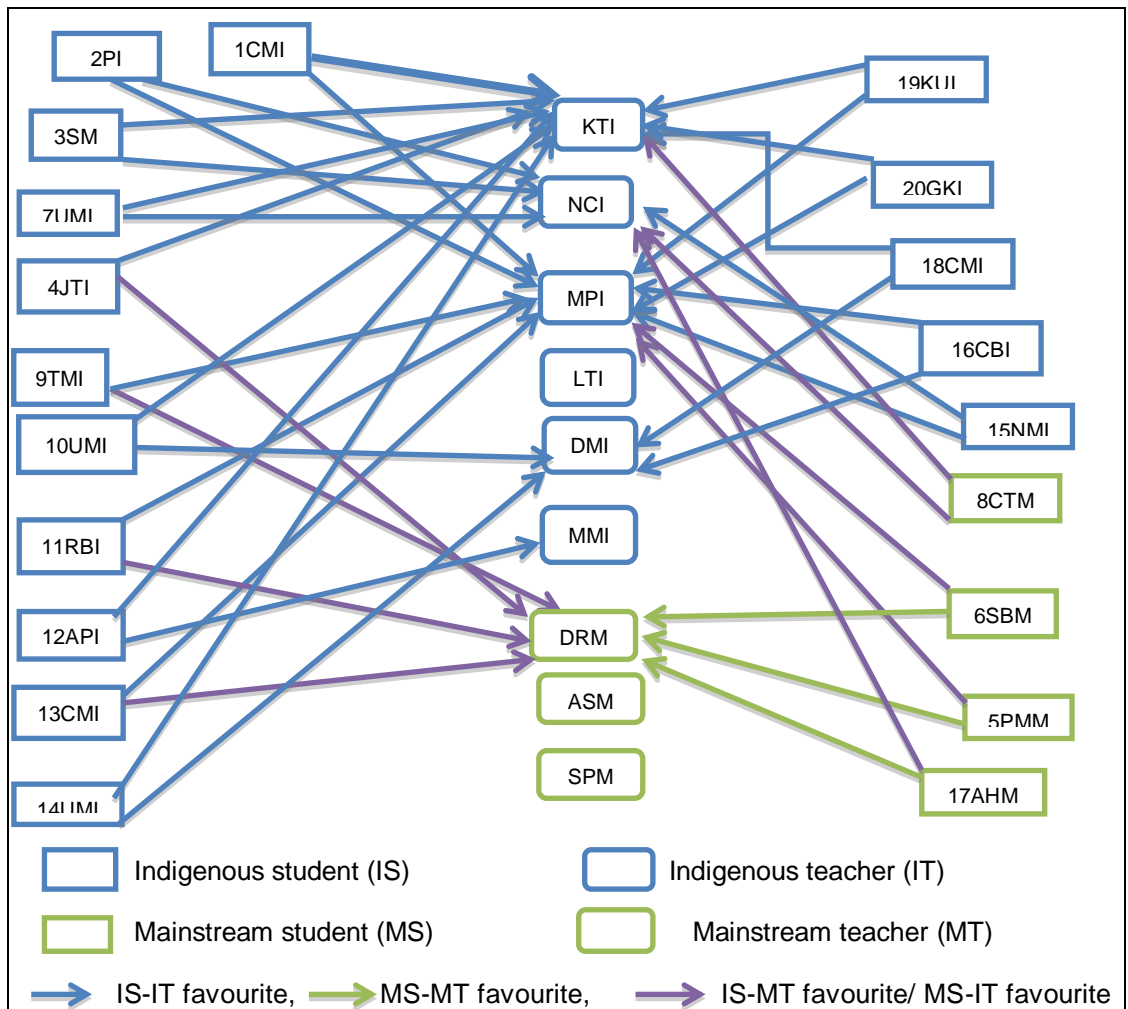
Figure 7.1: Favourite class teachers' nominations by students at School B
Throughout my activity with the sampling students (20 students from grade five), I got some meaningful information on relationships between students and class teachers in the school. The data for task B are shown in Figure 7.1. There were some diversity attitudes shown by class teachers in this school. Figure 7.1 shows

that there are four class teachers (KTI, NCI, MPI and DRM) in the school who were popular with both indigenous and mainstream students. An indigenous class teacher (DMI) was popular but only with indigenous students. Figure 7.1 also shows that three class teachers (LTI, ASM and SPM) were not chosen by any of the 20 students as favourite teachers even though they had lessons with these students.

Later as part of my activities with students, I wanted to know what students considered in selecting a particular class teacher as their favourite teacher. Some responses indicated that students' preference does not depend on only community relationships; rather, it depends on teachers' behaviour, attitudes, and teaching capacity in their classrooms. For example, teachers' smile face, polite conversations, encouragement feedback were cited by the students.

Teacher actions

A number of students informed me that they enjoyed the teaching techniques that were arranged by teachers in their classrooms. These techniques were singing songs, reciting poems, drawing pictures, telling stories in classrooms.

From this description, it can be said that quality teaching and teachers' actions have been influencing the teacher-student relationships. Moreover, singing songs, reciting poems, drawing pictures, and telling stories can play a vital role in arranging a good lesson in diversity classrooms. It is suggested that teachers' educators can incorporate these enjoyable events into their professional development courses. Similarly, class teachers also get interested in the teaching system.

I had an interview question for class teachers about what are enjoyable activities in their schools. One class teacher (KTI) of this school replied, "Working with children is one of the most enjoyable activities." She thinks that for encouraging children, it is necessary to practise shared interactions between teachers and students. As an example, she cited, "I think teachers should call the students by their name. In fact, the names of indigenous children are hard to pronounce so some teachers do not call them by their names."

However, sometimes teachers have to face hard times due to some community based sensitive issues. Throughout my interview questions, I asked the head teacher (HT2) how he has to negotiate the undesirable activities within the management. He cited that:

> Sometimes disagreements have occurred; it happened between indigenous students and mainstream teachers. For example, a main stream teacher criticized

an indigenous student about his cultural habit (about indigenous dressing). The parent of the student came to me with their argument. Then I try my best to bring about mutual understanding among the students and teachers in my school. However, it is a common phenomenon that somebody has a clash with their mates in the school regarding community issues.

In this quotation, the head teacher explains that sometimes he had to adopt a diplomatic stance to arrive at mutual understanding in this diversity environment. He (HT2) explained that this type of issue is a result of misunderstanding in the communicative language between teachers and students. He added that indigenous students feel shy and afraid to use immature Bangla language for communicating with mainstream teachers, and the class teachers do not encourage communicating through their immature communicative language. These are the main barriers to developing the relationship between indigenous students and mainstream teachers.

Relationships and interaction between indigenous and mainstream students

It is almost certain that indigenous and mainstream students sit separately in classrooms as a result of poor relationships between the two streams in this school as shown in Figure 7.2.Throughout my interview questions, I wanted to know about the class teachers' role in bringing diversity into seating positions. A class teacher (KTI) described with an example, "I have an observation in the classroom that only six students came from Bowm group (an indigenous group); they always stay in the classroom at the same bench. They have no interaction with other groups of students. Sometimes, I tried to rearrange the students' seating to enhance diversity but students did not co-operate with me." Nonetheless, I never observed any teacher rearranging seating positions of students for this purpose.
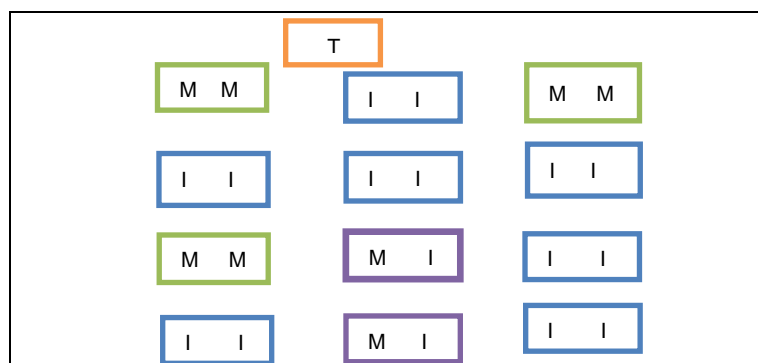
Notes: I-Indigenous student,   M- Mainstream student, T- class teacher

Figure 7.2: Seating position of students in the beginning of my lesson

Giving emphasis to this issue, I prepared a lesson plan for my participant classroom observation with a number of activities step by step. At the first step, I rearranged the seating position of all students in this classroom. For doing this activity, I declared a common rule through a fun activity for all the students in the classroom. The rule was that everybody would change their seating place and would sit with a student who was not currently at their same bench. "You have to do it within one minute." The students did this work cheerfully. I talked with them to encourage about regular class attendance.

The seating positions before giving this instruction and after are shown in Figures 7.2 and 7.3 respectively. I got co-operative behaviour from the students. This activity is one example where the teacher can indirectly manage diversity for seating positions which may encourage interactions among the students in activity based classrooms.

	T	
I M	I M	I M
I M	I M	I M
M I	I I	I I
I I	M I	I I
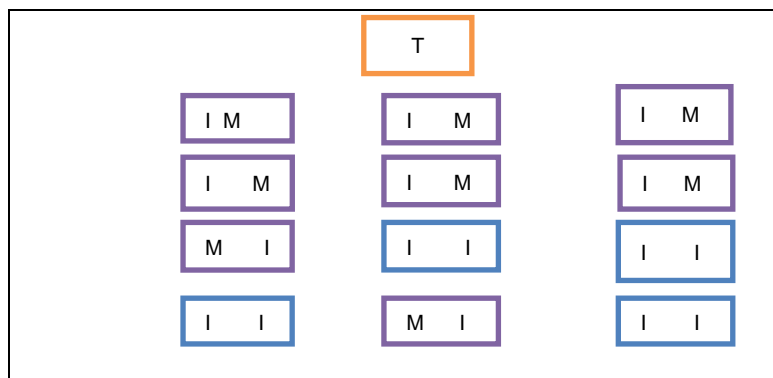
Figure 7.3: Seating position of students after rearranging in my lesson

Maintaining a continuous flow of students' enjoyment, I organised another activity for bringing a more graceful and lively environment into this classroom. This activity was a bingo game with mathematical words. I wrote 14 words on the board: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, solution, problem, mathematics, geometry, measurement, average, symbol, fraction, time, and calculator.

I gave instructions for every student to draw a nine squares shape on plain paper just as in Figure 7.4.At the second step, my instruction was, "Select any nine words and write those words into nine blank cells and each cell can contain only one word and you will get five minutes' time for this."

At the third step, I gave another instruction that, "You may cross out words one after one following my respective crossing out of words." When I had five words crossed out then one student said 'Bingo'." I progressed for some time with the game. During

this activity, I observed most students were cheerful and took part actively.

At the next step, my activity was pair work with mathematical problem solving. I wrote a problem on the board in the classroom. Then I gave the instruction that two students would make a pair and they would sit together in a bench. Then every pair would look at the problem and discuss with each other how to solve the problem. "Within 7 minutes you have to finish this task." I also went to some pairs of students to listen to how they were thinking and discussing with each other.

Solution	Calculator	Subtraction
Average	Addition	Symbol
Division	Mathematics	Multiplication

Figure 7.4: A set of words for Bingo game

In this classroom, the number of indigenous students was 17 and mainstream students were only 8. During my Bingo game activity, I supplied them with some encouragement trophies. For example, I gave them chocolates when any brought success in matching a bingo. I observed that this type of activity was joyful both to indigenous and mainstream students. There is some evidence to suggest that activity-based lessons can develop the relationships between indigenous and mainstream students. Therefore, development of relationships among the students can be practised by class teachers through various types of fun games and rearranging of the seating positions.

Another day at this school, I did some activities with 20 selected students from grade five following Task B activity steps. Based on the students' opinion, I have drawn a socio-gram figure that is shown below (Figure 7.5).Figure 7.5 provides the intra-group friendships among students in the school. The most striking result to emerge from the data is that students' friendships consist of their own homogenous group.

In this figure, we can observe something interesting that is clearly different from my previous case study school data. In this socio-gram figure, I get more diversity

relationships between indigenous and mainstream students. For example, three mainstream students out of four have a close friendship with at least one indigenous student among the four mainstream students. Similarly, some indigenous students have close friends among the mainstream students. We can also see some students are popular among their classmates. For example, two indigenous students (11RBI and 20 KGI) in this school (Figure 7.5) are more popular among their classmates. Their friends have written something about these two students in the second step activity.
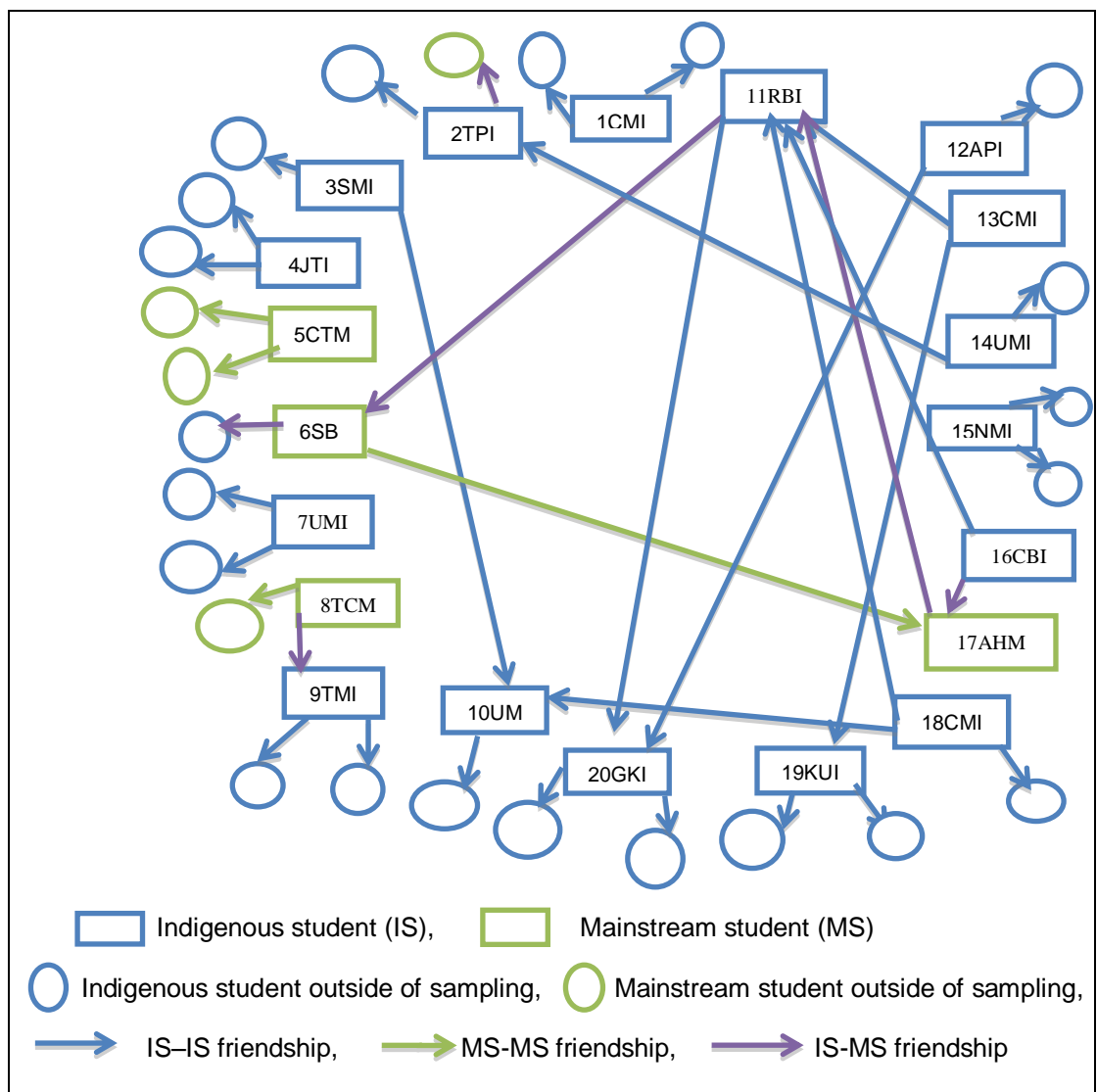
Figure7.5: Nominations of close friends by students at School B

At the second step of this activity, every student wrote a brief description about his or her close friend. For instance, one indigenous student (2TPI) said about his mainstream student friend, "I prefer my favourite friend because he is my good friend. We play together at school ground. We sometimes have chats. I visit his

home if he feels ill." Similarly, one mainstream student (8TCM) said something about her indigenous classmate (9TMI) as below:

> My favourite friend is TMI. She helps me many times for study. I also help her for study. Sometimes, she shares new things for general knowledge. Sometimes, I forget to bring pen or pencil then she gives me her extra pen or pencil.

This student opinion indicates that sometimes, particularly at this school, mainstream and indigenous students have made good relationships through chatting, playing mates, and helping in studying activities.

Through my interview question one class teacher explained that the students felt enjoyment through some outdoors activities and that these helped to create more interaction opportunities among the students. She (ASM) cited a specific example; according to her a whole day tour is an important event for creating friendship among the students. As she said, "Every year, the school has one full day tour. It is a very enjoyable event. Annual sport day is another enjoyable event in the school." She stated that the influence of constructive relationships among various community students helps bring diversity in school environment.

I asked participants how we can develop the relationships between indigenous and mainstream students. One class teacher (ASM) said, "It is necessary to start from their families. In school, we have awareness to build up mutual relationships among the various groups of students but families are not motivated enough." One focus group discussion participant (FGD2P3m) stated that indigenous students do not get a suitable environment for relationship development. According to him, sports, fun games, and cultural events may create suitable environments but he did not observe those events at this school.

From these few days' observation and activities with students, my realisation is that there are obviously a lot of ways school can play a vital role in developing suitable relationships between indigenous students and mainstream students in CHT primary schools. However, I did not observe any activity that might be considered as a relationship development activity being organised by any case study school. Throughout my activities, I observed students' co-operation in classrooms interactions. It is necessary to incorporate fun activities and games into lesson presentations in classrooms.

Support or limit of curriculum and teaching materials

At the beginning of my field study in this school, I was especially interested to know how indigenous heritage and culture have been reflected in teaching materials. They

can be incorporated within the system in two ways. One is through textbook contents that are supplied by the primary education department and another way is through the teachers' initiative in preparing modified or creative teaching materials for their teaching in classrooms.

I am an inside researcher as I have been working in the primary education department in an academic position for a long time. Therefore, the contents of primary education textbooks were previously known to me. I also know from long experience of observing classrooms at primary schools that most class teachers have been using only textbooks as a teaching material in their classrooms all over Bangladesh. Consequently, I observed a similar situation in my previous case study school in the case of teaching materials used by class teachers.

In most of the classrooms in this case study school, indigenous students are in higher numbers than mainstream students. Therefore, I particularly gave emphasis to whether class teachers had any special teaching aids to present the content and if those had any link to indigenous culture and heritage. I also wanted to analyse the contents as to how they reflected any community culture or heritage.

First of all, I considered the contents in non-participant classroom observations in the school. I had five non-participant classroom observations; one of them was on the mathematics subject. The title of this lesson was "Problems Involving the Four Rules". Sometimes these types of problems consist of real life stories or incidents. During this lesson teachers used two examples as below:

> Example1. Mina and Rina together have 7532 taka. Mina has 560 taka more than Rina. What amount of money do Mina and Rina each have?

> Example2. Mr Altaf's monthly salary is 9870 taka. Every month he spends 3800 taka on house rent and 5650 taka on household expenses. The remaining money he saves in bank. What amount of money does Mr .Altaf save in a year?

In these problems, the human names and stories have just reflected the mainstream people's life styles. Not only this, the whole of this text book also uses various examples and exercises in similar ways. In fact, I did not find anything that can be considered as a link to indigenous communities' life style and culture. Therefore, these types of contents cannot be helpful for indigenous students' learning. It is clearly the opposite of Abreu and Cline's (2006)analysis. They concluded that socio-cultural contexts can be presented during mathematics lessons for suitable teaching.

I asked FGD participants about the issue. One indigenous participant (FGD2P2i)

expressed that there are no reflections of our socio-cultural styles in schools'
textbooks. Another mainstream participant (FGD2P3m) explained that the textbooks
are published centrally in Dhaka head office and they considered only mainstream
culture, and it is hard to consider the incorporation of culture for only one percent of
the population. However, he (FGD2P3m) agreed that:

> If we address human names in textbooks similar to indigenous peoples' names, they
> (indigenous children) will feel confidence in this environment. They will be happy and
> get mental strength. If we use only mainstream names in classroom activities, then
> the indigenous children will be embarrassed.

Therefore, it appears that introducing indigenous life styles and cultures into
teaching materials had strong support from school level management people. It is
an important question about how indigenous life styles and cultures can be
incorporated into ongoing teaching materials.

Throughout my interview questions, I asked a class teacher how teachers can
present indigenous cultural links using their teaching aids. She (ASM) answered
that:

> It can be presented by using various types of teaching aids that are available in
> CHT. For example, teachers can collect and use the pictures of different famous
> people and famous places in CHT. We (teachers) can teach with modified
> textbook contents.

The above quote indicates that teachers have some alternative useful ideas they
can consider for developing the teaching materials. During my participant
observation, I got a lot of constructive feedback from indigenous students. For
example, as a part of preparations of lessons, I collected some posters on disaster
situations for flood, drought and earth quake. I bought large size paper, markers,
pencils and other related materials. I also undertook preparation for how I would be
constructing group and pair work. All of these teaching materials encouraged and
involved indigenous students.

In conclusion, teachers and community people are agreed that indigenous culture
and life styles need to be reflected in teaching contents as well as teaching
materials. Therefore, alternative teaching materials are essential for more
involvement of indigenous children in classroom learning. For this, it is necessary to
create motivation of class teachers to work on this subject matter through
professional development.

Support or limit of professional development of teachers

During my interviews with class teachers and the head teacher, I had discussion

on professional development of teachers of this school. Among three interviewee class teachers, two of them are more than 55 years old and only one is a comparatively young teacher. The two long experienced teachers (KTI and ASM) shared with me about their professional development in PTI, upazila and school. One of them (KTI) exclaimed with frustration that, "I had learned something about teaching methods at Patia PTI about 22 years ago but those methods do not help in this time." I had a leading question about how the short term professional development did help in these days. She (KTI) replied that, "I remembered that I had three short courses in the last five years; these training courses have had new teaching techniques." Therefore, going to professional development courses is not sufficient for school teachers.

I had a question to the head teacher about why class teachers have been getting a low number of professional development courses. The head teacher (HT2) replied that, "There are few opportunities for class teachers to attend the seminars; in most cases head teachers are given the invitation from providers. Our departmental short course training depends on availability of fund. In fact, the fund has not been available for a long time."

Even though most of scholars and policy makers have given the emphasis to teacher education for development of indigenous children's education, only a small number of initiatives for teacher education development have been observed. Therefore, the issue is discussed at national level but implanting it has not being successful due to want of funds.

Support or limit of school management and governance

It is true that somehow the school is popular with indigenous parents, and that made me more interested to know the roles of school management. First of all, we consider the level of popularity. A class teacher (KTI) described the following:

> I have an observation that many indigenous students come to this school from far away, even if there is a school near to their home. For example, there is a government primary school nearby a village. Around this school, many children come to this school. Even some students come to our school by crossing a river; I think indigenous parents have positive feelings towards our school.

The above response illustrates that indigenous students and parents had good feelings for this school. I also observed the same popularity of this school with indigenous students and parents.

Secondly, while undertaking the interview questions, I asked the head teacher how the school became popular with indigenous populations. He (HT2) described

as follows:

> I have been serving in this school since 1999. When I joined the school, it was not well known to people; even the number of students was very low. I tried my best to develop various ways: one of the most significant steps was integration of indigenous culture into co-curriculum activities with the help of SMC. For example, currently, my school has a good position in culture and sports activity in this upazila and due to the reflection of this to people, many of them know the school and it is becoming popular. Every week, I organise cultural events for practising. Every year SMC arranges a picnic for students, staff and SMC members. From these activities, indigenous students feel joyful in their school lives. Specially, indigenous students play vital roles to take part in these events.

The above statement points out some important issues that can make a school popular with indigenous communities. In fact, indigenous communities have a lot of cultural events and are fond of various sports in their lives. Therefore, integration of sports and cultures are significant ways to develop indigenous education. This is an excellent example of how school level management authority's roles can make a school popular.

Thirdly, I had some informal discussions with a small number of indigenous parents and asked them why they chose this school for their children. One of them replied, "Many indigenous children from the surroundings of my home place prefer this school and most teachers of this school come from indigenous communities. Therefore, I have chosen this school for my child's enrolment." Another parent said, "I asked my son which school he would prefer to enrol in. He said that many of his friends have been studying at this school, so he preferred to enrol in this school."

Finally, it can be said that there are many ways we can grow interest in indigenous people about children's schooling and their education. We can aim to recruit more indigenous teachers and introduce more indigenous cultural activities into school. Unfortunately, the recruitment process of any staff for schools is completely controlled by district office and district council, and SMC has no role in recruiting teachers. However, SMC can play a role in integrating indigenous cultures into school activities. According to the head teacher, with the help of SMC, he introduced some activities into the school; in particular he formed a cultural team and always displays cultural events at district level ceremonies. This team is popular in this district.

However, many barriers have been raised by participants in this school. Firstly, during my interview questions, I asked participants how SMC can incorporate introducing creative activities in school. As head teacher (HT2) cited, "At the

beginning of my posting to this school, attendances of SMC members were very good at those meetings, unlike now-a-days when members of SMC focus on business in their daily lives."Similarly, one class teacher (KTI) showed frustration about the current situation: "About three years ago, we had sufficient participation at our SMC monthly meeting. However, recently, many of them do not come to SMC meeting."Therefore, the co-operation of SMC members has not been sufficient in recent times.

Secondly, in a school management system, there are at least two management areas that need to be considered by a head teacher: staff management and academic management. Staff management is the usual focus of activity in this time. Academic management is the challenging issue for the CHT primary schools. As head teacher (HT2) described:

> I think the main challenge is the language problem for indigenous children. At one time, they have to learn three languages, and they feel schooling is hard. The second problem is the low level socio-economic situation of indigenous peoples in this region.

His opinion shows that there are many challenges the head teacher has to face in this school. His feeling is that studying in three languages at a time is hard for anybody.

Thirdly, the majority of people in Bangladesh depend on agriculture for their source of income. However, CHT is not good for agricultural production and has always experienced food crises. One class teacher (LTI) commented, "I know that many students come to school without breakfast." Her opinion indicates that indigenous people are very poor in terms of their socio-economic situation. These situations have led to increasing dropout rates from schools in CHT.

In addition, a SMC member (FGD2P2i) explored a problem that, "There are two villages to the other side of the river. During the monsoon students cannot come to the schools. It's a communication problem."I raised the issue about the rearrangement of vacations in the school calendar in a FGD. According to a SMC member as it is matter of government order, "SMC have nothing we can do about it. Generally, district council makes decisions when the schools remain in vacation and when they remain open." Another participant (FGD2P4m) of FGD said, "We do some adjustment within the fixed 75 days government holidays. We hope we will be able to do this from next year."

Beside this, I had an interesting observation regarding a school management

issue. One day, I observed that the head teacher was absent from school, and an assistant teacher was in-charge as head teacher. In fact, there is no post in the government primary school system as assistant head teacher, therefore a class teacher has to work as a head teacher (in charge) on behalf of the head teacher during his absence from school. I observed that the other teachers were not obeying the in-charge head teacher. Throughout an interview discussion, the class teacher (KTI) described her school management when she works as an in-charge head teacher in this school. She had a strong argument that, "Most of the teachers did not obey my leadership because I am an indigenous woman. It is hard for me to manage them." Her statement indicates that indigenous teachers find it hard to play leadership roles over other teachers, either mainstream or indigenous teachers.

She (KTI) described her colleagues' comments about her. "They (other class teachers) say, 'The head teacher is not so hard about obeying the rules and regulations. Why is she so hard in these issues? She is only a senior Assistant teacher in this school nothing more. Her behaviour is just like the police in our school.'" These types of comments upset her.

Finally, the head teacher (HT2) talked about his limitation in terms of school management. As he described, they do not have any ability to recruit or transfer the staff from the school to other schools. However, he has to manage some complex issues with various communities with careful handling. For instance, the head teacher (HT2) described:

> Sometimes, children collude between indigenous and mainstream students. It is the hardest situation in the school. Then I have to inform the parents of the particular students in order to minimize it. It is a crucial issue but it is necessary to discuss with both indigenous and mainstream parents for mutual solutions in this school.

The above response indicates how the head teacher managed any disputes happening between indigenous and mainstream students in the school. Obviously this is a very sensitive issue to be managed in schools.

In conclusion, I had a question for SMC members during FGD about how the people of the communities address the problems in this school. One participant (FGD2P4m) described the real situation that a majority of people don`t understand the importance of educational involvement, and as well as that they do not monitor their children`s schooling. In fact, school management people still have not enough awareness about how to create educational development initiatives for indigenous children. Therefore, increasing the awareness of the school management people on equity and diversity principles may bring about a better management system

regarding the educational development of indigenous children.

Teaching practice for celebrating equity and diversity education

In this school, in many ways indigenous students have been celebrating more diversity than the school in the previous case study. First of all, indigenous teachers and students were more lively and conversational than at the previous case study school. It was a widely held view that indigenous students had more involvement and leading position in informal sports, and as dominant participants in chatting rooms. Similarly, I observed indigenous teachers had more engagement inconversation and took the lead in this chatting in the staffroom environment. A possible explanation is that this diversity is the result of the high density of indigenous students and teachers in this school.

However, I did not find any optimistic setting of class teachers teaching in classrooms. Particularly, I was curious about whether any special preparations were taken for indigenous weak students in their classrooms by their class teachers. So far, this school had a more favourable environment to organise these types of activities because most classrooms had a higher number of indigenous students. However, all class teachers conducted their class just in conventional ways and I did not find any different activities that were helpful for weak indigenous students. In fact, most of the teachers followed their conventional teaching just depending on textbook contents. For example, in one classroom was observed in this school the class teacher spent more than half of their lesson time directing children to write something from textbook exercises. Beside this, they passed the rest of the time in whole class lecturing and working with individual students just examining the students' notebooks.

However, I conducted three classrooms as a part of my participants' classroom observations. In my classrooms, I had some activities considering that students could have more involvement in sharing activities among their friends. Arranging these activities, I got inspiration from students' stories activities (task B); I got a number of favourite activities that were chosen by grade five students in this school (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Favourite events nomination by students

Events	Students like
Behaviour of teacher	Smiling face and happiness of teacher
Lecturing	By story telling
Ice-breaking	By singing songs
Drawing	Drawing pictures
Sports	Various sports at school
Given suggestions	Suggestions for getting confidence for study
Looking picture	Looking pictures
Funny game activities	Teachers arrange funny games
Group work	Group work in classrooms
Claps	Claps hands in school and classrooms
Work together	I feel good to work together rather than individual work
Korus song	I feel good to sing together in classroom rather individual song.
Extra care	I feel good when teacher has extra time for me if I find it hard to understand any subject matter

I think it is not enough to think that frostiness between indigenous and mainstream students could be broken down by dealing with one or two classes. Rather, more practises in pair and group work are needed for developing their relationships using these favourite activities in classrooms.

Another remarkable issue was that most pairs did not describe through sentence formations during pair work in my participant classroom observation, in the same way they just wrote 'Bandarban' for the answer to the question of what is the name of your home town. The reason is that it is classroom practice under traditional teaching ways. They do not develop language proficiency, especially in English, to describe the real life situation. They could not even write new words except their textbook based words.

During my interview discussion, a class teacher (KTI) acknowledged that she felt that pair work, group work, and many enjoyable activities were helpful for learning of diversity students. Similarly, throughout my focus group discussion, one participant (FGD2P1i) supporting the opinion on these types of activities said as follows:

> Group work in classrooms is helpful for diversity development. However, it is possible where (classroom) have a limited number of students just less than 25. Most of classes the number of students is 50-60 in our school. So, group work cannot be done well. Moreover, our teachers have not enough capacity to arrange effective group works in their classrooms.

The above quote indicates that group work is helpful to ensure diversity in classrooms, and that is supported by Garry Squires (2012, p21). However, the high number of students in classrooms is the main problem for arranging the small group work in this school.

A class teacher (LTI) had an argument that other class teachers did not share anything with their colleagues on teaching learning developments in this school. She also pointed out that daily assembly, sports and cultural activities are helpful for the development of diversity among the students. The argument expressed here indicates that not enough sports and cultural events have been organised at this school. Her suggestions are to recruit more trained teachers and build up more classrooms. Strategies to enhance diversity teaching might involve more recruitment of trained teachers in this school.

Summary

Due to the higher proportion of indigenous students in this school, teachers and students have been celebrating comparatively better diversity. Both indigenous parents and students had a positive mental attitude towards enrolling the indigenous students at this school. It was also observed that most indigenous students were energetic in this school environment.

Firstly, teacher-student and student-student interactions and relationships had some positive indications while observed in this school. It has been seen that indigenous students show more friendships with mainstream students than at the previous case study school. Similarly, both indigenous and mainstream teachers are popular among both indigenous and mainstream students. Still, most students sat at the bench choosing their own community mate. Mainstream class teachers agreed that they had some problems with indigenous students for proper communications.

Secondly, School Management Committee has already taken a few initiatives for the educational development of indigenous children. A cultural team of this school has made the school famous in this district, but this integration is mostly partial and a small number of students from this school are involved with the program. Nonetheless, some indigenous students have been feeling positive in this school environment.

However, school teachers have been getting traditional professional development on pedagogy, and teaching learning situations were observed in conventional ways in the school. Class teachers did not have any special support for indigenous or any weak students in their classrooms. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss what should be done for further educational development of indigenous children.

CHAPTER 8: CASE STUDY SCHOOL C

Introduction

The third case study school is considered to be a remote school. The school is located just on top of a hill in a government forest area. There is a long narrow path before approaching the school building from the road. Most of the area is surrounded by forest areas and only one side (in the west) has a few villages. The children come to this school from those villages.

For many years, indigenous peoples have been living in the forest and hilly areas in CHT and I had similar impression about their choice of living areas. Therefore, it seemed to me that most villagers are indigenous and most of the students of the school would be indigenous. However, the real situation proved to be different as I started working at the school and received actual information. Many mainstream people have settled there around the school as new inhabitants from other parts of the country. Local indigenous peoples call them 'Settlers'.

This process of settling in is a politically sensitive issue and has been negative, which has prompted a mutually harsh relationship between indigenous and mainstream inhabitants. Though SMC (FGD3P1i) insisted that they have been living there in harmony, I also received supporting information, including informal discussion with community peoples in this region, which indicated otherwise.

Profile of the school

The head teacher of this school was female and came from mainstream group. She was the only female head teacher among my four research schools. On the very first day Ivisitedthe school, I did not find her at her office. An assistant teacher helped me to getinformation about the school. Compared with my other research schools, this is a small school considering the number of students and staff.

Table 8.1: Statistical data of students and teachers of school C

Features	Total	Indigenous representation	Mainstream Representation
Number of students	183	65 (36%) Marma 47, Chakma 6, Tanchangya 6, Mro 7, Tripura 1	118 (64%)
Number of teachers	6	3 (50%), Marma 3	3 (50%)
Teacher-student ratio	1: 35	1: 22	1: 39

The total number of students of this school is 183 including 65 indigenous students (Table 8.1). Most of the students of this school come from very poor families, from both indigenous and mainstream groups. It is noted that among the indigenous children that they are diverse, with representation from Marma, Chakma, Tanchangya, Mro and Tripura. The percentage of indigenous students is 36 and of indigenous teachers is 50 (Table 8.1).

Typical study days in the school

Generally, in the previous two case study schools, I selected classrooms of grade four and five for observations. In this school, I selected one classroom from grade two because I felt especially interested to observe the situation with lower grade indigenous students in their classroom interactions. One argument that I have been presented with by many of my research participants is that early grade indigenous students with mainstream teachers face great difficulty with their language of communication. Therefore, I decided to observe grades two, four and five classrooms in this school. Before observing the classrooms in this school, I completed my consent procedure with my participants in the school.

Formal activities

I had planned to observe at least six classroom observations – three as non-participant and three as participant; eventually, I was able to observe four classrooms – two as nonparticipant and the other two as participant (Table 8.2). This reduction in the number of observations is due to student engagement in their annual examination.

Similarly, I had to reduce the number of interviews with class teachers because they were also busy with the examination. According to my proposal, I organised a focus group discussion with the committee members of SMC in the school and four participants were present at the focus group discussion. Among them only one participant was from the mainstream group and the other three participants were from Marma community. The codes of these participants are: FGD3P1i, FGD3P2i, FGD3P3i, and FGD3P4m.

The following day, I conducted an interview with the class teacher and her code is MMI. Though I made preparations to conduct another interview with one more class teacher (SSM), she got sick with severe headache and had to withdraw her name from being interviewed. In the end, I conducted an interview with the head teacher and her code is HT3. I also collected data through children's stories, illustrations and

photos at this school.

Table 8.2: Day to day formal activities at School C

Day	Activity	Brief description
1	Introducing with school management	Permission for my seating place, consents procedure, proper handover of Letter of Introduction and information sheet.
2	Introducing with class teachers	Consent agreement with class teachers, detailed discussion about how I observed classrooms.
3	Non-participant classroom observation	Observing a grade two English lesson classroom
4	Participant classroom observation	I conducted one grade five mathematics lesson
5	Non-participant classroom observation	Observing a grade four Elementary Science lesson classroom
6	Participant classroom observation	I conducted a mathematics class with grade five students
7	Conducting FGD	Four SMC members were present at the FGD
8	Conducting class teacher Interviews	The interviews were held in a silent room after school hours
9	Conducting head teacher interview	The interviews were held in a silent room after school hours
10	Children's stories, illustration and photo (work with students)	Primarily I complied with all procedures related to ethical approval from students and parents.

Informal activities

I had discussion with some students, both indigenous and mainstream, about their daily lives. I also talked with some indigenous parents. Many indigenous parents, I have observed, sometimes loiter around the school in their free times. According to them, the school campus is the only place where people can sit and relax since the rest of the area is covered by forest. Sometimes, I had informal discussions with them focussing on my research. Besides this, I had informal discussions with other class teachers (especially with the code of STI class teacher), staff, and SMC members and head teacher.

Practising equity and diversity in the school

My observations, interview discussions, focus group discussions, work with students, and many informal discussions helped me to collect valuable information and evidence which support or limit practising equity and diversity principles in this school.

Teacher-student relationships and interactions

I observed at least two classrooms as a non-participant classroom observer in the school. One of them was conducted by an indigenous teacher (MMI) and the class was for grade two students learning English language. I observed something

important which is linked with equity and diversity principles.

During the professional development program, class teachers have been advised to communicate with students in English during the English language class according to pedagogical instructions (National Academy for Primary Education, 2001). However, I observed the teacher mostly communicating with students in Bangla. As she tried her best to communicate with all students in the classroom, I noticed that she sometimes also used indigenous language for communicating with the indigenous students in the classroom. Moreover, she made fairly equal eye contact with all her students. The lesson seemed well planned as she had adequate time to answer queries from students. While the teacher asked some questions to a few of the students individually, it was not observed that any student was willing to pose any question to the teacher.
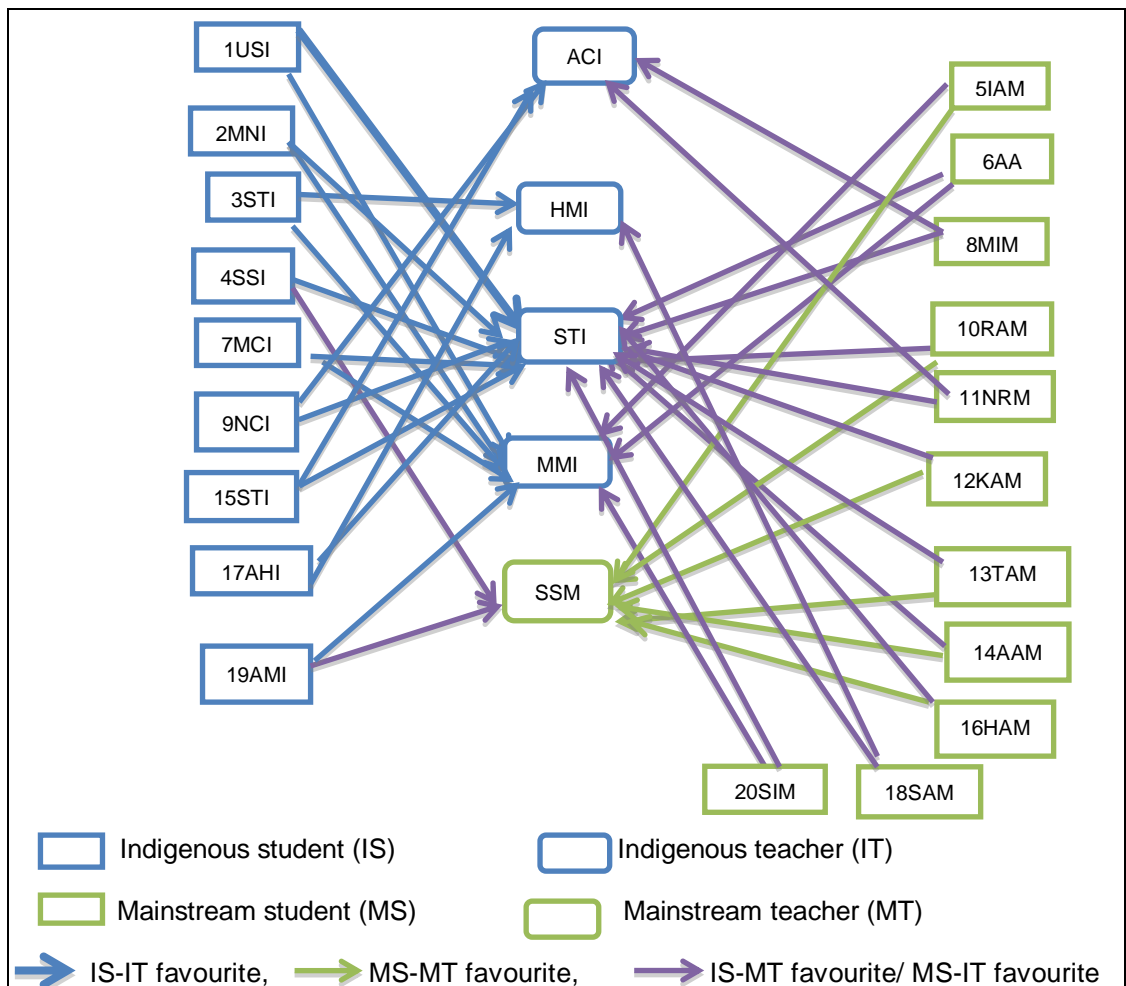
Figure 8.1: Favourite class teachers' nominations by students at School C

During her communication with students, she showed some positive attitudes, for instance, she called most of the students by their names. She also maintained a balanced behaviour while communicating with both indigenous and mainstream

children. However, she did not have overall control of all students. A large number of students did not listen to her lesson; rather the focus of their attention was different from the subject matter. Moreover, she did not know all the students in her classroom in person and she did not have extra time to encourage the weaker students.

Most important to realise is how the students learn English as a second language through this type of lesson. There were a lot of activities positively linked with language development teaching techniques, for example, conversation, drilling, oral presentations, group and pair work. However, this class teacher organised only questions and answers and lecturing techniques for this lesson.

A mainstream teacher (SSM) organised the second non-participant classroom with a grade four Mathematics lesson class. Most of the time in her lesson, she did not converse with the entire class of students and stuck to the lecture method. Rarely, she would call students by their names. In fact, she did not know the names of the indigenous students in her class. It was apparent that she did not care whether indigenous students understood her class due to a lack of Bangla skill which was being used. Moreover, she did nothing to encourage the weaker students.

From Figure 8.1, we can notice that STI is the most popular class teacher among the students. Interestingly, both indigenous and mainstream students selected STI to be the most favourite teacher. One indigenous student (7MCI) described a mainstream teacher (SSM) and why she prefers her and has taken photo of her:

> SSM is my warm-hearted teacher. She makes a lot of enjoyable activities in our classroom. We can easily understand her lecture in classrooms. She has good affection towards us. I think I will never forget her. I have got high scores because she has taught us well.

The quote indicates that this class teacher was optimistic about classroom teaching. Though she followed lecture methods for teaching, she organised for some fun activities in the classroom.

Relationships and interaction between indigenous and mainstream students

During both non-participant classroom observations, I witnessed that most indigenous students sat separately from mainstream students, as I observed in previous case study schools. In an informal situation, I asked one pair of students the reason behind their sitting together in the same bench. They said that they are close friends in the school. They said that they often chat with each other in their own language in the classrooms. Both students lived in the same village and they

walked together from their home to this school. Therefore, they sat together in a bench.

As has been the case with other case study schools, I conducted similar activities with the students of this school – to know about their close friends in this school (Task A). The students' opinions can be seen mapped in Figure 8.2. In most cases, student-student friendships have developed maintaining a strong community link.

However, three students (4SSI, 5IAM and 19AMI) among the 20 students indicated diversity friendships. I observed an interesting relationship between an indigenous student (4SSI) and a mainstream student (5IAM) in Figure8.2. They preferred each other. In an informal discussion both of these students informed me that they lived in the same village and they have a good neighbourhood relationship between their families.
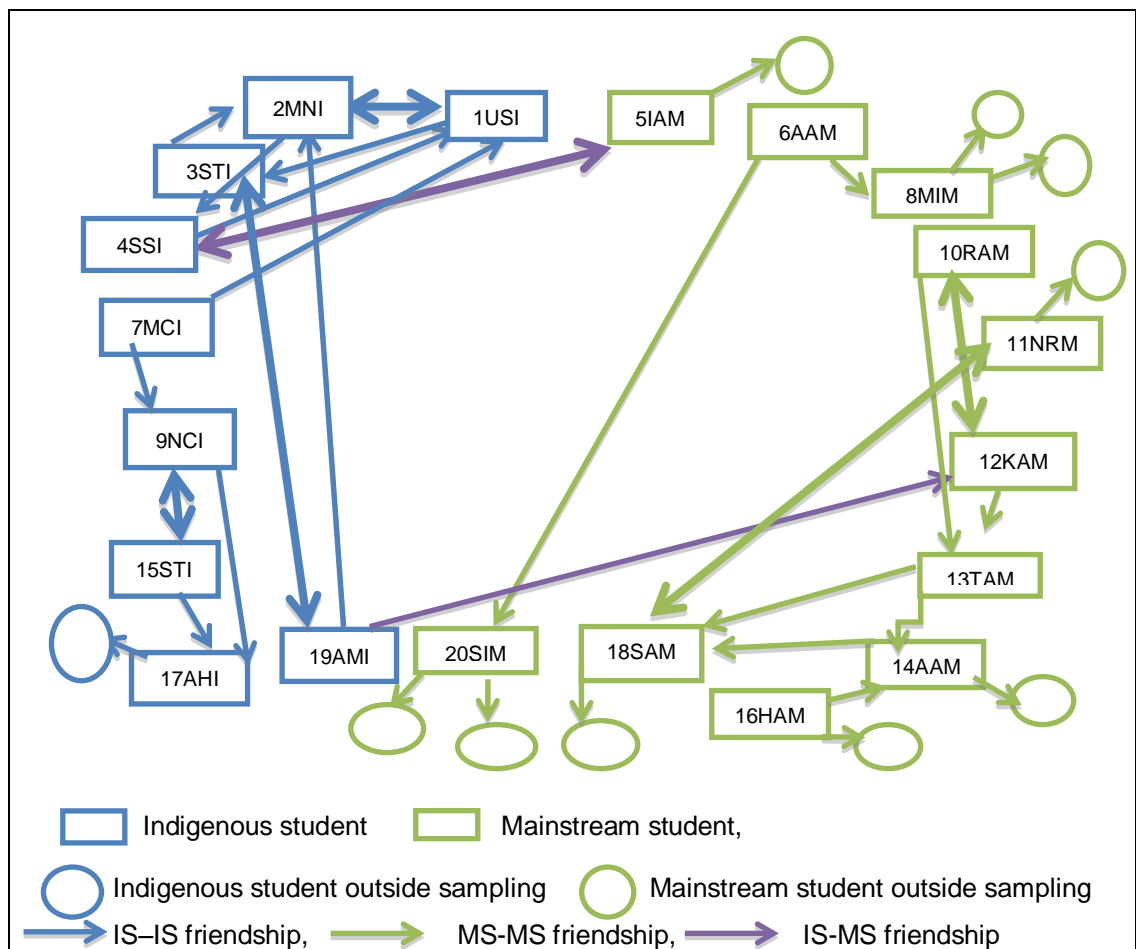
Figure 8.2: Nominations of close friends by students at School C

Class teachers of this school also agreed that indigenous and mainstream student relationships do favour student-centred classroom activities. For example, one indigenous class teacher (MMI) claimed:

I feel that there are some problems in our classrooms regarding existing relationships among students. This is seen to exist especially between indigenous and mainstream students. They are rigid, not joyful environments.

The opinion of the teacher shows that it is a significant problem for quality teaching in classrooms in CHT schools. A serious argument was raised by a SMC member in this school. As she (FGD3P2i) said, "Sometimes, students yell odd words to irritate each other. In most cases, indigenous children become victimised by this." This quote is important evidence that there have been some things happening that are causes of poor relationships between indigenous and mainstream students.

I had another activity the following day with those students. During this activity, students were asked to write the names of their favourite school activities (Task B). They wrote the names of their favourite activities in this school and those are presented in Table 8.4 at column one.

Table 8.4: Favourite events selected by students at School C

Favourite things for students	Link to research component
Kind and smiling behaviour of class teachers	Teacher-student interactions
Chatting with friends, playing football at school ground, other sports	Student-student interactions
Watching drawings on the classroom walls	Teaching materials
Funny games activities, pair work, group work	Professional development
Extra care to practise difficult lessons/ topics	School governance and management
Singing songs, drawing, story telling	Teaching preparation

Table 8.4 shows how the construction of peer relationships among students depends on students' chatting and playing mates in school. Therefore, seating position rearrangement can help to bring more diversity among students' friendships. As the head teacher (HT3) of this school explained:

Sitting separately in classrooms based on indigenous and mainstream backgrounds, I feel, is not a good practice to achieve quality education. I often try to rearrange the seating system. However, the practice was not sustained in our school.

The above response illustrates that sometimes school management took steps to ensure more diversity in the school, but they did not always achieve great success because the system did not follow up on activities. Similarly, one former primary school teacher who is now a member of SMC in this school (FGD3P3i) claimed that

they tried to make students sit in mixed groups but after 20 to 30 minutes they again separated themselves. His opinion was that it is a complex task to bring diversity among the various communities of students in this school. Even though many examples can be presented that relationships between indigenous and mainstream students are not satisfied for proper quality learning, the school is the significant place that can play a role to bring more diversity among the inhabitants in CHT. As the head teacher (HT3) described:

> My opinion is that schools are playing vital roles to develop a mutually respectful social system between indigenous and mainstream people. There are a lot of activities through which children get opportunities to know each other's culture and customs. Beside this, the school playground is a good place where students get the chance to interact with each other and develop friendships.

The above statement pointed out that school has an important role to play in bringing equity and diversity between indigenous and mainstream students.

Support or limit of curriculum and textbooks for equitable education

As in the other previous case study schools, I perceived some common phenomenon to also be present in my non-participant classroom observations. In fact, the class teachers organised their classrooms in conventional ways, using only government published textbooks as teaching materials. As a result, I introduced some variations while observing classrooms in this section.

As I noted before, the lower grade indigenous students suffer from linguistic barriers and fail to communicate with class teachers using mainstream language. This is why I intentionally selected a grade two classroom for observation in this school. About this issue, the head teacher (HT3) of this school said, "Only indigenous teachers can help the indigenous children to understand the lesson content. I have to say that the government has a lack of awareness about this problem."

Similarly, the head teacher of this school (HT3) stated, "Indigenous students are weak in Bangla. The text books distributed by the government for all subjects are in Bangla, except for English subject. So, we are facing difficulty in using these text books in classrooms with mixed students, especially where the ratio of indigenous students is high."

The medium of communication is very important especially in the elementary education system. Throughout the focus group discussion one indigenous SMC member (FGD4P2i) argued:

Bangla is not our mother tongue. So, we are not efficient in Bangla. As an adult, I can speak very little Bangla. However, our children have been studying with Bengali children in this school. They cannot speak Bangla nor can they understand what the teacher is saying. Many students do not go to school as they cannot speak Bangla. I think this is the reason behind indigenous children achieving and performing poorly.

The above quote presents a similar argument that many participants used to explain how indigenous students have been facing problems communicating in Bangla as that is the medium of education. However, an indigenous class teacher (MMI) claimed:

As an indigenous teacher, sometimes I use indigenous language for communication with indigenous children. This practice is helpful only for single group indigenous children. This is something helpful for them but other students (other indigenous groups and mainstream) cannot understand.

Here, the class teacher presents her way of communicating in classrooms. She even observed that this is not enough for the students because it has a limitation for other language students.

Chapter Fifteen
Our Culture

Culture
Generally what we do and how we do is called culture. What we are is culture. In that sense, every single thing of our life is part of culture. Our lifestyle, dress, food, festival, program, language, music, accommodation, art, jewellery, vehicle, utensil, belief everything makes our culture. But with the course of time, these things can change. As a result, the shape of culture can change as well. Thus culture is changeable. However, everything of a culture does not change. Major parts of culture remain unchanged for a long time.
Since Bangladesh is a country of various religion, complexion, race and ethnic groups, each of these has its own distinct culture. And all of these make us and our country.
Now we will learn about some major attributes of the culture of Bangladesh which almost everybody follows irrespective of religion and ethnic groups.

Language
Language is the medium of expression of human mind. Most of the people of Bangladesh are Bengali. So Bengali is our main language. All the Bengalis' mother tongue is Bengali whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Buddhists. However, apart from Bengalis, there are other ethnic groups in the country as well. They have their own languages which are their mother tongue. We all speak, write and think in our own mother tongues.

Attire
Female Attire: The main dress of Bengali women is sari. Bengali women commonly wear sari in their daily lives and in festivals. However, in course of time, salwar-kamiz has also been turned into the common dress of daily life of females. The trend of wearing salwar-kamiz is mainly

Figure 8.3: Description of culture from textbook (A page from textbook)
Source: Nasreen, Maleque, Chakraborti, & Akhter (2013, p92)

One former primary school teacher who is now a member of SMC in this school (FGD3P3i) claimed that indigenous children do not want to interact with the mainstream children because indigenous students fail to express themselves with the other children due to communication problems. In fact, the language of communication is an important factor for quality teaching in classrooms.

In this school, in my first participant classroom, I observed how students establish cultural linkage through classroom activities. I organised for 12 pairs with 24 students in the class. There were 6 mixed pairs, with indigenous and mainstream students, 2 pairs had only indigenous students, and 4 pairs had only mainstream students. Then, I handed out instructions for each pair to work with. The pairs were asked to prepare a list of female attire and male attire as they have in their communities. When they presented their pair work, it was interesting to note that almost all pairs wrote names of attire just as described in their textbook, in which attires were focused only on mainstream culture (Figures 8.3 and 8.4).
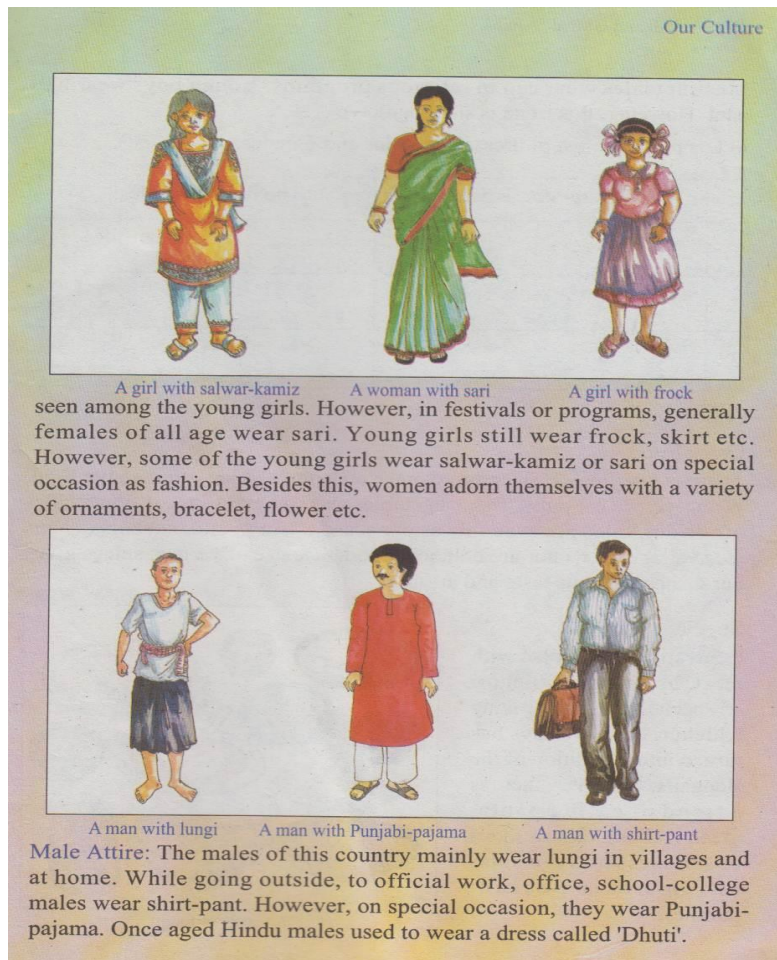
Figure 8.4: Wearing dress by various people in Bangladesh (A page from textbook)

Source: Nasreen et al. (2013, p93)

I asked a few indigenous students informally, in the classroom, about why they did not write the names of their own cultural dresses. Some indigenous students explained their situations. One of them said, "I thought that answers will only be correct if they were from our textbooks. The answers from outside the textbook were not accepted in our final examination." Another indigenous student said, "Always our teachers give us instruction for memorising the textbook and giving answers from the textbook." Another student said, "I cannot spell the names of our cultural dresses."

This made me realise that it is the outcome of a conventional teaching and assessment system. It does not have enough links with real life situations. During my non-participant classroom observations, I observed that every teacher depended mainly on textbooks as teaching materials.

Figure 8.5: Drawing a picture by an indigenous student (17AMI)

Continuing my work with students in this school, I handed out to them another instruction to write the names of two subject matters in their school which they would like to draw or take a picture of with a camera (Task B and task C). Then, I supplied the students with a piece of art paper for drawing those subject matters and gave them 40 minutes to complete the task. During this task, some students sketched and they were seen to be cheerful.

In relation to students' thinking and representations of cultural life with 'Teaching materials', there are some interesting issues to consider when students' drawings have links to their own geographical setting. For example, two drawing pictures are shown in Figures 8.5 and 8.6. The students' life styles somehow had reflection into those pictures. The indigenous student wrote something about the picture, "Hills, forests, grasses, people and rivers are shown in my picture. I love them." Similarly,

the mainstream wrote about her picture, "I like watching the river that flows near our village. Sometimes I bathe in the river, sometimes I take a boat trip across the river."

Figure 8.6: Picture drawn by a mainstream student (14AAM)

During my activities, I noticed the participation of the students. They, both indigenous and mainstream students, always showed cheerfulness and felt highly confident in working with me. The indigenous students had no barrier when communicating with me. Listing of something, drawing pictures, discussing and taking photos, both indigenous and mainstream students participated well with me.

During my interviews with participants, I got optimistic responses to the suggestion of integrating cultural events from both indigenous and mainstream traditions. One class teacher of this school offered to comment on the cultural interest of the students. As she (MMI) said:

> When I came as a teacher in this school, many indigenous students felt very happy to get me because I was well known as a cultural activity organiser. Finally, I have achieved that both indigenous and mainstream students of this school have developed intimacy with me, especially those who take part in cultural activities. During these types of activities, students, parents and teachers also feel enjoyment.

The above quote indicates that the class teacher's constructive enterprise influenced indigenous education to develop.

Support or limit of professional development

I had the rationale that student-centred activities are helpful for weak students. As I cited before, many class teachers argued that the number of students are high in their classrooms, so they could not arrange student-centred activities in classrooms.

However, the teacher-student ratio is comparatively lower in this school than in the previous case study schools (See Table 8.1). Therefore, I had expected to observe learner centred activities in the school due to this favourable environment. Contrary to this expectation, during my non-participant observations, I did not observe those types of classroom activities. During my interview, I asked the participants about reasons behind the class teacher not organising student-centred activities in classrooms. The head teacher (HT3) explained:

> I gained a lot of new knowledge on teaching methods during my PTI training course. These new techniques are much better than the traditional teaching techniques. However, class teachers do not practise those in their classrooms. Here, I would say that teachers do not have enough skills to organise group and pair work. I feel that more professional development programs are required to introduce positive attitudes in the profession.

The opinion shows that the head teacher has no management control over class teachers and their activities in the school. Otherwise, it would have been possible for the head teacher of this school to encourage quality teaching; I posed her my question in the discussion, to which she (HT3) replied,

> During our staff meeting, I try to motivate our class teachers for quality learning in classrooms. My instructions are on the basis of some key questions as follows: How do you teach the children? How do you develop your teaching? How do you encourage students? As a follow up activity, sometimes I observe various classes. My realisation is that teachers do not follow my instructions.

The quote indicates that class teachers show a weakness in following the head teacher leadership, particularly on professional development instructions. More discussion is needed as to why class teachers do not practise professional development learning skills. Truly, during my field work, I did not observe in any of the case study schools that the head teacher arranged for professional development meetings with class teachers.

I asked the head teacher about the differences between the current professional development and previous professional development programs, particularly in terms of discussions on the subject matters of equity and diversity education. She (HT3) cited, "When I received training at PTI, I never encountered discussions on the issues of equity and diversity education. However, many training sessions now-a-days have discussions on these types of issues." Her opinion indicates that modern professional development has been integrating human rights and equity for the disadvantaged children.

Support or limit of School management and governance

The head teacher (HT3) shared with me a significant experience in her life about

how a head teacher could inspire indigenous parents to enrol their children at primary schools. During my interview questions, I asked her to share any experience that may have had a positive impact on developing indigenous education in the region. She (HT3) described as below:

> About a decade ago, I had a posting at a primary school in a remote area as the head teacher. To commute to the school, I had to cross a river before reaching the school. For a period of time, I lived in a small rented house near the school. The house did not have proper facilities for living. I started to campaign with other staff for 'Education for All' in the catchment area of my school. Most inhabitants in the catchment area were indigenous peoples. I also conducted a campaign for relationship development among them. This included all students, teachers and parents, who developed good relationships among the various communities within a few days. Many new students enrolled at the school. After a few days, I reported that 100 children in the catchment area completed enrolment at the school.

The quote explains how a head teacher could contribute towards development of indigenous education through campaigns especially at the schools in CHT. My realisation is that motivational programs in remote areas can also provide positive results for educational development of indigenous children, and they can perform well.

Currently, this head teacher (HT3) worries about some cases because she could not match the government's planning for an indigenous education development agenda and their implementation process. She explained her argument as follows:

> The government has initiated some programs for indigenous educational development. The reality, however, is that most development programs have been rolling out on paper. Not much physical development was to be seen. For example, many development steps have been taken for incorporating indigenous language in primary education but I have not seen many activities at our school.

In this quote, she presents the real situation of development programs in CHT. Other researchers have also put forward similar arguments (Chowdhury et al., 2003).

In the same way, one class teacher (MMI) shared with me about some teachers not practising those things that are not academic purposes in schools. She (MMI) described:

> First of all, I feel worried when I see somebody (other teachers) do not go to classrooms on time. Rather, they are chatting among themselves in the staffroom. Secondly, I do not like some special duties expected by government departments, such as election duty. It has no relationship to children's education.

Her opinion indicates some weakness in school management. I also observed in the school that sometimes class teachers did not enter classrooms on time.

During my interview discussion, I asked the head teacher to give examples of how

she has been practising equitable activities at her school. She (HT3) cited,

> I allow extra leave for students and teachers without public holidays based on indigenous cultural festivals. For this purpose, I discussed with higher officials in the management office. With their consent, indigenous students and teachers are allowed extra days off so they can celebrate and observe culturally important days.

The above quotation mentions that the head teacher of this school can manage extra leave of absence for indigenous students and teachers. While this type of support by the government does provide some assistance, many problems still exist with indigenous educational development. For example, the poverty of indigenous people is the main barrier to educational development. As the head teacher (HT3) described, "I was posted at a primary school near a factory. Many indigenous people were working in the factory. Consequently, many indigenous students came to our school. When the factory was laid off, those students dropped out from the school."

One focus group discussion participant (FGD4P1i) argued, "Every school arranges annual sports. I do not see any arrangement for sports in this school. It is difficult to collect any money for such activities from the school management." Similarly, another FGD participant (FGD4P3i) described:

> To arrange such activities as annual sports day and cultural events, we need money. We, however, do not have the scope for fund raising. We need to think in alternative ways for fund collection. Parents and ex-students of the school could be invited, and with their participation and co-operation we may increase school events.

The above quotation explains that funding is crucial for extra management of schools. The head teacher (HT3) concluded, "The indigenous people are still lagging behind due to their poor socio-economic situation. Even SMC members from indigenous communities do not come to meetings regularly. Therefore, it is critical to develop their income sources."

Another indigenous SMC member (FGD3P2i) explained:

> As a social worker, we know that many indigenous children do not go to schools. They go to work. We discussed with the parents of these children about sending them to school. These parents are not literate, so they do not realise the value of education. For example, current education depends heavily on private tutors, which involves high costs and they have no means to bear this expenditure.

This quotation indicates that sometimes SMC members were motivated to work with indigenous parents, which indicates the relative value of reaction from those parents. This SMC member explored the cost of education and that is a significant problem in continuing education for indigenous children. However, one class teacher (MMI) explained that, these days, almost all students get financial support. As she mentioned, "There are some intensive supports given by the education department available for students whose families cannot afford the cost

of education. Such stipend programs for poor students are implemented across Bangladesh." This is a constructive initiative for implanting equitable education for all students.

I raised through FGD about the ongoing situation of the educational development of indigenous students. A mainstream SMC member (FGD3P4m) described:

> My opinion is that educational development of CHT has been working slowly but they have improved from previous times. When I was a student, there were very few indigenous students in our class. None of them continued to secondary school. They quit at class five. I failed to find any candidate of 18-30 years of age and with an indigenous background to recruit under the quota system for office attendant. Only now-a-days, we get literate indigenous peoples. Therefore, in various ways, we can develop the situation in CHT. We need to build up more classrooms, playgrounds, and students' accommodation for students from remote regions.

His opinion clearly shows that somehow development activities have been increasing but they are working only slowly. Throughout this study, I have found some crucial issues regarding school management and governance which are discussed in detail in chapter 10.

Teaching practices for celebrating equity and diversity education

As I observed in other case study schools, class teachers made no preparation to conduct the class. They did not even use any teaching materials which were modified or created by them. They conducted their classes using only textbooks. Therefore, all of my non-participant classroom observations in this school were of conventional practices.

From my second participant classroom observation, I focused on modified teaching materials through organising classroom activities. After forming groups with students, I supplied every group with a picture (related to various sports) and a piece of plain paper for writing about the activity in the picture.

My instructions were: "Look at the picture, identify the sport name. Then make a list of instruments required for that sport and finally draw a shape of that sports' ground through discussion in the group." I gave 15 minutes for this task. During this waiting time, I went to every group and encouraged them. At the end, every group presented their group work.

I observed that most students were cheerful during the group work. Both indigenous and mainstream students were active. After finishing the group activity, I gave them another instruction – to select a presenter from every group. It was interesting to see

that most groups selected their presenter from the mainstream students. Most of the indigenous students felt too shy to present group work in their classrooms.

Summary

The third case study school is different from the other case study schools in numerous ways. It is situated in a comparatively remote area and it is small in size in terms of number of students and staff numbers. Moreover, the head teacher was female. I introduced a change in my non-participant classroom observation in that I observed grade two students instead of grade four or five. The reason is that, FGD participants in previous case study schools had raised a significant argument that lower grade primary indigenous students suffered more because of poor communication skills with mainstream class teachers than did upper grade primary indigenous students. I collected evidence supporting this argument from this school.

So far, I understood that indigenous communities had a great feeling for their cultures. They preferred to present and practise it everywhere, such as in schools, market places, religious centres, and in their homes. Therefore, I gave special consideration to indigenous students in order to observe the scope to freely practise culture in their school environment. There was either none or only a little scope for practising indigenous culture in the school environment. No subject matter was linked with equity and diversity education for disadvantaged children in the previous professional development program. Most school teachers have no knowledge of how indigenous students can get help for quality learning in schools.

The head teacher described her experiences and how she motivated many indigenous people in a particular school catchment area. Therefore, a motivational program in remote areas is a fruitful campaign for educational development of indigenous children. It was further observed that students enjoyed their classroom activities through pair work and group work when I organised the lesson in classrooms. Therefore, teachers can prepare and organise pair work and group work in their classrooms.

CHAPTER 9: CASE STUDY SCHOOL D

Introduction

I spent almost 12 working days at School D. The head teacher of this school helped me to arrange my research activities. At the beginning of my stay at the school, I had a lot of informal discussions with class teachers and the head teacher, as I did with the other case study schools. This school is organised around two shifts. For pre-primary to grade two students, schooling hours are from 9.20 am to 12.30 pm (First shift); and for grades three to five students, schooling hours are from 12.00 pm to 4.20 pm (Second shift).

In general, many second shift students came earlier than the school start time of 12.00 o'clock and sat with their friends under trees chatting or playing in the school yard. During their break times, I had some informal discussions about their life styles and collected their feedback about school activities. I also arranged some fun activities for the students so the students would feel free to talk with me. This discussion helped me clarify some subject matter from partial information related to equity principles in primary schools in CHT gained by visiting schools.

Profile of school

School D is setup in the rural area just behind a paper making factory and it is situated on the top of a small hill about 150 metres high. The hill is covered with forest with medium sized trees. The school is also medium in size comprising 282 students and eight teachers (Table 9.1). Indigenous studentsform24 per cent of the total students and the number of indigenous teachers is 2 out of 8 in this school (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1: Statistical data of students and teachers of School D

Features	Total	Indigenous representation	Mainstream Representation
Number of students	282	67 (24%) Marma 47, Chakma 6, Tanchangya 6, Mro 7, Tripura 1	215 (76%)
Number of teachers	8	2 (25%) Chakma 2	6 (75%)
Teacher-student ratio	1: 35	1: 33	1: 36

The catchment area of the school is spread into both plain and hilly land areas with representation of five groups of indigenous children and mainstream students. The school does not have accommodation facilities; however, a number of indigenous

students have been residing at the Buddhist 'mot', a religious centre, adjacent to the school.

Typical study days in the school

My accommodation was about one kilometre away from the school. Generally, I travelled to the school on foot. Sometimes, I met a few students on the way. On most days, I had morning tea with the head teacher of the school. During this time, I checked my dairy for the day's activities and shared my plan with him (Tables 9.2 and 9.3).

Table 9.2: Day to day formal activities at School D

Day	Activity	Brief description
1	Discussion with head teacher	Seeking permission for seating place, how I plan to work in the school; consents and permission from parents and SMC members and hand over to head teacher of the Letter of Introduction and consent forms for distribution.
2	Discussion with two class teachers	Consent agreement with class teachers, detailed discussion with them about how I would observe a small number of classrooms.
3	Non-participant classroom observation	Observing a classroom grade five English lesson.
4	Participant classroom observation	I conducted a class with grade five mathematics lesson.
5	Non-participant classroom observation	Observing a grade four classroom during their Elementary Science lesson
6	Participant classroom observation	I conducted a mathematics class with grade five students.
9	FGD	Four SMC members were present at my FGD.
10	Two class teachers' interview	The interviews were held in a room at level one in a classroom after school hours.
11	Head teacher interview	The interview was conducted a room at level one in a classroom after school hours.
12	Children's stories, illustrations and photo	Primarily, I did everything to receive ethical approval from students and parents.

I tried to conduct interviews with three class teachers but was finally able to conduct the interview with two class teachers and their code numbers are BCI and ACI. The code of absent class teacher is NBM. Throughout the informal discussions, I tried to satisfy my curiosity on the various issues that had influenced me in previous case study schools.

Generally, a double-shifted school organises assembly at 12.00 o'clock. This allowed me time to work informally with students and staff. Many upper grade (grade three to grade five) students came earlier than the school start time and played or chatted with other friends at the school premises. I asked them many informal questions and they also tried to reply to the best of their knowledge.

Table9.3: Informal activities in School D

Day	Informal activities
1	Discussion with school staff and class teachers during their free times Observation of normal daily activities or practices
2	Discussion with some indigenous students and class teachers Observation of school assembly
3	Discussion with an indigenous teacher
4	Observation of informal playing of students in the school playground
5	Observation of school assembly
6	Discussion with some students on the way to school from their villages
7	Discussion with a mainstream class teacher
8	Discussion with an indigenous teacher

Equity and diversity practices at the school level

I observed the student-teacher and student-student interaction in the classrooms, classroom management, teaching content, teaching materials, local level school management, and teachers' preparation for teaching in their schools.

Interactions and relationships among the teachers and students

During my non-participant classroom observations, I observed two classrooms which were organised by one mainstream teacher and one indigenous teacher. First of all, in the case one classroom, the mainstream teacher conducted the whole class activities and she maintained equal eye contact with all students. However, she did not know the names of all students in her classroom and she did not use the students' names for calling on them during the lesson. During her class, she asked a mainstream student to collect her chalk and duster from her office. On another occasion, she asked a mainstream student to bring her the students' attendance sheet.

I observed many such cases where mainstream teachers avoided interactions with indigenous students. Next day, I asked informally of this mainstream teacher why she did not ask an indigenous student to help her with those tasks. She answered that they (indigenous students) would not understand her language and that only a few indigenous students can easily understand Bengali. This evidence shows some mainstream teachers' belief that indigenous students cannot understand their lectures because they are delivered in Bengali. It raised an important question about how indigenous children will learn without proper communication skills from their class teachers.

Secondly, I noted that there were a comparatively lower number of students in every

classroom in the school than in those of the previous three case study schools. For example, 3HBM -participant classroom BCI ations had a total nu 5AMM students of 23 and 29 respectively. In this context, I was interested to see if there was more emphasis on learner-based activities in the classrooms. However, both class teachers organised class activities following conventional teacher-directed methods. Now, my question is why many teachers argue that they are not able to organise learner-centred activities due to the higher number of students in some classrooms. This issue is discussed in chapter 10. Thirdly, when students approached the teacher to check their notebooks, I observed that indigenous students were shy approaching the teacher and that the teacher did not pay any extra attention to indigenous students or use encouraging words during their classroom activities. My interviews with the class teachers and the school head teacher revealed further information about relationships between mainstream teachers and indigenous students. One indigenous class teacher (ACI) stated, "Among the indigenous students there still remain some problems with how they interact with their mainstream teachers in the school."
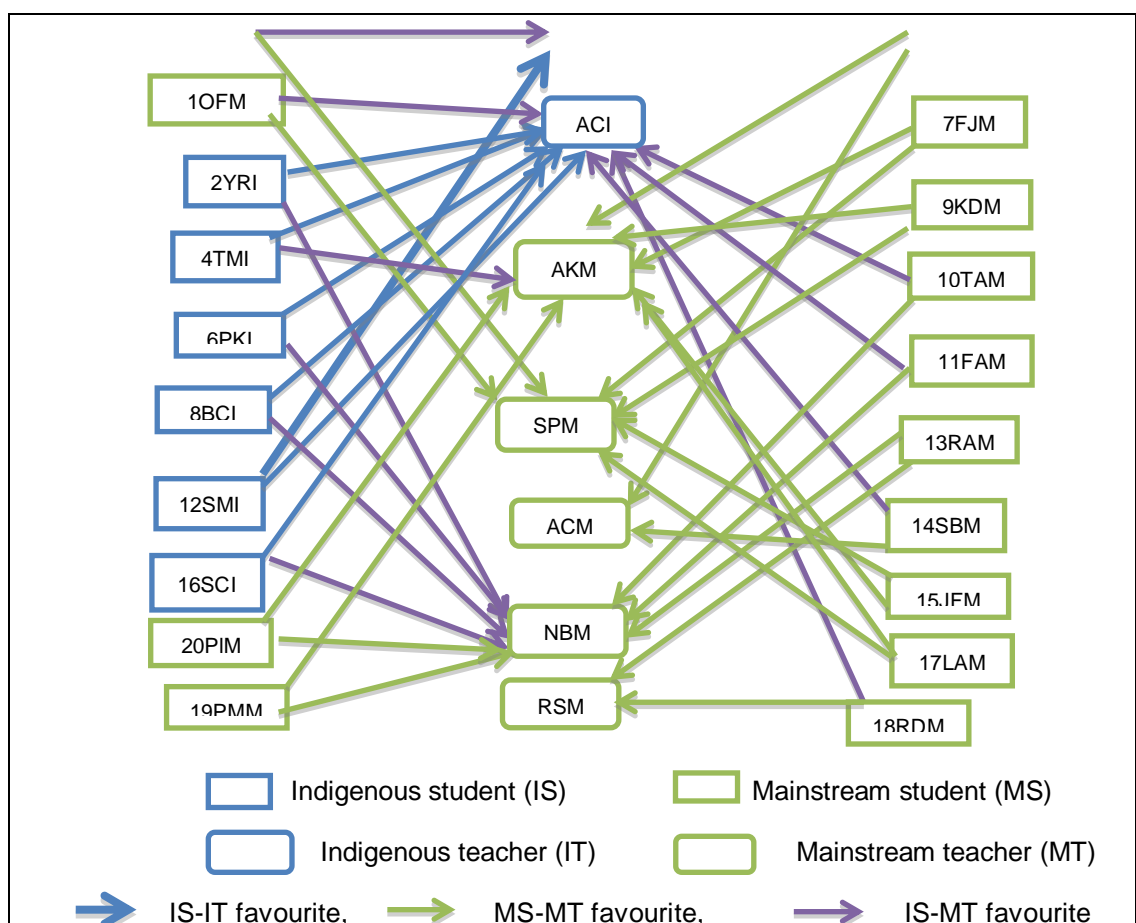

Figure 9.1: Favourite class teachers' nominations by students at School D

Similarly, the head teacher (HT4) of the school explained:

> I feel that still there remain some problems in managing the education of indigenous students. In my opinion, understanding the subject matter in the lesson is hard for them because they have been learning in second language. From the early years, indigenous students struggle to communicate with other language group students and teachers and even with other indigenous students. Therefore, I agree that the interaction level is not as satisfactory as we would have liked it to be.

This quote indicates that both class teachers and head teachers agreed that there are not enough interactions taking place between mainstream teachers and indigenous students in this school due to a lack of Bengali skills.

In addition, as in the other case study schools, I organised activities to collect children's stories, illustrations and photos. I also obtained data that was similar to the other schools. As shown in Figure 9.1, one indigenous teacher (ACI) and one mainstream teacher (NBM) were popular among both indigenous and mainstream students in the school while two mainstream teachers (AKM and SPM) were identified as popular only by mainstream students.

This data indicates that students do not consider only teachers from their own ethnic group; rather, they put emphasis on the quality of teaching when selecting their favourite teachers in the school. One mainstream student (11FAM) explained why she selected an indigenous teacher (ACI) as her favourite through task B and task C; her response was, "I prefer ACI Sir. I like him because he teaches us politely. He tries to present difficult subjects in an easy way in the class."

Another indigenous student (2YRI) explored why she named a mainstream teacher (NBM) to be her favourite and had taken her photo:

> She maintains a smiling face during our learning times. She repeats difficult points in the class when we do not understand subject matter. I do not feel good without this teacher in this school. I will never forget her.

This quote indicates that students prefer positive attitudes from their class teachers. Smiling face of the teacher is very important in inspiring young school students.

To sum up, while students prefer their own community teachers when selecting their favourite teachers, other criteria such as teacher-student relationships depend on behaviours and attitudes of teachers and their teaching quality in classrooms. Mainstream class teachers become popular with indigenous students through implementing quality teaching in their classrooms.

Relationships and interaction between indigenous and mainstream students

Based on my previous school experiences, I had a creative idea that students freely take mutual actions and choose friends in classrooms. I applied this idea in my classroom observations. During my participant classroom observations, I organised group activities in the classrooms to see how students interact with each other. In one class, I created an environment where students could choose their group mates by themselves, by instructing students that they could join any group they liked best and that every group would have to consist of four members. I observed that indigenous students selected other indigenous students while forming their groups.

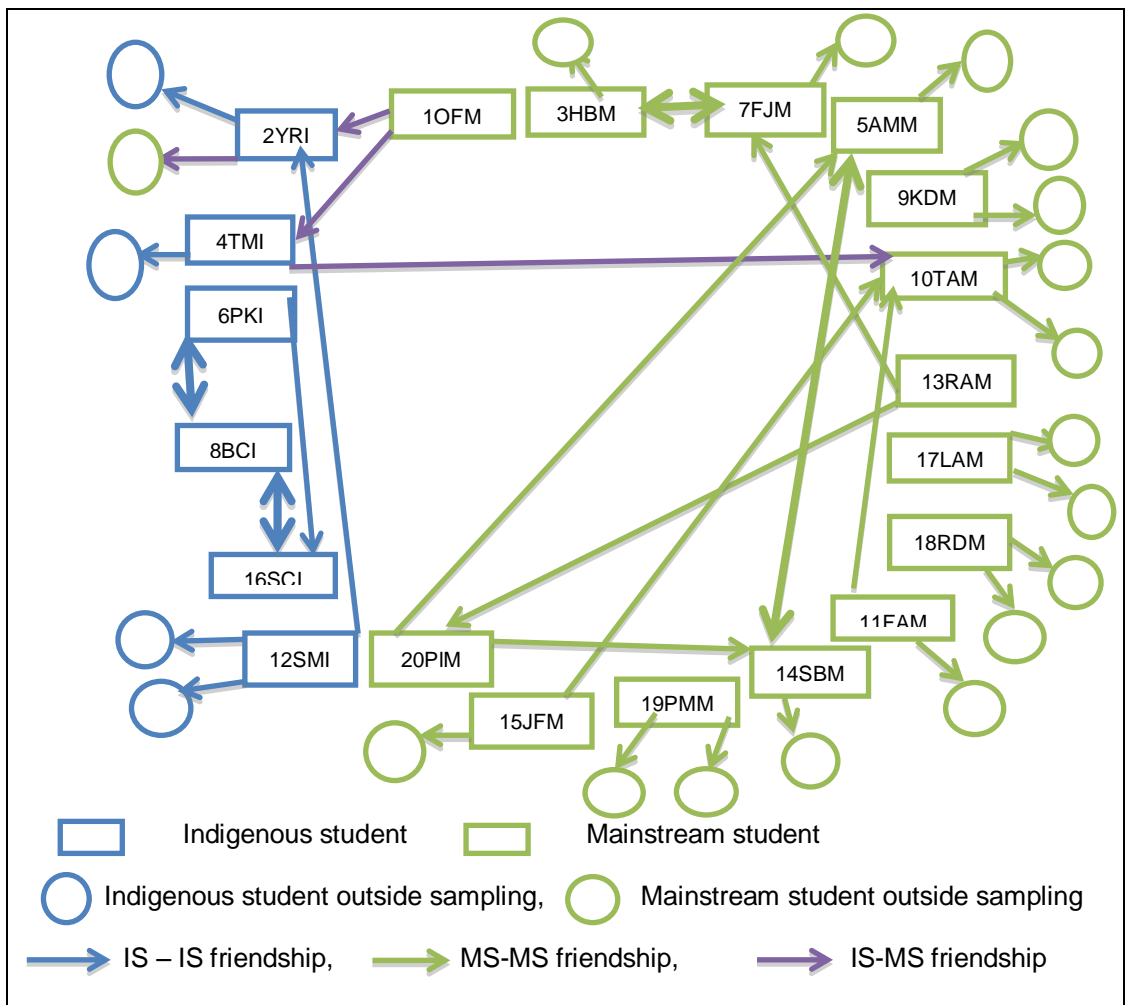**Figure 9.2: Nominations of close friends by students at School D**

Similarly, mainstream students were seen grouped with other mainstream students. For example, the leader of one group was an indigenous student and he called on three other indigenous students to join his group. However, in the classroom, some students, for example three of the nine, called on both mainstream and indigenous students to be their group mates.

I also observed that not every member in a group was active during the activity. Only one or two were engaged in the group activity and the other members, notably indigenous students, were mostly silent. To conclude the lesson, each group leader was asked to present their group's work. When one indigenous student group leader presented, I noted that he had some problems pronouncing a few Bengali words; a common problem for second language users.

However, it can be considered a serious issue when most of the mainstream students were laughing at the indigenous presenters (students) for their mispronounced words. Behaviours such as this lead to two types of negative effects. One is that these types of reactions from their mates make most indigenous students feel discouraged from trying to pronounce any other long and difficult Bangla words. Another effect is that they feel embarrassed. They felt insulted by such behaviour from their mainstream student classmates and in front of their indigenous friends. Therefore, it could be seen as a main reason for indigenous students not wanting to communicate as their mainstream classmates do. Similarly, indigenous students were not interested voluntarily to take part in the activity as group leaders.

Figure 9.2 shows that indigenous students choose their close friends from indigenous groups; similarly, mainstream students have close friends from their mainstream communities. However, one mainstream student (1OFM) chose two of his close friends from among indigenous students (2YRI and 4TMI). It was interesting that both these indigenous students have close friends from the mainstream group (Figure 9.2). This relationships mapping indicates that some students had positive motivation to exercise diversity in the school environment.

In the school, I talked with an experienced man as a member of SMC (FGD4P1m). He talked about the social situation in the area. Still most people, especially the mainstream people, refer to the indigenous people as *hilly* people. As he (FGD4P1m) said: "From my childhood, I noticed that both Bengalis and Hilly students have been studying at this school together. Indigenous children have been getting almost equal opportunities within the school environment." The quote illustrates the thinking of mainstream SMC members in various ways. Firstly, he called them hilly people. Secondly, he thinks equal opportunities are large enough for indigenous children. Therefore, more awareness on equity and diversity principles is needed for SMC members. To sum up, indigenous students and mainstream students had no conflict between them. However, equity and diversity principles were not upheld in the school environment. These, however, are important for a quality teaching-learning

environment. Both groups maintained an avoidance tendency towards each other rather than making good friendships.

Support or limit of teaching materials and contents

As with my other case study schools, I observed through non-participant classroom observations in this school that class teachers used unmodified teaching materials in their classrooms, and teaching techniques were also conventional in this school. During their lessons, teachers took no extra care with weak students by using any modified teaching materials. I never saw teachers taking time to prepare teaching aids to use in classrooms. While every school has printed posters for use in classrooms, I did not see any class teacher use those posters in their class activities during my classroom observations.

Nonetheless, some positive activities were observed in this school. Firstly, it was noted that this school has been trying to incorporate the indigenous culture in several ways. For example, one indigenous teacher (BCI) said that the people of the Marma group exchange greetings by saying 'Chikochiua', whereas most of the other indigenous groups exchange greetings by saying 'Nomosker'. The indigenous students can easily exchange greetings with these words at their school.

Secondly, I observed that the school assembly in this school was organised differently from other schools. For example, students prayed by chanting a prayer song. On this point, one FGD participant (FGD4P3i) said, "Generally, the holy Quran is recited as a prayer at the beginning of the assembly in other parts of the country. In CHT, we need to ensure diversity through participation of all religions and by generating a sense of acceptance, so we have a religion-neutral prayer song."Even, I observed that when class teachers started their class with a local country song, students enjoyed them. It is a sign that diversity is appreciated in the classroom.

One SMC member (indigenous) who was previously a primary school teacher (FGD4P2i) shared her experiences with me during our focus group discussion about how indigenous culture can be incorporated with mainstream culture within the school environment:

> I was the only teacher from hilly communities (indigenous communities) in the government schools in the 1980s. A few years later, two more hilly teachers (indigenous teachers) joined here in this school from RM. I found that, when I set out to establish a cultural link between indigenous culture and Bengali culture, the indigenous children enjoyed that a lot. The Head teacher of the school gave me a special duty which was to prepare the students for observing various national days incorporating indigenous culture. I found that students from both communities used to take part in those cultural functions. In this way, I was a popular teacher in our education department.

171

This quote is based on the personal story of a school teacher who has had long experience about recruitment of more indigenous teachers and integration of cultural events in the school system which could bring more diversity into the school environment. I asked the head teacher about types of song or their subject matter. He said (HT4), "They are mainly country songs; the choices of students have always been given priority. I ask them about their choice before selecting a song." This has created the scope for implementing students' culture through their preferences. It is evident that teachers felt that indigenous cultures needed to be incorporated into the school teaching system. In fact, human beings naturally love their traditional cultures. As human beings, indigenous children have been dealing with their own cultural tools and subject matter in their schooling. This issue is discussed in more detail in chapter 10.

However, it is a common argument in the CHT region that indigenous students do not understand Bangla, especially in their early years of primary school. However, all schools use the textbooks that are printed in Bangla and English. One indigenous class teacher (BCI) of this school claimed:

> Sometimes, indigenous students do not understand the language of the textbook. We struggle to make them understand the material with their proficiency in Bangla. There are 11 indigenous languages in CHT. There is still a problem to understand each other's groups. I am Chakma. I can understand Chakma language. As a teacher, I can understand a little bit of Marma and Bowm languages.

His description confirms that it is a complex issue. Firstly, indigenous students do not communicate in Bengali. Secondly, various indigenous groups have different languages. Finally, they could not understand each other's languages. The opinion of this teacher demanded more discussions on the development of communication systems for various indigenous children with their various languages. In chapter ten, there is detailed discussion on this issue.

Support or limit of professional development

I had a curiosity about any special instructions or guidelines for teachers so that they can implement those as learning supports for indigenous students in CHT schools. During my informal discussion with a class teacher (BCI) in this school, I raised the issue of how to discourage insults towards indigenous students as they were trained or instructed to do during their professional development. He said that he did not get any instruction throughout his whole professional development about minimising insults towards indigenous students. However, at a short training course, he received some information on 'inclusive education'. According to him (BCI), he got

some instructions on extra care for disabled students in schools.

In the interview, another class teacher (ACI) evaluated herself as follows: "I had professional development of one year at the PTI. Before joining this course, I did not know anything about pedagogy. Now, I understand how children can learn better." However, she did not get any instructions on teaching techniques that could help her, particularly in terms of educational development of indigenous children where both indigenous and mainstream students study in the same classroom.

The head teacher (HT4) of this school claimed that, "I will say that very few teachers can apply what we learn from professional development. In a few cases, teachers can do that in their classrooms." During an interview with a class teacher, I raised the issue of why teachers do not practise pair work and group work. The teacher (ACI) said that the root of the problem lies with professional development. Her experience was that pair and group work were rarely covered in teacher training sessions at PTI. Therefore, they were not inspired from PTI. As a result, teaching mostly follows traditional methods like lectures.

A possible explanation is that these frequent arguments about professional development are a result of inadequate links between teacher education content and diversity education. There is thus a definite need for incorporating the content in intercultural educational techniques.

Support and limit of school management and governance

As I cited before, every government primary school in CHT is managed by education department personnel, including this school. It needs to be realised that in very few cases SMC had involvement with the school management. Following the rule of committee formation, two indigenous parents were included in the SMC committee as parent representatives from the Marma group in this school. However, it is necessary here to clarify exactly what is meant by indigenous representatives.

The reality is that they have no assurance as to their responsibilities as SMC members. One indigenous class teacher (BCI), who was concerned about the development of indigenous children's education, explained:

> You know that every school has an SMC and it includes representatives from the indigenous communities. This inclusion, however, is more decorative because those members do not work for school development. I have seen that the government, non-government and international organisations announced many

projects for educational development of indigenous children but I have not seen any successful result in this sector.

His opinion explains that involvement of indigenous people has only been on paper at school level management, which is why they failed to achieve any fruitful results for indigenous educational development. I agreed with this teacher that representation is not effective for the school management system.

However, the teacher recruitment system has a quota for indigenous people and there is a possibility that the situation may improve in the future. There is a co-ordination system for recruiting primary school teachers between district level primary education management office and local district council. In this system, both indigenous and mainstream teachers are recruited following a quota system. As the head teacher (HT4) described:

> Even though the teacher recruitment system is flexible for indigenous people in CHT, we do not get representative teachers from every indigenous group especially in the remote areas. The reason behind this shortage is that most teachers like to live in urban areas. Therefore, they do not like to be posted in rural or remote areas. In our society, when people become educated and get good salaries, they prefer to live in urban areas; this tendency is the same for both indigenous and mainstream communities.

This quote illustrates that educated people prefer to live in urban areas. Even a quota system does not work properly for remote level school management and governance. A likely explanation is that some traditions of local school governance may have positive consequences but many do not. Consequently, an alternative school management system is required for remote areas in CHT.

Another important discussion area is the tradition of the head teacher posting in CHT; it would demand explanation as to why only mainstream head teachers are posted in schools that are situated around areas with a good communication network. I asked an indigenous class teacher (BCI) why indigenous head teachers are not posted in areas with good communication in CHT. The teacher (BCI) explained that:

> Truly, CHT is considered as a popular place for travelling. Many higher management officers frequently visit these areas. They always prefer to get protocols from the head teacher of the schools. This type of task is not something indigenous head teachers like to carry out. Besides this, indigenous head teachers never request better postings from any higher official.

The above quote indicates that the primary education management system is very complex and sometimes head teachers have to work outside of the central primary education management policies. This type of issue was also

raised in the previous case study schools. So it is an important area for discussion in chapter 10.

In RM district, the scenario is a little different with regard to the teacher postings since most indigenous people come from the Chakma community, a community who for a long time have enjoyed advancements in every sphere of life that was observed by me. One indigenous SMC member (FGD4P2i) said, "My observation is that now-a-days they (the Chakma population) are financially more secure and they can afford to educate their children. You can see that the Chakma mothers are waiting for their children in front of private schools." Another mainstream SMC member (FGD4P4m) gave similar observations about the Chakma people: "In RM district, we perceive that the Chakma people are more advanced in education compared to other indigenous communities. They are getting more jobs and other professions. Many organisations are directed by Chakma people."

However, other groups of indigenous people are still lagging behind with respect to educational status. One SMC indigenous member (FGD4P2i) from the Marma group explained that, "Other indigenous peoples are experiencing a financial crisis. They cannot afford to educate their children. They are frustrated about the future of their children because life styles have been changing, reducing their natural food sources."

During the focus group discussion, I asked about people's level of awareness regarding development activities in the CHT region and they informed me that literate people, either indigenous or mainstream, are aware of government initiatives through foreign aid in CHT but many ordinary people had no knowledge of the action of development programs. One SMC member from indigenous community (FGD4P3i) described:

> In fact, many ordinary people discuss development issues including myself when I meet with my friends, especially educational development and the future of our children. However, most hilly illiterate people (indigenous people) have no ability to think about this issue. They are busy with work for their daily income for maintaining the families.

This quote illustrates that, nowadays, the issue of educational development has been discussed by many general people, however some indigenous communities do not think about this issue. The subject matters they think about are usually framed by traditional ways. In this situation, a subsidy is needed for their children's education. As one mainstream SMC member (FGD4P4m) supported:

> Still, many indigenous children do not enrol at schools due to a lack of awareness.

> They work in agricultural farms. Their parents think that working in the farm is more important than education. So, we need to think about how to change their mind set.

His opinion is evidence of the fact that the people from indigenous communities still live outside modern civilizations. To change this situation, we need to campaign for improvement of awareness on educational development in remote areas of CHT. As a developing country, Bangladesh has been achieving development very slowly due to limited resources and other obstacles. Besides these, the government has been thinking about alternative ideas for educational development in the region.

It is important to bear in mind that the possible prejudgment that is based on equity principles may bring proper solutions. For example, to construct residential facilities for rural indigenous students is something that has been progressing. One of the focus group participants (FGD4P1m) said, "School hostels for poor students have been built in a few primary schools. It is a great help for poor families and for indigenous peoples."

The head teacher (HT4) of the school also supported this idea and he gave an example from his school:

> There is a mot (Buddhism region centre) nearby my school and it has children's accommodation. Many indigenous children who come from remote areas live in this accommodation. These children regularly come to my school. It has had positive consequences in our school attendance. I can say that if indigenous children get this type of support, they will be regular in the schools.

The above quote is an important example of how remote indigenous children can get inspiration about their education even if it comes from a religiously linked organisation. Later, I discovered that all students at the Mot's accommodation were indigenous and, in fact, most of these indigenous children came from remote areas, far from the school and they attended school regularly. Their performance is also satisfactory. I asked some of them about home sickness and family communications. One of them said that, "I am happy to stay here. I am getting free food and accommodation. I miss my parents, but I will go home after my examination in December." They are getting free food three times a day from the centre. It is a good way to develop the educational situation of remote indigenous children. To sum up, providing accommodation is one solution but other developmental issues also need attention.

For overall development of indigenous children, cultural and linguistic developments are also needed to change traditional school practices to acknowledge indigenous people's culture in school activities. Another example would be explained by this school. Some students like to come to the school wearing traditional dresses. During

my school observations, I saw that both teachers and students wore their traditional dresses. One class teacher (BCI) explained, "In CHT, some Buddhist students sometimes wear red coloured loose dresses. I think we should honour the dresses. There is no official issue about wearing these types of dress in the school. It is one way to respect a student's culture."

Generally, all over Bangladesh, schools have a leave system to attend festivals. In addition, indigenous people have more festivals and they observe these festivals in CHT. The head teacher (HT4) of the school stated that, "In RM District, we are careful about students' school leave to attend various festivals according to the indigenous calendar. The local authority helps us to arrange special leave from school. We also have to consider arrangements to fit the government school calendar for this system." It is one type of affordance for indigenous communities in CHT. One class teacher (ACI) also commented that, "Indigenous people are poorer than mainstream people and these indigenous families need subsidies. Only then can they afford to think about improving their children's education."

Generally, all over the country, primary school teachers are assigned extra duties by the government department, for example, preparing the voter list and other special duties during national and local government elections. It has no integration with education. During my field work, many school staff explained to me that these duties interrupt their teaching time and they do not like this extra work. Even though this argument has enough support from the various people, there is little possibility that the government would get alternative people to work for the national voting system.

Teaching practices for celebrating equity and diversity education

Class teachers of this school argued that they did not get any extra time to prepare for classroom activities. According to the class routines of this school, every teacher has, on an average, six lessons out of eight in a school day. My observation was that most teachers have extra time during the school hours but they do not utilise this time to prepare for classroom activities. Rather, they prefer to pass time talking to each other in their office rooms. Through my non-participant classroom observations, I found that both class teachers followed conventional ways of teaching from the text book. They wrote questions and asked the students to write the answers in their note books.

Dealing with these types of classrooms, I did not observe that students took part

in classes in a cheerful manner, be they indigenous or mainstream students. In most cases, indigenous students become more silent in those classrooms. During interview, one class teacher (BCI) explained that, "Indigenous students from remote areas do not enjoy the classroom activities because they do not completely understand the communication of classroom language and sometimes feel disconnected since the subject matters are not from their lives." Similar arguments were raised in other case study schools.

During my non-participant classroom observations, class teachers especially demonstrated balanced interaction concerning indigenous students and mainstream students. Sometimes, the teacher's lessons were identified as having discriminatory behaviour towards indigenous students. For instance, one class teacher asked comparatively lower level cognitive questions of indigenous students. I thought that the teacher believed that indigenous students were not capable of answering the higher level cognitive questions. Later this class teacher (ACI) illustrated this issue: "Generally, I set up teaching subjects and materials according to student's abilities. I aim for every student to learn most of the subject matter under unbiased interaction." On the same point, another class teacher (BCI) explained that, "Mostly they (classroom students) are equally capable but their literacy levels vary depending on their ethnic background. For example, I think that the literacy rate of Bowm people is higher than that of Marma people. However, every group has some talented students and some weak students."

I observed that most class teachers organised their teaching to target the annual examination system. In Bangladesh, the annual examination for primary school level is held in early December. These examinations are written tests based on materials within their textbooks. Therefore, between October-November, class teachers prepare their students through questions and answers. In conclusion, these data must be interpreted with caution because I observed that class teachers did not prepare to cater for diversity issues in their classrooms but they thought they were careful of this system.

Summary

As the last case study school for this research, I tried to gain more understanding about some interesting issues through informal discussion with participants. This school was a two-shift school and many upper primary students came earlier than their school starting hour. Consequently, I had informal discussions with a small number of students, especially indigenous students.

It is almost certain that teacher-student relationships are influenced by teachers' behaviours and attitudes as well as their teaching quality in classrooms. The data from this school show that a mainstream class teacher becomes popular to indigenous students through implementing quality teaching and maintaining good attitudes with them. Therefore, a probable explanation is that implementing quality teaching may improve diversity education in CHT.

A common objection raised by several class teachers of the previous case study schools was that they had to follow teacher-directed teaching methodology due to the presence of a large number of students in their classrooms. However, in this school, it was observed that class teachers followed teacher-directed teaching in their classrooms even when the numbers of students in the class were less than 25.

The participants of this school suggested that alternative ways need to be found for the development of communication between mainstream teachers and indigenous children for effective teaching-learning processes. An important argument was made by the participant (HT4) of this school, similar to other case study schools that the ongoing professional development has been functioning with an inadequate link between teacher education contents and diversity education.

However, the scenario is a little different with regard to management level involvement with the Chakma community of indigenous people in RM district. Moreover, they are financially secure and they can afford to educate their children. There was interesting data found in this school of a positive influence by a religion centre on indigenous educational development. The centre was set up by Buddhist people and they are from indigenous communities. This centre was set up as a student accommodation facility for this school. Many indigenous students came from remote areas and their performance is also acceptable. Therefore, some constructive initiatives have been observed in this case study school. In the discussion chapter that follows I consider the data as a whole, based on the findings from chapters five to nine.

CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on the extent of support for and limits to achieving equitable and inclusive education outcomes for indigenous children in CHT. The discussion draws on a framework of equity and diversity principles that guided the research in light of the Bangladesh government's expressed strong commitment to achieve universal primary education. While many countries adopted universal primary education after WW II (Anuar & Krzys, 1987, p25) Bangladesh had to delay its declaration of universal education until 1981 due to political instability in the country. Worldwide arguments that indigenous communities continue to be threatened by invasion, colonisation, and displacement (McCarty et al., 2005) similarly apply in Bangladesh where its indigenous peoples are disadvantaged in various sectors including the education system (Roy et al., 2010).

Ledger et al. (2014)indicated that globalisation forces have provided opportunities for interaction among several countries to initiate indigenous educational development. Likewise, international donor agencies have inspired Bangladeshi policy makers to incorporate equity and diversity principles into educational policy for indigenous children. Notwithstanding progress towards improving indigenous disadvantage, the findings from the research undertaken for this thesis highlight that indigenous peoples in the CHT continue to experience deeply rooted institutional practices of discrimination that constrain teachers, students, and school management in CHT schools from achieving equitable educational outcomes for indigenous students.

In chapters two and three, I examined a range of equity and diversity principles derived from theories of social science and education and identified thematic areas to ground my research. These thematic areas are student-teacher and student-student relationships in schools, school curriculum and teaching materials, teacher professional development, school governance and management, and preparation of classroom activities with regard to indigenous perspectives. Using these themes, I analysed the equity and diversity milieu in CHTs in chapters five to nine based on the data collected through field work.

In summary, this chapter focuses on interpreting the analysed data in order to understand the supports for and limits to achieving equity and diversity for

indigenous children in CHTs and considers how educational development in Bangladesh can progress to incorporate equity and diversity principles to build a rich multicultural nation.

Equity and diversity practices through teacher-student interactions

In order to answer the first research question, "what practices are evident in CHT schools from teacher-student interactions and relationships that support or limit equity and diversity?" I examined various sources of data collected through fieldwork in CHT. Education is a part of the social system. Equitable education enhances social cohesion and is important for creating a comfortable school environment conducive to learning. Students, teachers and management staff all have roles in building a supportive school community. However, Williams (2015) argues that enabling social structures are not properly incorporated into modern schooling systems for indigenous children in many places. Likewise, Sagar and Poulson(2003) presented a similar argument in the case of Bangladeshi indigenous children in primary education.

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on the social and behavioural characteristics of teachers and students in classrooms which are considered to be important factors that ensure success of students' achievement. Researchers such as Rhea (2015),Doll et al (2010),Nieto and Bode (2008), Ramsey (2004) and Downey and Kely (1986) have highlighted the significance of the relationship between teachers and students in education. Therefore, a mutually supportive interaction among school staff and students was an area of interest to explore in the thesis.

The quality of these relationships becomes all the more important when children from diverse backgrounds study together in a school. Since children spend long periods of time with their teachers in a school week they need to experience positive interactions in their school environment. The uses of teaching strategies that encourage positive interactions in classrooms are considered important elements of modern teaching pedagogy, and the literature in general supports the view that social interaction influences learning (Hanbury, 2012;Doll et al., 2010; Vygotsky, 1978).

Class teachers have a recognised management responsibility to control the quality of the academic environment. Their personal behaviour and social

interactions influence the level of care, trust, respect and fairness among teachers and students in schools. However, Kaur (2012) found inequities in areas such as beliefs and attitudes of teachers, and their classroom practices. Similarly, Sayed (2001) identified that individual attitudes of teachers and students were directly linked to the quality of the school environment. These beliefs, attitudes and actions have been identified in this thesis as important determinants that influence the development of student-teacher relationships in CHT schools.

During fieldwork, I gathered evidence that while some positive steps have been taken in primary schools in CHTs regarding indigenous educational development, the major barriers to establishing proper relationships and development are stereotypical teaching and prejudice towards indigenous students by mainstream teachers.

Teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards indigenous students

Following suggestions put forward by Spinthourakis et al. (2009), I observed interaction phenomena such as engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, and interaction enjoyment. At school B and school C I observed that some teachers showed respect for cultural differences and considered the diversity of students in classroom activities. However, I also observed many obstacles to developing relationships, particularly between indigenous students and mainstream teachers. In School A and School D for instance, fewer interactions were observed in classrooms between mainstream teachers and indigenous students than between teachers and mainstream students.

Among the supportive attitudes, structures and activities in place for achieving equity for indigenous students identified from my research was that in the two schools (schools B and C) where there was a high percentage of class teachers from indigenous communities, indigenous students and parents had positive feelings about those schools due to ease of communication among them. Secondly, in classes where teachers used indigenous language for communication with indigenous students they (teachers) reported that this was helpful for those students. Throughout my field work with students, some students made positive comments about their favourite teachers such as "good ability for teaching", a "good feeling for students", "very polite", and "smiling face". In addition, some indigenous students selected a few mainstream teachers as their favourite teachers because indigenous students were motivated by these teachers' attitudes.

Thirdly, I observed that teachers, who had favourable attitudes to their professions

and interacted positively with colleagues, were also popular among the students in schools. Teachers' attitudes to their profession overall appeared to influence their attitudes towards students. Due to the unemployment crisis, many educated people chose to be primary school teachers despite frustration with receiving a low salary. Many of these teachers were not motivated to develop themselves as quality teachers resulting in a flow on effect of negative attitudes towards students including feeling uncomfortable about working with diverse student groups.

Bennett's work (2011) supported this connection in her assessment that teachers' positive attitudes and behaviour towards students has an encouraging influence on indigenous children's education in schools. Similarly, Thapa et al. (2013) emphasised the norms and values of teachers and students for the development of relationships among them.

Worryingly, most class teachers believed that indigenous students were generally weak in their understanding of subject matter. As a mainstream class teacher (SUM) argued, the indigenous students could not understand the classroom conversation in full as it was conducted in Bangla. Another class teacher felt that rural indigenous students are shy and are afraid of mainstream teachers. Such comments point to teachers' fixed beliefs, and possible prejudices, about students' capabilities, and that in turn undoubtedly affects the development of relationships between mainstream teachers and indigenous students.

In addition, a class teacher (LRM) in one school thought that "if we are always friendly with students, they do not obey us. Rather, they become naughty. Therefore, we have to be harsh with students sometimes." In spite of this, this teacher was nominated as a favourite teacher of both indigenous and mainstream students (see Figure 6.3). This was supported by my own observations that her teaching style engaged students more than that of other teachers, some of whom were described by students as rude and impolite. One revealing statement cited by a student at school A was that her favourite teacher never beat them. This indicates that corporal punishment is still a common practice in case study schools with a consequent negative impact of this kind of teacher behaviour on developing positive relationships between teachers and students. Clearly, the quality of teachers' classroom management behaviour is an important factor in building positive teacher-student relationships.

Creating an equitable learning environment for indigenous (disadvantaged) students relies on teachers' commitment to forging strong relationships with their students

(Kaur, 2012;Bennett, 2011; Sayed, 2001). The beliefs and attitudes that underpin this commitment need to align with the equity and diversity principles that support quality indigenous education at primary schools in CHT through teachers' actions.

Through one of my own data gathering activities, I obtained 80 students' opinions (20 students from each school) on who were their favourite teachers in their schools. A common tendency was that mainstream students chose mainstream teachers (60%) and, similarly, indigenous students selected indigenous teachers (68%) (Table10.1). Understandably, this preference may have been influenced by community and cultural links. Moreover, I also observed a relationship between teachers' behaviour and their positive interactions with students in classrooms. For instance, in School A most indigenous students (69%) selected mainstream teachers LRM and RBM as their favourite teachers (see Table 10.1 and Figure 6.3). Similarly, in School B most mainstream students (63%) favoured indigenous teachers such as KTI and MPI (see Table 10.1 and Figure 7.1).

The results show that, albeit in a limited way, there were four teachers who adopted inclusive practices in their classrooms. It was possible to draw on supplementary data in order understand what students considered when selecting a particular class teacher as their favourite teacher. For example, class teacher (LRM) mentioned that she sometimes received help from an indigenous volunteer teacher as a translator from Marma language who worked with her in the classroom. This teacher also organised cultural events with indigenous and mainstream students.

Table 10.1: Students' nominations of favourite class teachers

School	Number of students		Students' opinion (in percentage)			
	MS	IS	MS > MT	MS > IT	IS > IT	IS > MT
School A	7	13	100	0	31	69
School B	4	16	37	63	87	13
School C	10	10	20	80	90	10
School D	13	7	69	31	64	36
Total	34	46	60	40	68	32

Note: MS-Mainstream student, IS- Indigenous student, MT- Mainstream teacher, IT- Indigenous student; ⟶ Direction of preference

An indigenous student (9TMI) when describing her favourite mainstream teacher (RBM) said that she had a smiling face and told a lot of enjoyable stories.

Sometimes, she organised enjoyable events such as singing songs, reciting poems, drawing pictures, and telling stories in the classroom. Teacher (KTI) expressed her opinion that she enjoyed working with children and she had practised to call students by their names. Finally, a mainstream student (5PMM) described her favourite indigenous teacher (MPI) by saying that she told many stories from her life in classrooms. Every Wednesday, she conducted a lesson on scouting. During this lesson, she organised dances, songs, poems and drama and those activities made them cheerful.

In summary, participant students of this study described their favourite teachers' attitudes as joyful and polite, with smiling faces and friendly behaviours, and also that they explained lessons clearly. In addition, I noted that these favourite teachers were among those who were the most welcoming and cooperative in supporting my own fieldwork research classroom activities.

Impact of class teachers' actions and encouragement for indigenous students

Downer et al (2010) identified some important teachers' actions in classrooms such as creating a welcoming atmosphere, referring to children by name, giving children individualised attention, and providing regular opportunities for children to speak their minds and work independently. Similarly, Sborne (1996) mentioned that culturally sensitive teachers are respectful of all students. These actions were used to guide classroom observations during my field work.

Throughout my non-participant classroom observations in the case study schools, I observed that most teachers did not call students by their names. In fact, except for a few, teachers did not know the names of most of their students. Moreover, mainstream teachers found it difficult to pronounce the names of indigenous students. When I raised this issue during my interview discussions with participants, one mainstream teacher (LRM), stated that she found it difficult to pronounce the names of indigenous students and she could not remember the names of all students in her classroom. I observed as well that class teachers' reliance on whole class teaching led to a lack of opportunity for attending to relatively weaker students or for eliciting questions from indigenous students. In general, teachers did not direct questions to individual students. Table 10.2 provides examples of the teacher-directed methods used across the 10 classrooms.

Nevertheless, there were also barriers to teachers' work in their classrooms that were beyond the teachers' control, such as the large number of students in

classrooms. In discussion many teachers argued that they could not arrange student-centred activities due to the large class size. However, in the 10 classrooms observed in my four case study schools, five of those classrooms had less than 30 students yet student-centred activities were not evident in those classes (Table 10.2). So, a high number of students is not the only reason for conventional teaching in those schools.

During interviews with a head and a class teacher focusing on the issue, the head teacher (HT1) argued that teachers could not implement student-centred activities in their classrooms because of the large number of students in their classrooms and noted that while most classrooms only had 50-60 seats for students there were generally about 80 students in the class. A class teacher (SUM) supported this argument and said that about 90 to 100 students sat in his classrooms.

However, this teacher's view did not match my observation data. Table 10.2 shows the number of students in observed classrooms is between19-44. A further confounding factor could be attributed to the high absentee rate of students, making it difficult to establish ongoing, consistent interactions among class teachers and students that support the development of mutual understanding between class teachers and indigenous students in CHT schools.

Table 10.2: Teacher-directed activities in non-participant classroom observations

Class rooms	Teacher label and subject	Number of students in classrooms	Classroom activities
S1NP1	SKTI -English	43 (IS22, MS21)	Questions and answers orally, reading textbook, fill in blanks etc.
S1NP2	SUBM- Math	35 (IS17, MS18)	Lecturing on mathematics multiplication. The teacher showed the solution of one problem on the black board then students were asked to solve individual exercises from the textbook.
S1NP3	LRDM Bangladesh and Global studies	44 (IS20, MS24)	Questions and answers orally, some lecture on climate change
S2NP1	KTI – Math	25 (IS17, MS8)	Showing problem solving on board, individual work – problem solving from textbook
S2NP2	LTI- English	37 (IS22 MS15)	Individual work – writing answers from textbook exercises page 107
S2NP3	MTM –Science	37 (IS24, MS13)	Individual work – writing answers from textbook exercises page
S3NP1	IT- English	36 (IS11, MS22)	Individual writing work from teachers' questions on board
S3NP2	MT- Math	19 (IS07, MS12)	Lecture 10 minutes, and individual writing from textbook
S4NP1	MT -Science	23 (IS8, MS15)	Individual writing work from textbook exercise
S4NP2	IT English	29 (IS11, MS18)	Individual writing work from textbook exercise

Note: IS - indigenous students; MS - mainstream students

A further observation on teacher actions was that there was very little academic discussion among the class teachers in my case study schools. I did not observe at any school that academic discussion took place among the teachers and the head teacher did not take any initiative to encourage this.

Equity and diversity practices through student-student interactions

From a pedagogical point of view, teaching and learning is a social activity to which students from different backgrounds bring not only their internal cognitive resources but also experiences from their families and communities. Learning is a process of increasing skills through sharing in a community of learners while internalising and exploring knowledge (Downer et al., 2010; Tormey, 2005). In light of this, authors affirm the need for schools to forge connections with their school communities (Robinson & Diaz, 2006; Bennett, 2001). However, there was little evidence that this was the case in the primary schools in CHT. Indigenous students in government primary schools in CHT are excluded in numerous ways within their school environment through ethnocentrism, discrimination, harassment, blaming and stereotypes. These practices defy the principles of equity and diversity education.

Ethnocentrism between indigenous and mainstream students

A high level of ethnocentric behaviour among students is a common scenario in schools in CHT. Evidence for this emerged through observations and in discussion with participants at the four case study schools. In most cases, students sit separately in classes according to their ethnic group. Sarker and Davey (2009) observed the same situation in their study but did not explain why this might be the case. During my field work, I observed at least 10 classrooms as a non-participant observer and noted students' seating positions by drawing diagrams in my field notes. As observed in my first case study school, presented in Figure 6.4, I also observed similar practices in other case study schools. Research participants from class teachers to subject specialists confirmed my own observations that, generally, indigenous and mainstream students sit separately in class from and interact less with students from other communities. To explore possible reasons for the lack of interaction among the diverse groups of students at CHT I obtained participants' opinions as well as forming views based on observations.

A number of participants explained that the lack of interaction between indigenous and mainstream students within the school environment was due to language mismatches (FGD1P2i and HT1). This was confirmed in informal discussion with

students. For example, when I asked two indigenous students to explain why they generally sit together they said that they are close friends; they chat with each other in their mother tongue at school during free time, they live in the same village, and they travel to and from the school together. This aligns with views of one SMC member (FGD3P3i) who explained that indigenous children do not want to interact with the mainstream children because they have difficulty communicating other than in their mother tongue. Consequently, they struggle to express themselves with students who do not speak their languages and prefer to sit with other students of the same ethnicity. However, the language constraints only partially explain the situation. Therefore, language mismatch is one important cause but it is not only reason for ethnocentrism.

One participant pointed to political roots as an important cause, one that originated from mistrustful relations between indigenous and mainstream communities everywhere. The lack of trust between indigenous and mainstream peoples created a tendency of avoidance that has influenced children even when they are at school (FGD1P4m). On the other hand, there was evidence that when there was a positive relationship between indigenous and mainstream students (e.g. 4SSI and 5IAM in Figure 8.2) their families also had positive relationships with each other. These school-community interactions highlight the complex inter-connections between schools and the communities they serve (Altman & Fogarty, 2010).

This issue invites discussion on ways class teachers and school management could intervene to change the current practice in classrooms. In my interview questions, I asked participants about how class teachers might change seating arrangements. During my focus group discussions, one participant (FGD4P3i) mentioned that sometimes teachers tried to organise classroom seating to reflect the mix of students but within 30 minutes students returned to their original groups. This participant (FGD4P3i) stated that traditional teaching practices are one of the main causes hindering development of diversity in the school environment, including co-curricular activities that did not reflect diversity. And while the school playground might be a place where students have the chance to interact and develop friendships with each other there was no playground at the school.

I initiated activities to encourage interactions between indigenous and mainstream students in my participant classrooms in order to observe and record their effects on children. When I introduced pair work and group work for students in those classrooms with instructions such as "Every student has to select another student to

form a pair who is not at your bench at this moment" all students cooperated. This suggests that it is possible to develop more inclusive practices at schools in CHT by following a student-centred approach to teaching.

Attitudes of mainstream students towards indigenous students

Discrimination, harassment, and blaming between indigenous and mainstream students were observed in the case study schools. Along with the tendency of avoidance, mainstream students were seen to bully indigenous students at school. For example, I observed that mainstream students laughed at an indigenous student in the presence of the teachers (School A and School D) when he could not pronounce a Bangla word properly in the classroom. Sometimes, students yelled odd words to irritate each other and, in most cases, indigenous children experienced victimisation by mainstream students at School C. This type of behaviour towards indigenous students by mainstream students was not uncommon. Similarly, Mullicket. al (2012) claimed that insults towards indigenous children by mainstream students is common practice at schools in CHT.

In the context of CHT schools, bullying behaviour yielded two types of negative effect in classrooms. First, harassment from their mates made most indigenous students feel shy and reluctant to pronounce long Bangla words. The second effect is related to indigenous students' confidence and self-esteem. Insulting comments from mainstream classmates appear to be a principal reason why indigenous students do not speak willingly, as mainstream students do, in their classrooms. It is also the reason why indigenous students do not elect to assume leadership responsibility because it is the group leader's responsibility to orally present their group's work to the whole class.

Interaction preferences among students

Many authors have shown that positive relationship values are developed through the celebration of diversity(Martin & Dowson, 2009; Tormey, 2005),a much needed initiative in CHT schools where the prevailing practices are indicative of traditional mainstream people's domination over ethnic groups (Chowdhury et al., 2003). Throughout my participant classroom activities, I created an environment where any student had the option to choose his or her pair mate or group mate. I observed that students did not choose to pair or group with students from another ethnicity in the classrooms. Rather, they chose group or pair members from their own communities.

Similarly, during my field work with students, I obtained 80 students' opinions (20 students from each school) about who were their favourite close friends at school.

Table 10.3 shows that 84 percent of mainstream students nominated their close friends from the mainstream group and only 16 percent from indigenous groups. Similarly, 86 percent of indigenous students nominated their close friends from within indigenous groups and only 14 percent from the mainstream group.

Table 10.3: Nominations of close friends by school students

School	Number of students		Students' nominations in percentage			
	MS	IS	MS ⟶ MS	MS ⟶ IS	IS ⟶ IS	IS ⟶ MS
School A	7	13	100	0	92	8
School B	4	16	50	50	91	9
School C	10	10	75	25	70	30
School D	13	7	92	8	86	14
Total	34	46	84	16	86	14

Note: MS-Mainstream student, IS- Indigenous student, ⟶ Direction of preference

Figures 6.5, 7.5, 8.2 and 9.2 represent the friendship choices among students in the school. Other researchers have also reported that student diversity is not reflected in their choice of friends. This finding supports Sagar and Poulson's(2003) argument that poor relations exist between mainstream and indigenous students in government primary schools in CHT.

Notwithstanding these findings I did find evidence (reported in chapters six to nine) of some positive relationships between indigenous and mainstream students. School B students' nominations show that they made more diverse friendships (Figure 7.5). On the other hand, less diversity was shown in School C (Figure 8.2). This school is a remote school and School B is an urban school. This result reflects participants' perceptions that in urban indigenous schools there has been more progress made than there has been in remote areas in facilitating relationships between indigenous and mainstream students.

Curriculum and teaching materials for indigenous children

To answer the research question, "in what ways do educational materials support or limit achievement of equity and diversity goals in CHT school classrooms?"I examined the content of class teachers' lessons following observations in those

classrooms in CHT schools. The need to introduce appropriate curriculum and teaching materials for indigenous students in CHT is a relatively recent topic of discussion and I did not observe that teachers have adapted and modified any teaching materials at CHT schools. Sagar and Poulson (2003) also found that communication language and integration of culture in their education system was a problem experienced by indigenous children in schools because schools strictly adhere to the centralised curriculum and teaching materials. Some authors have argued that published curriculum and teaching materials are not appropriate for indigenous students in primary schools (Ainscow & Miles, 2011; Bennett, 2011). Nevertheless, there are some positive initiatives being implemented by program developers.

In Bangladesh, the public education system follows a centralised national curriculum and a single set of textbooks. As mentioned earlier, a single set of official textbooks is published centrally by the government. So for example, every grade five student has the same six textbooks. Almost all primary schools in CHT have no library and supplementary books are not available in schools. Contrary to the norm, School A did have a small library. However, a class teacher who is responsible for this library reported that indigenous students did not borrow books from the library due to their lack of interest in reading books that focused on mainstream culture. While the district councils have taken the initiative to print a few textbooks in indigenous languages, barriers have arisen in the management of the process. Primarily, there is high level shortage of skilled indigenous language teachers. Almost all literate people from indigenous communities in CHT can read and write Bengali and English but even though they know indigenous languages they lack the proficiency to read or write in the indigenous language. As a result, implementing the initiative has been problematic. The Hill District Councils more recently have been discussing how to target the inclusion of indigenous languages through the use of Bangla alphabets. John et al's (2011) findings in India, related to that country's language problems and solutions for tribal students, mirror the situation in Bangladesh.

I examined the current national curriculum for primary education and analysed the subject matter and learning objectives to ascertain links between the content and what I observed during non-participant and participant classroom observations. As cited before, I focussed on language, mathematics, and Bangladesh and Global Studies subjects in classrooms at grades four and five. I noted how the subject matter linked with indigenous culture and reflected indigenous communities' life styles. Abdullah (2011) reported on bias towards mainstream community lifestyles in

the 'Social Studies' textbook content published before 2010 in Bangladesh. A similar finding was reported by Lee (2001) in China. The 'Bangladesh and Global Studies' textbook was revised in 2012 but the content still privileges mainstream culture and life style without options to adapt according to local contexts. For example, I observed a classroom lesson where student pairs were asked to prepare a list of female and male attire worn in their communities. Almost all pairs listed the attire just as it was described in their textbook; attire that depicted the mainstream culture despite the obvious differences between indigenous and mainstream people's attire. Similarly, in mathematics, sometimes problems consisted of real life stories but referred only to people's names and stories indicative of mainstream people's life styles. This was the case as well for the examples and exercises throughout the whole textbook where links to indigenous communities' life style and culture were notably lacking.

Hickling-Hudson and Ahlquist (2003) also noted that the diversity of ethnic cultures was not well represented in the majority of schools' curriculum in the USA and Australia. This is similar to the Bangladesh schools' curriculum where a very small number of indigenous culture and life style photos or pictures were presented in the school textbooks. However, some educationists (e.g. Glynn et al, 2010) have reported the positive impact of Maori indigenous culture integration into mainstream culture in New Zealand. While it may be difficult to balance the representation of mainstream and indigenous diversity in textbooks, further work is needed so that textbooks in Bangladesh do redress the striking imbalance and incorporate indigenous people's culture.

I also noted that there was a lack of teaching aids used in classrooms. Every school has access to printed posters for use in classrooms but class teachers did not use those posters in their classrooms so that indigenous students could learn through modified teaching materials. My general observation was that little effort was made to integrate indigenous cultures and life styles into teaching materials in CHT schools. In fact, introducing indigenous life styles and cultures into teaching materials had strong support from some school level management people, particularly indigenous members (FGD12i, FGD32i and FGD4P2i).

It poses an important question about how local CHT schools can incorporate indigenous life styles and cultures into their teaching materials. One suggestion made by a class teacher (ASM) was that teachers could choose from the various types of teaching aids that are available in CHT. For example, teachers can

collect and use the pictures of different famous people and famous places in CHT. During my participant observation, I received positive feedback from indigenous students when I used posters depicting indigenous cultures and life styles as suggested by Grant and Sleeter (2003).The school curriculum is developing in various ways around the world to better reflect diversity. For example, Australia and New Zealand (McKinley, 2005) already have introduced separate indigenous curriculums and teaching materials for their indigenous students. According to Apple (1996) and Chen et al. (2015), politics and power are strongly related to how diversity is reflected in the school curriculum.

Besides textbook content, teachers need to take initiatives to prepare, modify or create teaching materials that acknowledge the diversity of students in their classes. When I introduced activities in accord with diversity principles into my own teaching at the case study schools, I noted that both indigenous and mainstream students were cheerfully engaged and seemed confident when working with listing their ideas, drawing pictures, discussing subject matter and taking photos. Organising such activities in classrooms is also cost effective.

Professional development for equity and diversity education

To answer the research question, "how does professional development of teachers in CHT schools support equity and diversity practices in those schools?" I examined the previous and current PD documents, teachers' PD experiences, and perceptions of head teachers and teacher educators on PD for teachers in CHT. In general, equity and diversity content and discussions, as part of professional development (PD), play a vital role in motivating teachers to initiate supportive activities for indigenous students in schools in Bangladesh. Long term professional development for school teachers takes place at Primary (Teacher) Training Institutes (PTIs) at the district level, and short term professional development programs are organised by Upazila Resource Centre (URC) and Assistant Upazila Education Officer (AUEO) at the upazila and school level. It is essential for becoming a quality teacher and as one class teacher (SUB) noted: "Teaching is a very good profession. However, I feel it is not possible to become a good teacher without professional development at PTIs."

Professional development support for equity and diversity education

While participants in this research raised a number of issues around problems with ongoing professional development programs, some supportive points were

noted as well. First, PTIs have recently restructured the training program with a revised curriculum and time frame and new name for the degree. Unlike the old teacher education curriculum, the new curriculum does make some positive linkages with equity and diversity principles for teacher education (see Table 5.2). Besides this, the duration of the new teacher education program has been increased from one year to one and a half years. This is indicative of national level policy makers' increased awareness of equity and diversity principles.

Secondly, many participants agreed that they acquired valuable pedagogical knowledge from the long-term professional development programs. One head teacher (HT1) explained that most of the newly recruited teachers had no degree in education; rather they had general qualifications in science, humanities or commerce subjects. Another head teacher (HT3) pointed out that he gained new knowledge on teaching methods during his PTI course.

Thirdly, some teacher educators at PTIs aimed to inspire indigenous trainee teachers to become actively involved and to try different activities. As one indigenous teacher (SKI) explained of his PTI experiences: "I felt that indigenous trainees like me were inspired by some of the instructors to work like mainstream trainees. Instructors have special techniques to increase participants' involvement in their sessions." And according to a teacher educator (TE1) the most enjoyable PD activity is the co-curriculum event at the PTI and this event happens in many different ways. Sometimes, indigenous trainees enact their cultural events at these co-curriculum activities.

In addition, some NGOs have organised professional development for government teachers on indigenous languages. A head teacher (HT1) described that many people think that learning in the mother tongue is the most important technique for teachers to use with indigenous children. As a consequence, an NGO has introduced professional development for government primary school teachers on Marma language.

Professional development equity and diversity education barriers

The main barriers to improving educational outcomes for indigenous students gleaned from my time in the four CHT schools were that teaching staff and school management had little awareness of equity and diversity principles. During my field work, I interacted with many class teachers and head teachers at the case study schools whose professional development was based on the previous teacher

education curriculum, the Certificate-in-Education course (C-in-Ed) that did not build teacher knowledge about equity and diversity principles.

A class teacher (LRM) who completed the C-in-Ed course a few years ago mentioned that, "these issues (equity and diversity) were not discussed during my C-in-Ed course." Similarly, another head teacher (HT3) argued that, "When I got PTI training, there was no discussion on equity and diversity issues." Similarly, a teacher educator from Patia PTI (TE1) argued, "In fact, there is no chapter, heading or sub-heading with the title of equity and diversity in education in any subject in the C-in-Ed course." This was confirmed in my own document analysis, where I found no content directly related to discussion of equity and diversity principles in the C-in-Ed course (see Table 5.1), indicating that school teachers have not had opportunities to acquire knowledge on equity and diversity principles from the C-in-Ed course. Mullick and Sheesh(2008, p77) reported similar limitations of links in the C-in-Ed course with equity and diversity education. Secondly, teacher education courses of one year have not been adequate to build skilled teachers and there have not been enough short term professional development courses for teachers run by the Primary education department. As class teacher (SKI) argued, the one year C-in-Ed course was not enough to build up skilled teachers.

Another notable finding from this research where I stayed for more than two months at the four case study schools is that I did not observe any short term professional development at those schools. One participant (HT1) argued in favour of local level short term training noting his experience that very few professional development courses had been organised by academic supervisors and the Upazila Resource Centre. Similarly, two experienced class teachers (KTI and LTI) argued that the professional development system did not offer enough refreshers. They cited that they received the C-in-Ed course about 20 years ago and since then had no refresher training. Their frustration over this could be clearly understood since incorporating equity and diversity principles into "…teaching methods did not exist at that time." According to a head teacher (HT2), departmental short course training depends on the availability of funds and the funds have not been available for a long time. Therefore, ongoing professional development courses are not sufficient for teachers.

Finally, from participants' perspectives, the PTI training system itself will not motivate trainee teachers to become skilled unless they (PTIs) move away from traditional methods like lectures. A class teacher (ACI) explained that the root of

the problem lies with the teacher education system. Her experience was that pair and group work were rarely covered in teacher training sessions at PTIs. Similarly, another class teacher (SUM) criticised that the PTI training sessions were held in conventional ways. As a result, trainee teachers were not inspired to conduct teaching in innovative ways.

Particularly, trainee teachers did not receive any instruction about ways to work with disadvantaged students in their classrooms. Similar arguments were made by Ladson-Billings (2000) who reported that pre-service training did not include discussion related to equity and diversity pedagogies. Throughout their professional development teachers did not receive any instruction about minimising insults towards indigenous students. A head teacher (HT4) claimed that, "I will say that very few teachers can apply what we learn from professional development." These perspectives aligned with my own observations that teachers are not implementing student-centred teaching techniques in their classrooms. Therefore, rethinking is required on how to create environments that support indigenous students' learning.

School governance and management

To answer the research question, "how does governance and leadership describe the current school culture at CHT primary schools in the context of equity and diversity?"I examined the case study school's SMC to seek their perspectives on how the school addresses equity and diversity issues.The leadership and management literature cites developments in several developed countries e.g. New Zealand (Glynn et al., 2010), Australia, Canada (Sarkar & Lavoie, 2014) and USA (Bennett, 2011) where equity and diversity initiatives have been taken to improve their indigenous children's experience of education. Some developing counties have also taken initiatives to address indigenous education development policy and practice issues (Fullan & Watson, 2000). Management support for the development of indigenous education in Bangladesh is discussed in the following sections.

School governance policies and practices supporting equity and diversity education

Consideration has been given to equity and diversity in the case of teacher recruitment in the three CHT districts where the district office and district council manage the recruitment of staff to schools. The SMC plays no role in recruiting teachers. Currently, the schools in CHT have a quota system for indigenous and

mainstream teachers. Recognised authorities at the district levels have the scope to consider equity and diversity issues when they recruit new teachers. In fact, since they maintain a quota system for indigenous and mainstream teachers, most schools have a number of indigenous teachers posted there.

In addition, accommodation for rural indigenous students has been provided at a few primary schools in CHT with infrastructure funding provided by national level projects. Management of these accommodations is undertaken at the local level with the SMC playing a vital role in the maintenance of accommodation for indigenous students.

School governance policies and practices limiting equity and diversity

Local people argue that they need a sufficient number of schools, qualified indigenous teachers, indigenous related teaching materials and road improvements for the educational development of indigenous children. Some structural problems create barriers to these developments. The reality is that primary education policy in Bangladesh is exceedingly hierarchical with management structures strongly rooted in practices established in the colonial era (Abdullah, 2011). Fullan and Watson (2000)argued that it is hard to bring reasonable changes through highly hierarchical models of school management in many developing countries. On the same point however, Snyder (2013)argued that this is a similar issue for developed countries.

CARE Bangladesh (2004) acknowledged that discrimination exists in staff recruitment for minority communities in Bangladesh. The quota system of teachers' recruitment does not include a breakdown of quotas for each indigenous group. This systemic-level fault is the main reason why schools do not get representative indigenous teachers according to their student numbers. One SMC member (FGD1p4m) claimed that there is a need to recruit more teachers from various indigenous groups. In the USA however, Strizek et al. (2006) questioned whether public elementary schools were able to maintain a balance in recruiting indigenous teachers according to indigenous students in schools.

School management awareness of equity and diversity principles

While all government primary schools are managed by government personnel through prescribed rules and regulations, the School Management Committee (SMC) plays a supporting role in the school's management. One criticism of much of the literature on government rules and regulation is that this is only a partial concession

to the prevailing colonial values (Abdullah, 2011) because, in fact, the SMC has no authority to introduce any major changes in the school culture. Therefore, without autonomy or authority, it is impossible for the SMC to implement equity and diversity principles for indigenous children in CHT schools. One indigenous class teacher (BCI), who was concerned about the development of indigenous children, argued, "SMC is a decorative body in governing school activities because members have no authority to contribute to school development." And as a subject specialist (SS1) argued, "I have evidence that there remains a big gap in the awareness of local people, and among national policy makers on equity and diversity principles in education."

The reality is that national level policy makers are not prepared to consider changing the rules and regulations for a small number of indigenous communities. The consequence of this is that without modification to meet the needs of school management in CHT, these rules and regulations will continue to perpetuate the values of the dominant communities, as Bhabha (1994) argued. At the same time, SMCs need to strengthen awareness of equity and diversity principles. Equity and diversity are abstract terms and I was interested to explore school management members' views about equity and diversity issues. One SMC member (FGD1P2i) clearly mentioned that, "I do not understand those difficult issues (equity and diversity)." So, while at the national level policy makers theoretically have introduced notions of equity and diversity into their planning documents, these theories have not been implemented in practice at the school level. For this reason, it is unlikely that progress will be made until national and district authorities more actively engage and consult with school level management people in CHT.

Participants sometimes indicated that there had been a violation of equity and diversity principles in the school system. For example, one SMC member (FGD1P1m) mentioned, "I think that our education system does not offer equal opportunity to everybody. Large differences can be seen on the basis of socio-economic status." One indigenous SMC member (FGD1P2i) argued that it was a discriminatory system because the children of higher level people (rich, educated and high officials) did not enrol (in government schools) due to poor facilities, and children from poor families had no choice but to enrol in public primary schools. This has created an unequal education system in this region.

Equity and diversity principles in practice

To answer the research question, "To what extent do CHT schools and teachers

recognise and celebrate diversity, equal opportunity and equity" I examined the ways in which class teachers worked with students from indigenous backgrounds in their classes. Overall, I did not observe that equity and diversity principles were considered in the way lessons were prepared and taught.

Teacher-directed vs. student-centred teaching practices

Throughout my fieldwork I observed that teachers organised their lessons in traditional ways. In most cases teachers did not apply current student-centred pedagogical methods or strategies but rather relied on lecturing, whole class questioning, rote memorising, setting individual writing tasks, and sometimes worked with students one-on-one (checking their notebooks). I also noted in three of the four case study schools' classrooms that there was limited interaction between teachers and students. In other words, teachers adopted teacher-directed methods in which most classroom time was taken up with teachers' talk, use of unmodified textbooks, and students were mostly either listening or working individually.

During my work at these schools I also gathered information from students on their favourite school activities. Their preferred activities included listening to stories from class teachers, game activities in classrooms, dancing with rhymes and songs, looking at pictures, singing songs, matching puzzles, and discussions between students and teachers. The difference between students' preferences and teachers' practices invites the question of why class teachers in general are not adopting learner-centred teaching methods. Subject specialist (SS2) mentioned that even though class teachers were aware of learner-centred teaching techniques, their teaching practice did not reflect this awareness. He confirmed that a large proportion of teachers received training on innovative teaching-learning methods but he did not observe that teachers applied the methods in their classrooms. When I discussed this issue with teachers they argued that they did not get extra time for preparing lesson plans for classroom activities. However, my own observation was that most teachers did have extra time at the school but chose not to use that time to prepare for lesson. Instead, they passed the time chatting about daily life events rather than student-related matters. Another issue that emerged was that teaching practices are strongly influenced by the annual examination that takes place in October-November. Most teachers teach using exercise questions from the textbook and students study from the set of model questions in the textbook. Therefore, implementing learner-centred teaching strategies that incorporate principles of equity and diversity are not a high priority.

Affirmative action for teaching practice

During my participant classroom observations I conducted classes following the school routines. Lesson preparation for my classes was inspired by Smith's (2004) Kaupapa Maori theory, where I aimed to apply some principles of this theory such as self-determination, culturally preferred pedagogy, incorporating cultural structures, and shared vision/philosophy. Besides this, I also spent a considerable amount of time thinking about ways to embed diversity and equity principles into my teaching. For example, to form groups I randomly selected group members. Students actively participated with confidence as they worked together in groups or pairs that consisted of a 'mix' of indigenous and mainstream students. Nevertheless, based on the reflections received from the students about the activities, a notable issue was that some students did not discuss effectively in their groups or pairs; a reminder that the process of ice-breaking requires time and cannot be achieved in one or two classes.

Throughout my interview discussions, some participants agreed that pair work and group work are helpful for teaching and learning. Moreover, they felt that class teachers need to share ideas and strategies in accord with equity and diversity principles with other teachers at the schools. They pointed out that daily assembly, sports and cultural activities are helpful ways to recognise and respect diversity among students.

Summary

This chapter has presented discussion of the findings from the thesis research with respect to the research questions that guided the study. The discussion focused on equity practices evident in CHT schools with regard to: teacher-student and student-student interactions and relationships; educational materials in CHT school classrooms; professional development for teachers in CHT schools; governance and leadership; and teaching practices that recognise and celebrate diversity, equal opportunity, and equity.

Additionally, contemporary educational management for indigenous children has received significant attention in many countries. As a developing country, Bangladesh has also adopted some initiatives to develop indigenous education with the help of international donor agencies. An integration policy has also been put in place to ensure equity and diversity through teacher recruitment in CHT that is maintaining a quota system for indigenous and mainstream teachers. Still, there

remain many problems raised by indigenous peoples, such as an insufficient number of schools, qualified indigenous teachers, and access to schools. Along with these shortcomings, the lack of autonomy in school governance limits attempts to more fully realise efforts toward achieving equity and diversity for indigenous children in CHT schools.

In the concluding chapter that follows Isummarise the research findings in relation to the thesis research objectives, provide recommendations for policy and practice and for future research, and finally address the study's strengths and limitations.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION

Introduction

The principal aim of this study was to understand in depth the supports and limits in implementing equity and diversity principles for indigenous children in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) primary schools in Bangladesh. To achieve this aim, I undertook four months of fieldwork at four schools located in the CHT region to gain deeper insight into why indigenous students experience ongoing educational disadvantage. The qualitative methodology adopted for the study was designed to address four research objectives:

- To identify school and teaching practices in the primary schools in CHT that support or limit equity and diversity for indigenous children.

- To determine the impact on equity and diversity of policies and practices in CHT schools.

- To ascertain how the equity and diversity implementation process can be strengthened.

- To devise recommendations for policy and practice.

I observed teacher-student interactions and relationships and talked to teachers about their beliefs, attitudes, and teaching practices. I obtained information from students about their interactions and relationships with each other and their teachers through observation, discussion, and class activities (e.g. photos, drawings, and descriptive writing). I assessed the impact on schools of centrally developed policies and practices related to curriculum and teaching materials through document analysis and discussion with subject specialists. In order to gauge the effectiveness of professional development (PD) for teachers I interviewed academic supervisors and teacher educators, examined teacher education course documentation, and discussed the issue of PD with head teachers and class teachers. I also conducted focus group discussions (FGD) with members of each school's School Management Committee (SMC) to more fully understand the role of local level school governance and management in CHT schools.

This chapter summarises the major findings of the study, addressing each research objective in turn, and provides recommendations for policy makers and programme planners in their efforts towards improving school practices and outcomes for primary school indigenous children in Bangladesh. As well, the chapter considers future directions for research in the field, and addresses the strengths and

limitations of the study.

The major findings of the study

School and teaching practices that support or limit equity and diversity for indigenous children

In CHT classrooms student-centred learning was not the norm. Learning was teacher-directed with most classroom time given to teacher talk and limited opportunities provided for teacher–student interactions or learning with peers. Students were expected to listen (to teachers) or to work on individual writing tasks. This lack of opportunity for active engagement in learning was compounded by indigenous students' difficulties with language when teachers used unmodified textbooks and teaching materials. The result of these practices is that indigenous students' learning continues to fall behind that of mainstream students in a number of ways.

First and foremost is indigenous students' lack of proficiency with the mainstream language. In this study indigenous students interacted less with their class teachers than did mainstream students. There was a notable difference in classes taught by indigenous teachers where indigenous students were observed to be more actively engaged because indigenous teachers sometimes communicated with them in their mother tongue. Language difficulties (as second language learners) also led to indigenous students feeling shy and reluctant to participate in group work with mainstream students or assume a group leadership role where oral presentation of the group's work was required, for fear that mainstream students would insult them for incorrect pronunciation, for example by laughing when they wrongly pronounced Bengali words.

Interestingly, it was not only indigenous students who had language difficulties. Most teachers did not know the names of all their students and did not address students by name. Mainstream teachers reported that indigenous children's names were difficult to pronounce. Besides this, teachers did not encourage second language learners with engaging questions or by extending support to them except in one classroom where students received support from a volunteer indigenous assistant.

Whether the high level of ethnocentric behaviour that persists between school students was exacerbated by, or led to, language barriers was not explored in the thesis. Nevertheless it was the case that most students sat together in and out of class based on ethnicity groups. They developed friendships with each other

because they could chat together in their mother tongue. Similar outcomes were found by many analysts such as Asian Development Bank (2012),Mullah et al. (2007) and Carlisle et al. (2006).

A second possibly controversial limiting feature, argued by many teachers, was that the large number of students in most classrooms does not favour student-centred or innovative teaching. While this was an issue raised by participants, I did observe that in five of the 10 participating classrooms with less than 30 students, teachers of those classes did not engage students in learner-centred activities. Teachers argued as well that they did not get extra time to prepare for activities. Again, this was not borne out by observation where I noted that teachers did get time to prepare at school but chose instead to chat about non-school related issues. So it seems in general that there is a lack of knowledge and awareness among teachers in CHT schools about the value of planning for learner-centred activities and that there is a reliance on whole classroom lecturing, rote memorising, individual writing tasks, and checking notebooks.

Without doubt, the thesis findings show that teachers' beliefs and attitudes about and behaviour towards their students play an important role in developing student-teacher relationships and that work towards achieving more equitable outcomes for indigenous students is compromised when mainstream teachers perceive indigenous students as being weaker learners than mainstream students. This stereotyping inevitably affects teachers' achievement expectations as well as their relationships and interactions with indigenous students. Based on 80 students' opinions at the four case study schools, students identified two considerations in assessing their preference of teachers. First, students in large part selected their favourite teachers from their own community, i.e. indigenous students selected indigenous teachers and mainstream students selected mainstream teachers. Second, a few students, however, did not consider the ethnicity issue. Rather, they selected teachers based on the teachers' positive attitudes towards them and quality of teaching. Favourite teachers were described as joyful, polite, with smiling faces and friendly behaviours. Evidence of teaching that showed respect for cultural differences and considered the diversity of students in CHT schools was reflected in students' comments, written descriptions, drawings and photos about their enjoyment of listening to stories, engaging in game activities, dancing with rhymes and songs, looking at pictures, singing songs, and matching puzzles. Students also made reference to teachers who could explain subject matter to them. This supports the findings of a number of authors (Thapa et al., 2013; Bennett, 2011;

Spinthourakis et al., 2009).

The impact on equity and diversity of policies and practices in CHT schools

Local school level

While there have been recent changes to the content of professional development courses offered by the PTI to cover new approaches to teaching and learning, and include content on equity and diversity issues, there was little evidence of changes to teachers' knowledge and understanding of these being reflected in their classroom practice. This could be because currently there is a lack of short-term professional development programmes for school teachers. A further concern is that local trainers (AUEOs and URC Instructors) themselves are not sufficiently knowledgeable about implementing policies related to equity and diversity principles into existing practices.

A lack of awareness about equity and diversity principles was also evident at the school management level. SMC members stated that they did not understand the meaning of equity and diversity. As a result, they are not well positioned to initiate changes to existing school structures or to be able to implement new policies to improve the school culture and climate. In spite of this it was clear that SMC participants were well aware of the injustices in their basic education system effected by the disparity between educational outcomes for people from different social classes, where children of lower class families do not have equal access or opportunity to achieve a basic primary education compared with children from higher class families.

District level

While district managers have been campaigning to raise awareness of and respect for diversity through bill boards, posters and exhibitions in public places, participants in this study argued that the political history between the Bengalis and indigenous communities has led to untrusting relationships between indigenous and mainstream communities in CHT. This lack of trust continues to manifest itself in the school environment where mainstream and indigenous students tend to avoid interacting with each other and generally play and learn separately.

While the government has given permission to CHT district level authorities to introduce some indigenous language and culture teaching materials, the impact of this was not evident in primary schools in CHT. Other district level impediments to

the introduction of equity and diversity initiatives seem to be due to inherited and entrenched hierarchical models of school management both at the national and district level. Government personnel make most decisions based on established rules and regulations, and most of these rules and regulations are made with little consideration for indigenous children's educational needs. For example, the government has specific population density rules that guide whether or not to build a new school in a village, and because the population in CHT is very low, establishing new schools and improving road access to villages are not permitted. Until decision-making takes into account the disadvantage suffered by indigenous peoples due to their remoteness and poor socio-economic conditions, absenteeism from school, and the inevitable negative outcomes that flow from this, will continue.

National level

The Bangladesh public education system imposes a centralised national curriculum and a single set of textbooks. In general, this curriculum focuses on socio-economic, historical and cultural content relevant to mainstream students. The impact of this on indigenous students is twofold. The first is that their culture, lifestyles and significant people in their lives remain invisible in the nationally distributed textbooks. Secondly, and alluded to elsewhere in the thesis, students face difficulties because while they communicate using their indigenous language at home, they study as second language learners, largely unsupported at school, because the medium of instruction in primary schools is Bengali. The key point here is that despite the efforts of national policy makers to embed equity and diversity principles into curriculum planning documents, the specific cultural needs of indigenous students, including language, are not yet being met by the nationally prescribed curriculum and texts.

The recently revised (in 2014) teacher training programme, namely the Diploma in Primary Education (DPEd), now includes content that considers equity and diversity issues unlike the previous C-in-Ed course. Nevertheless, the majority of teachers in CHT have only undertaken the C-in-Ed programme of professional development in which there was no such content and so lack the skill or knowledge about how to provide special support for indigenous children based on equity and diversity principles. In light of the findings of this thesis, it appears that teachers are largely unaware of: the norms and values that underpin social justice in education; applying principles of equity and diversity in practice; approaches to multicultural education; and ways of supporting disadvantaged students.

Improved access to and availability of refresher PD for teachers is needed to address these deficiencies.

Strengthening the equity and diversity implementation process

Action is needed at all levels, local, district and national, to strengthen the process of embedding equity and diversity principles into the education system in Bangladesh.

Local school level

The school environment is the perfect place in which students and teachers can learn about and implement best practice based on equity and diversity principles. This is particularly important in CHT regions where there is a high representation of peoples from diverse backgrounds. Teachers need to recognise, respect and celebrate the diversity of community norms and values, to maximise opportunities for students and teachers themselves to share and interact with each other, and to minimise stereotyping and discrimination. Schools, and teachers at those schools, also need encouragement and support to develop, use and adapt teaching and curriculum materials so that lesson content and discussions acknowledge and represent, rather than exclude, indigenous perspectives and culture during their classroom activities. This includes dress, gestures, accents, and customs. Heath and Mongiola (1991) also suggested that the class teachers who do this will create a school environment that is equally accessible for all learners.

Secondly, it was found that indigenous children face language barriers while communicating with teachers and their classmates. Indigenous students find it difficult to understand lesson content that relies only on oral language (e.g. lecturing) whereas the combination of body language and oral language may facilitate communication and understanding of subject matter content. Therefore, teachers should communicate with students in a variety of ways, listen attentively to their students, and ask questions to check their understanding of the lesson. Students in this study clearly stated that they connect well to subject matter and teaching that includes active involvement through dances, games, stories, and songs. Teachers' consideration of students' needs and preferences will strengthen relationships among teachers and students as well as between students

The diversity of students in CHT schools must be supported to undertake their schooling even though ethnocentrism exists as a barrier to this objective. Of key importance is to create an environment in the class where students can take part without fear of bullying and discrimination. In order to achieve this, class teachers

can introduce more student-centred activities to allow opportunities for indigenous students to interact with mainstream students and practice in Bengali, the medium of instruction in all government primary schools, and feel more confident while communicating. To do this effectively teachers need to actively discourage teasing and other forms of bullying that thwart the development of mutual understanding between indigenous and mainstream students. Teachers need structured professional development support to be able to organise student-centred classrooms at the same time as dealing with a large number of students. Incorporating equity and diversity content into teacher professional development programs plays a vital role in building equity and diversity awareness, knowledge and skills that will motivate teachers to change traditional practices.

District level

An affirmative teachers' recruitment system is already in place at the district council level. Similarly, a special provision for professional development of CHT teachers is needed to increase understanding about teaching indigenous children from remote regions with awareness and sensitivity. Professional development in indigenous languages would support this process as well. Recently, the government has re-structured the teacher training program to include more equity and diversity content at PTIs. Still lacking though, is the provision of high quality short-term professional development programmes that focus on equity and diversity. District level primary education management could also supply CHT schools with teaching materials and resources to assist teachers to adapt activities in order to create more inclusive practices. District managers are also well positioned to advocate for increasing indigenous students' accommodation.

National level

Teachers and school management staff need to be aware of international declarations and agreements on human rights, children's rights, education rights and indigenous rights. This awareness raising should be a national level priority and nurtured through professional development. Strengthening the focus on equity and diversity and incorporating this subject matter into the teacher education curriculum are therefore critical. The recently revised teacher education curriculum (DPEd) has made some headway towards achieving this.

Recommendations for policy and practice

While principles of equity and diversity are enshrined in Bangladesh policy

documents, achieving equitable educational outcomes for indigenous children in CHT schools is yet to be realised. For example, one objective of the ongoing 3rd Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP3) is "to establish an efficient, inclusive, and equitable primary education system delivering effective and relevant child-friendly learning to all Bangladesh's children from pre-primary through grade five primary" (Directorate of Primary Education, 2011b, vii). The PEDP3 implementation guide nominates two indicators specifically related to equity and diversity for indigenous children for their educational development: one, is the quality of curriculum that refers to coherence, relevance, breadth, inclusion and gender sensitivity for children in school; and two, is the number of focal persons who need training in inclusive education (Directorate of Primary Education, 2011a). These two indicators are good examples of national level policy makers' awareness about equity and diversity principles regarding elementary education.

However, the findings of this thesis indicate that further work is needed to align local level practice with the sentiments expressed in policy documents. At a national level further infrastructure development in CHT is key to providing resources (both human and material) and facilities that will help to ameliorate indigenous children's educational disadvantage. At the same time, education policy makers at the national and district level need to attend to issues that continue to constrain efforts to put into practice existing policies related to an alternative indigenous-relevant curriculum, modified teaching materials, teachers' equity and diversity training needs, and decision-making that includes local level school management. One promising development has been to grant district councils in CHT permission to introduce textbooks in indigenous languages. The district council, however, has not been able to properly implement this initiative because of a lack of teachers skilled in indigenous languages.

The Bangladesh national curriculum needs to more explicitly represent and reflect the country's diversity by including and affirming indigenous cultures and lifestyles. In the Australian school curriculum, for example, there is a focus on Aboriginal subject matter as a part of curriculum content and teaching materials. Similarly, Macfarlane (2012, p218) suggested that it is necessary to have more recognition of indigenous culture for more recognition of diversity in education. This would necessarily involve closer consultation and collaboration between national, district, and local level representatives and therefore a preparedness to break through the barriers created by the existing hierarchical governance structures. Alongside this lies the need to ensure that there is a teacher training programme focused on

indigenous languages and cultural heritage. Whilst this may take time to introduce nationally, the three hill district PTIs could be declared as specialised PTIs for indigenous educational development so they can immediately undertake training activities according to the needs of local level teachers. As Ainscow and Miles (2011) and Tormey (2005)suggested, a separate special needs pedagogy is required particularly in teacher education.

In the same way, a separate system of school management is needed for the CHT region that gives authority to school management to implement equity and diversity principles. CHT schools require more autonomy to be able to introduce changes in curriculum and teaching content. With authority to respond to local and school community needs, real progress can be made in learning to value and respect the fundamental differences between mainstream and indigenous cultures. School management is well placed to work towards reducing biases and prejudices. For instance, all schools have a long vacation during the Ramadan moon month, which sometimes comes in the dry session and sometimes in the rainy session. This long vacation could be rearranged in CHT to make up for time lost in the rainy season because students cannot get to school. With more autonomy, schools could also rearrange staff leave, academic routines, and teacher recruitment practices to meet their specific school needs. In consultation with local schools, school improvement development programmes could more effectively address equity supports related to school accommodation, special curriculum and teaching materials, targeted professional development, and recruitment of more staff from indigenous communities.

A final observation from the work of this thesis that has not been examined in detail is that indigenous students are teased and insulted at CHT schools. This raises the need for education policy at the national level to campaign against bullying in schools. The success of this kind of campaign, however, hinges on the broader national policy reflecting strong support for the country's diversity in general and equity for indigenous people in particular. The national level policies then need prescribed guidelines for ensuring schools are safe, welcoming environments for all students.

Strengths and limitations of the study

The thesis journey has revealed both strengths and limitations of the study. One of the strengths is that by undertaking an in-depth qualitative study, new findings have been documented on the educational development of indigenous children in CHT in

Bangladesh that had not been previously uncovered. As cited in the literature review, most studies have employed survey methods relying on primary or secondary sources of data that do not convey the complexity of issues confronting schools in the CHT region.

This study is unique in that the researcher spent 12 to 14 days at each study school and undertook open-ended activities such as participant and non-participant class observations, and worked with students in classrooms as well as conducting interviews to gather rich data from participating teachers, head teachers and school management committee members. My research and academic experience in the primary education department of more than 14 years enabled me to conduct participant and non-participant class observations and to work with students in classrooms in other parts of the country. This experience served me well to interact with participants in this study, to make informed observations, and to manage living and commuting arrangements in the remote study school communities. A further strength of this study is that the rigour of the research process and reliability of the data were assured by obtaining and being able to examine a range of perspectives (from teachers, students, head teachers, SMC members, and academic specialists and supervisors).

There are also limitations in this study. The primary limitation was my role in the study as the researcher and professional learner at Flinders University as well as a teacher educator at the primary education department in Bangladesh. Some participants such as teachers, academic supervisors and subject specialists knew the data were being collected as part of a higher degree course at an overseas university. Sometimes, they might have felt they needed to provide answers they thought would meet my requirements. Throughout my fieldwork, I was always aware of this issue and minimised it as much as possible. A further limitation was with regard to the use of equity and diversity terminology in this study. I discovered that these terms might have been confusing for some participants, particularly school level participants, and I had to use alternative Bangla language expressions that would be better understood by some participants.

The thesis findings have not captured a full range of perspectives because parents of students at the case study schools did not participate in the research. So, while the thesis research design ensured multiple perspectives were obtained, the results nevertheless are limited to those perspectives. A final but important limitation of the study that must be taken into account in interpreting the results is that the thesis

findings pertain only to the four selected CHT case study schools and cannot be generalised to other CHT schools or other primary schools in the country.

Directions for future research

This study yielded three areas that warrant further research. The first relates to the national education policy. The second focuses on teaching materials for indigenous students. The third area highlights recently introduced changes to teacher education.

Firstly, the Bangladesh Government introduced its 'National Education Policy 2010' with a commitment to developing a more equitable education system. Further investigation is now needed on the impact of this policy change on the development of indigenous education.

Secondly, further investigation is required into the implementation of teaching materials for indigenous children. The implementation of indigenous textbooks is unique in the Bangladeshi education context and monitoring the success of this initiative for improving educational outcomes for indigenous students is critical. Even though this thesis has contributed to discussion on this issue, analysis needs to be ongoing.

Thirdly, the Department for Primary Education anticipates that the recently introduced Diploma in Primary Education (DPEd) will be successful in fulfilling teachers' professional learning needs related to inclusive education. This professional development is seen as a driving force in changing class teachers' practices in favour of equity and diversity education. From this year (2016), this professional development program is being implemented all over the country. Future research is required to determine how well this programme achieves its goal of embedding equity and diversity principles into the teaching of indigenous children in Bangladesh.

In conclusion, while the quality of the indigenous students' experience of education continues to improve in CHT, a number of problems remain. Equity and diversity principles are not yet well embedded into the primary education system. Some affirmative action has been taken by development partners and government organisations to implement a quota-based teacher recruitment system, and that has had a positive effect on improving teacher–student relationships. Secondly, establishing more residential accommodation for indigenous students has led to positive outcomes for their education. Thirdly, textbooks supplied in indigenous languages should also be helpful. Finally, many agencies have a commitment to improving indigenous education in Bangladesh.

Ideally, a commitment to embed principles of equity and diversity into educational policies and practices should enable all children to receive the support, opportunities, and learning experiences they need to experience success and enjoy their lives at school. To achieve this, special attention needs to be given to narrowing performance gaps between indigenous and mainstream students in primary education in CHT. A substantial step towards achieving equitable education outcomes will be to equip teachers through professional development programs to more effectively interact with students in ways that acknowledge diversity and promote equity; in other words, to enhance principles of social justice in their teaching. Likewise, school management is well placed to plan for and initiate programs and activities that celebrate diversity while working with policy makers to remove barriers to social and educational equality within their school communities.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Ethics Approval

FINAL APPROVAL NOTICE

Project No.: **6213**

Project Title: Equity and Diversity for Primary School Indigenous Children in Bangladesh

Principal Researcher: Mr Md. Rabiul Islam

Email: isla0010@flinders.edu.au

Address: 80/2Ayliffes Road
St Marys SA 5042

Approval Date: 16 September 2013   Ethics Approval Expiry Date: **7 August 2016**

The above proposed project has been **approved** on the basis of the information contained in the application, its attachments and the information subsequently provided with the addition of the following comment:

Additional information required following commencement of research:

1. Please ensure that copies of the correspondence granting permission to conduct the research from (a) school principals and (b) relevant school councils are submitted to the Committee *on receipt.* Please ensure that the SBREC project number is included in the subject line of any permission emails forwarded to the Committee. Please note that data collection should not commence until the researcher has received the relevant permissions (item D8 and Conditional approval response – number 5).

RESPONSIBILITIES OF RESEARCHERS AND SUPERVISORS

1. Participant Documentation

Please note that it is the responsibility of researchers and supervisors, in the case of student projects, to ensure that:

· all participant documents are checked for spelling, grammatical, numbering and formatting errors. The Committee does not accept any responsibility for the above mentioned errors.

· the Flinders University logo is included on all participant documentation (e.g., letters of Introduction, information Sheets, consent forms, debriefing information and questionnaires – with the exception of purchased research tools) and the current Flinders University letterhead is included in the header of all letters of introduction.The Flinders University international logo/letterhead should be used and documentation should contain international dialling codes for all telephone and fax numbers listed for all research to be conducted overseas.

· the SBREC contact details, listed below, are included in the footer of all letters of introduction and information sheets.

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project Number 'INSERT PROJECT No. here following approval'). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au.

2. Annual Progress / Final Reports

In order to comply with the monitoring requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (March 2007)* an annual progress report must be submitted each year on the **16 September** (approval anniversary date) for the duration of the ethics approval using the annual / final report pro forma available from Annual / Final Reports SBREC web page. *Please retain this notice for reference when completing annual progress or final reports.*

If the project is completed *before* ethics approval has expired please ensure a final report is submitted immediately. If ethics approval for your project expires please submit either (1) a final report; or (2) an extension of time request

214

<u>and</u> an annual report.

<u>Student Projects</u>

The SBREC recommends that current ethics approval is maintained until a student's thesis has been submitted, reviewed and approved. This is to protect the student in the event that reviewers recommend some changes that may include the collection of additional participant data.

 Your first report is due on **16 September 2014** or on completion of the project, whichever is the earliest.

3.   Modifications to Project

Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval has been obtained from the Ethics Committee. Such matters include:

·   proposed changes to the research protocol;

·   proposed changes to participant recruitment methods;

·   amendments to participant documentation and/or research tools;

·   change of project title;

·   extension of ethics approval expiry date; and

·   changes to the research team (addition, removals, supervisor changes).

To notify the Committee of any proposed modifications to the project please submit a <u>Modification Request Form</u> to the <u>Executive Officer</u>. Download the form from the website every time a new modification request is submitted to ensure that the most recent form is used. Please note that extension of time requests should be submitted <u>prior</u> to the Ethics Approval Expiry Date listed on this notice.

<u>Change of Contact Details</u>

Please ensure that you notify the Committee if either your mailing or email address changes to ensure that correspondence relating to this project can be sent to you. A modification request is not required to change your contact details.

4.   Adverse Events and/or Complaints

Researchers should advise the Executive Officer of the Ethics Committee on 08 8201-3116 or human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au immediately if:

·   any complaints regarding the research are received;

·   a serious or unexpected adverse event occurs that effects participants;

·   an unforseen event occurs that may affect the ethical acceptability of the project.

Andrea Fiegert

Ethics Officer and Joint Executive Officer

Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee

c.c   Prof Rosalind Murray-Harvey

        Dr Ben Wadham

Mrs Andrea Fiegert and **Ms Mikaila Crotty**
Ethics Officers <u>and</u> Joint Executive Officers, Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee
Telephone: +61 8 8201-3116 | Andrea Fiegert (Monday – Wednesday)
Telephone: +61 8 8201-7938 | Mikaila Crotty (Wednesday – Friday)
Web: <u>Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee</u>

Manager, Research Ethics and Integrity – Dr Peter Wigley
Telephone: +61 8 8201-5466 | email: peter.wigley@flinders.edu.au

Research Services Office |Union Building Basement

Flinders University

Sturt Road, Bedford Park | South Australia | 5042

GPO Box 2100 | Adelaide SA 5001

Appendix II: Letter of Introduction

Flinders
UNIVERSITY

Professor Rosalind Murray-Harvey
Director, Flinders Research Centre: Student
Wellbeing & Prevention of Violence (SWAPv)
School of Education

GPO Box 2100
Adelaide SA 5001

Tel: +61 8 8201 3349
Fax: +61 8 8201 3184
rosalind.murray-harvey@flinders.edu.au

www.flinders.edu.au

CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR CLASS TEACHER

Dear Sir / Madam
This letter is to introduce Mr Md Rabiul Islam who is a PhD student in the School of Education at Flinders University. He will produce his student card, which carries a photograph, as proof of identity.

Mr Rabiul is undertaking research leading to the production of a thesis or other publications on the subject of Equity and Diversity for Primary School Indigenous Children in Bangladesh. He would be most grateful if you would volunteer to assist in this project in any or all of the following ways:

(1) By granting an interview that will take not more than I- hour
(2) By agreeing to Mr Rabiul spending time for observation in the classroom on one or two occasions
(3) By agreeing to Mr Rabiul undertaking two activities with students in your class
    a. Drawing a picture and writing about the picture
    b. taking photos in the school and writing about the photos.

Be assured that any information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence and none of the participants will be individually identifiable in the resulting thesis, report or other publications. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time or to decline to answer particular questions.

Since Mr *Rabiul* would like to make a tape recording of the interview, he will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview and use a transcription of the interview in preparing the thesis, report or other publication on condition that your name or identity is not revealed, and to make the recording available to his supervisors on the same conditions. You may be assured that your name or identity will not be revealed and that the confidentiality of the material is respected and maintained.

Any enquiries you may have concerning this project can be directed to me at the address given above or by telephone on +61 8 82013349 or fax: +61 8 82013184 or Email rosalind.murray-harvey@flinders.edu.au or directed to Mr Rabiul Email isla0010@flinders.edu.au or telephone number +61 8 82015223 or mobile +61415385674 (Aus) / +8801199061510 (BD).

Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely

Professor Rosalind Murray-Harvey
School of Education,
Flinders University

Mr Md Rabiul Islam
School of Education,
Flinders University

Appendix III: Information Sheet for Participants

Mr Md Rabiul Islam
School of Education
Faculty of Education, Humanities and Law
Level 3 Education building
Flinders Drive, **Bedford Park SA 5042**
GPO Box 2100
Adelaide SA 5001
Tel: +61 8 82015223
Mobile +61415385674(Aus)
**   +8801199061510(BD)**
isla0010@flinders.edu.au

INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Title: Equity and Diversity for Primary School Indigenous Children in Bangladesh

Investigators:

Mr Md Rabiul Islam

School of Education

Flinders University

Ph: +61 8 82015223

Description of the study:

This study is part of the project entitled '*Equity and Diversity for Primary School Indigenous Children in Bangladesh'.* This project will investigate classroom and school practices that support equity and diversity for primary school indigenous children in Bangladesh. This project is supported by Flinders University, School of Education.

Purpose of the study:

The overarching aim of this study is to better understand the affordances and constraints in achieving equity and diversity for indigenous children in CHT primary schools in Bangladesh from the perspectives of the teachers, school managers, teacher educators, and students.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be invited to attend a one-on-one interview with me and I will ask you a few questions about your views on classroom and school practices that support the equity and diversity for primary school indigenous children. The interview will take about 1 hour. The interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder to help with accuracy when looking at the results. Once recorded, the interview will be transcribed (typed-up) and stored as a computer file and then the results will be finalised. Your involvement is voluntary. Audio tapes will need to be stored; it will be stored in a de-identification form that data has had all identifying information removed.

What benefit will I gain from being involved in this study?

The sharing of your experiences will improve the planning and delivery of future programs. We are very keen to deliver a service and resources which are as useful as possible to people. The information, that will come up from the interview will help improve the planning of educational development programs in Bangladesh.

Will I be identifiable by being involved in this study?

I do not need your name and you will be anonymous. Once the interview has been typed-up and saved as a file, any identifying information will be removed and the typed-up file stored on a password protected computer that only the researcher and his supervisors will have access to. Your comments will not be linked directly to you.

Are there any risks or discomforts if I am involved?

The investigator anticipates few risks from your involvement in this study. If you have any concerns regarding anticipated or actual risks or discomforts, please raise them with the investigator.

How do I agree to participate?

Participation is voluntary. You may answer 'no comment' or refuse to answer any questions and you are free to withdraw from the interview at any time without effect or consequences. A consent form accompanies this information sheet. If you agree to participate please read and sign the form and send it back to me.

How will I receive feedback?

Outcomes from the project will be summarised and given to you by the investigator if you would like to see them.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and we hope that you will accept our invitation to be involved.

Appendix IV: Consent Form for Participation in Research

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

(by interview)

Equity and Diversity for Primary School Indigenous Children in Bangladesh

I …..

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the interview for the research project on Equity and Diversity for Primary School Indigenous Children in Bangladesh

I have read the information provided.

Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.

I agree to audio recording of my information and participation.

4.   I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.

5.   I understand that:

I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.

I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and am free to decline to answer particular questions.

While the information gained in this study will be published as explained, I will not be identified, and individual information will remain confidential.

I may ask that the recording/observation be stopped at any time, and that I may withdraw at any time from the session or the research without disadvantage.

6.   I have had the opportunity to discuss taking part in this research with a family member or friend.

Participant's signature…………………………………Date…………………...

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name: MdRabiul Islam

Researcher's signature……………………………...Date…………………….

Appendix V: Research tools

Title of the project: Equity and Diversity for Primary School Indigenous Children in Bangladesh

Participant's ID: …………………………………………………………………

Class teacher Interview questionnaire

1. Please tell me a little about your teaching background- how long have you been teaching? At this school? What other roles do you have?
2. What are aspects of your work that you consider most enjoyable / satisfying?
3. What are issues that make teaching difficult – for you or other teachers?
4. The government has been introducing policies to address what it sees as continuing problems in achieving better outcomes for indigenous children. What are your thoughts about the policies? In your opinion what are challenges for indigenous children at your school?
5. How well do you think indigenous children get on with their class mates?
6. How well do you think indigenous children get with their teachers? Is it important? Why?
7. Have you had to change your teaching in recent times because of new policies? In what ways is your teaching different? What about how things are in the school generally?
8. What practices do you think influence the development of equity and diversity in school?
9. How well prepared do you think teachers like yourself are from the professional development program for a teacher in Primary teacher training Institute?
10. What do you think about how the school management deals with works for indigenous students?
11. Are there other factors that have supported equity and diversity in your school or in general?

Head teacher Interview questionnaire

1. Please tell me a little about your school management background- how long have you been doing this work? At this school? What other roles do you have?
2. What are aspects of your work that you consider most enjoyable / satisfying?
3. The government has been introducing policies to address what it sees as continuing problems in achieving better outcomes for indigenous children. What are your thoughts about the policies? In your opinion what are challenges for indigenous children at your school?
4. (a) What in regard to equity and diversity issues makes school management difficult – for you or other head teachers? (b)How well do you think indigenous children are getting on at their school? (c) How well with their classmates / teachers? Is it important? Why?
5. Have you had to change your school management in recent times because of new policies? In what ways is your school management different? What about how things are in the school generally?
6. How successful do you think is professional development?
7. Are there other factors that have supported equity and diversity in your school? (That we have not covered)

Academic Supervisor Interview questionnaire

1. Please tell me a little about your academic supervision background- how long have you been doing this work? With this school?
2. What are aspects of your work that you consider most enjoyable / satisfying?

3. In relation to equity and diversity what are issues that make academic supervision difficult – for you or other academic supervisors?
4. The government has been introducing policies to address what it sees as continuing problems in achieving better outcomes for indigenous children. What are your thoughts about the policies? In your opinion what are challenges for indigenous children at your schools?
5. (a) What is your impression about how well indigenous children get on with their class mates?

(b) What about how things are in the school generally?

6. What practices have your noticed that influence the development of equity and diversity in school?

7. Any there other factors that have supported equity and diversity in the schools you spend time in (eg. PD programs; management and schools)?

Teacher Educator Interview questionnaire

1. Please tell me a little about your teacher educator background- how long have you been doing this work?
2. What are aspects of your work that you consider most enjoyable / satisfying?
3. The government has been introducing policies to address what it sees as continuing problems in achieving better outcomes for indigenous children. What are your thoughts about the policies? In your opinion what are challenges for preparing teachers?
4. What professional development courses are available teachers to improve teaching? Is it important?
5. Have you had to change your training system in recent times because of new policies? In what ways is training different?
6. What teacher practices do you belief influences the development of equity and diversity in schools?
7. Tell me about any successful teacher training programs / institutes you and other teacher educators have?
8. Are there other factors that have supported equity and diversity in your teacher training institute?

Subject Specialist Interview questionnaire

1. Please tell me a little about your subject specialization background- how long have you been introduced with this subject?
2. What are aspects of your work that you consider most enjoyable / satisfying?
3. How do you consider equity and diversity in education for indigenous children? How do you work support these issues (school curriculum and textbook)?
4. In your work, what are the cultural elements of indigenous communities that you need to consider reached to equity and diversity at the school level?
5. What subject matter and pedagogical strategies would you like to develop to enhance equity and diversity for ethnic minority groups?
6. What is your vision of practices that can enhance equity and diversity in the future?

Issues for Focus Group Discussion with members of SMC

Issues	Successes	Problems	Possibilities
What are school and classroom practices that support the equity and diversityof students with indigenous children in your school?			

Issues	Opportunities	Successes
Involvement of parents in equity and diversity		
Involvement of peers and the community of students in equity and diversity		
View regarding equity and diversity for ethnic minority groups		
Recommendations for incorporating in the school system		
Vision of practices that can enhance equity and diversity in the future		

Outline of Activities for Children's stories, illustrations and Photos

Task A: Student's friendship with classmates

During this task, my aim was to explore children's social interactions among their classmates. In this process, all participating students were given a task individually and were asked to write the names of 'close friends' 'other friends' and their own name using a pre-planned drawing task arrangement as shown in Figure 4.2.

Task B: Student's favourite teachers and activities (Draw a picture)

My instructions for this activity were as follows:
Write your name on the top of the given paper
- Write the names of your two favourite teachers in your school
- Write the names of two activities that you enjoy most at your school
- Write the names of two school activities that you like draw and take photo of them.

I supplied students with art paper for drawing. Students were asked to draw a picture about their favourite school activities. After finishing the drawing, I gave them another piece of paper for writing. My instruction was "describe in your own words why you enjoy this activity most in your school".

Task C: photo taken by Students of their favourite issues

I had some instructions to the students for taking photos. These instructions are as follows:

- You take the camera and keep it for 15 minutes.
- During this time you may take photos of what you think is important about school.
- You may take not more than two photos.
- When your photographs have been taken, please return the camera to me.

Appendix VI: An example of participants' interview transcriptions

Class teacher Label: LRM (C0107- audio recording code)

Discussion subject	Translation
Teaching background	R: How do you introduce with me? L : My name is LRD. I am a class teacher at Balaghata Government primary school. R: Please describe how you came to teaching profession? L: In fact, my father was a head teacher of a Primary school and he came from middle class family. When I appeared on HSC examination; then had a circulation for the recruiting primary school teacher. I applied for the post, due to want of big family (4 brothers and sisters). I thought if I would join the job even it is lower level salary. I got teacher ship in a school after I had an interview. R: How long did you servicing this school? L: I have been servicing in this school for 8 years within my 12 years teacher ship life.
Any other work except teaching	R: Have you any other job without teaching in this school? L: When I get special duties for various occasions, I do this duty. R: have any skill ness about cultural elements? L: I can try best for any element of cultural occasion.
Consider most enjoyable/ satisfying for teaching in this school, RQ-5	R: Please give me some examples those are enjoyed by you at school. L: By the doing my class activities, if I see even weak students are getting good understanding I feel happy when I see students doing good in their final assessment; I get inspiration to teach the students.
Issues that make teaching difficult for you or other teachers in this school RQ- 4 RQ- 1	R: Which activities do you feel hard in this school activity? L: In general, everywhere has a hard side. R: Please describe your situation? L: When our management authority says," This survey has to be finished within one or two days and has to be submitted report." Then I feel very hard. Most of time we have friendliness with our students. However, Sometimes, we have to do unfriendly nature with students; then parents and higher officer called upon us and use very harsh language. Then I felt that I would leave the job. I think that in school time if we (teachers) show friendly behavior with students, they (students) do not obey us; rather they become naughtier day by day
Challenges for indigenous children RQ- 4	R: Would you describe about indigenous students. L: Yes, I say that NGO and other organization are working for development for indigenous people. If you do any survey. Suppose you see that some children are living in a house. Even one woman has appointed to look after them. They are getting preparation to take education under an organization (small NGO). I think that now indigenous children are getting more development than previous time. For example, in 2010 Some children (Marma) came from Thanchi upazilla. They had been living here for one year before their guide transferred other place. It is one of example; in many ways they are trying to more education, development special from the remote areas.
RQ-2	R: Have you feel any language problem of them? L: Yes, Obviously they have language problem. They do not get favor using language of their daily life; In home, they speak their mother language and in school, they use Bangla language. They feel hard to understand of our language. In many ways, we try to overcome this type of situation. For example, I asked a volunteer who knows both Bangla and Marma languages through head teacher. Sometime, this volunteer worked with me in classroom as translator from Marma language. Within few days, students from Marma language could understand Bangla language. It is very helpful way to solve the problem.

RQ-5 RQ-2	R: You have been teaching lower level grade and higher level grade. How is feeling about their learning quality? L: Indigenous children who are coming from remote areas and are staying in the school accommodation; they do not get any problem. I have been grown up here. So, I have seen that World vision and other NGO give to them learning materials. Even my student hood life, I would hope getting those but I did not get those due to mainstream students. I have seen those for a long time.
How well do you think indigenous children get on with their class mates RQ-1	R: would speak about your indigenous classmates from your student hood life? L: They are in good situation with good jobs. For example, one is higher officer in UNDP and another is advocate in court. R: Would explain the relation between teachers and indigenous children? In fact, indigenous children who come from remote areas primarily feel shy and are afraid of mainstream teachers in the school. Since they do not speak proper Bangla, they just sit in the classroom silently. They do not say anything even if they forget to bring their learning materials.
About professional development RQ-3	R: When did you have PTI course? L: In 2002-2003 sessions. R: Did get about inclusive education or equitable education during your course contents? L: I did not remember about that. However, one teacher educator discussed about that issue. I got all textbooks from PTI. It is very helpful for teaching. However, later many teachers did not get those.
Example of equity and diversity practices in your school RQ-3 RQ-2 RQ-5 RQ-1 RQ-5 RQ-1	R: Would you say anything about those students who are weak student in your classroom? L: In fact, when I get weak students, we take extra time for them. We try to understand where their difficulties are. We ask them easy questions. Then we give them feedback. Moreover, there is a teacher from Marma group in this school; we ask her for more understanding the language of Marma children. The teacher also has good respond for our questions. R: What about reflection of other teachers? L: When a new teacher joined this school; he got face some difficulties specially language understanding. Day by day, she has been getting improvement in her teaching profession. She also has changed her attitudes. R: What about equity between indigenous and mainstream people? L: Actually, literate people have trend to get equity everywhere including at school environment. R: However, I have an observation in school situation that mostly indigenous students and mainstream students sit on separate bench (every bench has two seats). Do you feel that? L: I have also observed that mostly indigenous and mainstream students sit on separate benches. In my opinion, students who come from remote areas show such tendency since they do not feel comfortable in mixing with mainstream students. On the other hand, urban indigenous and mainstream students are more cordial towards each other. R: Do you know, "only indigenous students live in hostel? " L: Yes, there live in only indigenous groups. They come from different areas in the district. They have been studying well due to organize rules of hostel. However, the problem is that they do not like to make friendship without hostel mates. Sometimes, there are no sufficient room for students; they staying there without bedroom. R: Do you know the names of all students in your classroom? L: No, students who have been studying since year one, it is possible to say their names from me. However, some students transferred from other schools. The names of Indigenous people are hard to pronounce. Sometimes, a numbers of students come to schools only one day a week. Sometimes, these students are shown in market place. If we like to discuss about their problems; they do not like to discuss with us.
Recommendation RQ-1	R: What about your opinion about the ratio of student number vs classroom? L: I think it is needed to more classrooms. Because, there are 200-230 students cannot sit in a one or two classroom. It is very hard to arrange seats for everybody.

REFERENCES

Abdullah, S. (2011). *Whose education? Whose nation?* Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Abreu, G. D., & Cline, T. (2006). Schooled mathematics and cultural knowledge. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 11*(1), 11-30.

Ahmmed, M., & Mullick, J. (2014). Implementing inclusive education in primary schools in Bangladesh: Recommended strategies. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice, 13*(2), 167-180.

Ahsan, M. T., & Mullick, J. (2013). The journey towards inclusive education in Bangladesh: Lessons learned. *Prospects, 43*(2), 151-164.

Ahsan, M. T., Sharma, U., & Deppeler, J. M. (2011). Beliefs of pre-service teacher education institutional heads about inclusive education in Bangladesh. *Bangladesh Education Journal, 10*(1), 9-29.

Ainscow, M., & Miles, S. (2011). Introduction: Learning about diversity. In S. Miles & M. Ainscow (Eds.), *Responding to diversity in schools* (pp. 1-16). London: Routledge.

Altamirano-Jimenez, I. (2011). Neoliberalism, racialised gender and indigeneity. In B. Hokowhitu, N. Kermoal, C. Andersen, A. Petersen, I. Altamirano-Jimenez, & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Indigenous identity and resistance : Rsearching the diversity of knowledge* (pp. 193-206). Dunedin: Otago University Press.

Altman, J., & Fogarty, B. (2010). Indigenous Australians as 'no gaps' subjects: Education and development in remote Australia. In I. Snyder & J. Nieuwenhuysen (Eds.), *Closing the gap in education? Improving outcomes in southern World societies* (pp. 109-128). Clayton: Monash University Publishing.

Anuar, H., & Krzys, R. (1987). Asia, libraries in. In A. Kent (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of library and information science* (Vol. 42, pp. 24-127). New York: Marcel Dekker Inc.

Apple, M. W. (1996). *Cultural politics and education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Arapoglou, V. P. (2012). Diversity, inequality and urban change. *European Urban and Regional Studies, 19*(3), 223-237.

Asian Development Bank. (2012). *Annual Report 2011*. Manila: Asian Development Bank (ADB) Retrieved from http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/59571/adb-ar2011-v1.pdf.

Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP). (2007). *A brief account of human rights situation of the indigenous peoples in Bangladesh*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) Retrieved from http://www.medipeace.org/eng/sites/default/files/Bangladesh%20-%20indigenious%20people.pdf.

Azim, F., & Hasan, T. (2014). Exploring challenges of achieving equity through inclusion in the Bangladeshi education context. *International Journal of English and Education, 3*(4), 429-441.

Bagchi, A. K. (1982). *The political economy of underdevelopment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bandarban Hill District Council. (2012). *Annual report 2011*. Bandarban, Bangladesh: Bandarban Hill District Council (BHDC).

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2006). *A statistical handbook of Bangladesh government*. Dhaka: Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2012). *Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Minstry of Planning, Government of the People's of Bangladesh

Barkat, A., Hoque, M., Halim, S., & Osman, A. (2009). *Life and land of adibashis*. Dhaka: Pathak Shamabesh.

Bayat, M. (2012). *Teaching exceptional children*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Bennett, C. I. (2001). Genres of research in multicultural education. *Review of Eductional Research, 71*(2), 171-217.

Bennett, C. I. (2011). *Comprehensive multicultural education: Theory and practice*. Boston: Pearson Education.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhattacharya, U. (2013). Mediating inequalities: Exploring English -medium instruction in a suburban Indian village school. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 14*(1), 164-184. doi:10.1080/14664208.2013.791236

Biesta, G. (2004). "Mind the gap!" Communication and the educational relation. In C. Bingham & A. M. Sidorkin (Eds.), *No education without relation* (Vol. 259, pp. 11-22). New York: Petter Lang.

Blaikie, N. (2010). *Designing social research* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Blaser, M., Feit, H. A., & McRae, G. (2004). Indigenous peoples and development processes: New terrains of struggle. In M. Blaser, H. A. Feit, & G. McRae (Eds.), *In the way of development : Indigenous peoples, life projects and globalization*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Bleie, T. (2005). *Tribal peoples, nationalism and the human rights challenge the adivasis of Bangladesh*. Dhaka, Bangladesh: The University Press Limited.

CARE Bangladesh. (2004). *Discussion note on diversity and equity*. Retrieved from Dhaka.http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/Discussion-Paper-Diversity-Equity-English.pdf

Carlisle, L. R., Jackson, B. W., & George, A. (2006). Principles of social justice education:The social justice education in schools project. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 39*(1), 55-64.

Carter, S. M., & Little, M. (2007). Justifying knowledge, justifying method, taking action: Epistemologies, methodologies, and methods in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research, 17*(10), 1316-1328.

Catalani, C., & Minkler, M. (2010). Photovoice: A review of the literature in health and public health. *Health Education & Behavior, 37*(3), 424-451.

Chen, T., Wang, L.-Y., & Neo, W.-L. (2015). School-based curriculum development towards a culture of learning: Nonlinearity in practice. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 63*(2), 213-228.

Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous research methodologies*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc.

Chowdhury, M. R., Nath, S. R., & Chowdhury, R. K. (2003). Equity gains in Bangladesh primary education. *International Review of Education, 49*(6), 601-619.

Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (2006). Subcultures, culture and class: A theoretical overview. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.), *Resistance through rituals:Youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-74). London: Routledge.

Cole, M. (2012). Human rights, equality and education : issues of gender, 'race', sexuality, disability and social class. In M. Cole (Ed.), *Introduction : Education, equality and human rights* (pp. 1-8). London: Routledge.

Corntassel, J. J. (2003). Who is indigenous? 'Peoplehood' and ethnonationalist approaches to rearticulating indigenous identity. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 9*(1), 75-100.

Council For Aboriginal Reconciliation. (1994). *Improving relationships: Better relationships between Indigenous Australians and the wider community*. Canberra: Australian Goverment Publishing Service.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research : Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2013). Diversity, equity, and education in a globalized world. *Kappa Delta Pi Record, 49*(3), 113-115.

Das, A., & Ochiai, T. (2012). Effectiveness of C-in-Ed course for inclusive education:Viewpoint of in-service primary teachers in southern Bangladesh. *Electronic Journal for Inclusive Education, 2*(10), 1-12.

De Leo, J. M. (2012). *Quality education for sustainable development*. Adelaide: UNESCO APNIEVE Australia Publishing.

Devarakonda, C. (2013). *Diversity & inclusion in early childhood: An introduction*. London: SAGE Publication Ltd.

Directorate of Primary Education. (2002). *Case studies of quality in Bangladeshi primary education*. Dhaka: Directorate of Primary Education (DPE).

Directorate of Primary Education. (2011a). *Third primary education development programme: Annexes*. Dhaka: Directorate of Primary Education.

Directorate of Primary Education. (2011b). *Third primary education development programme: Main document*. Dhaka: Directorate of Primary Education.

Doll, B., Spies, R. A., LeClair, C. M., Kurien, S. A., & Foley, B. P. (2010). Student perceptions of classroom learning environments: Development of the class maps survey. *School Psychology Review, 39*(2), 203-218.

Dove, M. R. (2006). Indigenous people and environmental politics. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 35*(1), 191-2008.

Downer, J., Sabol, T. J., & Hamre, B. (2010). Teacher–child interactions in the classroom:Toward a theory of within- and cross-domain links to children's developmental outcomes. *Early Education and Development, 21*(5), 699-723.

Downey, M., & Kely, A. V. (1986). *Theory and practice of education*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Drahos, P., & Frankel, S. (2012). Indigenous peoples' innovation and intellectual property: The issues. In P. Drahos & S. Frankel (Eds.), *Indigenous peoples' innovation:intellectual property pathways to development* (pp. 1-28). Canberra: ANU Press.

Durnnian, T. (2007). *Mother language first*. Shishur Khamatayan Project.

w.lcgbangladesh.org/Education/reports/Mother%20Language%20First%20English.pdf

Eliadou, A. (2011). Using children's drawings to explore barriers to inclusion in Cyprus. In S. Miles & M. Ainscow (Eds.), *Responding to diversity in schools* (pp. 19-31). London: Routledge.

Elmore, R. F. (2000). *Building a new structure for school leadership*: The Albert Shanker Institute.

Espinoza, O. (2007). Solving the equity- equality conceptual dilemma: A new model for analysis of the educational process. *Educational Researcher, 49*(4), 343-363.

Faubert, B. (2012). "A literature of school practices to overcome school failure". *OCED education working papers, No 68*. Retrieved from

http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/a-literature-review-of-school-practices-to-overcome-school-failure_5k9flcwwv9tk-en

Frank, A. G. (1978). *Dependent accumulation and underdevelopment*. London: Macmillan.

Fraser, B. J., & Walberg, H. J. (2005). Research on teacher-student relationships and learning environments: Context, retrospect and prospect. *International Journal of Educational Research, 43*(1), 103-109.

Fukuda-Parr, S. (2003). The human development paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's ideas on capabilities. *Feminist Economics, 9*(2-3), 301-317.

Fullan, M., & Watson, N. (2000). School-based management:Reconceptualizing to improve learning outcomes. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 11*(4), 453-473.

Gandhi, B. M. (2009). *Equity, trusts and specific relief*. Lucknow: Easter Book Company

Glynn, T., Cowie, B., Otrel-Cass, K., & Macfarlane, A. (2010). Culturally responsive pedagogy: Connecting New Zealand teachers of science with their Maori students. *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 39*(1), 118-127.

Gore, J. M., Griffiths, T., & Ladwig, J. G. (2004). Towards better teaching: productive pedagogy as a framework for teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 20*, 375-387.

Gough, A. (2013). Global citizenship as a contemporary curriculum challenge. In A. Wierenga & J. R. Guevara (Eds.), *Educating for global citizenship: A youth-led approach to learning through partnership* (pp. 11-35). Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing Ltd.

Government of Bangladesh. (1972). *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs. Retrieved from http://www.pdfbrowse.net/ebook/title/the-constitution-of-bangladesh-english-version-.html.

Grant, C. A., & Sleeter, C. E. (2003). *Turning on learning*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Gray, D. E. (2014). *Doing research in the real world*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Gurin, P., Dey, E. L., Hurtado, S., & Gurin, G. (2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and impact on educational outcomes. *Harvard Educational Review, 72*(3), 330-366.

Gustavsson, S. (1991). *Primary education in Bangladesh : Review, analysis and recommendations*. (52). Education division, Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA).

Hadfield, J. (2013). *Resource books for teachers : Classroom dynamics* Oxford University Press.

Hanbury, M. (2012). Relationships in and around the classroom. In D. Armstrong & G. Squires (Eds.), *Contemporary Issues in Special Educational Needs : Considering the Whole Child* (pp. 96-106). London: Mc Graw Hill, Open University Press.

Harvard Graduate School of Education. (n.d.). *Enhanced cluster schools with culturally relevent curriculum :Educating marginalized indigenous children in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh*.

Heath, S. B., & Mongiola, L. (1991). *Children of promise: Literate activity in linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms*. Washington DC: National Education Association Publications.

Hickling-Hudson, A., & Ahlquist, R. (2003). Contesting the curriculum in the schooling of indigenous children in Australia and the United States: From Eurocentrism to culturally powerful pedagogies. *Comparative Education Review, 47*(1), 64-89.

Hitchcock, R. K. (1994). International human rights, the environment, and indigenous peoples. *Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy, 5*(1), 1-22.

Hutmacher, W. (2002). Introduction. In W. Hutmacher, D. Cochrane, & N. Bottani (Eds.), *In pursuit of equity in education* (pp. 1-24). New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

International work group for indigenous affairs and Organising Committee CHT Campaign and Shimin Gaikou Centre. (2012). *Militarization in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh: The slow demise of the region's indigenous peoples*. (14). IWGIA and Organising Committee CHT Campaign and Shimin Gaikou Centre.

Islam, M. R. & Murray-Harvey, R. (2016). Equitable Education for Bangladeshi Indigenous Children: Perceptions of School Leaders and Managers. *International Journal of Diversity, Communities & Nations: Annual Review,16*, 37-46

Jhingran, D. (2009). Hundreds of home languages in the country and many in most classrooms: Coping with diversity in primary education in India. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas, R. Phillipson, A. K. Mohanty, & M. Panda (Eds.), *Social justice through multilingual education* (pp. 238-262).

Jindra, M. (2014). The dilemma of equality and diversity. *Current Anthropology, 55*(3), 316-334.

John, S. V., Singh, B. G., & Verma, O. P. (2011). Thinking styles and academic performance among tribal and non-tribal students. *Psychological Studies, 56*(2), 220-231.

Johnson, R. B., & Christensen, L. (2014). *Educational research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches*. Los Angeles: SAGE publication Inc.

Kamal, M., Samad, M., & Banu, N. (2003). *The santal community in Bangladesh: Problems and prospects*. Dhaka: Research and Development Collective (RDC).

Kapoor, D. (2011). Introduction. In D. Kapoor (Ed.), *Critical perspectives on neoliberal globalization, development and education in Africa and Asia* (pp. ix -xvii). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Karim, L. (1998). Pushed to the margins: Adivasi peoples in Bangladesh and the case of Kalpana Chakma. *Contemporary South Asia, 7*(3), 301-316.

Kaur, B. (2012). Equity and social justice in teaching and teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 28*(4), 485-492.

Kaya, N. (2009). *Forgotten or assimilated? Minorities in the education system of Turkey*. UK: Minority Rights Group International.

Khumi, L. (2010). Indigenous vs small ethnic group. In N. Mohaiemen (Ed.), *Between ashes and hope:Chittagong hill tracts in the blind spot of Bangladesh nationalism* (pp. 225-226). Dhaka: Drishtipat Writers' Collective.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2008). *Cultural globalization and language education*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2000). Fighting for our lives: preparing teachers to teach African American students. *Journal of Teacher Education, 51*(3), 206-214.

Ledger, S., Vidovich, L., & O'Donoghue, T. (2014). *Global to local curriculum policy processes* (Vol. 4). Switzerland: Springer.

Lee, C. D. (2001). Is October brown Chinese? A cultural modeling activity system for underachieving students. *American Educational Research Journal, 38*(1), 97-141.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Denzin, N. K. (2011). Epilogue: Toward a "refunctioned ethnography". In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 715-718). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Inc.

Lucas, S. R., & Beresford, L. (2010). Naming and classifying:Theory, evidence, and equity in education. *Review of Research in Education, 34*(1), 25-84.

Macfarlane, A. H. (2012). "Other" education down-under : Indigenising the discipline for psychologists and specialist educators. *Other Education: The Journal of Educational Alternatives, 1*(1), 205-225.

Martin, A. J., & Dowson, M. (2009). Interpersonal relationships, motivation, engagement, and achievement: Yields for theory, current issues, and educational practice. *Review of Educational Research, 79*(1), 327-365.

McCarty, T. L., Borgoiakova, T., Gilmore, P., Lomawaima, K. T., & Romero, M. E. (2005). Indigenous epistemologies and education self-determination, anthropology and human rights. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 36*(1), 1-7.

McGregor, G. (2011). Engaging Gen Y in schooling: The need for an egalitarian ethos of education. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 19*(1), 1-20.

McKinley, E. (2005). Locating the global: Culture, language and science education for indigenous students. *Internation Journal of Science Education, 27*(2), 227-241.

Merryfield, M. M. (2000). Why aren't teachers being prepared to teach for diversity, equity, and global interconnectedness? A study of lived experiences in the making of multicultural and global educations. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 16*(4), 429-443.

Mickelson, R. A., & Nkomo, M. (2012). Integrated schooling, life course outcomes, and social cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies. *Review of Research in Education, 36*(1), 197-238.

Middleton, S. (1992). Equity, equality, and biculturalism in the restructuring of New Zealand schools: A life-history approach. *Harvard Educational Review, 62*(3), 301-322.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis*. California: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Ministerial Council on Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs. (2006). *Australian directions in indigenous education 2005-2008.*

Carlton, Victoria: Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs, and Curriculum Corporation.

Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. (2011). *Tribal/ ethnic health population and nutrition sector development program*. Dhaka: Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW).

Ministry of Primary and Mass Education. (2014). *Achievement in primary education in past five years*. Dhaka: Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MOPME).

Mollah, S. H., Ullah, A., Halder, A., & Dhali, S. K. (2013). *Elementary mathematics*. Dhaka: National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB).

Mullah, M. A. S., Parveen, N., & Ahshanullah, M. (2007). Tribal people and their socio-economic characteristcs in Rangamati sadar thana. *BRAC University Journal, 4*(1), 47-58.

Mullick, J., Deppeler, J., & Sharma, U. (2012). Inclusive education reform in primary schools of Bangladesh: Leadership challenges and possible strategies to address the challenges. *International Journal of Whole Schooling, 8*(1), 1-20.

Mullick, J. I., & Sheesh, S. (2008). Teachers' quality and teacher education at primary education sub-sector in Bangladesh. *BRAC University Journal, 5*(1), 77-84.

Murmu, M. (2005). *Socio-economic status of the adibasi communities of ICDP working areas*. Dinajpur, Bangladesh: ICDP-Caritas Dinajpur.

Myers, M. D., & Newman, M. (2007). The qualitative interview in IS research: Examining the craft. *Information and Organization, 17*(1), 2-26.

Nambissan, G. B. (1996). Equity in education? Schooling of Dalit children in India. *Economic and Political Weekly, 31*(16/17), 1011-1024.

Nasreen, M., Maleque, A., Chakraborti, E., & Akhter, S. (2013). *Bangladesh and global studies*. Dhaka: National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB).

Nasreen, M., & Tate, S. (2007). *Social inclusion : Gender and equity in Bangladesh SWAPS in South Asia*. United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNICEF).UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia.

National Academy for Primary Education. (2001). *Language: English*. Mymensingh: National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE).

National Academy for Primary Education. (2013). *Curriculum of primary teacher education*. Mymensingh: National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE).

National Academy for Primary Education. (2016). Mymensingh: National Academy for Primary Education (NAPE) . Retrieved from http://www.nape.gov.bd/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=77&Itemid=2.

Nieto, S. (2009). Diversity education : Lessons for a just world. In M. Nkomo & S. Vandeyar (Eds.), *Thinking diversity, building cohesion: A*

transnational dialogue on education (pp. 17-40). Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers.

Nieto, S., & Bode, P. (2008). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education* (Fifth Edition). Boston: Pearson Education Inc.

O'Donoghue, T. (2007). *Planning your qualitative research project*. London: Routledge.

Ogbu, J. U., & Simons, H. D. (1998). Voluntary and Involuntary minorities: A cultural -ecological theory of school performance with some implicationsfor education. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 29*(2), 155-188.

Oliver, D. G., Serovich, J. M., & Mason, T. L. (2005). Constraints and opportunities with interview transcription: Towards reflection in qualitative research. *Social Forces, 84*(2), 1273-1289.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2008). *Policy brief*. Retrieved from Paris:

Oxford Policy Management , & Social Development Direct. (2008). *Making AID more effective through gender, rights and inclusion: Evidence from implenting the Paris Declaration; Bangladesh Case Study* Social Development Direct (SDD) and Oxford Policy Management (OPM).

Palinsar, A. S. (2005). Social constructivist perspectives on teaching and learning. In H. Daniels (Ed.), *An introduction of Vygotsky* (pp. 285-314). London: Routledge.

Patrick, H. A., & Kumar, V. R. (2012). Managing workplace diversity: Issues and challenges. *SAGE Open, 2*(2), 1–15.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.

Petriwskysj, A. (2010). Diversity and inclusion in the early years *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 14*(2), 195-212.

Pica, T. (1987). Second-language acquisition, social interaction, and the classroom. *Applied Linguistics, 8*(1), 3-21.

Power, C. (2015). *The power of education: Education for all, development, globalisation and UNESCO*. Singapore: Springer.

Primary School Performance Monitoring Project. (2001). *Improving the quality of primary education in Bangladesh: A strategic investment plan*. Dhaka: Primary School Performance Monitoring Project.

Ramsey, P. G. (2004). *Teaching and learning in a diverse world*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Reid, A., & O'Donoghue, M. (2004). Revisiting enquiry-based teacher education in neo-liberal times. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 20*(6), 559-570.

Reid, K. (2011). Indigenous primary school experiences. *Research Developments, 26*(2), 2-7.

Rhea, Z. M. (2015). *Leading and managing indigenous education in the postcolonial world*. London: Routledge.

Riaz, A. (2010). Madrassah Education in Pre-colonial and Colonial South Asia. *Journal of Asian and African Studies, 46*(1), 69-86.

Robinson, K. H., & Diaz, C. J. (2006). *Diversity and difference in early childhood education.* Berkshire: Open University Press.

Roy, R. D., Chakma, P., & Lira, S. (Eds.). (2010). *Compendium on national international laws & indigenous peoples in Bangladesh.* Dhaka: Shrabon Prokashani.

Sadker, M. P., & Sadker, D. M. (Eds.). (1982). *Sex equity handbook for schools.* New York: Longman.

Saffigna, M., Franklin, D., Church, A., & Tayler, C. (2011). *Practice principle 4: Equity and diversity.* Melbourne: Department of Education and Early Childhood Development, The University of Melbourne.

Sagar, T., & Poulson, N. (2003). *Education for indigenous children: The BRAC model.* Paper presented at the Conference on Language Development, Language revitization, and Multilungual Education in Minority Communities in Asia.

Sanchez, P. A., Haro, R. D., & Navarro, J. (2001). Learners' diversity: The integration of Maghrebi children in mainstream classrooms in Spain. In K. Watson (Ed.), *Doing comparative education research : Issues and problems* (pp. 153-168). Oxford: Symposium Books.

Sarkar, M., & Lavoie, C. (2014). Language education and Canada's indigenous peoples. In D. Gorter, V. Zenotz, & J. Cenoz (Eds.), *Minority languages and multilingual education:Bridging the local and the global* (pp. 85-104). Dordrecht: Springer.

Sarker, P., & Davey, G. (2009). Exclusion of indigenous children from primary education in the Rajshahi division of northwestern Bangladesh. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 13*(1), 1-11.

Savva, M. (2013). International schools as gateways to the intercutural development of North-America teachers. *Journal of Research in International Education, 12*(3), 214-227.

Sayed, Y. (2001). Post-apartheid educational transformation:Policy concerns and approaches. In J. D. Jansen (Ed.), *Implementing education policies:The South African experience* (pp. 250-270). Cape Town: UCT Press.

Sborne, A. B. (1996). Practice into theory into practice: Culturally relevant pedagogy for students we have marginalized and normalized. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 27*(3), 285-314.

Schendel, W. V. (1992). The invention of the 'Jummas' state formation and ethnicity in southeastern Bangladesh. *Modern Asian Studies, 26*(1), 95-128.

Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivisim, hermeneutics, and social constructionism In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 189-213). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc

Sleeter, C. E., & Grant, C. A. (2009). *Making choices formulticultural education: five approaches to race, class, and gender.* Hoboken, N.J. : John Wiley & Sons.

Smith, E., & Gorard, S. (2006). Pupils' views on equity in schools. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 36*(1), 41-56.

Smith, G. H. (2004). Mai i te maramatanga kite putanga mai te ta huritanga: From conscientization to transformation. *Indigenous Education, 37*(1), 46-52.

Snyder, S. (2013). *OECD Education Working Papers*. The simple, the complicated,and the complex:Educational reform through the lens of complexity theory, (96).

http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/the-simple-the-complicated-and-the-complex-educational-reform-through-the-lens-of-complexity-theory_5k3txnpt1lnr-en

Spinthourakis, J. A., Karatzia-Stavlioti, E., & Roussakis, Y. (2009). Pre-service teacher intercultural sensitivity assessment as a basis for addressing multiculturalism. *Intercultural Education, 20*(3), 267-276.

Squires, G. (2012). Historical and socio-political agendas around defining and including children with special educational needs. In D. Armstrong & G. Squires (Eds.), *Contemporary issues in special educational needs considering the whole child* (pp. 9-24). London: Mc Graw Hill.

State of the World's Indigenous Peoples. (2010). *Indigenous peoples make up one-third of the World's poorest and suffer alarming conditions in all countries*. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information.

Strizek, G. A., Riordan, J. E., Lyter, D. M., & Orlofsky, G. F. (2006). *Characteristics of schools, districts, teachers, principals, and school libraries in the United States 2003-04 schools and staffing survey (NCES 2006-313 Revised)*. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Centre for Education Statistics.

Takayama, K. (2007). A Nation at risk crosses the pacific: Transnational borrowing of the U.S. crisis discourse in the debate on education reform in Japan. *Comparative Education Review, 51*(4), 423-446.

Tarabini, A. (2010). Education and poverty in the global development agenda: Emergence, evolution and consolidation. *International Journal of Educational Development, 30*(2), 204-212.

Tedlock, B. (2000). Ethnography and ethnographic representation. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 455-486). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication Inc.

Thapa, A., Cohen, J., Guffey, S., & Higgins-D'Alessandro, A. (2013). A review of school climate research. *Review of Educational Research, 83*(3), 357-385.

Tormey, R. (2005). *Intercultural education in the primary school*. Dublin: NCCA.

United Nations Development Programme. (2004). *Human development report 2004: Cultural liberty in today's diverse world*. New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

United Nations Development Programme. (2009). *Socio economic baseline survey of Chittagong hill tracts*. Dhaka: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Bangladesh.

United Nations Development Programme. (2014). *Human development report 2013*. New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2005). *UN decade of education for sustainable development*. Paris: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2008). *Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2008, Education for All by 2015 : Will we make it?*Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Vandeyar, S., & Killen, R. (2006). Teacher-student interactions in desegregated classrooms in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development, 26*(4), 382-393.

Viswanathan, G. (2015). *Marks of conquest : Literary study and British rule in India*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society:The development of higher mental process*. Cambridge:MA: Harvard University Press.

Wadham, B., Pudsey, J., & Boyd, R. (2007). *Culture and education*. NSW: Pearson Education Australia.

Waitoller, F. R., & Artiles, A. J. (2013). A decade of professional development research for inclusive education: A critical review and notes for a research program. *Review of Educational Research, 83*(3), 319-356.

Williams, J. H. (2015). A brief history of international education policy: From Breton-Woods to the Paris declaration. In C. A. Brown (Ed.), *Globalization, international education policy and local policy formation* (pp. 9-24). New York: Springer.

Willis, S. (1995). Gender justice and the mathematics curriculum: four perspectives. In L. H. Parker, L. J. Rennie, & B. J. Fraser (Eds.), *Gender, science and mathematics : shortening the shadow* (pp. 41-52). Germany: Springer.

World Bank Group. (2016). *Population density*. Washington: Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Bank population estimates. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.POP.DNST.

Wubbels, T., & Brekelmans, M. (2005). Two decades of research on teacher-student relationships in class. *International Journal of Educational Research, 43*(1), 6-24.

Zajda, J. (2010). Introduction - global pedagogies: Social, cultural and technological change. In J. Zajda (Ed.), *Global pedagogies: Schooling for the future* (pp. xiii-xxii). London: Springer.

Zhang, X., Fan, S., Zhang, L., & Huang, J. (2004). Local governance and public goods provision in rural China. *Journal of Public Economics, 88*(12), 2857-2871.